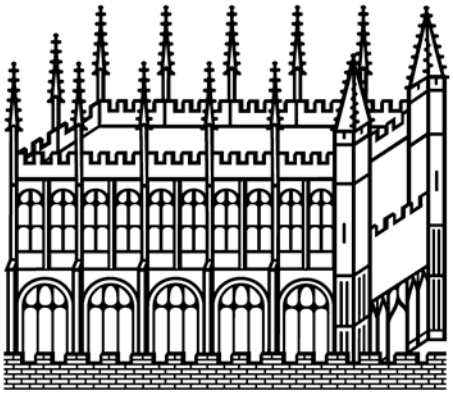

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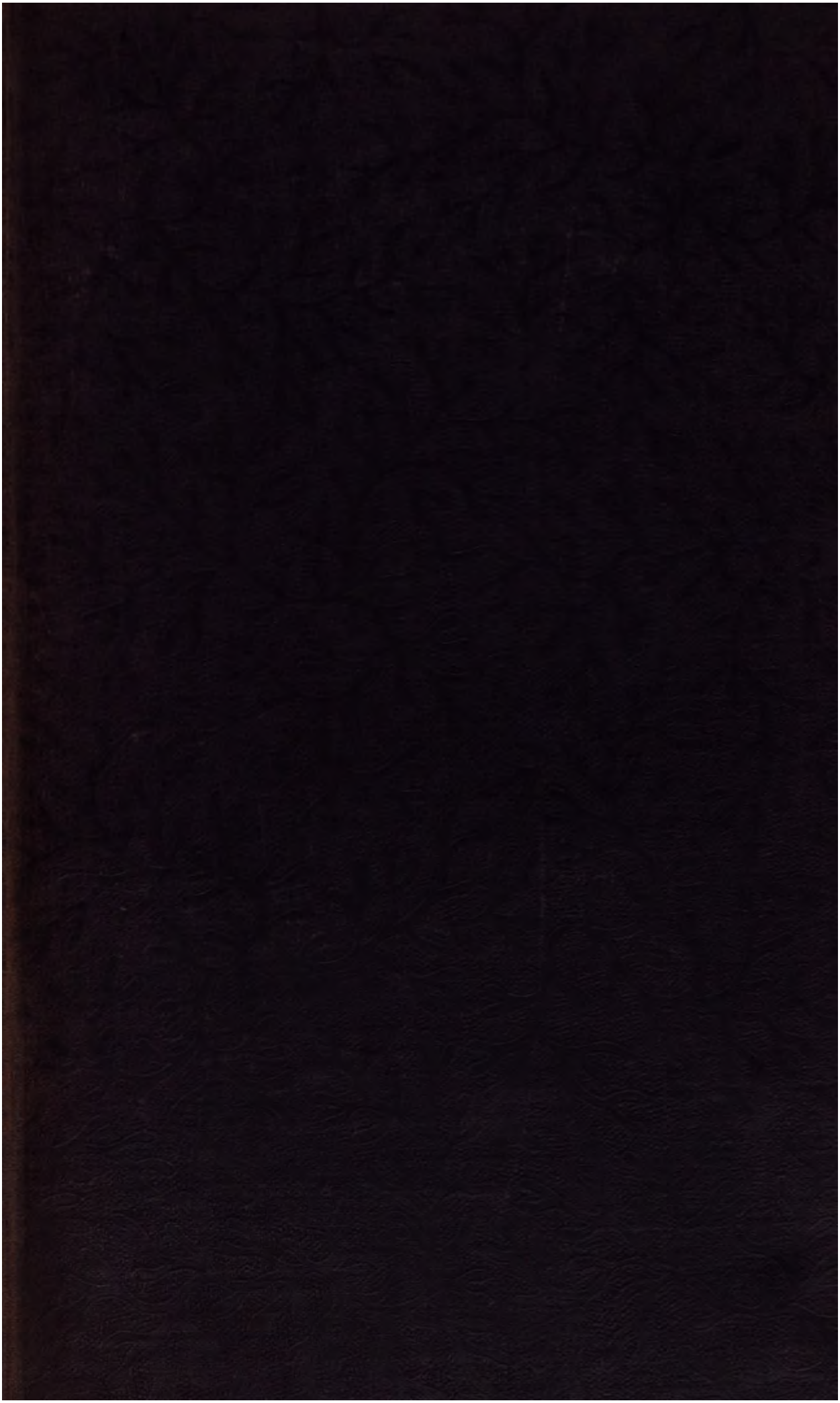

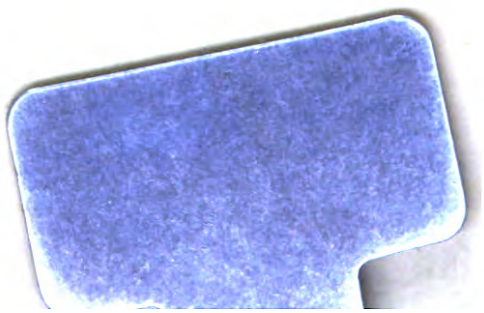

THE

WORKS

OF

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. & LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,

AND CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE.

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ON

CHURCH AND COLLEGE ESTABLISHMENTS.

BY

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PREFACE.

OUR vindication of a Religious Establishment consists of two branches—the one having respect to the principle, the other to the effect of such an economy. Under the first we would demonstrate the lawfulness of it—under the second the usefulness of it. It is a scheme which originates with the civil, and not with the ecclesiastical power. It is overtured by the former; it is consented to by the latter—and it seems indispensable to prove at the very outset of the argument, that by the connexion thus entered upon, the character of the gospel in its simplicity or its sacredness need suffer no violation. Without this we cannot clear our way to the latter part of the argument—for though we should succeed in proving of an Establishment, that it gives tenfold scope to the ministrations of the gospel; yet if it be in a way by which the gospel itself suffers essential desecration, this were doing evil that good may come. Till the cause be disencumbered of this charge, it can proceed no further—after which, however, we hold that it stands upon firm and high vantage-ground. When

principle does not stand in the way of expediency, then expediency of itself becomes principle; and, in the matter before us, principle of the highest sort. It is surely a question of no light character, What is the most effectual method of making Christianity so to bear upon a population, as that it shall reach every door and be brought into contact with all the families. Could it first be demonstrated of such a method that it is innocent, as being not unlawful in principle—then if further demonstrated that it is expedient, as being most useful in effect, it would no longer remain in the midway or neutral character of innocence alone. It would instantly become a thing of high and imperative obligation —as imperative in fact as the precepts of "Do good unto all men as you have opportunity," "Go and preach the gospel to every creature."

We cannot give full establishment to both these positions now; and we shall therefore, at present, dispense with the former and confine ourselves to the latter of them. It is not that we hold the perfect lawfulness of a religious establishment to be incapable of demonstration; for we think that the demonstration has already been given. But it is because we conceive the usefulness of a religious establishment, to be a topic of sufficient magnitude for one preface.

To understand the effect or operation of an Establishment, we should contrast it with the workings of that other system which is placed in opposition to it. That by which it is essentially distinguished, is a national provision for a clergy, each planted in a separate district of his own—

thus spreading, as it were, along with the ministers, the ministrations of Christianity all over the land. Without such an economy, there still would be a gospel ministry and gospel services. There were, during the three first centuries of the Christian era. There still are, as in North America, one of the largest tracts of Christendom. The matter there is left to the spontaneous zeal of Churchmen on the one hand, to the spontaneous demand of the people on the other. To fill up the whole length or breadth of a land, under a system like this—such, in the first place, must be the devotedness and such the number of qualified labourers ready to brave the hazards of destitution, that no vacant place can be left unoccupied, without the offer at least of a Christian teacher to the families: And such, in the second place, must be the demand for his services, as will guarantee that personal and family maintenance, which is indispensable to the upholding of them. This way has attractions for many. It places religious instruction on the same footing with an article of ordinary merchandise. It leaves it to the operation of demand and supply. The science of political economy affords some imposing analogies, which have given a charm and a beauty to the system in the eyes of certain speculators. It has the authority of great names, as those of Turgot and Dr Adam Smith, to make it respectable. It, besides, has the still more urgent recommendation of its cheapness in the eye of some of our practical legislators. There have been adopted of late certain great and undoubted ameliorations, both

in our foreign and domestic economy. The system of free trade we hold to be one of these—and the transition does not appear a very wide one, from a free trade in Commerce to a free trade in Christianity. And then, in corporate or deliberative bodies, where men move and act in masses, they move and act gregariously—more by impulse, than with any nice or laborious or even sound discrimination. They often mistake a semblance for an identity; and are thus in danger of being precipitated along the career of a headlong reformation. The distinction between the established and non-established in religion, till of late, was carried too far—beyond its proper and legitimate boundaries—having been made the foundation of an exclusion, not from the ecclesiastical business of the church alone, but from the civil and political business of the country. This excess in the distinction has of late been done away, to the mighty exultation of one great party, to the deep disappointment and dejection of another; and now, it is evident, both that hopes are more sanguine, and fears more tremblingly alive, to the prospect of the distinction being done away altogether. Add to all this the temptation of the public necessities—the clamorous impatience under burdens, exasperated by the spectacle of what many feel to be obnoxious, and many more hold to be useless establishments—the growing multitude of those in our land, who have found their way to an able and efficient ministry of the Gospel, which themselves have provided and themselves pay for—the consequent growth of that sectarian interest, which is at least separate from,

though not always, and till of late not generally, hostile to the religion of the state—the sudden elevation into consequence and power of a whole nation of sectaries—the large infusion which is therefore apprehended of an adverse feeling in the upper classes of society—These all, saying the least of it, look menacing to the cause; so that never perhaps was there a louder call for the argument of its friends, for the worth and the energy and the moral services of its ministers.

So far as the economic principle has any, and it has a very large share in this argument, we think that the reasoning of our adversaries admits of a triumphant refutation. But we shall satisfy ourselves with the briefest possible statement of it.—In the actions of ordinary merchandise, it is found, that, without legislative interference at all, but just by the workings of what may be termed a mutual mechanism, there is the most beneficial adjustment between the demand and the supply. And so, it is argued, might it be with the article of Christian instruction. It is found of the former concern, that it prospers most without bounties or monopolies or artificial protections of any sort—why may not the latter concern also? A national establishment of dealers for the provision of the body is quite uncalled-for; it being enough to bring the two exchanging parties in the best possible way together, that the whole matter should be freely left to the wants of the one and the interests of the other. And so, it is thought, should the thing be ordered, in regard to a provision for the unperishable spirit. That is, it should be

confided to the unforced and unfostered operation of the demand and supply. The dealers in this article too will furnish society therewith, up to the extent in which the article is wanted. In a word, the maxim of let us alone, that maxim in which is enveloped the whole principle or philosophy of free trade, they hold to be alike applicable to Christianity and commerce—and just as the prosperity of the one is best consulted by the prohibitions of mercantile jealousy, and the support of corporation privileges, and every artificial contrivance whatever, whether in the shape of bounty or discouragement, being expunged from the statute-book—so, it is conceived, that the other would prosper and be enlarged also, by the restrictions of intolerance on the one side, by the rights and revenues of an establishment on the other, being wholly done away.

Now there is one material distinction between the two cases, which, till of late I believe, has been entirely overlooked in this argument. It is a maxim in Political Economy, that the supply is regulated by the *effective* demand; but, in reasoning from this against an Establishment, the imagination has all along been proceeded on, that the demand for an article is always in proportion to the real want of it—whereas it is only in proportion to the felt want of it. To guarantee a demand for any thing, it is not enough that you are destitute thereof—the destitution must be a matter of longing and urgent uneasiness. In proportion to the want of food, is the intensity of your hunger. In proportion to the want of raiment, is the intensity of your

cold. In proportion to the want of many of the physical gratifications, is the strength of the physical appetency that seeks impatiently after them. But what is true of the physical, is not true of the moral and intellectual appetites of our nature. It is not in proportion to our want of righteousness, that we hunger and thirst after it. Neither is it in proportion to his ignorance or want of knowledge, that man stirs himself in quest of instruction. The greater the need of these last, the less in truth is the value that we entertain for them. In regard to the articles of ordinary merchandise, where the foundation of the demand lies in the sentient economy of our nature, a government might with all safety leave the primary advances to be made by the people themselves. But not so in regard to Christian or even to common education, where the foundation of the demand lies in the mental or spiritual economy of our nature. In this case, the movement does not originate with the families. It originates from without. The dispensers of the higher benefit have to go forth aggressively with it on the lethargic mass of society, and to create an appetite ere they minister a supply. The people will not awaken of themselves from the depths either of depravity or ignorance. They must be awakened by others, whose office it is to make initial assault on the dormancies of the land. Did we wait for the rising of a spontaneous demand after either religion or science, we might wait for ever. These must be carried round, and obtruded on the notice, and pressed on the acceptance of the people. It was thus they were awakened

from their primitive torpor; and it is thus they must be preserved from again falling into it.

It is on this ground, that, with all possible brevity we would argue at present the cause of a Religious Establishment. It is just because men will not go forth in quest of Christianity, that Christians, or the bearers of Christianity, have to go forth in quest of men. The great central and apostolic College of Jerusalem was not set up as a place, whither the nations of the earth might repair for the gospel. It was a place whence the messengers of the gospel did successively go forth, in obedience to the precept of "go unto all nations." To bring Christianity into juxtaposition with human souls, it was never once imagined that they should be attracted to it; but that it should be carried to them. It is thus that the work of Christianization, was essentially a missionary work from its very outset; and an establishment is, in fact, the consummation of this principle. It multiplies preaching stations all over the territory—thereby confining the attractive process within the narrow limits of a parish; and, so far from superseding, giving to the aggressive process its likeliest advantage—for though the families have to move on Sabbath towards the minister, the minister through the week might keep up a busy and incessant movement among the families. We might allege a thousand experiences, on the side of such an arrangement. It is only within short distances, that people will generally be drawn to the public services of religion. This could easily be made the subject of a numerical investigation. When a parish falls vacant, how few,

during the suspension of its ministerial services, take the longer journey to a neighbouring parish! When, by an act of most unchristian policy, there takes place the annexation of two parishes—how many in consequence fall away from the habits of church-going altogether! What an impressive evidence, to the same effect, is afforded by the Sabbath state of those remoter hamlets—where the people may be seen, either straggling about their premises, or, if at the bidding of decency they keep at home, spending a slothful or a sordid day in deepest spiritual apathy. It is by a constant and a sufficiently extended juxtaposition, and that can only be obtained by means of a thick-set establishment, it is thus alone, that the habits and observances of a Christian land can be kept up among the families; and just as it is by a school in every parish, that reading has become a general accomplishment—so it is by a church in every parish, that religion must become in any degree a general characteristic throughout the mass of our population.

The view which we have now offered is amply supported by experience; and though much stronger specimens, we believe, can be alleged, of languishing and almost extinct Christianity, in those regions where an establishment is unknown—yet would we confine ourselves to that more satisfying and impressive experience, which is within our reach, even to the state of Christianity in those districts of our own land where the Establishment is defective.

The first case is that of large and more especially

Highland parishes—often containing several hundred square miles, and with an average population in round numbers of about three thousand. The locomotion requisite, either for the people being often in church or the minister being often in the houses of his parishioners, is such, that, very rarely, indeed in the great majority of instances, can they hold any converse with each other—insomuch that many are the hamlet groups of population, and many is the far remote and isolated family, of whom it may be said, that they are absolutely aliens and exiles from aught like a regular gospel ministration. We will not venture to specify the average distance in leagues, between the nearest churches of this region; but sure we are that it lies not within the compass of human strength, to overtake such enormous spaces—or, where the parishes are so many provinces, to fill up the whole length and breadth of so ample a territory. The Establishment has done something. It has provided about two hundred ecclesiastical labourers, to a Gaelic population of almost half a million. But it may well be said to have left greatly more than half the room unoccupied; and to that extent we put the question, Has this surplus territory been entered upon, or at all cultivated, by those who tell us of the impotency of Establishments, and would confine to their own spontaneous energies the whole task of christianizing a land? Over and above the regular clergy, we behold about thirty missionaries at work;—but these provided on the principle of an establishment; and government churches planted in the more populous of the large

intermediate spaces—to the number of forty, but still maintained on the footing of an establishment. We include these recent erections in our estimate of the whole number, of two hundred ministers and missionaries together. Such is our reckoning of the endowed teachers of Christianity, who yet overtake not one-half of the territory. Now, how many are the Christian teachers, whom the partizans of the unendowed system have set forth upon the other half? We positively cannot, with all our searching, find out half-a-dozen. There are a few more congregations than this—perhaps as many as ten; but these stand forth as more impressive witnesses still, to the truth of our principle—for the majority of them are vacant, and kept in a state of vacancy, just from the inability or indisposition of the people to uphold a pastor in the midst of them—that inability which it is the precise office of an establishment to supplement—that indisposition, which, for the close and constant supply of religious instruction, makes an establishment so essential. And it cannot be said that the Establishment has engrossed all the stations, where a congregation is practicable. It had not done so in the forty places where churches have been erected within these few years; and in many of which we have now full and flourishing congregations—though in none of them was any chapel attempted, or at least did any chapel succeed before. And there are many more such places in reserve, where an endowed place of worship would draw a congregation; but where an unendowed never will be raised by the hand of private ad-

venturers. They have not, for example, raised a single meeting-house in the whole county of Sutherland—not for the want most assuredly either of surplus room or surplus population; but from the inherent impotency of a system, to which nevertheless, after with rash and ruthless hand they had destroyed the Establishment, they would abandon the whole Christianity of the land.

Our first instance is taken from the extreme of magnitude. A second may be taken from the extreme of population—that is from our great towns; but for our views on this part of the subject we refer to the London Lectures in this volume, and to our early chapters in "The Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation."

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PART I.

ON THE

USE AND ABUSE

OF

LITERARY AND ECCLESIASTICAL

ENDOWMENTS;

FIRST PRINTED IN 1827.

PREFACE.

When a teacher, whether of Christianity or of science, derives all his remuneration from the fees of those who attend him; and when he is further enabled, by these fees, to uphold the fabric in which the work of his vocation is carried on, it may be thought that he stands wholly apart from the aid of endowments. The term most generally suggests the idea of a salary, and sometimes, perhaps, there may be included in it, the idea of an erection. A school, for example, may be endowed only to the extent of its architecture; or, additionally to this, it may be endowed to the further extent either of a partial or total income to the teacher. Each of these is included in our idea of an endowment; for, in whatever shape the aid be rendered, whether in that of a gratuitous building, or of a gratuitous revenue, if it form no part of the price given for education by those who have a spontaneous demand for it, then, according to the use made of the word in the following pages, it comes under the head or character of an endowment.

But our argument leads us to employ the term in a meaning still more comprehensive. Our endeavour is, to estimate the effect of all that support which is given to education, over and above the recompense afforded to it in fees, by those who have a *spontaneous* demand for it. This recompense is found to be enough in the case of all those free marketable commodities which form the great subjects of supply on the one hand, and of demand on the other. The demand calls forth the supply. It is so willing a demand, that the price it offers draws out the supply; and the supply finds, in the price thus offered, its adequate and its whole remuneration. It is not so with the supply of education, in those cases where the teacher is paid in part or in whole, or where a seminary is provided for him, or a dwelling-house built, or an apparatus purchased and kept in repair, or a library collected and maintained, or any fraction, in short, of the requisite equipment upheld by a fund otherwise constituted than from the fees of the scholars. Each and all of these auxiliary donatives are so many endowments. But there are cases, when the scholars' fees, the price paid by them for education, might prove to be sufficient for all the purposes now specified; and yet, from the law and nature of their attendance, the greater part, if not the whole, of these fees may have the very effect on learning, whether beneficial or mischievous, which the gratuities conferred upon it have had; and which may, therefore, well be put down to the account of endowments.

We would, therefore, further regard that as an

endowed seminary, attendance upon whose courses of instruction was made a requisite condition for the subsequent holding of any lucrative offices. It is thus that an attendance is obtained for colleges, greatly beyond the spontaneous demand for that education which they furnish. For example, a course of logic at one or other of our universities, is a pre-requisite to the admission of our students into the divinity hall, and therefore to their admission into orders, so as to be qualified for presentation to a church living. There can be no doubt, that the classes of logic are indebted to this regulation for many of their students; and the same holds true of all the other classes which enter into the curriculum of the theological profession. This is what Dr Smith denominates, and indeed stigmatizes as a "statute of apprenticeship;" and what he argues against, on the same grounds that he does against the corporation laws, and the compulsory terms of preparation for any of the trades or callings in ordinary artizanship. The other learned professions, as law and medicine, have also their statutes of apprenticeship, inasmuch as certain university classes must be attended by those who are admitted as licentiates in either of these professions. Now, every class which derives benefit from such a regulation, we hold to be, to the extent of that benefit, an endowed class. The augmentation of revenue which accrues therefrom, comes, no doubt, to the professor, in the shape of fees; but it is as little due to the spontaneous demand for his instructions, as if it had come to him in the shape of salary. It has all the virtue, or, as Smith would

have it, all the vice of an endowment. As such, therefore, we regard it; and it being our single object to contrast that system, under which education is wholly paid for by those who attend spontaneously upon its lessons, with that other system under which the remuneration is helped out from other sources, and by other expedients, we scarcely notice a distinction in our general argument between salaries and statutes of apprenticeship.

It is further obvious, that, in this view, bursaries have the same character and effect with other endowments. They draw a greater number of students to the higher seminaries of education than would otherwise attend them. They go to augment the income of the teacher beyond what he would enjoy, were scholarship, like an article of ordinary merchandise, left to the pure operation of demand and supply, unfostered by bounties, and unforced by compulsory enactments. Our main inquiry is, in how far education should be so left, or whether it has not been both sublimed in its character, and increased in amount, by those artificial encouragements which our forefathers have annexed to it.

Certain it is, that somewhat of an adverse feeling to these encouragements, has been generated by the reigning taste and philosophy of our times. We are now quite familiarized to the discovery, that in commerce there has been a cumbrous excess of legislation, and from which, when delivered, it regains the healthful play of nature and liberty. And the same principle which has been verified both by experience and reasoning, in the business

of ordinary trade, has also been applied to the business of education. The bounties, in particular, which have been demonstrated to be so hurtful to the one, are vaguely imagined to be alike hurtful to the other. And so it is conceived, that scholarship will best thrive, when placed in the circumstances in which it is now found that merchandise best thrives; that is, when let alone, or when, relieved both from the fetters and from the encouragements which have been laid upon it by the state, it is entirely upholden by the demand of society, and by the price which society is willing to give for its lessons.

Dr Smith was the first who proclaimed these principles—and not without effect, we apprehend, on the legislators both of this and of other countries. During the anarchy of the French Revolution, the schools and establishments for medical education were suspended, and their places supplied by a few irregular lectures given by individuals. The inconvenience of this, was repaired by the Convention, impelled to the re-endowment of colleges and classes, by the pressing wants of the army for a competent supply of properly educated surgeons. But while government kept up the higher schools, they neglected the schools of general education; and the system of allowing them to increase or diminish according to the abilities or inclination of individuals, was defended on the authority of Smith.*

* The information of this paragraph, is extracted from the valuable work of Dr Johnston, entitled, "A General View of the Present System of Public Education in France."—See his interesting narrative, which begins at page 103 of his volume.

In our own country, that authority is now more deferred to, than it wont to be, on all the proper subjects of political economy. At the interval of half-a-century, the speculations of this great author have been incorporated in the practices of government. This is the time which truth and wisdom have taken to travel from the philosopher's study to the senate-house; and at length, after having struggled its way through many obstructions, the system of free trade is not only recognized, but is begun to be acted on in the regulation of commercial affairs. It is precisely at such a season; and in the recency of an author's triumphs, that we should expect the ascendancy of his errors as well as of his sounder and better principles. And accordingly, we think we can perceive both in and out of Parliament, a certain impression that education should be left to itself, just as trade should be left to itself—so that, as in the one case, the remuneration should lie wholly in the market-price, unhelped by a bounty, in the other, the remuneration should lie wholly in the fees unhelped by a salary. The compulsory attendance on certain classes of the students who are in the course of preparation for the learned professions, comes under the like condemnation of a liberal philosophy. Altogether the principle is adverse to our established church, and to our established colleges—and in the "Wealth of Nations" there are passages of great force and celebrity which are adverse to both.*

The object of the following work, is to estimate

* See Note A, Appendix.

the soundness of this economic principle as applied to education, unexceptionable though it may be in its application to the affairs of merchandise. It is not for the mere sake of rectifying a naked position in economical science that this work has been undertaken—for it will be found that the question, both of religious and literary establishments, is involved in the discussion—and that the argument thence educed in their favour, which at least appears a very strong one to ourselves, has this further claim to attention, that it has not been commonly insisted on.

We shall have succeeded in our aim, if, by this humble contribution, we shall have at all helped to soften the prejudice which obtains against the holders of literary and ecclesiastical benefices, or to reconcile the community to a more generous system of endowments, as being at once accordant with the soundest lessons of philosophy, and subservient to the best and the purest objects of patriotism.

ON THE

USE AND ABUSE

OF

LITERARY AND ECCLESIASTICAL ENDOWMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

General Argument in Favour of Endowments.

1. It has not been found necessary to endow an establishment for supplying a population with any of the articles of ordinary merchandize. We have not, for example, a national establishment of bakers, or tailors, or masons, as we have of school-masters, professors, and clergymen. And the reason is quite obvious why the former kind of establishment is uncalled-for. The physical wants or appetites of our nature guarantee an effective demand for the various articles of physical indulgence. Rather than want food, or clothes, or lodging, man will exert himself to the uttermost, that, either by his labour or the price of his labour, he may be enabled to purchase these indispensable accommodations. They whose office it is to provide such accommodations, do not need to be remunerated by the

State for their services; for, in the price which customers are willing to give rather than want them, they find a sufficient remuneration. It is thus that the providing of a nation with what may be termed the physical necessaries of life, may be safely confided to the spontaneous operation of the principle of demand and supply. It is in fact a self-regulating interest, and should, in as far as government is concerned, be simply let alone.

2. The same is true of what may further be termed the common, or the physical luxuries of life. For these the vanity and the sensuality of man together, will secure a sufficiently energetic demand, on the part of all who can afford to purchase them. There is no danger lest, up to the measure of their wealth, men will not be induced to expend enough for the higher gratifications of appetite; or that, rather than want them, they will not afford a full remunerating price for the various articles of parade and luxury. The tradesmen, or the merchants who provide these articles, do not need to have their recompense helped out by Government; for they can find a full recompense in the wealth and good-will of their own customers. And, even should there not be the will along with the wealth, there is no national interest at all hurt or put to hazard, although so many of the affluent of our land should choose to live penuriously, or to abridge the style and splendour of their establishments. At least, it does not seem to be any object of national policy, to stimulate, by public encouragement, and at the public expense, the supply of luxuries beyond what is

called for by the native demand and disposition of the people themselves. This, too, therefore, is treated by Government as a self-regulating interest; and, as such, is also let alone.

3. It is this principle of letting things alone, which, a truly wise and beneficent principle in its application to all the articles of ordinary merchandise, forms the essence of the philosophy of free trade. In general commerce, the two elements of demand and supply should be left to balance each other, and to find their own proper adjustment. The hand of legislation, when it intermeddles with this mechanism, only deranges it; and, whether it does so by its artificial restrictions, or its artificial bounties, it is sure to lessen and to retard the prosperity of a nation. There is no patriotic interest served by the commodities of ordinary trade being multiplied beyond what the people of the land are both willing to use, and able to pay for. It is thus that an endowment in behalf of the wine trade, or the tobacco trade, or the sugar trade, or, which is the same thing, the annexation of a bounty either to the production or the importation of these articles, would, in these days, be deemed an outrage on all the maxims of a sound political economy. It would rank among the senilities of a darker age, which are now exploded, and have long gone by—alike disowned by the present generation of statesmen, and revolting to the liberal and enlightened spirit of our modern science.

4. Now, this principle, of such undoubted truth and value in its application to the business of trade, has also been applied to the business of education.

The same exceptions have been taken against an endowment in behalf of learning, which are now taken, by every sound economist, against a bounty. It is held to be an interference with the free operation of that demand, to which it is imagined that the whole supply of a nation's scholarship may be left. Thus it is that Dr Adam Smith has, by what we cannot help regarding as an unlucky generalization, transferred his masterly argument for freedom in trade, and transferred it in all its secularity, to the question of literary and religious establishments. It is needless, by any artificial encouragement, to stimulate the supply of mercantile commodities beyond what the nation shall spontaneously require. And by many it has been held alike needless to stimulate, by artificial encouragement, the supply either of literary or Christian instruction beyond what the nation shall spontaneously require. And so, opposition to endowments, whether of a scholastic or an ecclesiastical nature, has assumed, in some degree, a philosophical aspect; or, which is still more imposing, it stands forth with a certain aspect of noble and generous liberty.

5. This hostility to the cause of such endowments meets also with powerful reinforcement from other quarters. In addition to those who have arrayed themselves against them on speculative principles, or as the disciples of a school, there are many who view them with an evil eye, from a secret disaffection towards the existing or established order of things. It would appear that, in this country, where a political opposition is often

so powerful, and perhaps at all times so necessary, there is engendered, in regard to them, from this source alone, an adverse feeling, the leaven of a certain distaste or dislike for these endowments. One of the mightiest bulwarks in the hands of an administration, for perpetuating their own security and strength, is their church and university patronage—nor should we wonder, therefore, if it be one of those objects of attack against which the hostility of assailants is directed. Among our more temperate oppositionists, this feeling may amount to little more than coldness towards a system of literary and ecclesiastical benefices. But many are the fiery and resolute spirits of our age with whom it amounts to a fierce and keen antipathy. This we hold to be a reigning ingredient in the spirit of radicalism, whose champions eye, with like disdain, the pampered sluggards of our church, and the monks of our colleges.

6. Certain it is, that, by a corrupt and careless exercise of patronage, much has been done to call forth, if not to justify, even the warmest invectives that have been uttered upon this subject. When one thinks of the high and the holy ends to which an established priesthood might be made subservient, it is quite grievous to observe the sordid politics which have to do with so many of our ecclesiastical nominations. Endowments cease to be respectable when, in the hands of a calculating statesman, they degenerate into the instruments by which he prosecutes the game of ambition; or, when employed as the bribes of political subserviency, they expose either our church or our uni-

versities to be trodden under foot by the unseemly inroads of mere office-mongers. It is thus that a land may at length be provoked to eject from its borders the establishment either of an indolent or immoral clergy, wherewith it is burdened; and to look, without regret, on the spoliation or the decay of revenue in colleges. It is truly not to be wondered at, if the poverty neither of lazy priests, nor of lazy and luxurious professors, should meet with sympathy from the public. The same generous triumph that was felt on the destruction of the old monasteries, still continues to be felt on the destruction of every old and useless frame-work; so that, when either a church becomes secularized,—or universities, instead of being the living fountain-heads, become the dormitories of literature, they will, sooner or later, be swept off from the country by the verdict of popular condemnation.

7. The evils of a corrupt ecclesiastical patronage are more patent to society at large; but the evils of a corrupt literary patronage are not less revolting, or less fitted to scandalize the feelings of those who are exposed, in the place which they happen to occupy, to the painful observation of them. They are evils to which, we should imagine, a provincial college may be more peculiarly liable; and especially, if it have become the freehold of some great courtier, who, awake to no generous impulse of literary enthusiasm himself, can make unfeeling havoc of that learning which is so fitted to grace and dignify a land, at the shrine of his own ignoble politics. It completes the heartless deformity of such a spectacle, when the subordi-

nate agents of this foul desecration do themselves mingle in the proceedings of the academic body, in virtue of the place or the occupancy which they so unworthily hold within the venerable walls. It is truly a wretched contemplation, when, in the busy management of present or pending vacancies, one can behold the play of no other elements than the basest elements of sordidness. The effect is, that those chairs whence the richest wisdom and philosophy might have emanated on the youth of our nation, are remorselessly filled by individuals who may have nought whatever of the breath, or temperament, or talent of academic men. Their literary corporation may become, in every way, as coarse and unintellectual, as any secular corporation in the land. And we are not to wonder if its respectability cannot long withstand this gothic invasion of lordly power, and reckless or unprincipled patronage.

8. In these various ways, then, the cause, whether of literary or religious endowments, has fallen into discredit; and he who undertakes to plead for them, has strong prepossessions to strive against. The tendency is, to treat learning as we should any marketable commodity; that is, leave it to the effective demand of those who may incline to purchase it, and which demand is sure to meet, as in every other instance, with a proportionate supply. In this way, it is imagined that the public eye will cease to be offended by the spectacle of an obnoxious patronage; and that we shall have the same security for a sound, and good, and valuable literature, that we have for sound and good

articles in ordinary trade—that is, free choice amongst the buyers, meeting with an equal and unfettered competition amongst the sellers or providers of the thing in question. This monopoly of education will cease, it is argued, when the bounty or the exclusive privilege is withdrawn from it; and the impression, founded on an obscure analogy is, that, as by the abolition of all other monopolies, the public will be better served. We have no doubt of a preference, in many minds, for the London University over those of Oxford and Cambridge, grounded on the economic consideration which we now specify, and greatly strengthened by the experience of many corrupt appointments, and of much indolence and inefficiency in these privileged seats of learning. Nevertheless, though in opposition both to popular feeling, and to the principles of a certain philosophic school, we venture to plead the cause of literary and ecclesiastical endowments, convinced as we are that Learning, on the one hand, and Christianity on the other, would suffer from the extinction of them in the land.

9. For, first, Learning is not like an article of ordinary merchandize, or at least is not like to it in that only respect which would make endowments unnecessary. It is not true that, upon this artificial encouragement being withdrawn, there would remain an adequate encouragement in the native and spontaneous demand of the people for education. There is an utter dissimilarity between the mental appetite for knowledge, and the physical appetite for those necessaries, or even those luxuries of life, which constitute the great materials

of commerce. It is not with the desire of knowledge, as it is with the desire of food. Generally speaking, the more ignorant a man is, the more satisfied he is to remain so. But the more hungry a man is, the less satisfied he is to remain so. In the one case, the starvation of the mind is followed up by the apathy of an utter disregard for the food of the mind. In the other case, the starvation of the body is followed up by the agony of an intolerable desire after the food of the body, and to appease which any exertion or sacrifice will be made. There is no such appetite for knowledge as will secure a spontaneous and originating movement towards it, on the part of those who need to be instructed. There is such an appetite for food as will secure a spontaneous and originating movement towards it, on the part of those who need to be subsisted. In the matter of education, the supply of the article cannot be confided to the operation of demand and supply; for there is not a sufficiently effective demand. There is an abundant guarantee in the laws and constitution of sentient nature, for an effective demand in the matter of human subsistence.

10. It is this difference truly in the strength of the desire, or the demand, which forms the real distinction between the two cases; so that, while an endowment may be necessary in the one, it may, in the other, be wholly uncalled for. Government does not need to erect shops for the sale of the necessaries of life; or to help out, by a salary to the dealers, that price which customers, rather than want the necessaries, are willing to give

for them. But Government may need to erect schools; and to help out, by a salary to teachers, that price which the people are not willing to give for education. It is because of the strength of the physical appetite, and because of the languor of the intellectual or the spiritual appetite, that the same political economy which is sound in matters of trade, is not sound in matters either of literary or Christian instruction. This is a subject on which the people need to be met half way. The motion for their education will not be begun, or be made, in the first instance, by themselves. It must therefore be made for them by others. A people sunk in ignorance will not emerge from it by any voluntary or self-originated act of their own. In proportion to their want of knowledge, is their want of care for it. It is as necessary to create hunger amongst them, as it is to make the provision. They will not go in quest of scholarship. The article must be offered to them; and offered to them with such recommendations of a payment that is moderate, and a place that is patent and easily accessible, as may at least draw their notice, and call forth their demand for it.

11. And after the aggressive movement has been made in this way; after, for example, the school-house has been raised, and a moderate school-fee has been proclaimed throughout its vicinity, there is a charm in the very juxtaposition and name of such an edifice, which will at length operate more powerfully on the side of general education, than even the argument of its cheapness. Some families will avail themselves of such an arrangement at the

outset; and others, by the mere force of imitation, will be led to follow them; and the official fabric, known to all the neighbours by its familar and oft-repeated designation, will at length bind itself to the habits and affections of them all. What was at first an occasional practice will grow in time to a constant and regular one, till at length the scholarship of the young shall become one of those recognized and established decencies which all hold to be incumbent upon them. It will come to be incorporated with the habits of families, and be transmitted from one generation to another with the mechanical certainty of any local or geographical peculiarity in the customs of the people. They never would have made the initial movement themselves, either for building the school, or for making out a full remuneration to the schoolmaster. Yet, when once the school is built for them, and partial payment has been made of the fee, by means of a salary, the fabric thus raised and endowed becomes a signal of invitation, that is at length responded to by all the families of the district. So that, while, without this expedient, the country may, in respect of scholarship, be one desolate and unprovided waste, or at least present many large and intervening tracts, among the rare occasional spaces reclaimed by a gratuitous philanthropy; with this expedient, the blessings of popular education may come to be fully and equally diffused over the surface of the land.

12. Hence the universality of education in the lowland parishes of Scotland. The people are not taught gratuitously; for, by a small quarterly

payment, they are made to share in the expense of the education of their families; but the remaining share is, by the law, devolved upon others. It consists of a salary which enables the schoolmaster to teach upon moderate terms, and of a school and school-house, with a garden, by which education is visibly obtruded upon the notice of every little vicinity. To this extent, the offer of education may be said to have been made; and it is an offer that has been met by the nearly unexcepted consent and co-operation of the Scottish peasantry. Had it not been for this aggression upon them from without, the people would have felt no impulse towards education from within, and so would have stood fast in their primeval ignorance. It is the scholastic establishment of our land, that has called its people out of that quiescence and lethargy, in which every people are, by nature, so firmly imbedded. It has drawn them forth of this strong-hold; and awoke from their dull imprisonment, those higher and greater faculties which lie so profoundly asleep among a people, who, till addressed by some such influence, are wholly engrossed with animal wants and animal enjoyments. In other words, it is to a great national endowment that our national character is beholden. Those generous sensibilities, which have been so vehemently wreaked in ire and hostility against the cause, may perhaps be pacified, and even enlisted upon its side, when it comes to be understood that it is to an endowment in fact, to that against which some of the sons of liberty and patriotism have been heard to lift their eloquence,

that Scotland stands indebted for her well-taught and well-conditioned peasantry.*

13. But more than this. We now see that the parochial establishment of schools not only provided, in part, the learning; but, what was of greater importance still, created the appetite for it in the minds of the people. Nor is this an appetite that would go suddenly into extinction, even were the establishment swept away. After the habit of scholarship has been formed and matured among a people, it might, though left to its own energy, abide and linger with them for several generations. There was, in the first instance, no native demand for the article to encourage a supply of it; but, in the course of time, such a taste, and such a demand may have been excited, that the people, now led to regard education almost in the light of a necessary, may, on the aid of endowments being withdrawn, be willing to part with the whole price for it rather than want it altogether. In proof of this, we may refer to those cases where the people are dissatisfied with the established schoolmaster, either from his incapacity or from some other cause. They send their children to a subscription school; and, in the shape of a higher fee than the parochial one, give the whole price for education. The same thing is observed in towns or populous parishes, where the number of families outstrips the established means of instruction. The people now do what they would not have done a few generations ago. Indepen-

* See Note B, Appendix.

dently of the establishment, and without any aid from its provisions, but on the strength of their own payments alone, they defray the whole expense of their children's scholarship. But it is in virtue of a taste which the establishment has created. Its endowments have thus elevated our plebeian classes, and given them this higher mental ambition. But for those endowments, the people of the land would still have been in a state of mental apathy; and, to the parochial establishment of schools, do we owe not merely a provision of knowledge for our peasantry, but the creation among them of an appetite for knowledge beyond what itself can at all times supply.

14. It were a mistake, however, to imagine, that, after having achieved this service, it would be safe to dispense with an establishment; or that, after having raised the appetite for education, the future supply of education might be left to the working of this appetite alone. This, at best, were a hazardous experiment; and, even though it could be attempted without any decline on the part of the common people from the level of their present scholarship, the upholding of an establishment were still desirable as an instrument for raising, and that infinitely, the standard of popular education.

15. It is thus that the effect which we now advert to may be made palpable. Conceive, that, with the aid of the parochial endowment, the average quarterly payment for education is at present two shillings and sixpence; but that the people, rather than forego an advantage which

they have now learned to value, would, of their own accord, pay five shillings a-quarter. It would, in this case, be all the more safe to pull down the establishment, and leave the interest of education to be sustained by the now effective demand of the people for it. But a far better use to make of their now advanced taste would be, by retaining the establishment, to advance the quality of that scholarship which it was wont to deal out among the families. If, for two shillings and sixpence a-quarter, with the endowment superadded, men can be found to furnish the people with their present homelier education; then, for five shillings a-quarter, with the same endowment, men could be found to furnish them with a higher education. This effect might be enhanced by a contemporaneous increase of the salary along with the fees; and those schools where English reading, and writing, and the most elementary arithmetic, are now all that is taught, might come to have a higher and more extended course, including a classical education for some, and a popular mathematics, with its most useful application, for others, and even natural history, in some of its more pleasing and accessible departments, for all. Such seems to be the readiest way of bringing teachers, more accomplished than before, into contact with the general population; while they, on the other hand, may be carried indefinitely upwards, as if, by successive lifts from one generation to another, along the career of an ascending scholarship. The cause of popular education would thus move forward with other things. And these endowed

schools, at every step in this advancement of the plebeian taste, might, by a concurrent force, help the people forward to those higher acquisitions after which they had now learned to aspire."*

16. But this virtue which there is in endowments for giving effect, in future, to the eventual demand of the people for a higher scholarship, carries the attention upward to those higher seminaries which exist at present, for the education of the more affluent classes in society. It is a mistaken imagination, that their affluence alone forms a sufficient guarantee for such an effectual demand as could itself call forth all the philosophy and all the science that have flourished in time past, and that might be made to flourish still more under a system of endowments. There might be enough of individuals in society, who have the means of giving an adequate price for this higher scholarship. But there might not be enough of individuals who have the taste that would incline them to the expensive purchase of such a scholarship. What is

* To every one acquainted with the Parish Schools of Scotland during the last thirty years, the improvement which has taken place in popular education must be quite obvious. It were most desirable, however, that the salaries of the masters were augmented, even though, to maintain the balance between that part of their income which is fixed, and that part of it which fluctuates with their own exertions, there should along with this be a contemporaneous increase of the fees. In this way, the burden of the whole augmentation would be divided between the heritors and the parents of the scholars. There is a very general disposition to under-rate the capabilities of the latter, and, accordingly, it is alleged that they are not able to bear their share of the burden. They, notwithstanding, do pay larger fees than they did half-a-century ago—and they are often found, for the sake of a better education to their children, to pay the much larger fees of a subscription school.

true of a people in total ignorance in reference to elementary learning, is also true of the people who have been only schooled thus far in reference to the more arduous and loftier acquisitions of learning. They who occupy the lowest platform, even that of entire destitution in regard to knowledge, will not, if left to themselves, aspire and move upward to the platform which is immediately above them. But neither will they who occupy this second ascent, look, with a sufficient force of desirousness, above their existing level, so as to work themselves up to the third or fourth stages of this ascending progression. If, at the outset, there was such an apathy to knowledge in the land, that endowments were called for to originate and continue even the humblest kind of scholarship; still there is such a want of all lofty mental ambition, that endowments are yet called for to originate and sustain the higher kinds of scholarship. When people are at zero in the scale of knowledge, it is not by any native buoyancy of theirs, but by the application of a force from without, that they are elevated one degree in the scale. And, when raised thus far, it is still not by any inherent buoyancy, but by an external power, that they are brought and upheld higher in the scale. Now, they are the universities, the endowed and privileged universities, which act with this external power upon society. They are so many forces whose tendency is to draw the people upward from that state, as to education, to which they would subside, and in which they would settle, if left to themselves. Insomuch that, upon the existence of such endowments, well

patronized, turns all the difference between a high and a low state of philosophy in a nation.

17. To make this familiar by instances. A people, though universally accomplished by schools in elementary learning, will not lift up themselves by any inherent buoyancy of their own, to the level of that learning which should be taught in colleges. Over the whole country, there is not enough of spontaneous demand for the higher mathematics, to guarantee a sufficient maintenance for even so much as one teacher. There is an effective demand, we are aware, for as much of the science as is popular and practical, and of which the uses are quite palpable and immediate. A man without the aid of endowments will gain a livelihood, by teaching any thing that is of obvious application either to an art or a calling which is gainful. But, for all that is arduous and sublime in mathematics, for the methods of that higher calculus, the uses of which lie far remote, or are wholly invisible to the general understanding, for those lofty devices and inventions of analysis, by which we may hope to accomplish solutions hitherto impracticable, or to unravel mysteries in nature, which have yet eluded the keenest search of philosophy,—for all these, we contend, there is no such public request as might foster the growth and the production of them to the extent that is at all desirable. The science which germinates these in sufficient abundance, can only flourish under the shade of endowments. Without this artificial encouragement, the philosophy of our land would wax feeble, and dwindle at length into evanes-

cence; and in all the prouder and nobler walks of discovery, we must consent to be outrun in glory by other nations.

18. Here it occurs to us to say, that what Dr Smith has stigmatized as a statute of apprenticeship in colleges, is of still greater effect in the encouragement of all loftier sciences, than what is properly an endowment. The salary enables a teacher of these sciences to live, and admit scholars on a moderate fee to his course of instruction. In this way the obstacle of expense is lessened. But it is not by the removal of an obstruction alone that a sufficient number of pupils will be drawn to a class of arduous and recondite philosophy. There must, beside this, be the operation of an attractive force; and we fear, that, for the purpose of giving sufficient intensity to such a force, something must be superadded to that native charm which is conceived to lie in the scholarship itself. And it is thus that the vulgar incentive of gain has been made to reinforce those higher incentives, which operate only on a few of the more ethereal spirits of our race. This is done by a statute of apprenticeship. To make use of a Scottish term in an argument, the purpose of which is to expound the system of Scottish universities, it is done by *thirling* to certain of our classes all those students who are under process of education for some one of the learned professions, and making a complete course of attendance upon these classes an indispensable qualification for the holding of its lucrative offices. For example, no one can receive a licence, or, of

course, be admitted to a living in the church, who has not fulfilled a university course of natural philosophy. And we have no doubt, that, to this regulation, the college classes throughout Scotland of this noble science, are indebted for at least a sevenfold greater attendance than they would otherwise enjoy.

19. It is not a pure mental ambition which carries to these classes the majority of their pupils. Yet we have no doubt that during the attendance there, such an ambition is in very many instances awakened. The love of science was not the impellent force at the outset, which urged forward such a number of disciples to its lessons. But after they had been thus brought within the view of science, it recommended its own loveliness to the taste of many an aspiring intellect, that would have otherwise been lost to the cause of learning. Philosophy did not attract them by any native charm of her own, till, by the power of a grosser inducement, they were brought within the sphere of attraction. But it is a prodigious service to philosophy thus to bring them within the sphere; and this service is done by our statutes of apprenticeship. There have been thousands in our land, the enamoured votaries of science, who never would have felt the generous inspiration, had it not been evoked by the eloquence and the demonstrations of an academic chair, attended by them not of free will, but in conformity to those qualifying statutes, which have been so much complained of. The latent spark that was in them would still have remained in its dormancy, had it

not been for the kindred touch which developed it. Philosophy at length became the mistress of their affections, but not till they were made to see her engaging mien, and to hear the music of her voice. It was a good thing to have conducted them, even though as if by a hand of violence, along the way of her fascinations. It is well that the youth of our country should thus be brought in yearly hundreds within reach of the academic influence. It will not tell beneficially upon all; but it will elicit a responsive sympathy from those who have the kindred spirit and enthusiasm within them. The flame is not awakened by the property of spontaneous ignition; but it brightens into life and lustre, at a shrine of costly maintenance, and of hallowed guardianship.

20. There are five college classes of natural philosophy in Scotland; and, by a statute of apprenticeship in our church, every aspirant to the ministry must pass through one or other of these, ere he can be admitted to his theological studies. We feel quite confident in affirming, that, but for this statute, with salaries to professorships, there would not be enough of attendance from the whole land, for securing a decent livelihood even to one professor of the science. And this scarcity of pupils would be aggravated, just in proportion to the pure, and lofty, and philosophic character of the course. If, for example, it were the transcendental aim of the professor, to accomplish his students for the perusal of La Place's Mechanique Celeste, we doubt if all Scotland together would furnish him with so many as twelve, that would

listen to his demonstrations. At this rate, it is obvious, that no class could be formed, just because the proceeds of it could afford no adequate maintenance to a teacher. This arduous and recondite philosophy behoved to disappear, simply by ceasing to be transmitted from one generation to another. The record of it, in unknown hieroglyphics, might still be found in our libraries; but it would have no place in the living intellect of our nation.

21. Still there would be a natural philosophy taught, and even, it is possible, numerously attended by those who, in obedience to their own taste, repaired in crowds to the exhibition of its wonders. But to attract these crowds, there behoved to be a woful descent from the dignity of a high academic model. All repulsive mathematics would be exploded; and, instead of being conducted through the mysteries of astronomical science, by that arduous path on which Newton trod with gigantic footstep, it would be held enough by the pigmies of a superficial age, that they learned of orbs and of cycles from the evolutions of an orrery. The profounder studies of nature would be abandoned; and for these we should behold experimental class-rooms, filled, it might be, with hundreds who came to bestow their silly admiration on the puerilities and the paradoxes of a wretched necromancy. To uphold the severe intellectual training of our land, there must be endowments for the teacher, and compulsory statutes of apprenticeship for the taught. Without these, the philosophy of our land would sink

down from the colossal strength and stateliness of a former generation, into a mere popular empiricism. It would lose the masculine vigour which it once had in the Augustan age of England's mathematics, and fast drivel into effeminacy, with nought to feed upon but the syllabub lectures of fashionable institutes.*

22 When a distinguished professor of this country hazarded the assertion, that there were not twelve British mathematicians who could read La Place's great work with any tolerable facility, we fear that, alive as the whole nation is to its honour in the field of war, or political rivalship, there are but few indeed of the nation who felt the affront of being left so immeasurably behind in this highest of all intellectual rivalship, both by France and Prussia. It is verily one of the worst symptoms of our degeneracy, that almost nowhere, in the most cultured society, is the expression of regret ever heard, because that glory which a Newton shed over our country has now departed from us. Yet is it refreshing to observe in what quarter of the island it was, where the quickest sensibility was felt for the honour of British mathematics. It was in the academic bowers,—the lettered retreats of Cambridge. *There* the somewhat precipitate charge of our northern

* It is well, however, that these seminaries of slighter education, whether under the name of institutes for the wealthier, or of mechanic schools for the working classes, should be multiplied to the uttermost. They bring up the pupils who attend them to a higher grade of scholarship—but it remains as desirable as ever, and indeed more so, that the scholarship of universities should be of the highest possible character, should be at the summit of the scale.

collegian met with a resentment in which so few can sympathize; and *there* also, we rejoice to believe, that it met its best refutation. And if, in that wealthy seat of learning, even twenty individuals could be found to master the difficulties of the French analysis, this, in the midst of surrounding degradation and poverty, of itself speaks volumes for endowments.

23. There would need to be a similar descent, too, from the altitudes of moral and metaphysical science, ere a professor, who depended wholly on the spontaneous demand of his pupils, could assemble a sufficient number of them to enable him to earn for himself a livelihood. We venture to affirm, that, but for a statute of apprenticeship, Dr Thomas Brown could not have upheld a class of fifty students, even in the metropolis of Scotland; and that to enlarge its numbers, he behoved to have let himself down from those arduous heights of recondite and original speculation on which he acquired such eminent distinction in the walk of mental philosophy. In other words, the lustre and the glory of his discoveries might have been altogether lost to our land, had it not been for that system of endowments which we advocate, though sometimes stigmatized as an odious and illiberal monopoly. It is just such a monopoly as secures to the nation a better article, than the nation, by any free and popular movement, would have sought for itself. For philosophy, to be made palatable, must be diluted, and made of easy digestion. Like other wholesome draughts, it cannot be entirely left to the choice of those who

are bettered by the administration of it. A certain degree of compulsion is necessary; and it is just such a compulsion as a statute of apprenticeship secures, and by which it commands a numerous attendance on classes that would otherwise revolt by the depth and difficulty of their subjects. There is another way, indeed, by which to overcome this native distaste of the popular understanding for the profound, the solid, and the elaborate. There might be presented to it declamation instead of disquisition; the effusions of a shining but superficial eloquence, instead of the processes or the results of a powerful analysis; an offering of sweets and flowers to the imagination, instead of a call upon the intellect to gird itself for combat with the sophistries of Hume, or for accompanying the sounder argumentations of Bacon, and Locke, and Clarke, and Reid, and Campbell, and Butler. In this way, a class-room might be thronged with auditors, lured by the oratory of him whose lectureship is bespangled all over with the tinsel of a gaudy sentimentalism. But it is evident, that such a wretched compromise as this with the appetite of the multitude, is not the way by which to uphold a firm staple of philosophy in our land. What we gain in popular fascination, we shall lose in weight, and in massiveness; and, with no demand for the products of arduous or severe thought, we shall sink down into a generation of little minds and of little men.

24. It is certainly desirable, that a professor should be placed above the reach of a temptation so humiliating, as that of stepping down from a

higher to a lower walk in science, for the purpose of there meeting with a proper number of students. Rather, if necessary, let a greater number of stepping-stones be provided, by which they may be helped upward to his level, than that he should let down his efforts, and waste himself on such lessons as are merely popular and elementary. In other words, let the system of education in schools be extended, and a far higher scholarship exacted from all who propose to enter within the limits of a college. There should be as great a distinction between the work of a university and that of a school, as there is between manhood and boyhood. Even the language professors, relieved in a greater measure than they now are from the drudgery of those lessons, of which the sole object is to increase the practical acquaintance of their pupils with Greek and Latin, should be able to expatiate more at large on the field of taste, and criticism, and ancient history. In this event, we should not have such juvenile classes as we have at present; for the change of practice would give rise to a later, and, therefore, also to a more limited attendance of students. It would operate against the pecuniary interest of the professor, in deducting from the number of university scholars; but it would operate also in dignifying his employment, by the additional vigour and manhood that might then be imparted to university scholarship.

25. The work of a teacher may be regarded as twofold. It is his business, *first*, To conduct what may be called the gymnastics of education; and, *secondly*, By his own proper and peculiar arrange-

ments, or by his own original views, to illustrate and extend its topics. In the former employment, it is his object to convey to the students' minds the existent lessons of science or scholarship, whether these lessons have been bequeathed to him by others, or have been matured by himself. In the latter employment, he acts the higher, though not the more useful part—of either by his powers of discovery making new lessons, or by his powers of distribution making a new assortment of them. By the one exercise, he may guide his pupils over all the actual philosophy or literature of his department: by the other, he may shed upon it a brighter illumination, or push forward its boundaries. It is obvious, that, in the classical and mathematical provinces of education, there is greater room for the first of these offices; while in mental, or moral, or economical science, there is greater room for the second. It would be well, if, previous to their admission into universities, our youth described a more extended course of task-work and examination among the details of practical scholarship; not, indeed, so as altogether to supersede task-work and examination after they had left the more juvenile seminaries—but so that they might be better prepared, both by their habits and their years, for accompanying the professors in their most original speculations, and through the most arduous of their enterprises. It is thus that the country would secure a constant supply of those more exalted functionaries in science, part of whose vocation it is to build her up to a prouder altitude than before, or to extend the range of her

discoveries. They might become the chief instruments for the advancement of philosophy,—the labourers who, by successive lifts, from age to age, made perpetual additions to the intellectual and literary wealth of our species.

26. A university should not be a mere gymnasium. We admit that it is too little so in Scotland, and perhaps too much so in England. Certain it is, however, we repeat, that it were most desirable, if in our own country, the preparations of the gymnasium were greatly further advanced at the entrance of our young men into colleges. This could be managed by the establishment of a thorough scholastic system in each of our university towns. If our students came to us more advanced both in years and in scholarship, then the original and excursive and independent methods of our professors in all the higher sciences would not be so indefensible;—when, instead of having to address an audience of boys, they felt themselves sustained, even in their loftiest endeavours, by the intelligent sympathy of those who had now reached the manhood of their understandings. It is obvious, that, in this way, the style of education might be indefinitely heightened; while, as the fruit of the services of those who laboured in the upper departments of it, there might come forth of our universities, from time to time, the richest contributions to our literature and philosophy. A college might thus be an organ, not merely for bringing the scholarship of a country up to the level of its science, but for creating a higher science, wherewith still more to raise and refine its scholarship.

27. The colleges of Scotland, with all the defects which attach to them as practical seminaries, have, in regard to the latter of these two functions, been of the most important service in promoting both the honour and the advancement of our national literature. The truth is, that greatly more than half the distinguished authorship of our land is professorial; and, till the present generation, we scarcely remember, with the exception of Hume in philosophy, and Thomson in poetry, any of our eminent writers who did not achieve, or at least germinate, all their greatest works while labouring in their vocation of public instructors in one or other of our universities.* Nay, generally speaking, these publications were the actual product of their labour in the capacity of teachers; and passed into authorship through the medium of their respective chairs. Whatever charges may have been preferred against the methods of university education in Scotland, it is at least fortunate for the literary character of our nation, that the professors have not felt, in conducting the business of their appointments, as if they were dealing altogether with boys. To this we owe, the manly, and original, and independent treatment, which so many of them have bestowed on their appropriate sciences, and by which they have been enabled to superadd one service to another. They have not only taught philosophy; they have also both rectified its doc-

* But we should not forget the names of Monboddo, and Hailes, and Kaimes, and Gillies, and Macknight, and Robert Walker, and Henry M'Kenzie, who, though still alive, rank more properly with the distinguished men of a former age.

trines, and added their own views and discoveries to the mass of pre-existent learning. They, in fact, have been the chief agents in enlarging our country's science; and it is mainly, though not exclusively, to them that Scotland is indebted for her eminence and high estimation in the republic of letters. For the truth of this averment in regard to natural science, we may appeal to the works of Colin Maclaurin, and Robert Simson, and Matthew Stewart, and Wilson of Glasgow; and Dr Black, and Professor Robison, and the Monros, and Gregories, and Cullen and Playfair and Leslie of Edinburgh; and Hamilton of Aberdeen. And, in regard to moral and political science, we appeal to the writings of Hutcheson, and Adam Smith, and Reid, and Miller, and Campbell, and Beattie, and Dugald Stewart, and Tytler, and Ferguson, and Brown. We would, further, appropriate to the honour of our universities, the publications of Principal Robertson in history, and Dr Hill in theology, and Blair and Barron in taste and criticism, and Dr John Hunter of St Andrew's in classical learning, and the philosophy of grammar.* With one or two exceptions, all the authorship which we have now enumerated was of direct college fabrication; in the first instance, designed and executed for the class-room, till fitted, by successive rectifications, for presentation on a wider theatre. The colleges were the manufactories of

* Dr John Hill, and Professor Dalzell of Edinburgh; Professors Jardine and Young of Glasgow, though the last unfortunately has bequeathed little to posterity in the way of authorship, are worthy of a high place in the enumeration of Scottish Professors.

all this literature, which they never could have been, had professors been mere practical teachers; and hence, if, along with the expedients for giving that more practical character to the education of Scotland, which it certainly requires, something be not done to uphold the independence and the contemplative leisure of its professors, the nation may come to be shorn of its intellectual greatness.

28. Dr Smith, who appears, in his Wealth of Nations, to have erred so eggregiously in his economic views on the subject of literary and ecclesiastical endowments, gives, in the same work, some very sound and admirable observations, the results, we have no doubt, of his own professorial experience, on the effect of professorial work, in perfecting the views of a master, and enabling him at length to come forth with a mature and well digested course of lessons on his own peculiar subject, for the instruction of the public at large. It is thus that his own Theory of Moral Sentiments was ripened for publication; and it is thus that his still more enduring Theory of National Wealth was at least germinated, if not a great way advanced, at the time when he relinquished his academic situation. We cannot, indeed, imagine a more favourable condition for the formation of a great literary work that shall have solid and enduring excellence, than that which is occupied by an ardent and devoted professor, whose course, by means of reiterated elaborations, receives a slow, it may be, but withal a sure and progressive improvement. Only conceive him to be fully possessed with his subject, and giving the full strength of his mind to its elu-

cidation; and then, with the advantages of perseverance, and time, and frequent periodical reiteration of the topics of his lectureship, he is assuredly in the best possible circumstances for bequeathing to posterity some lasting memorial of industry or genius. It is by the remodellings and the revisals, every year, of his yet imperfect preparations; it is by strengthening what is weak, and further illustrating what is obscure, and fortifying some position or principle by a new argument, and aiding the conception of his disciples by some new image or new analogy; it is thus that the product of his official labours may annually acquire increasing excellence, and gradually approximate to a state of faultlessness, till at length it comes forth in a work of finished execution, and becomes a permanent addition to the classic and literary wealth of the nation. It is not so often by flashes of inspiration, as by power and patience united, that works are reared and ripened for immortality. It is not in the hasty effervescence of a mind under sudden and sanguine excitement, that a service so precious to society is generally rendered. It is when a strong, and, at the same time, a steadfast mind gives its collected energies to the task; and not only brings its own independent judgment, but laboriously collecting the lights of past erudition, brings them also to bear on the subject of its investigations; it is thus that treatises are written, and systems are framed, which eclipse the volumes of their predecessor, and, taking their place, become themselves the luminaries of future ages.

29. Such objects as these never can be carried

into effect without endowments. The leisure and independence of the men who wield these high services, must in some way or other be secured. This, indeed, is as good as conceded by Dr Smith himself, in the beautiful exposition which he gives of the comparative states of literature in England and Scotland.* In the former country, the church is better endowed than the universities, which, therefore, generally becomes the ultimate landing-place of her more eminent literary men, the line of preferment being in that direction. In the latter country, the universities were, in the days of Smith at least, better endowed than the church, which reversed the line of preferment, so that, in as far as patronage was associated with merit, the men of abilities who signalized themselves in Scotland, found their final destination to be among the employments of a college. In other words, there is a process for the absorption of talent going on in England—the occupier of an ecclesiastical office there, in so far as he is removed from the stimulus and the sympathies of academic converse, not being in such likely circumstances for literary exertion. A process, the opposite of this, is going on in Scotland—where the conspicuous talent of the church is more drawn to its universities; and so, in the midst of a congenial element, and amongst congenial duties, expands into greater power and productiveness, than in any other situation. It is thus that while more than half the literature of Scotland is professorial, it is a much smaller fraction, indeed, of the literature of England which is con-

* See Note C, Appendix.

tributed by those who are connected, by office or by employment, with either of its universities.

30. Now, from this fact, the inference deducible in favour of endowments is obvious. They contain in them that adhesive virtue, which both draws men of literary power to the places of literary employment, and detains them there. Were the value of our endowments lessened, the process of Scotland might be reversed into that of England. Or, were the endowments done away, and the remuneration of lofty science left to the payments of those who had a spontaneous demand for it, then all lofty science would depart from our universities; and the men who were most capable of sustaining the toils and advancing the honours of an arduous philosophy, would easily find a more liberal reward for the exercise of their talents, in some of the gainful walks of civil or secular employment. We have sometimes regretted, that it was in the power even of one of our most affluent noblemen, to tempt Dr Smith away from his professorship in Glasgow; or, if the injury which literature suffered, in consequence of this divorce, was more than compensated by the gain that accrued to economic science, from his opportunities of travel and observation on the continent, there is at least one, and that the last of his preferments, which must ever be deplored by the friends of philosophy. We allude to his appointment as a Commissioner of customs, which blasted one of his greatest literary undertakings. The public lost by this, his projected work on jurisprudence; and all they got in return was a service which hundreds could

have rendered as well as he, among the details and drudgeries of an official employment. We hold it to have been quite a gothic deed in our country, thus to fritter away the fine mental energies of one of the most accomplished of her sons, by setting him down with mere penmen or practitioners at a board. Surely it would have been better, if a provision, as ample as this incongruous situation afforded, could have been found for such a man within the asylum of a college, where, exempted from the fatigues and the vulgarities of ordinary business, and in the midst of a kindred society, he might have been upheld at a high pitch of literary effort and enthusiasm to the last.* He ought to have been sustained, to the end of his days, in the simple and venerable capacity of a sage; and that was a disgraceful economy, which rifled from him his intellectual leisure, and robbed the commonwealth of all those fruits, wherewith, in the mellowness and maturity of his wisdom, he might still further have enriched the authorship of his land.

31. Yet hostility to such endowments often assumes the garb of a generous and high-minded patriotism. This is an evil fruit, or rather one of the evil accompaniments, of our liberty. Its jea-

* We should feel no difficulty in assigning to the Principal of a College duties of such magnitude and importance, as might well be pleaded both for the prolongation of the office in each university, and for the ample endowment of it. But, even though it should still retain that character of a sinecure into which it has now lapsed for nearly half a century, we would still regret either the abolition of the office or the abridgment of its emoluments. It should form the natural reward of men distinguished by their literary services, and whose names might throw a splendour on the societies over which they preside. Scotland is far too scantily provided in such situations.

lousy, both of expense and of patronage, has given rise to a penurious system of encouragement for literary merit; and in the style of its rewards, when it does bestow them, we behold at times all the grossness of the mercantile spirit. It is because there is so much of the *a la bourgeoise* in the reigning policy of the land, that it gives no offence to the feelings even of our most refined and polished society, when told of Sir Isaac Newton having been Master and worker of the Mint, and Dr Smith Commissioner of Customs, and Henry Mackenzie being Comptroller of the Tax-Office, and Wordsworth an agent for stamps in the county of Westmoreland, and Dugald Stewart recorder of prices in the Edinburgh Gazette; and, lastly, Sir Walter Scott a clerk to the Court of Session. It is the dread of that popular odium which attaches to pensions and sinecures, that gives rise to such incongruous and untasteful combinations, and which, under the mask of purity and public virtue, has impressed a certain taint of sordidness and plebeian coarseness on this department of the country's affairs. At the same time, the real freedom and substantial prosperity of the inferior classes, are in no way promoted by it; and, in truth, it were a better tempered society, and would be conducive to the welfare of all its classes, if, by means of more amply rewarded talent, an aristocracy of letters could be upholden, by which to qualify and to soften the vulgar aristocracy of mere rank and power.

32. We have a continued historical illustration in favour of endowments, in the princely establish-

ments of England. Grant that neither of her universities has been so productive of learning as it might have been, yet, who can imagine for a moment, that, apart from benefactions, and under the fostering influences of the public demand and patronage alone, either the erudite and classic lore of the one illustrious seminary, or the profound science of the other, could ever have been realised. It is, indeed, highly instructive to mark the progress of these two great literary institutes. One cannot do so without being convinced, that, but for the liberalities of patriotism or piety, the education of the land never would have risen to its present altitude,—that, in no one instance, has their constantly growing scholarship been indebted, for any new addition, to the encouragement of an anterior demand, or market, for science, from without; but that it has originated in the emanating force of some additional endowment from within,* —that the learning which now wells out upon the nation from these venerable fountain-heads, did not arise at first in the shape of a previously required service by the country, and for which the country was willing to pay; but that it arose in

* The most recent example of this which we at present recollect, is the endowment of a class for Political Economy in Oxford. They might have waited for ever for a permanent establishment of this sort, had they waited till there was a sufficient extrinsic and effective demand for the lessons of the science, to ensure its being supported by fees alone. But now that these lessons are obtruded on the notice of the young men attending that University, who does not see that, on the appointment of an able lecturer, there is the certainty of a large amount of education in this important branch of knowledge? We should rejoice to see distinct lectureships on Political Economy instituted and provided for in each of the Scottish Universities.

the shape of a gift, which had to be pressed for acceptance on the country, and which had to be urged perseveringly, and against the opposition of many moral and many natural difficulties, ere the country would be prevailed on to accept it. It is, in truth, the history of a perpetual struggle on the part of a few lofty and large-hearted men,* with the mental apathy and indolence which naturally, and, but for appliances from without, lord it over the great bulk of our species. It is only through the force of aggressive movements, and by dint of successive advances, that the cause of learning has gained, on an otherwise passive or reluctant public; or that they have laboriously and at length been nurtured into their present habits of education. Teachers had not only to be paid by endowments for their lessons; but students had to be paid, or bribed, for their attendance. There was a real practical necessity for all this forcing and fostering. The fellowships and bursaries, or scholarships, of the English colleges, have not been thrown away. They have, upon the whole, fulfilled their destination,—and to them we owe a loftier science, a far more lettered and refined society, than ever would have spontaneously arisen out of the barbarism of past generations.

33. We cannot conclude this passing notice of the Universities of England, without the mention of how much they are ennobled by those great master-spirits, those men of might and of high achievement,—the Newtons, and the Miltons, and the Drydens, and the Barrows, and the Addisons,

* See Note D, Appendix.

and the Butlers, and the Clarkes, and the Stillingfleets, and the Ushers, and the Foxes, and the Pitts, and Johnsons, who, within their attic retreats, received that first awakening, which afterwards expanded into the aspirations and the triumphs of loftiest genius. This is the true heraldry of colleges. Their family honour is built on the prowess of sons, not on the greatness of ancestors; and we will venture to say, that there are no seminaries in Europe on which there sits a greater weight of accumulated glory, than that which has been reflected, both on Oxford and Cambridge, by that long and bright train of descendants who have sprung from them. It is impossible to make even the bare perusal of their names* without the feeling, that there has been summoned before the eye of the mind, the panorama of all that has upheld the lustre, whether of England's philosophy, or of England's patriotism, for centuries together. We have often thought what a meagre and stinted literature we should have had without them; and what, but for the two universities, would have been the present state of science or theology in England. These rich seminaries have been the direct and the powerful organs for the elaboration of both; and both would rapidly decline, as if languishing under the want of their needful aliment, were the endowments of colleges swept away. It were a truly gothic spoliation; and the Rule of that political economy, which could seize upon their revenues, would be, in effect, as hostile to the cause of sound and elevated learning in Britain,

* See Note E, Appendix.

as would be the Rule of that popular violence which could make havoc of their architecture, and savagely exult over the ruin of their libraries and halls.

34. There is much to be learned upon this subject from the failure of many sectarian academies in England.* The dissenters of that kingdom have made the richest contributions to the cause of vital Christianity, by the publication of an immensity of practical works, replete both with piety and experimental wisdom. We are not, indeed, acquainted with any department of authorship, where so much of this precious treasure is to be found as in the writings of the Nonconformists. Yet it is not to be disguised, that, with all their powerful appeals to conscience, there is not among them that full and firm staple of erudition which is to be found among the divines of the establishment, to whom, after all, the theological literature of our land is chiefly beholden.† To them we are, in the main, indebted for a species of literature, which in no country of Europe is carried to such a height as among ourselves. We allude to the part which

* We trust that the strenuous exertions which have recently been made in favour of the Homerton and Highbury Colleges, will lead to the secure and permanent establishment of these excellent institutions. This, however, will require, I should imagine, a perseverance of liberality from year to year, on the part of contributors, whose annual subscriptions perform in fact the part of an endowment.

† But we must not here forget the lasting obligations which Lardner has conferred on the world, by those erudite and laborious researches which have been of so much benefit to the Christian argument. It must, at the same time, be remarked, that the most conspicuous of the early Nonconformists belonged originally to the Church, and had the benefit of University Education.

they have sustained in the deistical controversy, and to the masterly treatises wherein they have so thoroughly scrutinized and set forth the Christian argument. But it is not in the war with infidelity alone that they have signalized themselves. A bare recital of the names associated with Oxford and Cambridge would further convince us, that, from these mighty strongholds have issued our most redoubted champions of orthodoxy; and that the church of which they are the feeders and the fountain-heads, has, of all others, stood the foremost, and wielded the mightiest polemic arm in the battles of the faith.

35. Upon the whole, then, the great argument for literary endowments is founded on the want, or the weakness of the natural appetency for literature in our species. There is not that spontaneous demand for it, which would be effective to the bringing forth of an adequate supply; and the higher the literature is, the more is it placed above the reach of any such effective demand. This is not a subject on which we can with safety wait for mankind,—but a subject on which mankind need to be assailed with offers, or which they must be beckoned to approach by all the signals and facilities of invitation. The importunity is not, as in many other things, on the side of the customers who receive, but the importunity must be on the side of the sellers or the providers, who bestow. Rather than want the articles of ordinary merchandise, men will give a price for them above their prime cost, so as to afford a profit. But science is not one of these articles, and will infallibly lan-

guish and be neglected, unless it is pressed on the acceptance of men at a price greatly below prime cost; and the purpose of endowments is to make up the difference. The operation of these is exemplified in miniature, when a munificent patron of literature or the arts aids the publication of those massy and expensive folios, for which the demand is so limited, that all the money given by purchasers would amount to but a fraction of the cost. It is to his largess that the world is indebted for all the delight or instruction which this publication affords. So is it, likewise, with the expense of an educational apparatus; and, more especially, when the education is of a lofty scientific character. The scholars do not yield the full remuneration; and, but for the benefactor, there would have been no such scholarship.

36. It is mainly by the same argument that we would vindicate the policy of ecclesiastical endowments. The necessity for the one is founded on the natural want or weakness of the literary appetite; and the necessity for the other is founded on the natural want or weakness of the spiritual appetite. But we are sensible that each requires its own peculiar modifications, and these we shall separately discuss in the two following chapters. We shall attempt, first, a more special application of the argument to the Endowment of Colleges; and, afterwards, an application of the same general argument to the Endowment of Churches.

CHAPTER II.

More special application of the argument to Colleges.

1. In the days of our forefathers, the difficulty, both in Scotland and England, was to obtain a sufficient number of persons qualified for undertaking the duties of the pastoral charge. The number of vacant parishes greatly exceeded the number of competent and well-educated labourers who might fill them. This scarcity, in fact, was one great impellent cause of the multiplication of colleges—where, by salaries for teachers, on the one hand, and bursaries for the taught, on the other, learning was made more easily accessible; and so a much greater number were allured to the scholarship requisite for the office of a Christian instructor. The necessity for such an artificial encouragement as this, is in itself a strong argument for literary endowments. Without this, we have reason to think, either that the land might have languished under the paucity of its ecclesiastical ministrations; or that Christianity, represented, and feebly represented, by an ignorant and unlettered priesthood, might have been lorded over by an infidel philosophy, and left open to the contempt of general society.

2. It is evident, that the higher the preliminary education for the church was made, the greater must have been the need of endowments; and that, not merely for providing an adequate remuneration

to the masters, but by immunities of various sorts attached to them, to induce students to attend in sufficient numbers, notwithstanding the larger amount of fees, and the more lengthened periods of study to which this higher scholarship subjected them. At one time, in Scotland, all the existing encouragements, whether in the shape of bursaries, or honoraries, or gratuitous lodgings, failed to attract so many students as might suffice for the supply of parishes. This is the reason why a constant attendance on the Divinity Hall was dispensed with, and why so many sessions of occasional attendance were sustained, as a sufficient preparatory course for entering upon holy orders. It facilitated the approach of entrants into the ministry; but it did so, by abridging the studies and the sacrifices which they had to make, for the purpose of obtaining the required qualifications. The important thing to be noted here, is the connexion that subsists between the character, whether more or less arduous, of the education in colleges, and the consequently smaller or larger number of our clerical aspirants. It is evident, that the longer and more laborious the curriculum is, the fewer will be found to have described it; and conversely. This furnishes a palpable index by which we may judge of the changes that might be made on the state of our academic education. The time has been, when the church, straitened in respect to the number of her licentiates, and at a loss for the supply of her vacant parishes, was forced to let down her requisitions, and, in that proportion, to degrade the scholarship of her clergy.

Does not the reverse condition, in which we now are, both permit and justify a reverse process? Might not the fact of a great yearly overplus of probationers, emanating from our colleges upon the ecclesiastical profession, warrant the institution of a more arduous and more expensive course? It would diminish, it is true, the number of our licentiates; but then there is ample room for the diminution. And might not this be turned to the precious account of ordaining a still more laborious preparation for the church, whereby to secure, even for Scotland, the inestimable benefit of a still more lettered and accomplished clergy?

3. It is not our business to theorise on the reasons of that change which has taken place in regard to the number of those who are at present studying for the sacred profession; and whereby there is now an excess, as before there was a deficiency, of licentiates or probationers in our church. It is due, in part, to the augmentation of the church livings, without a proportionate increase in the expense of college education; and also, in part, to a certain influence connected with the progress of wealth in a country. As society advances, profits decline, and people, in consequence, embark the same money on any given speculation, with the prospect of an inferior return. It would be in the face of all experimental wisdom to deny the reality of this influence, even in the business of embarking money on the education of a family. In Scotland, the sum of £200 will be advanced now, for the sake of a smaller return than it would have been a century ago; and, ac-

cordingly, if that sum had then been, and still were, the expense of education for any of the learned professions, we should have expected, on that single account, a more crowded attendance at our various universities, even though the pecuniary income in any of the professions had been stationary. The effect, then, must be greatly enhanced, if the outgivings at college bear a smaller proportion now than they did formerly to the earnings whether of the medical profession, or of the law, or of the church. Certain it is, that, in reference to the last of these three professions, the proportion is now utterly reversed between the offices to be filled, and the candidates for these offices. Formerly the vacancies greatly outnumbered the labourers capable of supplying them; and now the labourers greatly outnumber the vacancies. In the Scottish Establishment, there should be somewhat short of thirty nominations to churches in the year,—constituting a demand for licentiates which would be most amply supplied by 200 students of divinity. But three years ago, there was upwards of 700. The profession is greatly overstocked; and so, in fact, are the other two professions of medicine and law,—a state of matters, we repeat, available to the important object of raising the scholarship of them all.

4. It is not for the purpose of reducing the number of competitors that we would beset the entry to the learned professions with additional difficulties. But the present excess of those competitors proves with what safety such difficulties may be imposed. Nor would we impose them for their

own sake. The toil and the cost of a more lengthened and laborious attendance at our universities are not desirable in themselves; but the more comprehensive and profounder scholarship to which they are subservient, is highly desirable; and, to the attainment of this object, the present state of matters is convertible. As formerly, we were obliged to let down the system of education, for the purpose of drawing more students to college; so, now that we can afford to have greatly fewer students, we may raise that system. The standard of preparation was lowered when the circumstances of the country required such a facility for the due supply of the learned professions; but now that the facility is such as vastly to have overdone the supply, this is the intimation to us how much the standard of preparation admits of being elevated.

5. The great yearly overplus of students, in Scotland, is a valuable fact, because it at once suggests the expedient by which to reform all that is most objectionable in the peculiarities of our Scottish education, and demonstrates the practicability of that reform.

6. The radical error of our system lies in the too early admittance of our youth to universities. Generally speaking, whether we look to their age or to their acquisitions, they are too soon translated from the pedagogy of a school to the more liberal discipline of a college. The change wanted (and on it every other desirable improvement could be easily suspended,) is, that a far higher than their present average scholarship should be exacted from them ere they are admissible as stu-

dents. As it is, we pass a great deal too early from the treatment of them as boys, to the treatment of them as men. In the majority of cases, they take their departure from the grammar school, without even the first elements of Greek, and without being able to translate extemporaneously the easiest of our Latin authors. It would be well, we repeat, if, ere they could be received into a college *for any professional* object, they had a far higher practical acquaintance with both languages; and if, by their tried and ascertained expertness in the work of translation, they should evince both that they have a large command of vocables, and that they are thoroughly grounded in syntax and grammar. But, for this purpose, it seems absolutely indispensable that the period of their boyhood, with its appropriate drudgeries, should be considerably extended. They should be kept at least two or three years longer at drill; whereas at present they are handed over to the professor, before the schoolmaster has finished his work upon them; and, by the existing methods of our university tuition, the one is in the worst possible circumstances for executing what the other has left undone. All the vigour and vigilance that can possibly be put forth from the academic chair never will replace the incessant task-work, the close and daily examinations of the school-room. What should be done is, that, ere the university course shall commence, the scholastic course, instead of being cut short, as it now is, should be allowed to attain its proper and adequate completion. It is assuredly in the rudimental

part of education that we are defective; and it is in this that we are so much excelled by our southern neighbours. We are weak, throughout, because weak radically. A failure at the root is sure to be indicated by a general sickliness—a lack of strength and stamina, even in spite of that gay and gorgeous efflorescence which disguises the frailty that is underneath. The characteristic freedom, exuberance, and activity of our college system, we hope will remain unchecked and untrammelled; but, certain it is, that these would yield a produce far more enduring, were they grafted on the deep and well-laid foundation of English scholarship.

7. At Berlin, there are institutions termed Gymnasia, of intermediate rank, in point of education between our high-schools and colleges, and through which the students have to pass in their way to that higher order of education which they receive from the faculty professors. In England, too, young men receive a far higher preparation for the university, at the public schools. Now, the thing wanted for Scotland is just some apparatus of equivalent power either to the gymnasia of Prussia, or to the public schools of England; for, unquestionably, the great defect of our system is, that our youth, by quitting too soon the school-boy for the student, have not had such thorough exercise and training as is desirable in what we again term the gymnastics of education.

8. There are two simple expedients, by either of which we think that this defect might be remedied.

9. The first is the institution of a more extended grammar-school system in each of our university towns. In so far as the Latin is concerned, this could be provided for by the appointment of more classes, with masters who might carry the scholars higher, by several steps, than they now attain in their acquaintance with that tongue. And we should, further, hold a Greek master to be indispensable in each of these seminaries, who might supersede altogether what is called the first or public class of Greek in our colleges;* and who would certainly be in far better circumstances than a professor for conducting all the initiatory processes in the acquisition of the language.

10. Or, what we should consider as a still better arrangement, would be the institution of a Greek and Latin tutorship in each university, forming an intermediate passage from our schools to our colleges, and at which the learner should be detained till he become a fit subject for the higher treatment of a professional course. This would be tantamount to the gymnasium attached to certain universities of the continent. Its terms or sessions might be extended beyond those of the higher classes; and its teachers, though of distinct rank and employment from the professors, should, in reference both to themselves, and their offices, be regarded as essentially belonging to the university.

11. By the help of one or other of these contri-

* Or rather, the present work of the first Greek class, which might then be appropriated to the present work of the senior class, and so permit a far higher advancement of our students in Greek language and literature.

vances, we think that the chief objections to our present Scottish mode of education might be obviated. To prevent the inconvenience of having students either so juvenile or so untaught as those to whom we are often exposed at present, we have heard it proposed that they should not be admissible to college under a certain specified age. It would, however, be a better regulation, that they should not be admissible under a certain specified amount of scholarship. The question of their admissibility should be decided, not by their years, but by their acquirements; or by certain definite tests of proficiency which they should be made to undergo in a strict public examination; such, for example, as the execution of certain prescribed versions; the translation of the easier Latin authors *ad aperturam libri;* the translation of assigned passages in some of the more difficult Latin, and easier Greek authors, with a certain allowance of time for preparation; and, above all, a correct acquaintance with the syntax and grammar of the one language, and such an acquaintance with the other as might be expected from the study of it for at least one, and perhaps two years. At Glasgow, the students, at the commencement of their second, third, and fourth years, are examined on the subjects of their previous education, that their fitness for an ulterior scholarship may be ascertained, ere they are permitted to pass onward in the course. Now, what I should propose is a great initial examination of students at the outset of their university career, or at the commencement of their first session, and that as an indispensable

preliminary to their becoming collegians at all. It is on the degree of performance or proficiency executed upon this occasion that the whole of the proposed reformation turns. I should fix a very high standard; and, whenever the youthful aspirant fell short of it, there would be either a grammar-school in the university town, or a gymnasium in the university itself, where he could obtain the requisite preparation.

12. But I would not that his attendance either on the one or the other of these institutions were deemed indispensable. His admissibility as a regular student should be made to depend, not on the previous schools which he has attended, but on the previous scholarship which he has acquired. And let him get this scholarship wherever he can find it. It would be well if our provincial schools became so efficient, and the classical teachers at the head of them were so accomplished, as to meet the demand of the new system for higher acquisitions on the part of college entrants. They will not, for a long time, supersede the advantage either of a gymnasium or a completely equipped grammar-school at each university seat. But there cannot be imagined a distinction more honourable for any school in the country, than to send up young men to the university, who can stand the arduous initial examination for which it is the office of the gymnasium to prepare them. By this simple device, there might be a wholesome rivalship set agoing, that would give an impulse to elementary or scholastic education all over the land. The ambition, in many towns, and perhaps even in some country

parishes, would be to qualify their own scholars for immediate admission into the faculty classes. And thus as the fruit of the arrangement which we have ventured to recommend, there would be the almost instant elevation of every college entrant to a far higher grade of scholarship than is now usual; and there would be eventually, in accommodation to this, a far higher style of education in the provincial seminaries of Scotland.*

13. But it is obvious that the whole improvement hangs on the fidelity and strictness with which the initial examination of students is conducted. If once laxity in these respects be admitted, the gymnasium will become a mere piece of useless frame-work; and like many other seemly contrivances of man, be struck with impotency by the faulty administration of it. To secure the faithfulness, then, of the examination, men of rival and opposite interests should be admitted to a voice in it. The tutors of the gymnasium, whose classes might receive augmentation from the number of defeated candidates, should have a seat in the board of examinators. Even eminent school-masters from the country, might be invited to assist at this grave and formidable trial. And this very attention should be conferred on the one side, and would be felt on the other, as a flattering reward for the assiduity and success wherewith these meritorious men had, in their respective nurseries of scholarship, raised so many into a fit state for being transplanted into the higher field of a university. It would, further, be well, if, on the occasion

* See Note F, Appendix.

of this great anniversary, the colleges sent corresponding members to each other, even as the synods of the church do. For there is an interest which each college has in admitting with greater facility than the others, and against which a check ought to be provided. But far the most precious fruit of this attendant publicity, and pomp and circumstance, would be the stimulus that it should give to all the seminaries where the preparatory education was carried on; and the high feats of prowess in scholarship to which it should urge every youthful aspirant in the prospect of that exhibition which was before him. It would be no small advantage, that it marked the strength of that barrier which had to be forced ere the entry was made on a higher education. The greater the appearance which the wall of separation between schools and colleges made in the public eye, the more strenuous would be the preparation in the lower, and the more sustained and lofty, it is hoped, would be the state of the scholarship in the higher seminaries.

14. We prefer a gymnasium in the university to an extended grammar-school in the university town; and in the gymnasium we should like also a mathematical tutor, as well as a Greek and a Latin one, in order to repair our great inferiority in mathematical science to the nations of the continent. It is desirable, we think, that, previous to their first year at college, students should acquire all that they now learn at the professor's first mathematical class. Suppose that they have mastered the first six books of Euclid, with plane trigonometry, and algebra up to quadratic equations,

before entering the class of the faculty professor of mathematics, this would enable him to carry them to such heights of science, as, under the present system, are completely unattainable during the season of attendance at the university. Were this arrangement adopted, there behoved, of course, at the great initiatory trial of college entrants, to be a mathematical as well as a classical examination.

15. The expense of such an institution might not go beyond £300 a-year for each university. In the smaller universities, one tutor would probably suffice for each of the departments, and the annual salary required for each might not exceed £100. In the larger universities, a greater number of tutors might be required, but their smaller salaries would be greatly more than compensated by the fees of their larger attendance.*

16. They only, however, who propose to study for one or other of the learned professions, should be subject to the examination in question. All the classes should be as open as they are now, to the general public; and any new regulation connected with a gymnasium, or qualifications to be ascertained by an initiatory trial, should be confined to the students of law, medicine, and theology. The ultimate object of such a guardianship as that proposed should be, to elevate the learned

* The very high state of education, both in the High School of Edinburgh and at the New Academy, would of course lessen the demand for instruction in a gymnasium there, though we do not think that it should supersede the institution of one, unless the masters of these seminaries were admitted to and had a voice at the initial examination.

professions, and not to intercept the approaches to college of those who resort to it purely for the sake of instruction, and without any professional view. It is enough that for the aspirants to any learned profession, the examination at entry on the studies which qualify for it, should be held indispensable; and that the certificate of having passed this examination should be required along with the certificates of attendance on the prescribed classes. In this way, literature is as freely dispensed as before to those with whom literature is the sole object; while lawyers, physicians, and clergymen are restricted to that course which secures for them a higher education, and so secures for the land still more accomplished functionaries than before.

17. It is obvious, that under the proposed arrangement, there would, for a time at least, be fewer students than at present: and that, because of the more lengthened and expensive course which they should have to undergo. A higher preparatory education, whether at the gymnasium or at schools, might, in the case of theological students, be tantamount to a prolongation of their attendance at college of from eight to ten years. This behoved to operate as a check upon their numbers; and it is well that so large a reduction of numbers can be afforded without at all hazarding the adequate supply of church vacancies. The existing overplus of students of divinity is often spoken of with regret. But it will become a matter of gratulation, when turned to a purpose so valuable as that of refining and raising to a still

higher point of elevation, both the general and the professional literature of clergymen.

18. But with fewer students, and no increase either of fees or salaries, the professors would sustain a reduction of their income. This seems to furnish an irresistible argument in behalf, not only of our existing, but even of larger endowments. Are the teachers to descend to a lower status; and that by the very arrangement of which the main purpose is to elevate the taught to a higher scholarship? No way appears to us of rightly adjusting any scheme for a more arduous university course, that does not enhance the necessity for endowments. We shall in vain look for this improvement as the fruit of a spontaneous demand by the public for a higher education. This higher education must be made imperative, by a statute of apprenticeship; and whenever it is so, there will be, for a time at least, a diminished attendance upon colleges. It is to compensate this, that there ought to be an increase of revenue provided for professors from some source or other,—from salaries or fees. The process is analogous to that which we have conceived for parish schools (chap. i. 14, 15.)

19. It is farther obvious, that, by exacting from students at their entry upon college, higher initial qualifications than they have at present, we elevate the work not merely of the language professors, but of all the professors of all the sciences. They would have to deal with more advanced pupils in each of the classes. They would have to accommodate the style of their tuition to understandings

more on the eve of manhood. They would have to prepare a more substantial repast for the hardier and more exercised intellects of those who listened to them. There is great discomfort to a public instructor when haunted by the suspicion that he is above the level of those whom he addresses. But the discomfort is far more painful, when humbled by the opposite suspicion that he is beneath that level. It is thus that a higher set of pupils act by a sort of moral compulsion on the professor in raising the whole tone and character of his preparations; and he is tempted to higher walks than before by the feeling that now he will be followed by the intelligent sympathy of those with whom he can safely hold more lofty and scientific converse. Under this arrangement, the reproach which has been cast on our Scottish universities, of dealing in metaphysics and all other sorts of adventurous speculation with boys of fifteen, would in time be wiped away. When once our classes were furnished with students both more advanced in age and more elevated in acquirements, this incongruity would no longer exist. It would be competent for a professor to conduct such students to the very altitudes of his subject; and thus to accomplish that two-fold service which Scottish professors have often rendered, who, while engaged in the work of original preparation for the class-room, have, at the same time, pushed forward the limits of discovery in their respective sciences.

20. There ought to be a distinction observed between the work of a professor and that of a schoolmaster; and the proposed gymnasium may

be regarded as marking the transition space, or as a broad line of demarcation between them. At the admission of our young men to college, the pedagogical treatment should give way to the professorial; and the wide difference between these two should be felt even in those languages, the study of which is prosecuted for at least two years in the greater number of our universities. This difference, we think, might be illustrated by a comparison between the work of him who, in the reading of a Greek or Latin author, is obliged to have frequent recourse to his grammar and dictionary; and the work of him who, able to translate without the necessity of constant appeal to these, can now discriminate the peculiarities of the writer, and feel the force and beauty of his expressions, and appreciate the sentiments which he utters, and treasure up the information which he affords. The business of a schoolmaster is to superintend the former of these two works. The business of a professor is to superintend the latter of them. There must of course be a good deal of translation performed before the professor; and this of itself will help both to keep up and to extend the practical acquaintance of his students with the language which he teaches. But with their now fuller command of its vocables, and their now greater intimacy with its syntax and structure, he will have more time and liberty for his own proper office, which is to point out the niceties of its idiom and dialect,—to trace the law of its various metrical constructions,—to mark the characteristics and the felicities of its different writers,—to

exercise the taste and discernment of his pupils on the eloquence and poetry of the ancients,—to illustrate the passages which are read in the class-room by a reference to the history, customs, and localities of Greece or Rome,—and to unfold the philosophy of grammar, whereby the phenomena of speech are examined in connexion with the laws and the processes of human thought.* To guide, in short, his disciples along the higher walks of literature and refined criticism, constitutes the proper business of a professor; and in the prosecution of this object, care should be taken that much translation be gone through, and many versions executed. In the examination of these last, again, it is the part of the schoolmaster to attend to the fidelity of the rendering; but it should be that of the professor to attend both to its fidelity and its elegance.

21. But if, even in the teaching of languages, there is room for the distinction between a pedagogical and a professorial treatment of this work, much more does the distinction admit of being verified in the teaching of the sciences. At the outset of a mathematical course of study, it seems advisable that each student should be tasked, and tried with every demonstration in the plane geo-

* It is much to be desired, that Dr John Hunter of St Andrews, who stands unrivalled in this high walk of investigation, would favour the world with those original views, which, for upwards of half-a-century, he has been in the habit of delivering from the chair. As specimens of his characteristic excellence, the reader may consult the notes to his editions of various classics, his treatise on the Tenses of the Latin Verb, appended to his edition of Ruddiman's Rudiments, and his Essay on the Greek δε, &c. published in the Philosophical Transactions of Edinburgh.

metry of Euclid, and made to resolve a variety of examples in all the cases of plane trigonometry. But it is not therefore necessary, or even desirable, that he should be followed thus closely, through the subsequent and more advanced stages of the science. Let us suppose him to have been thoroughly schooled and exercised in the elementary mathematics, and that then, with higher preparation, and a more mature understanding than at present, he passes onward to the collegiate method of studying this branch of education, which obtains in Scotland. He might be one in a class of fifty, or even of a hundred, and yet make substantial progress notwithstanding. He cannot, it is true, be examined on every demonstration; yet he must prepare for the chance of being examined on it, for he knows not but that he may be named for that purpose. After having undergone all the previous gymnastics through which we suppose him to have passed, he is fit surely for reading intelligently over by himself a treatise on conic sections. Much more might he follow intelligently the lucrubrations of a master who demonstrates and explains every proposition, and who has every demonstration repeated to him by one or other of the students. That he may be the student called upon, operates as a stimulus both to his attention in the class-room, and to his busy preparation out of doors. Add to this, the prescribed exercises which he may be frequently required to perform, and which in no instance can escape the observation of the professor, who, it may be farther observed, will find no difficulty in giving to each

student his relative place in the scale of merit and estimation. The pupils of a college-class in Scotland, are not acted upon by that compulsion which is proper to boys; but they may be fully acted upon by that higher and more generous compulsion which is proper to young men. The great thing to be desired for giving effect to our system, is, that they shall have enough out-grown their boyhood, and have approached sufficiently near to manhood, before the higher studies are entered upon. After which there is every security for their making a sound progress in these studies, inasmuch as that all who will to make that progress may make it: and, in fact, it is quite practicable, by exercises and examinations together, to bring the talent and proficiency of each fully out both to the view of the professor and of his class. The merits of not one of the students need remain unknown. The able and attentive may have the opportunity of signalising themselves throughout the session by their masterly appearances, whether in oral or written demonstrations. Even they to whom mathematics are a drudgery, have all the impulse to exertion, which lies in the approbation of their teacher, and the awarded respect of their fellow-students.* Certain, too, it is, that they who have come forth from the gymnasium smitten

* In the English colleges, there is great efficacy ascribed to their prizes. In our own colleges, all that is needed is an hour for examination in each class,—and numerously attended as many of them are, there would be presented at least the weekly, if not daily opportunity of such distinguished exhibitions, on the part of the ablest students, as should carry in them all the moral efficacy of a prize.

with a taste for the sciences, and endowed with an intellect which triumphs in the difficulties with which it has to contend, and is regaled with its success in surmounting them, might follow their professor, without the failure of a single step, to the very highest of his lessons, even though he should carry them to the utmost verge of our present discoveries.

22. They who conceive of the Scotch university system as hollow and inefficient throughout, overlook the distinction between that treatment which is right for boys, and that which is right for men. Surely if a full-grown man may, in virtue of his present maturity and previously acquired scholarship, read with perfect intelligence the most arduous book in mathematics or morals, though altogether left to himself,—then, the nearer a learner is to this maturity and manhood, the more independent he is of aid and superintendence on the part of a living master. He may acquire this aid to a certain degree, just as he might require the help of a commentary to throw light on some difficult text. But just as the commentary should be more or less copious, according to the various ages or acquirements of the reader, so ought the expositions of the teacher to be more or less full, and the examinations to be more or less frequent, according to the advancement of his pupils. There is in this matter a keeping between the age and the regimen,—a time when the puerile discipline may be relaxed with safety and advantage, before it is given up altogether. There is as much one educational treatment for a youth of twenty, and

another for a boy of fifteen, as there is one treatment for a boy of ten years of age, and another for a child of five. Because the class-room of an English tutor, with its perpetual task-work, and its close over-hanging vigilance, is the best adapted for youth of a lower age; it follows not that the lecture-room of a Scotch professor, even though the practicks of education obtain there in a far less degree, is not the best adapted for youth of a higher age. Our great error is, that we admit students too soon into the lecture-room,—not that our university system is not the best, which can be made to bear on a certain period in the growth and development of the human intellect, but that we make it to bear on a wrong period, on a period immature for the application of it. But the way to amend this is to alter the period, and not to overturn the system,—not to sink the collegiate into the scholastic, but, preserving them distinct, to take care that the scholastic course shall be thoroughly described, before the collegiate course is entered upon.

23. Nevertheless we most willingly allow that we are deficient in the practicks of education. We would have these admitted more largely even into our highest classes. Not that we would give up the hour which at present is devoted almost exclusively to the lecture of the professor; but it would be an improvement, if in each class there was another hour for examinations and exercises. With this supplement, the Scottish system should remain untouched; and professors should be left as heretofore to their own independent views, and their own original style of treatment and preparation in

all the sciences;—not tied down to the order and the lessons of an antiquated text-book,* but at liberty to change their instructions with the light and spirit of the age, and themselves in the advanced position of men who, after having traversed all the doctrines of our existent philosophy, can both enrich it and widen its domain by discoveries and doctrines of their own.

24. It would be no subversion of this professorial method of teaching, but an improvement of it, to superadd the stimulus of a great public examination at the end of each session, in every way as sifting and severe as those which are held in the English universities, at the dispensation of honours, and affording the same tests of high proficiency in the various sciences as are required at our sister institutions in mathematics and the ancient languages. We maintain, that, by our peculiar methods, students can be effectually prepared for such a trial; and that, from the lecture-rooms of our Scottish professors, there might issue youths as thoroughly accomplished in the principles of the ethical and intellectual philosophy, in political economy, and the various branches of a theological education, as if they had been made to undergo that more elaborate distillation which is imaged to take place in the tutor's class-rooms of Oxford and Cambridge.

25. There is doubtless a certain style of close and almost compulsory tuition by which every doctrine of a text-book might be infused into the scholar's mind, and which can be better accom-

* See Note G, Appendix.

plished by a Fellow, in his chamber, with a few pupils, than by a Professor, in his lecture-room, with many. But then, however needed by boys, it is not needed by young men who have out-grown their boyhood. For example, a class might thus be most minutely and thoroughly lessoned in every chapter and paragraph of Paley's Moral Philosophy: and yet we are confident that, by the ordinary collegiate methods of Scotland, and more especially if an hour of examination were superadded to the hour of lecturing, a tenfold greater number of youths could not only be instructed, but soundly instructed, and that within half-a-year, not in the doctrines of this book only, but in all the doctrines of any worth or prominency which are to be found in the most distinguished works on ethical science. In that space of time, the professor could take a wide compass over the whole literature of his subject; and he could deliver with fulness and effect all the truths of permanent importance which have been expounded by our best writers, from Bacon and Butler, to Brown and Dugald Stewart of our own day; and he could make full exposure of the scepticism and the infidel sophistries by which the orthodox system of morals has been assailed; and he could sit in judgment on all his predecessors; and without either trampling on that which is precious, or going wildly astray after the novelties of wayward speculation, he could nevertheless cast the science in the mould of his own understanding, and transmute it into his own language, and throw all the freshness of an original interest over the lessons of his course; and

with these lessons he could thoroughly imbue the great majority of his pupils, traversing along with them the whole length and breadth of his department, and giving them we are sure a far greater amount of instruction than they ever could acquire by conning over the dicta of any single author in the pages of an established text-book. For giving effect to this high professorial mode of teaching, all that we require is a sufficient age for our pupils. This is the great reformation wanted; and not that we should exchange the methods of Smith, and Stewart, and Playfair, and Jardine, and Black, for the mere pedagogy of the English colleges.

26. It is just because the preparatory schooling is so complete in England, that there the pedagogical method admits of being relaxed in the universities; and our professorial method might with all the more safety be substituted in its room. And it is just because our preparatory schooling is so very deficient, that the professorial style of instruction wherewith it is instantly followed up, lies open to the charge of being so very preposterous and premature. There is thus a perversity in each of the two systems; and it would not be the way to amend either of them that it should be run entirely into the other. The danger to be apprehended is, lest in the work of amelioration which has begun with the colleges of Scotland, it should be proposed to sink the business of a professor into that of a schoolmaster; whereas the only right way of proceeding would be to provide that the schoolmaster finish his work, ere the higher task of the professor shall be entered upon. We trust

that the main characteristics of our Scottish system, instead of being subverted, will be kept inviolate; and that our professorial method of tuition will not be done away, but only provided with a good basis of English pedagogy.

27. This being provided, we are satisfied that our Scottish system might be compared most advantageously with the system which obtains in the universities of England. There we behold the strictly scholastic method kept up often beyond the age of majority, in the two departments of mathematics and the classics. And the main strength of teachers and pupils being thus centered upon one or two subjects, there arises, as we might expect, the natural consequence of a greater amount of high proficiency in these, than is generally to be found in the seminaries which have adopted a more comprehensive scheme of education. Yet, we cannot for a moment doubt, that, from the latter seminaries, if under the conduct of able professors in all the sciences, a far greater produce of usefulness might be thrown off upon society. All that is wanted for this is the exaction of higher qualifications at the outset of the university career; that the faculties of our students may be enough expanded for the lessons of a sublime or arduous philosophy; and that, although beyond the coercion which would absolutely force a daily preparation for each, there may, from the single circumstance of their age, be a sufficient guarantee, in the power of manly and liberal inducements alone, for at least a large proportion of them in every class entering fully and vigorously into the

spirit and studies of the course. To us it is inconceivable how accomplished linguists, and mathematicians, and economists, and moralists, and theologians, and chemists, and naturalists, can fail of being formed under an arrangement like this; or wherein lies the mysterious inaptitude of such an apparatus, for the effective conveyance of full and substantial instruction in all the branches of science and literature. It will therefore scarcely admit of a question, by which of the two systems of education a greater service is rendered to the community,—whether by universities that send forth many of their sons thoroughly schooled in mathematics and the ancient languages, but in these two branches of education alone; or by universities that send forth fewer so well accomplished in these, but that make up for this defect by sending forth a few who have made eminent proficiency in each of the sciences, and many besides, who, though not beyond a respectable mediocrity in any of the separate departments of human knowledge, yet, in the description of their college course, have acquired a general intellectual cultivation, which is thereby largely diffused throughout the higher and middle classes of society.

28. The comparison between the two systems may be made thus. Only the few, by dint of surpassing strength and genius, are fitted to extend the boundaries of any of the sciences. The many never realise this glory; and yet they receive incalculable good from studies in which they make considerable advances, although immeasurably dis-

tanced therein by those of colossal mind, who are destined to out-peer all their fellows, and to be the luminaries of their age. To receive benefit from a science, it is not necessary that one should attain the station of a master or a discoverer. There is a scholarship far short of this, which may so grace and inform the mind as to be of inestimable worth to its possessor. We even think that the spread of this more moderate proficiency among hundreds, is of greater use and importance to society than would be the elevation of half-a-dozen to superlative rank and accomplishment in learning. But both are best; and we most willingly admit that it would be a serious deduction from the usefulness of a college, if it failed in either one or other of these services.

29. By this distinction between the few highly eminent, and the many merely respectable scholars, we shall be the better enabled to set the English and Scottish university modes of education fairly against each other. In regard to the first class of scholars, the highly eminent, it is evident, that, under either mode, there is enough of practical teaching for the development of that special capacity and power to which their aptitude for eminence is owing. There may be more of task-work and lessoning in the southern than in the northern colleges; but it is not by the mere dint and quantity of lessoning that genius is created, although a certain amount of it be necessary for the excitement of genius to those spontaneous and self-sustained efforts by which mainly its future triumphs are achieved. Now, we contend that

such an amount of lessoning is to be had in the colleges of Scotland—as much of it, indeed, in every department of education, as will set every student, having the requisite taste and talent which may qualify him for eminence in that department, most prosperously agoing. Let the bent of his inclinations and energies be towards philology, or belles lettres, or mathematics, or physics, or ethics, or economical science, he comes in contact with enough of his favourite subject for awakening the kindred inspiration; and enough, too, of practical guidance for directing him on that path of study, in which, if he be gifted with original and inventive faculties, his conceptions may ripen into immortal authorship. Only grant, then, that those minds of surpassing force and fire, which need but the touch of some congenial excitement, that they may kindle into the luminaries of their age,—only grant, in regard to such minds, that they may be as effectually ignited at a Scotch as at an English college; and then we ask, in behalf of the former institution, whether it is not better that all the various sciences should be presented to the various taste and intellect of its students, than that its whole discipleship should consist in the exclusive and incessant appliance of but two subjects or two sciences? Is it not better for the country, that, at the great fountain-heads of its literature, there should be rendered a supply of human knowledge in all its branches; and that altogether, there should, in the wide range of its professorships, be as many affinities provided as might suit the peculiar aptitude and disposition of every genius? In

this way each master spirit is furnished with its own proper science; and each science, in the encyclopedia of human learning, acts by its own magnetic charm on every spirit that is kindred to itself. There is thus a far greater amount of superlative talent enlisted in the service of philosophy, and that not in but one or two of its branches, but in all the most important diversities of human study and human speculation. We do not lose, under this generalized system of education, the services of those, who, in virtue of their peculiar mental conformation, are signally and specially qualified, either in the ancient languages to shed an original light over the walks of criticism, or in the mathematics to extend the resources of the science, and open up new tracks of investigation. And additionally to these, we secure minds of another conformation for the like high service in other sciences. We supply each first-rate genius with the theme which he is best adapted to perfect or to adorn; and, instead of only sending forth men fitted more thoroughly to explore the classics, or more widely to extend the mathematics than before; we overspread the entire field of human knowledge, with labourers, each qualified to make original contributions in his own department, and collectively to enrich and to enlarge not one or two, but all the provinces of learning.

30. But the comparison we are making has hitherto respected chiefly those who are capable of reaching the loftiest scholarship. Another comparison has yet to be made in reference to those who, though far short of eminence like this, yet

acquire at universities the polish, and the information, and the disciplined intellect, and the certain cast of mental strength and superiority which are generally attendant on the pursuits of literature, even although the specific acquisitions do not amount to more than what may be termed a respectable scholarship. And the question is, whether it is better that the acquisitions to be obtained at our seminaries should be restricted to one or two, or should be extended to all the sciences. In other words, whether among a thousand students who have reached proficiency in one or other of the classes, it is better for the society wherein they mingle in future life, that one-half of this number should be good linguists, and another half good mathematicians; or that they should be still more subdivided, so as to afford a smaller number of good linguists and good mathematicians, and to leave a surplus, out of which there may be drawn so many good theologians, and good naturalists, and good economists, and good chemists, and good or tolerable adepts in all the branches of literature and philosophy. Is it not better that there should be all these varieties of acquirement and mental cultivation corresponding to the varieties of truth and nature? For the general intelligence of a people, is it not a good thing that there should at least be some, however few, who are intelligent in each one branch of human knowledge that can be specified? Is it desirable for a nation, that its whole literary public should be made up of mere philologists and mere geometers? If not, can that institution be said to fulfil the proper end of a *uni-*

versity, which, instead of furnishing society with proficients in every kind of scholarship, deals exclusively in the manufacture of but two species of literary men? When truth and nature offer such manifold varieties of mental food, is a university, which dispenses so limited a number of these varieties, and withholds all the rest, in keeping either with the powers of man, or with the objects of that theatre by which he is surrounded?* Would it not, then, by a more comprehensive scheme of education, adapt itself more both to the diverse exigencies of human life, and to the diverse appetencies of the human intellect?

31. But we are now proceeding on the supposition, that they who describe the curriculum of a Scottish college, make proficiency only in one branch of education. Certain it is, that, in the majority of instances, there is one favourite science in which each student makes his greatest proficiency. But, along with this, he very commonly receives a certain infusion of the other sciences; and the various faculties of his mind are exercised and improved by the various studies in which he is engaged,—as his taste in the study of languages and belles lettres; his reason in the study of mathematics; his power of internal reflection in the study of human nature; and his power of analysis, by which

* We are sensible, while making this comparison between two systems, that neither of them is exemplified, whether in England or Scotland, to the full: that, on the one hand, in our universities the complement of sciences is not altogether made up; and that, on the other hand, along with the regular courses of Oxford and Cambridge, there are public lectures delivered on a variety of subjects.

he elicits principles from the complex phenomena presented to him, when studying the doctrines of economical science or the relations of civil society. Besides all this, too, a mind which thus diversifies its acquisitions finds itself in a state of completer adjustment with the actual diversities of that scene over which man expatiates, and in which he has a part to perform. It is more cast, as it were, in the mould of universal truth; and becomes more nearly a mirror of that divine workmanship which is itself the mirror of that manifold wisdom wherewith all things have been created. It surely tends to grace and dignify an individual, and not to derogate from his honour, when it is said of him that he has a mind stored with various information. This, doubtless, is a better and higher accomplishment than to be a mere linguist, or a mere mathematician, or, indeed, a mere proficient in any single department of knowledge,—whose one exclusive *forte* or faculty confers little or no illustration on its possessor, unless in those rare cases where it elevates him to the rank of a master and discoverer in science. The man of blended and comprehensive acquirements bids fairer to acquit himself well, both in the business of life and the converse of society; and such acquirements can more readily be had in describing the round of that varied education for which we are now contending.

32. We have thought it necessary to say thus much on our Scottish collegiate methods of instruction, in the conviction, that, by means of some very practicable improvements, the objections which

have been charged against them may be fully done away. It has been charged upon our universities, that there is a want of what the French would call *approfondisement* amongst us; that we offer nought but the sketches of a varied and agreeable, but withal meagre, philosophy; that even when the course of some occasional professor is profound as well as brilliant, such as, most undoubtedly, was that of Reid, and Brown, and Dr Adam Smith, yet, from the very bare cognizance which is taken of the pupils, there is a want, at all events, of complete and substantial scholarship among them; and that thus, from the colleges of the north there emanates a whole host of pretenders, who, though abundantly versant in the phraseology of science, have made no careful and elaborate search into its principles. We admit that at present, and more especially in our higher classes, there is a lack of sufficient inspection over the progress of our students. But this could easily be remedied to all the extent that is desirable, after which, we only require the attendance of more advanced students, in order that they may be made as expert and as erudite in the modern philosophy as our English neighbours are in the ancient languages. The college apparatus of Scotland is fully competent to such an effect—to the effect of nurturing a hardy race of severe and sound thinkers in every walk of human speculation—men of depth and substance and firm staple—and of far purer and wiser aim than to shine forth in the tiny lustre of those slender and superficial, but withal plausible accomplishments, which have been said by our contemptuous friends in

the south to constitute all the philosophy of our nation.

33. But we must return from this digression—yet not without deducing from it what we have ever held to be a valid, and, indeed, an incontrovertible reason, in behalf of literary endowments. For giving such efficacy to our college system, as may place above, or even put it on a level, in point of utility, with the university system of England, it seems indispensable that our students should be greatly more advanced, both in age and in acquisitions, than on the average they are at present. But such a reformation would obviously lessen the number of pupils, and so proportionally lessen the revenues of the professors. Or, in other words, that change which imposes upon them the task of a far more arduous preparation for the lessons of a now more arduous philosophy, is, at the same time, a change which, if not followed up by any compensation, must oblige them to forego a portion of their emoluments, and so to descend to a lower status in society. This compensation is only to be found, either in larger fees, or in larger endowments. And if it be indeed true that professors are already sufficiently low in the scale of society,—if these public functionaries have been immeasurably left behind in the growing opulence of all the classes in the state,—if, as it unquestionably holds in the provincial universities, the masters there are scarcely enabled, even with the severest struggle, to support the establishments, or to maintain the appearance of gentlemen,—then the cause of endowments is that of pure science

and of lofty sentiment, however maligned it may have been by a spurious or mistaken patriotism.

34. The pending experiment in London is well fitted to manifest the principles of this subject. The university there is to be slenderly endowed, and the main security of the professors for a revenue is to be laid on the spontaneous demand for education. And there will be no statutes of apprenticeship to compel an attendance upon its classes; so that, at the outset, it will have nothing to look to for its support, but the prevailing taste for literature and philosophy in the metropolis. What we should anticipate, in these circumstances, is a larger attendance, at the first, from the force and attraction of novelty, but which will afterwards subside, to the discouragement perhaps, though not, we trust, to the utter despair of those who at present are most sanguine in their hopes of a great coming enlargement both of light and of liberty from this patriotic institution. We do apprehend for this seminary of magnificent promise, the mortifying experience of a native sluggishness and apathy on the part of the city families, ere a higher taste shall be created among them, and there shall be excited a more adequate demand for the attainments of a severe and exalted scholarship. But for such an elevation of the general taste of these families, the infancy of this noble undertaking must be cherished to the uttermost; and it may even need the strenuous perseverance of years, ere it shall be fostered into the conclusive state of a secure and lasting establishment. And after all, we fear, that, for the upholding of its prosperity,

there must be a perpetual compromise between pure science, on the one hand, and the popular taste upon the other. There will need to be a half-way meeting between them,—a descent on the part of philosophy, from its own proper level, in order to draw the general mind upward to at least a higher level than it before occupied. The service is invaluable; but a sacrifice must be made for the performance of it. The otherwise dull and didactic course must be enlivened by a thousand expedients not altogether in keeping with the dignity of stern and high intellect—as an occasional flash of eloquence, though somewhat misplaced amid the abstruser doctrines which it is intended to relieve; or the glare of showy experiments, though not the best fitted for the manifestation of principle; or an abatement from the rigour of demonstrations, without which the judgment is left unsatisfied. In a word, effect must be consulted to the uttermost; and the dread is, lest the high interests of truth and reason should suffer by it. The seminary must adjust itself to the taste and demand of society; and may not, in fact, be able to get on without a certain dash of that empiricism which both tarnishes the honours, and deteriorates the firm staple of philosophy. It will do incalculable good in its sphere; although, far above it, there should be the upper spheres of chaste, and lofty, and ethereal intellect. It is well that the citizens of our land should be provided with as much light as they will receive and pay for; but that is no reason why the savans of our land should not be provided with a purer and a higher light,

even though it should fetch no price in the general market. And it is just because it fetches no price, that, unless upholden in another way, it will inevitably expire. On the principle of demand and supply, there may be the spread of a popular philosophy; but if left exclusively to this, there may be the utter disappearance of a transcendant philosophy from our nation. We therefore trust, that, for science in its best and loftiest character, there will ever subsist its present hospitable asylum in the old attic retreats of Oxford and Cambridge, where it may continue to flourish as heretofore in the shade and under the shelter of college endowments. We feel no doubt that thence will still issue forth the largest proportion of our most precious and enduring literature; and that, whatever the light may be which shall radiate from more modern seminaries, it will, generally speaking, be found that, in light of superior purity and permanence, the existing universities both of England and Scotland shall greatly overpass them.*

35. We shall be greatly misunderstood, however, if it be thought that we hold the proposed university of the metropolis in light estimation. It will

* The celebrated Lacroix of Paris, teaches a class of the higher mathematics, where he is often not attended by more than eight students. If he furnish his country with that number of accomplished mathematicians every year, he renders back to it a sufficient value for all that he receives in the shape of salary. But how could such a class be sustained by fees alone? It is proposed, we understand, that the salaries of the higher professors in the London University shall be paid from the overplus of those fees which are paid for the more popular classes. This is a truly interesting experiment; and every enlightened friend of his species will rejoice in the success of it.

achieve a mighty service if it but elevate the middle classes of that immense city to a higher grade in the scale of mental cultivation, even although in science and scholarship it should come far short of the endowed colleges. But what confers its chief interest on this projected seminary is, that it will act upon these colleges by a most wholesome reflex influence. The very dread ot being out-rivalled will force them to bestir themselves; and, in whatever degree they may have heretofore been the dormitories of literature, we know not a more effectual device than a great popular institution like this, for awakening their latent energies. The very dismay and jealousy wherewith it is regarded by the dignitaries of our established system, are the best guarantees of a coming renovation. Professors will be aroused from their indolence; and patrons be ashamed of that vile prostitution by which the chairs of philosophy have been trafficked, and bestowed at the bidding of an ignoble politics. For reasons on which we have now abundantly insisted, we conceive that, in an endowed, there is a better mechanism than in an unendowed college, for working off the products of science and sound literature. But if there be a virtue in the worse mechanism to stimulate the better mechanism, and set it more actively agoing; then to the former really, though indirectly, we may have to attribute the high service of raising and sustaining the character of philosophy in our land. It is not difficult to reconcile our preference for endowed universities, to the pleasure wherewith we contemplate the rise of

a great popular university in the midst of them. The one sentiment is truly the effect of the other. The recent institution will never, we think, outstrip the older ones; but it will urge them onward, so that they shall be perpetually ahead of itself. It will be the impellent cause for advancing and elevating the tone of science, even though a high-toned science may never be dispensed from its own lecture-rooms. It will work its greatest good through the medium of Oxford and Cambridge; and, in their ostensible triumph, and its own apparent defeat and inferiority, will an intelligent observer recognize the most substantial proof of the great service it shall have achieved for the nation.*

36. There is a bigotry on the side of endowed seminaries, which leads those whom it actuates to be jealous of popular institutions. And, on the other hand, there is a generous feeling towards these institutions, which is often accompanied with a certain despite towards the endowed and established seminaries. We think that a more comprehensive consideration of the actings and reactings which take place in society, should serve to abate the heats of this partizanship; and, that what in one view is regarded as the conflict of jarring and hostile elements, should, in another, be rejoiced in as a harmonious concourse of influences, tending to accomplish the grand and beneficent result of an enlightened nation. It is just because we wish so well to colleges, that we hail the prosperity of mechanic institutions. The latter will never out-run the former, but so stimulate them

* See Note H, Appendix.

onwards, that the literature of our higher classes shall hold the same relative advancement and superiority as before over the literature of our artizans. It will cause no derangement and no disproportion. The light which shall then overspread the floor of the social edifice, will only cause the lustres which are in the higher apartments to blaze more gorgeously. The basement of the fabric will be greatly more elevated, yet without violence to the symmetry of the whole architecture; for the pinnacles and upper stories of the building will rise as proudly and as gracefully as ever above the platform which sustains them. There is indefinite room in truth and science for an ascending movement, and the taking up of higher positions: and if, in virtue of a popular philosophy now taught in schools of art, we are to have more lettered mechanics, this will be instantly followed up by a higher philosophy in colleges than heretofore; and in virtue of which we shall also have a more accomplished gentry, a more intellectual parliament, a more erudite clergy, and altogether a greater force and fulness of mind throughout all the departments of the commonwealth. The whole of society will ascend together, and therefore without disturbance, to the relation of its parts. But, in every stage of this progress, the endowed colleges will continue to be the highest places of intellect; the country's richest lore, and its most solid and severest philosophy, will always be found in them

CHAPTER III.

*On Church Endowments.**

1. THE argument in behalf of endowments seems to stand on the same footing with Christian as with common education. In the one case it is founded on the languor of the intellectual appetite; so that ignorance, if left to itself, will not, by any spontaneous effort of its own, go in quest of instruction, or provide the effectual means by which it may be supplied to the extent that is desirable. In the other case, there may be alleged the languor of the moral or the spiritual appetite; so that irreligion, if left to itself, will not originate the movement by which it may be brought into contact with that ministration which is best suited to it. In both cases, the subject to be dealt with must be addressed by an application from without. It must be treated aggressively. And, in like manner as schools have to be raised, and teachers' salaries to be provided for every little district of the land, ere the inert mass can be thoroughly pervaded with scholarship—so we fear that, without a like provision of churches and beneficed churchmen to preach in them, the vast majority of our land would be left without the reach of gospel calls, or gospel opportunities.

* The argument in behalf of an endowed and established church is more fully expounded by the author in "The Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation," Chap. III.

2. The experiment of leaving religion without a religious establishment, has been tried on a large scale in America: and it is much to be wished that we had thorough statistical information from that country as to the results of it. It is not enough to be told of the revivals which have taken place in that part of the world; nor yet of the many churches, with their full attendance, in certain towns or even provinces of that immense territory. These, although of an imposing magnitude when stated absolutely, may yet be of small comparative amount to the exigencies of the whole population. And besides, in most of the Northern States, at least till very lately, there was an ecclesiastical system altogether tantamount to an establishment—a revenue exacted and set aside by law for the maintenance of a clergy, though a clergy not of one but of various denominations. It has often been affirmed, that to this arrangement the people of New England stood indebted for the evident superiority of their moral and religious habits over those of the southern and middle states. We have further heard, that in New Hampshire the law of a compulsory provision for the teachers of Christianity has recently been abolished—and with this effect, that, in many instances, when a chapel has become vacant by the death of the incumbent, his place has not been supplied; and the district which enjoyed his services, now left without any Sabbath ministrations whatever, gives melancholy attestation to the native listlessness and unconcern of its families. Certain it is, that in other places of the Union, even in those which have been

settled so long, as now to have reached a high state both of wealth and population, there is abundant proof of an extremely feeble demand for the lessons of Christianity. The rapid increase of human beings is followed up, at a very sluggish and unequal pace, by an increase in the means of religious instruction. The effect of this lethargy is, that whole breadths of territory are in a state of spiritual desolation; and the families by whom they are occupied, almost utter strangers to the habits or the decencies of a Christian land, are represented as being scarcely above a state of practical heathenism.*

3. But instead of drawing our argument from the uncertainties of a dim and distant region—we may only look nearer home, to have the very same exhibition of our nature immediately under our eyes. It is true that we have an endowed church; which was formerly more adequate than it is now to the wants of our population. But many are the towns and parishes of our land, where the population has vastly out-grown the means of Christian instruction within the pale of the establishment—and it is interesting to mark, in how far the deficiency has been made up by the spontaneous efforts of those who are unable to find admittance into its churches. It is unquestionable, that dissenters have done much by their chapels to supplement the deficiency; but it were an utter mistake to imagine that they have nearly overtaken it. The truth is, that, in our large cities, and more especially in their suburbs, as well as in those manufacturing

* See Note I, Appendix.

districts which so teem with recent villages, and whose every establishment has its cluster of families —it may with all safety be affirmed, that greatly more than one-half of the people of sufficient age for church-going attend nowhere; and that they neither own nor occupy seats in any place of worship whatever. The sectarians, with all their activity and zeal, notwithstanding the fullest toleration for their efforts, have not been able to pervade this impenetrable mass—and the profaneness and profligacy of the multitude just deepen and accumulate the more with every augmentation of their numbers. It is quite palpable that the people do not seek after the article of Christian instruction, as they would after an article of ordinary merchandise. This appears most patently in all those cases, where the people have multiplied beyond the establishment—and we may infer the melancholy result, if without an establishment altogether, they had been left to no other principle than that of demand and supply over the whole length and breadth of the land.

4. This, then, is the good of an establishment. The people, instead of being left to go in quest of religious instruction, have, by its means, the instruction obtruded upon them. Generally speaking, they have not so much of desire or demand for the article, as that they shall themselves originate the movement towards it, and far less travel the whole distance, and make all the efforts and all the sacrifices necessary to obtain it. In the vast majority of instances, would neither the requisite trouble be taken, nor the requisite expense be incurred.

They have not enough of native appetite to create an effective demand for the food; and, unlike to the corporeal, the want of this food, instead of whetting the spiritual appetite, would only dull and deaden it the more. We have therefore no doubt, that, on the event of our establishment being swept away, and a mere system of free trade being substituted in its place, the moral effect would be tremendous. That which gave activity and healthful impulse to the commerce of our land, would be of withering effect upon its Christianity. Let the machinery, if needful, be actuated by the force and the fire of another principle—let all its rust and other unhingements be done away—let it be provided with more efficient workmen—and every thing be done so as that it shall perform its evolutions more sweetly and yet more powerfully than before—but let it not be taken down. It never will be replaced by the spontaneous act, or kept in operation by the spontaneous habit of the people. It may be better wrought at one time, and worse at another; but, even with all its corruptions, our establishment is a stay and a safe-guard —and a helpless, a headlong degeneracy would ensue from the demolition of it.

5. And an establishment might be so framed, as, by a sufficient multiplication of parishes, to pervade the whole mass of society. Let each family be provided with a church so near, that by an easy Sabbath-day's journey they might enjoy the stated ministrations of a clergyman, and each clergyman be provided with a territory so moderate and manageable, that, by his week-day movements, he

can ply the attentions of Christianity and kindness with frequent reiteration upon all the families,—this were to secure, over the whole length and breadth of the land, such a juxtaposition between the gospel and every human creature, as never will be accomplished in any other way. Let such an apparatus be *well worked ;** and in no other way will a population be so thoroughly seasoned with religious instruction or so regularly served. Without this, we fear, that in every country there must be unbroken fastnesses, within which men would persist always in the undisturbed heathenism of nature ; and whence they would never, by any primary will of their own, go forth to the lessons, or emerge into the light of Christianity. They must be assailed from without—and that, not by transient or migratory invaders, but such as shall, having made good their lodgement, keep perpetual occupancy within the borders. How is it that dissenters, with all their activity, and all the freedom which they enjoy, both of effort and locomotion, have not been able to overtake this ? Both in the excess of the larger country parishes, and in the growing surplus of town populations, there is ample range over which they might expatiate at pleasure. And yet the vast majority of these outfield families remain like sheep without a shepherd—aliens from the habits and the decencies of a Christian land—and demonstrate of how little avail for reclaiming them, are a mere gratuitous zeal in behalf of Christianity upon the one side,

* The consideration of this necessary condition is deferred to the next chapter.

and a spontaneous demand for the lessons of Christianity upon the other. It appears but a distant expectation, that, out of these two elements alone, we shall arrive at the result of a humanized peasantry; and we should, at the least, not be so far short of it, were these outcasts provided with a sufficient number of officiating churchmen—not working gratuitously, but conscientiously alive to the duties of their station—and not waiting a spontaneous demand among the families of their allotted vineyards, but fostering that demand by the assiduity both of their pulpit and their household services.

6. We most readily admit, that ere the machine of an establishment do its full good in a country, it must be provided with men who shall work it well. It is not such a machine as supersedes the zeal and activity of Christian labourers; but it is such a machine as, when put into their hands, makes that zeal and activity ten-fold more effective. It is no argument for setting it aside, that without the devotedness of human hearts, and the diligence of human hands, it is useless. Enough, that through its intervention, any given amount of such devotedness, and such diligence, is made far more useful. It surely does not nullify the military art, that, for its best devised system of tactics, the courage of human beings is indispensable. And the same holds of spiritual tactics—one system of which may be greatly more efficient than another, although neither should be of any avail, without labour and integrity on the part of clergymen. We hold, that, by means of an endowed church, and a territorial division of the country into

parishes, there is secured a greatly fuller and wider dispensation of the lessons of the gospel through the land, than by means of any such arrangement as might come spontaneously forth of all the zeal that exists for the diffusion of Christianity, on the one hand, and of all the desire that exists for the reception of Christianity, on the other. That this zeal should have its ebbs and its alternations, is no better argument for the destruction of our establishment, than is the fluctuating supply, by inundation of water from the Nile, for effacing or filling up those ducts of conveyance which serve for the irrigation of Egypt. Though it is the descent of living water from the upper sanctuary, which transforms the sons of nature into holy and heaven-born men—this does not supersede an earthly tactics, and an earthly mechanism, for the right distribution of it. Should the Nile cease from its overflows, there would no fertilizing influence be conveyed over the land, through the dry and deserted channels by which it was intersected. And should the Spirit of God withdraw the showers of His grace from our nation, we have no such blind confidence in the virtue of frame-works, as to look for a sanctifying influence from the mechanism of pulpits and parishes. Nevertheless, it is good to uphold the sluices, and reservoirs, and aqueducts of Egypt; for when the Nile shall again rise above its banks, that is the apparatus by which its water shall be most beneficially dispersed over the fields of the territory. And nevertheless, it is good to uphold the churches, and the parsonages, and the livings of our establishment; for when the celestial

influence shall again come down upon us, that is the terrestrial apparatus for the most beneficial dispersion of it among the families of our population.

7. We associate, in fancy, more of locomotion, more of itinerancy, with dissenterism; yet, in fact, an establishment, when rightly viewed, has greatly more in it of the character and power of a missionary operation. It may be regarded as a universal home-mission. It works aggressively all over the land. That was a prodigious aggressive movement which it made at the outset, when it first planted its churches, and chalked out its parishes, and so caused the voice of the gospel to be heard throughout the whole length and breadth of the territory. And then, if rightly followed up, we shall discern in its internal workings, the same character; for each minister, in his own little vineyard, is provided with ample scope, and is placed on the best vantage-ground for the high and holy functions of a Christian missionary. It is true, that his pulpit is stationary, and there must be some predisposition for Christianity among those families of his people who are drawn to it, by a process of attraction on the Sabbath. But his person is moveable; and, by a process of aggression through the week, he can go forth among all the families of his people, even among those who have as little of predisposition for Christianity, as exists in the remotest wilds of Paganism. We have not to traverse oceans and continents, in order to perform the essential work of a missionary; or to assail an immortal spirit which is not in quest of salvation for itself, with the calls and overtures of heaven's high em-

bassy. There is a moral as well as a physical distance which must be overcome; and, in the act of doing it, the parochial clergyman may have to face such difficulties, and to force his way through such barriers of dislike, or prejudice, or delicacy, that, in the prosecution of his calling, he may, without half a mile of locomotion, earn the proudest triumphs, and discharge the most arduous functions; and, in short, evince all the sound characteristics of a most deep and devoted missionary. It is true, that the same spirit may alike actuate our dissenters and our churchmen; and we must not overlook the great Christian good achieved by the former, whether in those rare and transient visitations by which they intersect our land, or in that multitude of fabrics whence they permanently send forth the lessons of the gospel, and by which they have beautified, with frequent spots of surpassing verdure, the face of our island. This says much for them; but it says nothing against the effectiveness and the power which we ascribe to the machinery of an establishment, or against its fitness both for thoroughly pervading a land with the influences of Christianity, and for perpetuating these influences from generation to generation. It is most honourable to our sectarian ministers, that, unaided by the resources or facilities of an establishment, they have achieved so much; but this does not preclude the assertion, that, with the same zeal and activity, and Christian uprightness, they could, in the capacity of churchmen, more especially of parochial clergymen, have achieved a great deal more.*

* See Note K, Appendix.

8. There is a charm in the week-day services of a parish minister, which has not been duly estimated either by philanthropists or patriots. He, in the first instance, meets with general, and I had almost said, universal welcome from the families—at least from those in the humbler classes of society. His official and recognised character furnishes him with a ready passport to every habitation; and he will soon find, that a visit to the house of a parishioner, is the surest way of finding an access to his heart. Even the hardiest and most hopeless in vice cannot altogether withstand this influence; and at times, in their own domestic history, there are opportunities whether by sickness, or disaster, or death, which afford a mighty advantage to the Christian kindness that is brought to bear upon them. It is thus that Nature and Providence may be said to act as the handmaids of Christianity, by the frequent openings which they afford to its officiating ministers; and of which, if he do avail himself, he is sure to obtain a vast moral ascendancy over the people. Even his courtesies on the way-side are not thrown away upon them; and little do they know of humanity, who would undervalue the most passing smiles and salutations which reciprocate between a clergyman and his people, whether as the symptoms or as the efficients of a cordiality the best fitted to soften the asperities of our nature, and so to cement and harmonize the jarring elements of a commonwealth. And his week-day attentions, and their Sabbath attendance go hand in hand. A house-going minister wins for himself a church-going people. The

bland and benignant influences of his friendly converse, of his private and particular affection, are enlisted on the side of their piety—nor can we imagine a position of greater effectiveness than his, whence to bear on the hearts and habits of a surrounding population.

9. It is no personal disparagement to the dissenting minister, when we simply say of him that he is less favourably placed. He may officiate through the week among his own hearers, who often lie scattered in isolated families over a wide extent of country, or through all the streets, and to the distant outskirts of a populous town. We have no doubt that he would greatly augment his influence, by assuming a local district in either of these two situations, and, in the way of Christian experiment, charging himself with the duty of religious attention to all the families within its limits whom he shall find willing to receive him. We should look for a far wider and more welcome respondency, and therefore a better result than is generally anticipated. But, in point of fact, this is seldom if ever done by dissenters. They are incredulous of its success—and are even themselves discouraged by a certain haunting sense of inferiority, which in as far as it is well founded, is itself a strong demonstration in favour of a religious establishment. They do apprehend a certain defect of reception and recognition among the families; and that, on the ground too, that they are not the regular or established functionaries of the land They hang back under a sort of consciousness, that theirs is not so valid a right of entry as that of the

parish minister. They cannot help the feeling of a certain defect in their warrant, in virtue of which they are not so authorized to go into every house, and there overture the services of Christianity. They themselves, in short, would have a greater sense of comfort and confidence in the prosecution of such a round, if translated into the place of regular clergymen, or similarly backed by the institutions of the land. For ourselves, we should like if our dissenting ministers could in the spirit of enlightened zeal, or of active religious philanthropy, overleap all these delicacies, and actually make the attempt of carrying their household ministrations into the bosom of every family that would open the door to them. The fact that this is so little done by them, is pregnant with inference. To our mind, it speaks powerfully for a religious establishment; that under the cover of its sanctions, there is on the one side, a greater boldness of access felt by its ministers; and, on the other side, a readier acquiescence by the people, in their offered services. The propriety of a universal movement among the houses of his allotted territory on any Christian errand, or with any Christian proposal, is far more promptly recognized by all, when performed by the parish clergyman, than would be a similar movement, if gratuitously attempted by a sectarian minister. And this would be the feeling not of the upper classes of society alone—but, in truth, the feeling even of workmen and cottagers. It is one of those aptitudes of our nature, of which it were most legitimate to avail ourselves—and which is turned to its best account

by the device of an establishment. Without this machinery, the population will fall away in large masses, beyond the scope of any ecclesiastical cognizance. With it a wide door of access is opened to all the families. It is just the access which it is most desirable that a man of principle and prayer should be provided with—that as it is a great, so also it may be an effectual door.*

10. The reason for such an ecclesiastical economy as we term an *establishment*, is founded on certain principles which seem rooted and established in the moral economy of man. One of these is a promptitude to do homage, and defer to that which is established, and just because it is so,—such a predisposition to acquiesce in the existing order of things, that we do not wait till we are satisfied of its goodness, ere the acquiescence is given; but give the acquiescence until we are provoked by its felt and ascertained badness, to resist and to disown it. The Author of our being does not trust our movements to our own slow calculations of expediency—but he inserts moving forces into our condition, which have in them the urgency of an immediate law. And it is well for the peace and settlement of a community, that the gravitation of our nature should lie so much in the direction of the powers *that be*—not so strong as to be insuperable, when these powers make outrageous violation of the rights of conscience or liberty; but yet strong enough to secure the quiescence of the aggregate society, till violence to such an amount shall have been rendered. It is a great

* 1 Cor. xvi. 9.

thing for public order, that the tendencies of our nature upon this subject should, in the first instance, be sedative, and on the side of the existent authorities,—by which we mean, not the supreme only, but also the provincial and parish authorities of the land. There is a *prima facie* claim on the side of these authorities, to which there is the instant response, not of a pusillanimous, but of a proper and well-principled homage on the part of the people. It is thus, that when a monarch appears in the midst of his subjects, even the most turbulent of them all cannot help the infection, not of a slavish, but of a generous and sentimental loyalty. It proves how congenially moulded the nature of man is, to the objects of rank and office and ascendant station, that on the moment of their presence, there is felt an involuntary respect, of which it may almost be said, that we lie under the moral impotency of withholding it. It is true that the respect may be forfeited—but this very forfeiture implies anterior possession—and it is possession grounded on a law of our nature, distinct from that by which we give our esteem to virtue, or our esteem to talent, or our esteem to personal strength, or personal loveliness. These are so many laws, but so also is that principle by which we give our esteem to station a law, having its own specific and substantive operation in the heart of man. To be without this, would mar and deform the character, and inflict upon it a sort of moral ungracefulness. The man who feels disrespect for magistracy, seems, to the general eye, as one stained with a blemish, or disfigured by a mutilation. The man who acts

this disrespect, is, by the general voice, chargeable with indecency.

11. These influences meet in the person of an established clergyman—and they are greatly enhanced by the sacredness of his character. Altogether, he stands forth so invested in the public estimation, as to guarantee the utmost moral security, from aught like offence being felt, or insult being given, along the path of his Christian philanthropy. His parish office will confer upon him a fully admitted right of introduction to every house in his parish—and, in spite of the popular jealousy wherewith endowments are regarded, certain it is, that the popular influence of his visits, and attentions, and labours of love, will not be lessened, but greatly added to, if he have the manner and independence of a gentleman. And it saves him from a gross misinterpretation to which he might have been otherwise exposed, that his own personal interest is in no way dependent on the number of his hearers. We believe that there is a strong alliance between the household activities of a minister, and the Sabbath attendance of his people But any shrewd imagination, that so much pains were taken with the one, because of the so much profit that accrued from the other, would dissipate the charm and efficacy of this operation. It is the prerogative of the established clergyman that he is above so injurious a suspicion. He may receive payment from the State. But in reference to the people he acts gratuitously. There may be an indispensable routine of duties—but all his spontaneous services bear upon them the unequivocal

aspect of pure and disinterested zeal. And this, in the midst of a people to whom he is every day more endeared by the kind notices and cordialities of his growing acquaintanceship, gives to all the forthgoings of an earnest parish minister, a power over the hearts and habits of families, which cannot be realized by any other individual in the commonwealth.*

12. It is a melancholy truth, that an office of such high capabilities, is, in many instances, not adequately filled. This, however, is no reason why the office should be abolished, though a most pertinent and powerful reason for its being purely and righteously patronized. The engine is not to be destroyed, because it has been sometimes worked by incompetent or unskilful engineers. The apparatus of a church establishment is not to be taken down, because, either at present or throughout past generations, it has been under the useless or perverse management of corrupt and indolent churchmen. When the concurrence of two things is necessary to a beneficial result, we are not to demolish the one, because we have not always secured the other. The two essential conditions of usefulness, in the present instance, are a good machine, and a good mechanic; and the clear

* It is on this account, we confess, that we view the preservation of the Church Establishment in Ireland as a great object of national policy—being fully persuaded, that if only aright patronized, or, in other words, if worked by zealous and efficient ministers residing in their parishes, and expatiating in all the acts of common and Christian kindness throughout their respective vicinities, it would prove the organ of a greater moral and spiritual blessing to the land, than could be achieved by any other machinery which it is possible to devise.

direction of wisdom is to keep up the machine, and to look out for the mechanic. The one we already have, in the frame-work of an endowed church, fitted, both by its extent and the minuteness of its subdivisions, for the conveyance of religious light and influence to every district of the land. But, for this result, it is indispensable that the working of the goodly instrument should be given to religious men. And ere the instrument should be put aside, and ere the Christianity of our people should be abandoned to the operation of those spontaneous forces, which have hitherto proved so inadequate, we should deem it greatly the better part, to uphold the establishment, and to labour in every possible way for its careful and conscientious patronage.

13. And for this inadequacy of dissenterism, we might confidently appeal to the vivid recollection of its most zealous and influential supporters; we mean its inadequacy to the object of overspreading a land, with aught like a full and competent supply of religious instruction. And it is not that there is a defect in the supply of qualified ministers, but that there is a defect in that efficient demand which offers not only solicitation but support to ministers.* There are many who can both feelingly and experimentally tell how strong the *vis inertiæ* is which they have oft to overcome, ere they can mature an erection for the regular performance of Sabbath services—what shifts, what entreaties, what humiliations, what heartless discouragements must all be undergone before the

* See Note L, Appendix.

chapel is reared—what debts and difficulties beset the infant undertaking—and how frequently, after the house has been prepared, no such congregation can be allured, even in the midst of most populous and unprovided districts, as shall yield the barest subsistence to a minister. The country teems with these melancholy abortions; or, (should a living birth be the result of this sore labour), with the no less melancholy struggles to sustain, by all sorts of appliances, a sickly and glimmering life, that is ever on the verge of its extinction. The penurious, and sometimes the disgraceful allowance on which the minister even of affluent hearers is permitted to bring up a family in starvation and sordidness, speaks powerfully on the side of our argument. It demonstrates the strength of that barrier, which nothing, we apprehend, but the energies of an endowed church can force and overcome. The system of meeting-houses can only be carried to a certain extent over the face of society—after which, and at its extreme margin, it can no longer summon the people to effectual co-operation, having then to encounter a sluggishness, a spiritual inertness, which it finds to be impracticable. Within this margin there may be, there are dissenting congregations which flourish in point of number, and dissenting ministers who are comfortably and respectably maintained by them. It is near to this margin when the contest begins to be tough and arduous, and at length altogether hopeless. A fraction, and but a fraction, of the species may thus be brought into contact with the word and ordinances of religion. But

the impotency of the expedient would be felt long before half the species were overtaken; and with no other system than that of free trade in Christianity, the vast majority of every land, would, in respect even of means and ordinances, be left in a state of practical heathenism.

14. In all ages of the church, there has been room for the complaint, as well as for the prayer founded upon it—that the harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few. Yet, if the greater number of the fields which contain this harvest be inaccessible, there might be more labourers than can be admitted to that part of the harvest which may be approached. We, therefore, see no inconsistency between the general position, that there is a paucity of efficient ministers when compared with the population; and the actual state of the sectarians, among whom, on the one hand, "there are many ministers of irreproachable character at this time unable to obtain pastoral engagements," and, on the other hand, "there are many stations highly interesting and important, that are suffering greatly from the want of able and learned ministers." We hold, that, by means of an establishment, the great national vineyard is thoroughly intersected, by roads to every parish, and even by footpaths to every little hamlet and cottage of the land. It is thus that avenues are opened up, throughout all, even the minutest subdivisions of that territory by which the harvest is borne; and then does the prayer obtain its most emphatic fulfilment, when, by a blessing poured forth from on high on the churches of the Establishment, its

ecclesiastics, under the visitation of a new spirit, labour more abundantly than before, each in his own homestead, and so leaven with Christianity, the whole mass of that population wherewith they are so extensively mingled.

15. But though we hold a revival in the Establishment to be the likeliest mean by far for the revival of Christianity in our land—such a conviction of the might and efficacy which belong to a national church, does not preclude the conviction, that it is of the very highest importance to have an active, unrestrained, and fully tolerated dissenterism. This latter will never, we think, supersede an establishment; but it may stimulate that establishment to a ten-fold degree of effectiveness. It may act by a moral compulsion, not merely on its existing clergymen, but on those holders of patronage and power to whom we have to look for our future clergymen. For this purpose, it is well that sectarianism should flourish and prevail, even to the degree of alarming the dignitaries of our land for the safety of its ecclesiastical institutions—of reducing them to the necessity of providing these institutions with those functionaries who are best fitted, by their talent and their piety, to uphold the church in public estimation. We should therefore like, on the one hand, to behold dissenters in the full glow of activity all over the land, for out of the disturbance thus given to our high church exclusionists, we should anticipate the happiest consequences. We question not, that there is a great direct service rendered to Christianity by the instrumentality of sectarians.

But we have ever reckoned it their chief service, that they set in motion, and in more efficient play, a far more powerful instrumentality than any which is wielded by themselves. They are not the best fitted for working a general religious effect upon the population. But they give impulse to that apparatus which is best fitted for it. They do not themselves form an effectual mechanism, for operating throughout a whole aggregate of human beings. But they, nevertheless, occupy a high place of command, for they touch the springs of that mechanism which is effectual. It is to the intervention of the church, in fact, that they owe their greatest usefulness; for, by moving that which most powerfully moves and affects general society, they might do more for the religion of the people, than by the application of their own immediate hand to the hearts and consciences of individuals. With these views, sectarians on the one hand might bless and honour the Church, while on the other hand the warmest friends of the Church might look with benignant welcome on the zeal and prosperity of sectarians. They have done much for Christianity by the congregations which they have formed in towns and crowded parishes, and by the conversions which they have achieved in families. But the benefit which they have wrought, by their wholesome reflex influence on the Establishment, is above all computation.

16. In every great question upon which two parties have been formed, the difficulty is, to construct the right system, by adopting the excellencies and avoiding the errors of both. The

parties themselves move in masses. They act gregariously. And hence, in spite of all that is said about the ascendancy of rational opinion in this our enlightened day, there is really much of the blind and the headlong in the operation of those moral forces, which decide the practical measures, and influence the general state of society. Men take their direction and their impulse from the broad aspect of things—and when once they take their stand with either side of a controversy, and read nothing but hate and hostility in all that is opposed to them, they find it a far easier work than that of discrimination, simply to urge forward whatever shall make for the one side, and shall make against the other. It is thus that the bigots of an establishment are for putting down all sectarianism; and that the zealots of sectarianism are for rooting up all establishments. They regard not how beautifully it is, that these two rival interests act and re-act for the good of a population—so that the perfection of an ecclesiastical system lies in the ample endowment of the one, and the ample toleration of the other. Without an establishment, the light of religious instruction would shine forth but rarely, or be spread but superficially over a land. Without a free and active dissent, that light might wane to its extinction and become darkness—the establishment, reposing in its undisturbed security, would become inert and inefficient; or, along with the intolerance, might be further deformed by all the corruptions of Popery.

17. The sectaries act upon the Establishment,

as we have already said that the proposed university of London is fitted to do on those of Oxford and Cambridge; that is to say, not so as to supersede, but so as to stimulate, and thereby to uphold the character and stability of the national institutions. As it is with common, so it is with Christian education. By the establishment of parochial schools, the former has become a universal blessing among the peasantry of our Lowland parishes in Scotland. Yet how frenzied were that bigotry which should denounce those private and subscription schools, that have accommodated the families for whom there was no room in the endowed seminary; or, perhaps, even drawn away some families from their wonted attendance on the parish schoolmaster. This latter they can only in general do by the superior scholarship which they afford—and this is an advantage which they can continue to hold only until, by a pure exercise of patronage, the parish school is again provided with an able and efficient functionary. And this reasoning applies exactly to the case of a parish church. It may, for a whole incumbency, labour under an inferiority in the style of its ministrations to the adjacent meeting-house—and may give token, by its deserted pews, to the surpassing energy and zeal of the sectarian over the regular clergyman. This casts a temporary obscuration over the Establishment; but not in the slightest degree to endanger its perpetuity. By a new appointment the recovery either is or may be made. And such, after all, is the native preference of the people for the Establishment, that nothing but a right and con-

scientious patronage is required to keep the vast bulk of our families within its pale.

18. But we may here notice a very observable difference between the case of science, and that of religion—even though it is a difference which does not affect the essential or the general argument for endowments in behalf of either. Our argument, in the former case, is, that unless pure science be thus upholden, it will vanish from our land—for it lies greatly too remote both from the popular understanding, and the popular taste, to be upholden by the spontaneous demand of society for its lessons. But it cannot be said of pure Christianity—either that it is above the popular understanding, or repugnant to the popular taste. According to our apprehensions of the gospel, the pure and the popular are mainly at one—and its most characteristic doctrines find a readier coalescence with the intellect and affections of the humbler, than with those of the higher classes of our community. That conviction in some truth of philosophy which is worked laboriously into the mind by arduous demonstration, differs from that instant recognition which is given to some religious truth, when, by the immediate light of its own evidence, it finds its way to the consciences of men. In human learning, the people, naturally averse to mental labour, would prefer to be taught superficially rather than scientifically—and hence, if lofty and rigorous science is to be upheld in a land, there must, to compensate for the small number of students, be salaries for teachers, and even a compulsory attendance upon their instruc-

tions. But, in divine learning—*if once the people are assembled to its lessons*, their clear preference is for the scriptural and the sound representations of Christianity, to those more meagre exhibitions of the truth in which mere moralists or sentimentalists indulge. Let there be any incipient earnestness about religion at all; and the doctrines of the New Testament, in its whole depth and peculiarity, is felt to be the ministration which is best suited to it. In science, the class-room of severe demonstration is attended by the few, while the class-room of showy experiment is attended by the many. It is to retain and perpetuate the former style of instruction in a land that college endowments are necessary. In religion, those churches where the momentous realities of the question are glossed over by false and flimsy representations of it are attended by the few; while that church where the truth in all its nakedness is most faithfully expounded, and where the most severe and searching applications of it are made unto the conscience, is attended by the many. It is not then for the sake of upholding a sound against a spurious Christianity that church endowments are necessary; for in truth, the lessons of the former are far more congenial with the taste of the multitude than those of the latter. But they are necessary for upholding Christianity, in any of its forms, against the lethargic indifference of Nature to Christianity in all its forms. Once the multitude is addressed with Christianity, their native preference is for the sound rather than the spurious. But still they need to be so addressed—for of themselves they

will go in quest of neither. The thing to be overcome is not their resistance to the sound religion because of their love to the spurious. But the thing to be overcome, is their *vis inertiæ* in reference to religion at all. That is the point which needs to be carried—and, instrumentally speaking, it only can be carried, we apprehend, through all the corners of our land, and through all the classes of society, by the forces of an establishment. After that, by this device, the sound of *a* gospel is heard in every parish, it is a mighty auxiliary on the side of true religion, that the relish and preference of the multitude should be for the lessons of *the* gospel. The Establishment has the effect, in the first instance, of carrying a general Christianity, in bulk, or in the gross, throughout a whole population. Let this establishment be well patronized —and then each zealous and efficient clergyman, in his own special vineyard, would rally around the altar at which he officiates his own separate portion of the population. It is in this way a noble machine for the thorough Christianization of a land. It is true that, without an evangelical ministry, it will not accomplish the service. But its superiority, in point of tuition, to a system of dissenterism, remains notwithstanding—for, under the latter, the service cannot be accomplished whether without an evangelical ministry, or with one.

19. But this it is which has disguised the merits of our question from the eye of the public. What we affirm is the superiority of an establishment as a *machine*, whether for Christian or for common

education, to that merely natural mechanism, whose alone impellent force is the spontaneous demand of society. But this machine will not give full experimental proof of its efficacy, unless it is provided with good workmen—and so its power and properties may lie altogether hidden, because of the incompetent hands to which it has been committed. It is thus that the adversary of endowments has frequently too much colour for a triumphant appeal, in the actual state of the church and universities; and he is enabled, when the one is filled with ungodly clergymen, and the other with indolent or illiterate professors, to speak with plausibility of the uselessness of both. Nevertheless, it may hold true, and most importantly true, that, in point of enginery, there is nothing nearly so effective as a system of endowments; and that though, when placed under the heavy disadvantage of being administered by men who are corrupt or careless, it does little for the land—yet that men of talent and virtue can work off a tenfold benefit, when the means and capabilities of such an apparatus are entrusted to them. When viewed as a question of national or philanthropic policy, it should not be difficult to say, whether it is better to have a system under which lofty science and a fully diffused Christianity may be served out to the country—and without which, it seems neither possible to sustain the purity of the one, or adequately to circulate the other through the mass and interior of a country's population. The alternative is not, we admit, between a state of things in which these blessings *must* be, and a state of things in

which they cannot be; but between a state of things in which they *may* be, and in which they cannot be. Even though we should be able to allege no more for our cause, this we hold to be a mighty allegation in its favour—and it does appear an unwise and a harsh conclusion, that, because in the former state of things it is in the power of bad or indifferent men to render an establishment inert and inefficient, we must therefore be precipitated into the latter state of things, when, without an establishment, the power of the good and the able shall be abridged tenfold. Because a frame-work in the hands of the worthless does nothing, that surely is no reason against the erection of it, if it can be demonstrated, that, in the hands of those who are competent to its management, it is vastly more productive of good than ever without such an instrumentality they are able to do for the commonwealth. That should be the system in every land which gives fullest scope to the zeal and energies of the righteous, even though it should become altogether effete in those seasons of moral degeneracy when the righteous have disappeared. Then it is true, that an establishment becomes worthless and withered like the skeleton of dry bones in the vision of Ezekiel,—yet, rather than take down the fabric, and scatter it into fragments —better, we deem, to pray for that vivifying Spirit which comes down from on high, when "the Lord God will cause breath to enter into it, and it shall live."

CHAPTER IV.

On the Abuse of Endowments.

1. To realize our *beau ideal* of a good educational system in the land, there must, in the first instance, be the erection of a right machine, and, in the second instance, the appointment of right men to work it. The two ingredients which must meet together for this purpose, are an adequately endowed establishment on the one hand, and a virtuous patronage on the other. There may be a wealthy establishment without a virtuous patronage; or it can be imagined, that there may be in great force throughout the land, the principle which would lead to a virtuous patronage, but withal a meagre and ill-provided establishment. In either way, we think that the interests whether of learning or religion would be greatly abridged; and that, to make out a full security for these interests, we should neither acquiesce in our possession of but the one ingredient while the other is awanting, nor far less expunge the one because the other is awanting, without which it is comparatively useless—but we should strenuously endeavour to realize the combination of both.

2. If we have succeeded in our foregoing argument, it will be evident—First, that a population are in far unlikelier circumstances for being pervaded with Christian instruction, when left to their own natural demand for it, instead of its being offered and obtruded upon them by means of

churches ready made to their hands, and ministers within these churches, who each, within the moderate and manageable territory assigned to him, shall charge himself, both in his pulpit and throughout his parish, with the care of the religion of the families. And, secondly, that even for the elementary scholarship which should be acquired by all, there is no apparatus so efficient as a scholastic establishment at least partially endowed; and that, for a higher scholarship, there is need of a larger endowment. If there be truth in this principle, it points emphatically to a more liberal endowment for the universities of Scotland. The improvement chiefly required is to raise the preliminary education, that so rising from this higher commencement, we may raise all the posterior education of our students, and send them forth far more accomplished in high erudition and philosophy, than they are under our present system. But for this purpose, the professors must be men of loftier science than at least they need to be at present; and the task which shall then be put into their hands, can only be well achieved by men of rarer and higher qualifications. Now, for reasons which have already been abundantly insisted on, they will, after this ascent to a higher species of literary labour, have fewer students than before—standing then at a greater distance from the popular taste, and placed more beyond the reach of the popular and general demand for education. In other words, by one and the same movement, they are called to a higher service, yet condemned to a lower recompense than before. This is not

the way in which tne more scarce or the more valuable is secured in any other department of human affairs; and we therefore fear that, in this department, competent labourers for the then greater mental or literary labour will not be obtained, unless some compensation be provided for the sure reduction that must take place in the attendance upon seminaries, when there shall be a more remote and recondite science, and when all the courses of instruction shall be more elaborate than before. We can perceive no way of rectifying this inconvenience, but by larger fees or larger salaries,—and as by the former expedient, a still greater reduction must be effected on the attendance, we are not aware of any sure method by which the cause of a loftier learning can be upheld in our land, but by a larger endowment coming in aid of a smaller attendance. It is thus that, for one of the purest and brightest glories of a nation, even its science and literature—we mean, that profound and vigorous science, and that attic literature which alone are worthy of the name—endowments more large and liberal, we fear, than our nation is willing to bestow, seem to be indispensable. On the subject, indeed, both of literary and ecclesiastical benefices, the public appear to be sadly misinformed—misled in part, perhaps, by the declamations of an honest but short-sighted patriotism, that looks with jealousy, not to their misapplication alone, but also to the existence of that regular and established provision, which, if abolished, would cause Christianity to decline, and all high learning to disappear.

3. And certain it is, that there has historically been too good reason for this jealousy of endowments. The cause has become unpopular, because estimated, not by the deserts of the system itself, but by the deserts of those individual functionaries who have abridged it of its efficacy. One of the cruellest effects of official corruption is, that, in the consequent reaction of society, not only have unworthy men been despoiled of their wealth, but the country has been despoiled of a beneficial economy, which required all that wealth to uphold it in full operation. In wresting it from the hand of corruptionists, it has at the same time been wrested from the public; and the public good has grievously suffered by spoliations towards which, nevertheless, the community at large looked complacently and rejoiced. This was remarkably verified at the time of the Reformation, when the church was shorn of its patrimony; and revenues which might have been assigned to the support of Christian instruction in extensive and over-peopled parishes, were absorbed into a state of mere property by the rapacity of individuals. Thus it is too that church lands, and prior acres, and bishop rents, and lay impropriations of tithes, and many other vestiges of the opulence in this country of the establishments of former days, have merged either into personal ownership, or into the possession of the crown; and in both ways, (in the latter through the medium of pensions) they have been transferred from the object of public usefulness, to the object of upholding the splendour and opulence of private families. And the result of that which

was contemplated at the time with a sort of generous satisfaction, has been the aggrandizement of individuals at the expense of the common weal; the sacrifice of great public interests, because the sacrifice of great public institutions, at the shrine of cupidity; the enrichment of the landed aristocracy, it is true, but this with sore prejudice to the best elements of a nation's greatness—the learning of its upper classes—the piety and moral worth of its general population.

4. Such has been the melancholy result of that blind and impetuous vengeance that was called forth by the vices of the Popish clergy. Society were scandalized; and they regarded, not with tolerance merely, but with high gratification, the plunder of the ecclesiastical benefices. Knox, and the other heads of the reformation, saw the mischief, and endeavoured to avert it; and had their representations been listened to, we should have had both a better endowed church, and perhaps the most perfect collegiate system of any nation in Europe. Not merely might our present universities have been upheld in full equipment; but we should have had in our chief provincial towns, endowed seminaries of a higher class than parish schools. The funds that were absorbed during the period of that unprincipled scramble, would not only have sustained a sufficient number of functionaries, for the purposes both of literary and Christian education; but there would have been enough, and to spare, for the decent and respectable maintenance of them all. What a fine national object would have been gained, had there

been a sufficiency reserved for a seemly income to our parochial schoolmasters; so that, instead of men sunken in poverty and but on a level with the peasantry by whom they are surrounded, we should have had men who superadded the weight of station to that of office, in contact throughout all our parishes with the families of our general population. This also has gone to wreck, along with the other noble interests which perished in the wildness of that revolutionary storm; and in this little age of calculators and economists, there are patriots who can rejoice in such a consummation. The age of moral chivalry is gone.

5. Still we must admit, that, even in our own days, there is too good reason for a jealousy of endowments. We believe, that, to secure a higher style of education at our universities, larger salaries would, in many instances, be indispensable. But let these once be established, and they instantly become objects for a common-place ambition. They can be imagined of such value, that, independently of fees, they might be sought and aspired after by men of family; and, whereas now they are exposed to invasion from the mere underlings of political subserviency, they might then be alike exposed, from placemen of a higher walk, whose present game is among the offices of a prouder and a wealthier preferment. It is not then by a more liberal endowment of professorships, that we escape the danger of their lapsing into sinecures. We may, in fact, aggravate the danger, and render a virtuous and vigilant patronage still more requisite than before. This is the

precise difficulty which meets us in advocating the cause of endowments. We hold them to be a *sine qua non*, for the purposes either of a diffused Christianity, or of a sustained philosophy in our land; and yet, in respect of both these purposes, they are liable to be nullified. The task we have undertaken, is to uphold the necessity of one ingredient, which, nevertheless, by the access of another ingredient, may at once be neutralized. We trust it is obvious to our readers, that this does not annihilate the importance or significancy of our argument. We have endeavoured to show, that, what in the business of ordinary trade would be stigmatized as an artificial bounty, is so indispensable in the business of education, that, without it, Christian education would be greatly abridged in point of extent, and scientific education be greatly reduced beneath the eminence of that pure and high philosophy to which it should be carried. Yet there is a blight of corruption by which the whole power and promise of a system of endowments might be cruelly undone; and we proceed to offer a few considerations, on which society may now hopefully look forward to a mitigation of this evil.

6. But we would, in the first place, remark, that in reference to the great majority of our existing endowments, there is a frequent, but a most unfair method of estimating the burden of them to the commonwealth. The wealth which sustains them, is not wrung by taxation from the other orders of the State. They are a species of property—held, no doubt, by a particular tenure —but still coeval, at least, with the great mass of

actual property in the land. The territorial estates of Oxford, and Cambridge, and Glasgow, and St Andrews, and Aberdeen, are, on the whole, of higher antiquity, as possessed by these corporations, than far the greater number of landed properties in the island, as held by private individuals. The public are no more entitled to regard these university domains in the light of an usurpation, than one squire is to look upon the acres of his neighbouring squire, as having been wrested by injurious encroachment from himself. No doubt, he would have been all the richer, had it so happened that both properties had been merged into one, and descended by inheritance to his own family; and he may look with cupidity to fields which he dare not appropriate. And it is just with a cupidity as unreasonable, that some, in the guise too of patriotism and public virtue, would eye the patrimony both of church and college, and would even look with somewhat of the same complacency as to the triumph of liberality and justice, if it were made the subject of general spoliation. Yet it remains a truth, that neither are tithes, nor church and college lands, a burden upon any man. In virtue of these, the property of our nation has come down to the present age, either more divided than it would otherwise have been, or so much of it in the possession of public functionaries, instead of being in the possession of men, who, simple proprietors, or "nati consumere fruges," have had no function assigned to them. As it is, that property is owned by men, who, in return for it, do something. Otherwise, that property would have been

owned by men, who, in return for it, did nothing. This is the real state of the alternative; and when so viewed, we may fearlessly commit the question of our literary and ecclesiastical establishments to its trial. Even had they simply been harmless, or if the harm they have done, is barely in equipoise with the good, it has not been worse for the country than if these obnoxious endowments never had existed. This is the true point from which the reasoning should take its departure; or this the level of zero, from which the positive argument in favour of establishments is raised. The service they have done, may not be very calculable, and yet be very great; for what would have been the religion of our country without the churches of England and Scotland; or what its science without the universities of both?

7. But this, though enough to silence the hostility of those who are the adversaries of establishments, should not be enough to satisfy their friends. It were well, if the service rendered to society, by churches and colleges, could be augmented tenfold; and besides, we are pleading for something more than the toleration of their present endowments. We plead for the extension of them. And the question recurs, how are the requisite grants to be guarded against the abuse to which they are so readily exposed, by the worthless nominations of a corrupt and unprincipled patronage.

8. We will not extenuate or conceal the difficulties of this question. We scarcely know a more arduous problem in the philosophy of human affairs, than the construction of a right board or

body of patronage. We are unable to offer an infallible specific upon this subject; and have a far stronger apprehension of the danger, than confidence in the benefits or the safety of any method that has been proposed. It is true that we look forward, and sanguinely too, to a better and a purer direction of the patronage than heretofore; but that, not because of any virtue in the constitution of a different frame-work, or of a more skilful mechanism in the construction of that body by whom the election shall be made, or in whom the power of the appointment shall be vested. We think, that under every variety of frame-work, the principle of corruption is ready to operate; and it is only because of the stronger moral counteractive to this, that we hope, under all the varieties, henceforth to behold a series of more virtuous and patriotic nominations.

9. It is no infallible preservative against corruption, that the patronage of college livings be vested in the members of Faculty, or in the Senatus Academicus. One might, *a priori*, have imagined that there could not be a better security for right nominations, than that they should be thus vested—seeing that all the professors participate, more or less, in the benefits of that larger attendance, which the distinguished merit of any one individual of their body has the effect of drawing to their seminary. But there are personal and family considerations which overbalance this. And hence, the hereditary successions in colleges which are thus patronized—the firm and infrangible compacts which sometimes last for generations,

cemented as they are by the affinities of blood and of relationship—the decaying lustre of chairs once occupied by men of highest celebrity and talent, but the very ascendancy of whose influence when living, or of whose names after they were dead, effected the transmission of their offices to a list of descendants. We should expect this corruption to be more incidental to the remote or provincial colleges—the proceedings and the policy of which are farthest removed from the glare of public observation. Yet no one can deny, that, even under this form of patronage, a visible improvement is going on—though it must be confessed, that it is perhaps, of all others, the form least compatible with the public benefit, under such an augmentation of endowments as we would recommend. The effect of that augmentation were to increase still further the proportion of the salaries to the fees —that part of revenue which is independent of merit and exertion, to that part of it which merit and exertion alone have the tendency to enlarge. The temptation to an interested appointment thus becomes greater; while the prejudice inflicted by it on the whole income of the corporation, would be proportionally less. For these reasons, we should not object, though, contemporaneously with an addition to the professorial salaries, there was a commutation of the professorial patronage —a transference of this power to some other quarter, where it should be less exposed to the hazard of being worthlessly exercised.

10. Another method is, to vest the patronage in a body exoteric to the college, as in the corpora-

tion of the town where the university is situated. We believe, that, notwithstanding the literary disqualifications of many of the electors, the nominations under this mode of patronage in Scotland, will stand a most honourable comparison with all the others. It is remarkable, that some of the chief deviations by magistrates and councils in the exercise of this trust, have been brought about by the influence of leading men whether in the church or in the university. This certainly makes against the first mode of patronage; and it is saying much for the second, that when the patrons are left to themselves, they do feel in such considerable degree the guidance of the public voice, and are so often the willing organs for giving expression and effect to the public opinion. The force of this engine has mightily increased within these few years; and accordingly, the improvement of all city patronage, whether in the disposal of church or college livings, has become quite palpable.

11. The third mode of patronage is to vest it in the crown. The causes of corruption under this form are too obvious to be insisted on; yet who can deny the growing strength of those counteractive forces, by which, even under this modification, there is now a far purer and wholesomer exercise of the patronage? There is an energy in the collective voice of society that was before unfelt —a call from the public to which statesmen now find it their truest policy to conform; and by the contemptuous disregard of which for years, the ascendant influence of our land has at last been wrenched from that basis on which it had been so

long and so inveterately settled. Scotland now breathes a freer air than it did but months ago; and any attempt to keep down the heavings of the public mind towards a purer and more righteous system, were like the wretched impotency of Xerxes lashing the Hellespont. It were a vain endeavour to stem that torrent which sooner or later must carry all before it; and as well might corruption try, at the bidding of her voice, to seal up the winds of heaven, or to lay an arrest on the courses of the firmament.

12. We have no other remark to offer, in regard to the last mode of patronage which we shall at present notice, namely, that which is exercised by private individuals—than that, more or less, it participates in the same improvement of its character—and that, too, by the same influence. The dominant spirit of the times, in fact, runs through all the channels of the existing organization of society; and a sense of character, under the vigilant notice of the many-eyed Argus operates with a force that was never before known in any bygone period of our history. There is now a greater value felt for public gratitude and public esteem; and this does come powerfully in aid of a higher principle, both with the many private patronages of our church, and with the few of our universities. A careless and unprincipled act of patronage would be more felt now than ever by the general mind as a moral violence, and would be more resented as such by the general voice. It is certainly more to this that we look for our prospect of brighter days, as far as they can be realized by a

more effective official agency in all the departments both of the church and of the state, than to any changes in the law or methods of our existing patronage. There is a corrective and a controlling force in the opinion of society, which now operates with salutary effect on all these methods; and, independently of any ameliorations in the form, we cannot but anticipate, from every thing which passes before our eyes, a very great amelioration in the substance and spirit of all patronage.*

13. Now, it is this which gives comfort and confidence in pleading the cause of endowments. Is that the time either for abridging them or for arresting their progress, when the security for a righteous dispensation of them is so obviously upon the increase? Are we now to abstract or to withhold the one indispensable ingredient, when the other ingredient, alike indispensable to a prosperous result, is supplied more plentifully than before? Even with all the jobbing and low jockeyship that may have been concerned in the appointments of other days, is there any prepared to affirm, that it would have been better for the science and religion of our land, had these interests been left to their chance; and the country been suffered to proceed without her church, and without her universities? And if good has been done by the endowments which support these, in what, comparatively speaking, some would be disposed to term a reign of profligacy, what greater good may now be anticipated, under the evident advances of a reign of principle? Shall we demolish that apparatus

* See Note M, Appendix.

which, even with workmen fetched to it at random, has wrought off such an incalculable amount of benefit to society, at the very time when workmen are beginning to be selected with greater care; and is the best enginery for a great and beneficent result to be set aside, just when the demand of the public has become more effectual than ever for the best engine-men? Now, if ever, is the time when, side by side with the growing securities for a righteous patronage, there should be a growth of endowments towards, if not all at once to, the farthest limit of their usefulness; when, like the ascent of an ordinate from its minimum state, there should at least be in progress the re-ascent, both of clergy and professors, to the status from which they have so immeasurably fallen; and when emancipated from the straits of a condition certainly too beset and limited, the dignitaries of learning should be placed in more fit and seemly relation, than that in which they have stood for half-a-century, to the other dignitaries of our land.*

14. There is one species of abuse on which I do not propose to enter—the mal-administration of college revenues. The Royal Commission of Inquiry now sitting on the universities of Scotland will, there is every reason to believe, place this

* We have data for fixing the relation in which the various public functionaries, whether of the church, of the law, of the army and navy, or of colleges, stood to each other, and to the proprietors of land a century ago, in the revenues which were then attached to the respective offices, and in the rentals of estates. We have also not perhaps less satisfactory data, in the traditions of that period respecting the state of society, and more especially the intermarriages of families.

matter on a satisfactory footing; and there is one reason connected with the interest of these endowments, which makes it strongly advisable that every thing connected either with fees, or bursaries, or salaries, should be perfectly open to public observation. It will give confidence, and along with it liberality to the authors of bequests. The Farquhars of future times will feel security, when they find that such munificence as his is not misapplied. In this view, it is of the utmost importance that our universities should no longer retain the character of close corporations—and that the light of day should be admitted upon all our doings. We have no doubt, that first, the imagination of our unbounded wealth, and, secondly, a distrust founded on the ignorance of its application—that these two things have chilled the generosity of many, who, otherwise, would have gladly associated their names with new or more extended endowments in behalf of education. In either view, a system of publicity is most desirable, both that men of wealth and patriotism should see the nakedness of our land, and that they should have the fullest guarantee against any abuse or perversion of their bounty. When made fully acquainted with the actual state of our colleges, they will be at no loss for the right subjects of testamentary beneficence, as the foundation of a bursary, with some qualification of merit or proficiency annexed to it—or that of a new lectureship for some science not yet provided in the scheme of education—or that of an ecclesiastical ministration to the students, whether in the shape of a regular Sabbath service, or a course of

week-day addresses, on some topic connected with the evidences or the doctrines of Christianity—or the establishment of tutorships, by which young men of talent might be detained, and made to act a most important auxiliary part in the business of the professor—or lastly, the extension of such of the old endowments as are found to be inadequate. These, not to instance further the creation of funds for the purchase and the upholding of apparatus, or for the erection and the upholding of such fabrics as libraries, or museums, or chapels, or observatories, form the ample and inviting objects of that enlightened philanthropy which at one time devises for the interests of science, at another for the interests of sacredness—and which never makes a higher exhibition of itself, than when viewing these as conjunct interests, it blends into one the cause of learning and the cause of piety. Every thing should be done to facilitate and encourage such a career of benevolence as this. It might at length approximate our universities to those of wealthy and well-endowed England, which, fostered as they have been into magnitude by the liberality of former ages, require only an impulse from the wholesome jealousy of the present age, to give them all that might and momentum in society, of which they are so abundantly capable.

15. But if this spirit of testamentary benevolence were once awakened, it would have a boundless variety of other objects connected with education, beside the full equipment of colleges. There still lies an immeasurable field before us in the needs of our growing population, both for common

and Christian instruction. What a multiplication, for example, must there be of local or district schools, ere the plebeian orders of any of our large cities can all be overtaken. How many even are the provincial parishes, where the number of people has outstripped three or four times over what was found to be an adequate provision of scholarship a century ago. What an opening to Christian benevolence is presented in the enormous magnitude of those town parishes, where so many chapels are required to supplement the one church, which is all that our establishment has provided for the accommodation of many thousands! Altogether, the apparatus, the system of means or of instrumentality in our land, is greatly short of its moral, and educational, and religious necessities. There is room not merely for an immense number, but for a beautiful variety of new endowments, corresponding to the peculiar wants of various neighbourhoods; as of sewing schools in the midst of a cotton-mill population; and city missions that might be brought to bear on the crowded vicinities of the profligate and the poor; and itinerant teachers of different sorts for the thinly inhabited tracts of the country; and beside the erection of new, the extension of old endowments by bequests, for the augmentation of poorer livings, or for an augmentation most urgently required, even that of the salaries of our parochial schoolmasters. This is the time, when both popular and parliamentary vigilance is more alive than it ever has been to the abuse of all sorts of endowments; and this, therefore, is the time when these endowments might be

multiplied, with the greatest confidence that their end shall be attained.

16. The superstition of past ages has been far more prolific of endowments, than the enlightened benevolence of the present. Some of the English colleges have been founded, and many of them enriched by Popish bequests granted in return for Popish observances. We should like to see the liberality of these days restored; but, liberality placed under the direction of wisdom and sound piety. Posterity will not pray for the souls of benefactors, they will only bless and venerate their memory. This, however, is an earthly reward; and it is well, therefore, in these days of more scriptural religion, that we can quote from the bible passages of higher and purer encouragement. "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness." "He that watereth shall be watered himself." "The liberal deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things shall he stand."

APPENDIX.

Of the five colleges in Scotland, it may be thought that those of Edinburgh and Glasgow should be the most exempted from that soporific influence which is ascribed to endowments; the former being very slenderly endowed, and the latter, though largely endowed, yet being, at the same time, so largely attended, as that the income from fees in the most important classes, still greatly exceeds the income from salaries. It is thus conceived, that the stimulus to exertion may be kept in full activity in these crowded and conspicuous places of education—while it is feared of the more provincial colleges, where the number of students is comparatively small, that they might languish into dormitories, which, like the holds of ancient monkery, might all be swept away, without loss, or rather with the benefit of a positive relief to society.

But it is not adverted to, that, in many of the largest classes in our best frequented colleges, a very great proportion of the fees is virtually a salary. These are circumstances, which, apart altogether from the merit of the professors, or the superiority of their courses, must fix the attendance of a number of students either to Edinburgh or Glasgow. For example, let us suppose that the great population of the metropolis, and its connexion with all parts of the land, and the prospects of employment which it holds out to the young men of its university, that these of themselves, should, under all the varieties of excellence in the professor of Natural Philosophy, insure to him at the very lowest state of his class, the attendance of a hundred students; then the amount of these hundred fees forms his salary. To that extent he has a secure income; and it may act as powerfully as an opiate upon his exertions, whether it is made certain to him by a fixed and regular allowance, or by a statute of apprenticeship. We are far from lamenting this as an evil; for it is the whole drift of our argument, that without either such a salary or such a statute, there could be no Natural Philosophy purely and scientifically taught any where in Scotland. But if the statutes should do as much for the professor of the metropolitan, as the salary does for the professor of the provincial college, they really are not in such circumstances of disparity as might at the outset

be imagined. Both have tasted of the opiate. Both lie under a certain temptation to indolence. If the one might remit exertion because sure of so much salary, the other might remit exertion because sure of so many students. In neither situation can this evil influence be done away; and it is by an upright patronage alone that the evil can be fully counteracted. Without this, the degeneracy of colleges is unavoidable. It is not by modelling these institutions, so that professors shall be wholly dependent on their exertions, that such degeneracy can be prevented; for, if there be any truth in our argument, science will, under such a system, dwindle into popular empiricism. Professors must to a certain, nay to a very considerable degree, be independent of the public taste, and the public demand. They are made so in the smaller colleges by salaries. And they are no less made so in the larger colleges by statutes of apprenticeship; for they are these statutes which, in all the severer parts of education, replenish our university classes. Without such independence, there must ensue the corruption of science, while, with such independence, there might ensue the indolence and unconcern of its teachers. It lays a grave responsibility upon patrons, that, in the impotency of all other expedients, there seems no method of escape from the evils, but in the righteous exercise of their trust —in the appointment of conscientious and zealous, as well as able teachers—men, at once of lofty professional acquirements, and of lofty professional enthusiasm.

Let the metropolitan professor be sure, in all circumstances, of a hundred students, and the provincial only of ten. By talent and exertion, the former may draw from his well-peopled neighbourhood and remote places together, an additional twenty. The same talent and the same exertion, might enable the latter to draw only an additional five; some of which, perhaps, may have been lured by his reputation from the other colleges. It is utterly a mistake to imagine, that this competition is too paltry to be felt. It is a competition in which the greatness of the victory is to be estimated, not by the number, but by the quality of the students; and they are only the students of a strong and decided academic taste, who, at the expense of derangement and inconvenience, will, in their preference for a better and a higher style of science, make such movements from one university to another. The homage of their selection is far more delicious to a pure collegian, than the bustling attendances, and the clamorous applauses of a crowd. It is like the praise of Atticus, the incense of which, though not copious, is exquisite—that precious aroma which fills not the general atmosphere, but by which the few and the finer spirits of our race are satisfied. Theirs is not the broad day-light of popularity. It is a fame of a higher order, upheld by the testimony of the amateurs or the *elite* in science; and grounded on those rare achievements, which the public at large

can neither comprehend nor sympathize with. " They sit on a hill apart ;" and there breathe of an ethereal element, in the calm brightness of an upper region, rather than in that glare and gorgeousness by which the eye of the multitude is dazzled. It is not the eclat of a bonfire for the regaling of a mob, but the enduring though quiet lustre of a star. The place which they occupy is aloft in the galaxy of a nation's literature, where the eyes only of the more finely intellectual gaze upon them with delight, and the hearts only of such are lifted up in reverence and *con amore* towards them. Theirs is a high though hidden praise, flowing in secret course, through the *savans* of a community, and felt by every true academic to be his most appropriate reward.

Were it for nothing else than to keep this competition agoing, it were well to keep up our provincial colleges, even though they should require larger salaries for the maintenance of professors, while the others could be upholden on fees alone by means of the statutes of apprenticeship. It were deciding on a hasty and superficial view, that because education was furnished to two thousand students in Edinburgh, for less expense in salaries than two hundred students in St Andrews, the university of the latter place might therefore be deemed an excrescence, and dealt with accordingly ; that is, might, with all safety and even advantage, be blotted out from the reformed scheme of colleges for Scotland. We believe, that some imagination of this sort is very much fostered by the spectacle of only two universities in England ; whereas, in our own land, there are no less than four such seats of learning. It is forgotten, that, both in Oxford and Cambridge, there is a busy competition, not of the one university with the other, but a strenuous internal competition amongst the numerous distinct colleges of which each university is composed. For the twenty-four seminaries of Oxford, and the sixteen of Cambridge, we have only five colleges of literature and philosophy in Scotland ; and to suppress but one of these, would be to abridge a benefit of which, in spite of the contrary appearance, we have a far less share than in the sister kingdom. To lop away any of the provincial colleges, because the professors there, secure in the possession of salaries, are in less likely circumstances for exertion, would still be to leave the metropolitan colleges secure in the possession of students, who, then limited in their choice, and bound to so many classes by a law of compulsory attendance, would make certain a higher income to the professors there than before, and cause them to be less dependent on their exertions than before. The mischief would not be annihilated. It would only be transferred ; and by a process, too, which tended to augment and to confirm it. To extinguish the lesser colleges, and so put an end to their awakening rivalship, might have the effect of turning the others into two large dormitories of literature. There is a peculiarity, as we have laboured all along to demon-

strate, in the higher scholarship; in virtue of which, it can less afford to lose a single influence that is fitted to uphold it. We have seen, that the spontaneous demand of the public is not sufficient to uphold it; and to help out the inadequate maintenance of the professor from fees, there must be salaries. Or if, to remove this temptation to professorial indolence, the salaries are taken away, then, what would constitute another temptation equally strong, there must be statutes of apprenticeship. Such are the inherent difficulties of the case; and we should gladly avail ourselves of any other influence by which to make head against them. The competition between colleges is precisely such an influence, which, operating in some degree on the love of emolument, but in a far higher on the love of character and fame, might enlist on the side of learning and its interests, one of the most generous, and sometimes one of the strongest propensities of our nature.

There can be no doubt that it would serve to multiply and diffuse the higher scholarship through England—were the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge more dispersed than they are over the face of the country. The distance of these great seminaries, or rather of these mighty aggregates of seminaries, is a barrier in the way of many families. Let these aggregates be, in some degree at least, broken up—by detaching so many of the separate institutions, and transferring them, with all their endowments, to other parts of the land; and we feel quite confident that the whole amount of the nation's literature would be greatly increased. Each vicinity so blessed, would brighten into a more highly lettered region than before—and we should there behold a more refined and accomplished society. The juxtaposition of a college would tell on the general habit of education, in every town or neighbourhood where it should happen to be situated. Such indeed is the virtue which we ascribe to salaries and statutory privileges, that, should even the metropolis be made the scene of such an experiment, we fear, its unendowed university might sink under a rivalry so formidable. At all events, whatever improvements may be deemed expedient for England—we are thoroughly persuaded that the existing local distribution of colleges in Scotland should be left undisturbed—and more especially that the suppression of the provincial colleges, or the incorporation of them into one or two central universities, would both lessen the amount and enfeeble the quality of our academic education.

And indeed, under a system of incorrupt patronage, we should hold the provincial to be a likelier asylum for lofty vigorous and uncompromising science, than the metropolitan university. Certain it is, that professors in the latter, are under greater temptation to vitiate and debase their courses of instruction by unworthy accommodation to the taste of the city multitude. They are sure, at all events, of a large attendance from those who study

for a professional object—but, over and above this, they are in circumstances for making larger additions to their attendance, by the ministration of that which shall be found most pleasing and palatable to the community around them. The danger is, lest the tone and texture of philosophy should be weakened by a commutation of the profound into the popular—by gaudy sentimentalism in the moral, or the glare of exhibition and experiment in the physical sciences. It is very well that education, even in this style, should be plentifully served out to those of the lower intellectual grades of society. But it is not well that our universities should be corrupted by it—that any departure or descent from a high academic standard should be admitted there. There is an imposing aspect of prosperity in the throng, and bustle, and excitement, of an over-crowded class-room. But it is a miserable thing—if obtained by a degrading empiricism on the part of him who conducts it. The remote professor, who sustains the dignity of his theme, even though with but ten kindred spirits to follow him on his high track of demonstration, sheds a finer lustre, and eventually confers a more substantial benefit upon the nation.

There is a grossly arithmetical style of computation on this subject; and whereby a nation's best and highest interests are inconceivably brought down, by the way in which a debasing reference is made of them to a pecuniary standard. Grant that a professor, for his salary of a few hundred pounds, does no more than educate soundly every year ten or a dozen naturalists, or economists, or youthful *savans* of any description, who, by his means, shall have become thoroughly versant in one or other of the sciences—and he makes to society an adequate return in value for all that he receives. And the value is greatly enhanced, if, in addition to the produce of his own class, he shall, by his example and his efforts, give a quickening impulse to the other classes of other and rival colleges. It is true that he may not individually be an effective professor, who can either acquit himself well of his own special task, or stimulate others to the vigorous performance of theirs. This, however, is due not to the endowment, but to the wrong exercise of the patronage. The first would have worked its effect had it not been nullified by the second. The first is that without which the public benefit cannot be achieved—the second is that without the right exercise of which the benefit will not be achieved. In all wisdom and sound policy, if we want to uphold the learning of our land, the way is, not to sweep off the first, seeing that it is indispensable—but to attend well to the second, seeing that this is also indispensable. Because the patronage has in many instances been carelessly or corruptly exercised, this is no adequate reason for destroying or even for deteriorating the endowments. The patent way is to maintain, or even extend the one, and to give, in all time coming,

a purer and better direction to the other. It were hard to visit on posterity the errors of former generations; and because the men of power in the times that are gone by, have corrupted the one ingredient of a most salutary result, that we should proceed to cancel the other ingredient—and so as that the result, however salutary, or however desirable, shall be beyond the reach of any reformation.

And it is well to remark of the provincial colleges in Scotland, that the expense of their maintenance, in the great bulk of it, is not more rightfully a topic of complaint or clamour to the nation, than the expense of the maintenance or establishment of any landed gentleman. The former have a property in land or in tithes, just as the latter has the ownership of an estate. The only difference between these two cases is, that the public functionaries do something—though perhaps, not all that they ought to do—but still retaining the balance in their favour; for the private gentleman, the "natus consumere fruges," does nothing. The one is pledged to a service in return for his livelihood, and some service is actually rendered. The other is pledged to no service—and the public are gainers therefore by such a distribution of the land, as that so much of it shall be allocated to the support of men, who make at least a certain return of labour for those rents, which, under another distribution, would have been absorbed by men on whom no obligation of any sort of labour was laid. It is marvellous, that, with this as the real state of the case, between professors on the one hand and proprietors on the other, one might complain of the former as being an oppressive burden upon society, and be hailed for the sentiment as a sound and enlightened patriot, and yet could not utter the same invective against the latter, without exposing himself to the charge of being an outrageous radical. There is, by the public feeling, a firmer intrenchment around the rights of the simple and absolute possessor, than around the rights of the public functionary, or any corporation of functionaries. We have no doubt that this admits of satisfactory analysis; and we hold nothing more evident, than that a corrupt patronage has been one great aggravating cause of the difference in question. Had clergy all been men of conscience, or had professors all been men of learning and labour, the rights of both would have been greatly more respected—nor would the public have looked with so much toleration or even complacency to those inroads on the property of either, which, when suffered by a private individual, are denounced and execrated as so many acts of spoliation.

Still it must be admitted, that the patrimony of the provincial colleges in Scotland, is greatly too small for the adequate endowment of them; and that to make them as respectable and efficient as they ought to be, something more is necessary than that this patrimony should be held inviolate. There can be no doubt that

the professors have greatly declined from that status which they wont to occupy; and that, entrusted as they are with the charge of the country's highest education, they should be preferred to a greatly higher place in the society of our land. There is much that is offensive to good taste, as well as to good policy, in the want of keeping which obtains between the penury of their condition, and the exalted nature of those functions which they are called upon to exercise. This incongruity will be all the more aggravated, if effectual measures are taken to raise the standard of college education. The number of students will be thereby lessened—and that change, which for the upholding of our nation's literature is so imperiously required, will at once translate our academic men into a higher work, but into lower wages. This might be compensated in the larger colleges by an addition to the fees—but in the smaller colleges, there seems no other way of it, than by an addition to the salaries. For a few thousands a-year, however, we think that all the deficiencies of our university system might be repaired. To this extent professors, instead of independent proprietors, must become pensioners on the public bounty. This change seems indispensable for giving effect to other and most beneficial changes, under which the masters of colleges, charged with a higher philosophy than before, may requite their more adequate maintenance, by their more arduous services.

But something more is necessary for the provincial colleges of Scotland, than a higher endowment of their existing chairs. A few more chairs would need to be instituted in order to complete them as schools of general education. In St Andrews, more especially, the attempt should not be entertained for a moment of even so much as an approximation to a medical or a law school. But, on the other hand, we cannot imagine a fitter situation for schools of theology and general literature, both from the retirement of the place, and the facilities which it affords of moral discipline and inspection. When the young gentlemen of our higher families attend universities, it is not for any professional object, but for the general object of mental culture, and that they may go forth upon the world stored with manly and liberal acquisitions. To parents in that class of society, the very defect of law and medicine from our system should prove its recommendation; inasmuch as it secures for their sons a more select companionship. But that also is the reason why we should stand complete as a seminary of general knowledge; nor should any one branch of education be wanting to our scheme, which enters into the academic education of a finished gentleman. With two or three additional classes, we could be put into an equal state of equipment for letters and philosophy with any of our sister universities; and it is to be hoped that we shall not be so overshaded by the magnitude of these, as to make our wants and our wishes be held as things of insignificance. Theirs is a magnitude made

up, in great part, by the superinducement of the legal and the medical upon general scholarship: for as to the latter, we, in respect of attendance, are not many years behind the most flourishing colleges of our land. Our number of students, two years ago, was very little short from that of the general or gown students of Glasgow, at the beginning of this century: so that, instead of the suppression of the smaller universities, or the absorption of them into the large, they should be upheld in their separate existence, whether as rivals or auxiliaries—and even be put into a state of greater sufficiency, in order to meet the growing exigencies of our growing population.

NOTES.

NOTE A, page 26.

THE following are among the most remarkable of those passages in which the Author of the "Wealth of Nations" makes known his hostility to establishments:—

"Have these public endowments contributed in general to promote the end of their institution? Have they contributed to encourage the diligence, and to improve the abilities of the teachers? Have they directed the course of education towards objects more useful, both to the individual and to the public, than those to which it would naturally have gone of its own accord? It should not seem very difficult to give at least a probable answer to each of these questions."—

"The endowments of schools and colleges have necessarily diminished, more or less, the necessity of application in the teachers. Their subsistence, so far as it arises from their salaries, is evidently derived from a fund altogether independent of their success and reputation in their particular professions."—

"Whatever forces a certain number of students to any college or university, independent of the merit or reputation of the teachers, tends more or less to diminish the necessity of that merit or reputation."—

"The privileges of graduates in arts, in law, physic, and divinity, when they can be obtained only by residing a certain number of years in certain universities, necessarily force a certain number of students to such universities, independent of the merit or reputation of the teachers. The privileges of graduates are a sort of statutes of apprenticeship, which have contributed to the improvement of education, just as the other statutes of apprenticeship have to that of arts and manufactures."—

"Were there no public institutions for education, no system, no science would be taught, for which there was not some demand, or which the circumstances of the time did not render it either necessary, or convenient, or at least fashionable to learn. A private teacher could never find his account in teaching either an

exploded and antiquated system of a science acknowledged to be useful, or a science universally believed to be a mere useless and pedantic heap of sophistry and nonsense. Such systems, such sciences can subsist nowhere but in those incorporated societies for education, whose prosperity and revenue are in a great measure independent of their reputation, and altogether independent of their industry. Were there no public institutions for education, a gentleman, after going through, with application and abilities, the most complete course of education which the circumstances of the times were supposed to afford, could not come into the world completely ignorant of every thing which is the common subject of conversation among gentlemen and men of the world."—*Smith's Wealth of Nations*, Book V. Chapter I. part 3. Art. 2.

NOTE B, page 41.

It is but justice to Dr Smith to notice, that he admits the advantage of a school establishment for the common people, as may be seen in the following passage :—

" The education of the common people requires, perhaps, in a civilized and commercial society, the attention of the public, more than that of people of some rank and fortune."—" They have little time to spare for education. Their parents can scarce afford to maintain them, even in infancy. As soon as they are able to work, they must apply to some trade, by which they can earn their subsistence. That trade, too, is generally so simple and uniform, as to give little exercise to the understanding ; while, at the same time, their labour is both so constant and so severe, that it leaves them little leisure and less inclination to apply to, or even to think of any thing else.

" But though the common people cannot, in any civilized society, be so well instructed as people of some rank and fortune, the most essential parts of education, however, to read, write, and account, can be acquired at so early a period of life, that the greater part, even of those who are to be bred to the lowest occupations, have time to acquire them before they can be employed in those occupations. For a very small expense, the public can facilitate, can encourage, and can even impose upon almost the whole body of the people, the necessity of acquiring these most essential parts of education.

" The public can facilitate this acquisition, by establishing in every parish or district a little school, where children may be taught for a reward so moderate, that even a common labourer may afford it : the master being partly, but not wholly paid by

the public; because, if he was wholly, or even principally paid by it, he would soon learn to neglect his business. In Scotland, the establishment of such parish schools has taught almost the whole common people to read, and a very great proportion of them to write and account. In England, the establishment of charity schools has had an effect of the same kind, though not so universally, because the establishment is not so universal," &c.

This concession in favour of endowed parish schools, is made by Dr Smith, at the expense of the dereliction of his own favourite principle. But he says what is palpably true, when he affirms that, by means of such an establishment, that elementary education which is desirable for the common people, is diffused among them far more extensively than it otherwise would be. And it appears to us just as palpable, that the establishment of endowed seminaries of a higher order, has diffused the education which is desirable both for private gentlemen, and public functionaries, far more extensively than it otherwise would be among the upper classes of society.

Note C, page 61.

The following passages from Dr Smith speak strongly in favour of such an endowment of colleges, as might not only draw to the vacant professorships men of first-rate talents, but as might serve to detain them there in a situation confessedly the most favourable to the formation of first-rate treatises on the subjects of their respective courses:—

"In countries where church benefices are, the greater part of them very moderate, a chair in an university is generally a better establishment than a church benefice. The universities have, in this case, the picking and choosing of their members from all the churchmen of the country, who, in every country, constitute by far the most numerous class of men of letters. Where church benefices, on the contrary, are many of them very considerable, the church naturally draws from the universities the greater part of their eminent men of letters, who generally find some patron, who does himself honour by procuring them church preferment. In the former situation, we are likely to find the universities filled with the most eminent men of letters that are to be found in the country. In the latter, we are likely to find few eminent men among them, and those few among the youngest members of the society, who are likely to be drained away from it before they can have acquired experience and knowledge enough to be of much use to it. It is observed by M. De Voltaire, that Father Porrée, a Jesuit, of no great eminence in the republic of letters, was the only

professor they had ever had in France whose works were worth the reading. In a country which has produced so many eminent men of letters, it must appear somewhat singular, that scarce one of them should have been a professor in an university. The famous Cassendi was, in the beginning of his life, a professor in the university of Aix. Upon the first dawning of his genius, it was represented to him, that by going into the church, he could easily find a much more quiet and comfortable subsistence, as well as a better situation for pursuing his studies; and he immediately followed the advice. The observation of M. De Voltaire may be applied, I believe, not only to France, but to all other Roman Catholic countries. We very rarely find in any of them an eminent man of letters, who is a professor in an university, except, perhaps, in the professions of law and physic; professions from which the church is not so likely to draw them. After the church of Rome, that of England is by far the richest and best endowed church in Christendom. In England, accordingly, the church is continually draining the universities of all their best and ablest members; and an old college tutor, who is known and distinguished in Europe as an eminent man of letters, is as rarely to be found there, as in any Roman Catholic country. In Geneva, on the contrary, in the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, in the Protestant countries of Germany, in Holland, in Scotland, in Sweden, and Denmark, the most eminent men of letters whom these countries have produced, have, not all, indeed, but the far greater part of them, been professors in universities. In these countries, the universities are continually draining the church of its most eminent men of letters.

"It may, perhaps, be worth while to remark, that, if we except the poets, a few orators, and a few historians, the far greater part of the other eminent men of letters, both of Greece and Rome, appear to have been either public or private teachers; generally either of philosophy or of rhetoric. This remark will be found to hold true, from the days of Lysias and Isocrates, of Plato and Aristotle, down to those of Plutarch and Epictetus, of Suetonius and Quinctilian. To impose upon any man the necessity of teaching, year after year, in any particular branch of science, seems, in reality, to be the most effectual method for rendering him completely master of it himself. By being obliged to go every year over the same ground, if he is good for any thing he necessarily becomes in a few years well acquainted with every part of it; and if, upon any particular point, he should form too hasty an opinion one year, when he comes, in the course of his lectures, to re-consider the same subject the year thereafter, he is very likely to correct it. As to be a teacher of sciences is certainly the natural employment of a mere man of letters, so is it likewise, perhaps, the education which is most likely to render him a man of solid

learning and knowledge. The mediocrity of church benefices naturally tends to draw the greater part of men of letters in the country where it takes place, to the employment in which they can be the most useful to the public, and, at the same time, to give them the best education, perhaps, they are capable of receiving. It tends to render their learning both as solid as possible, and as useful as possible."

The attentive reader will perceive, that Dr Smith makes the charm which works all these benefits to literature, to lie in the mediocrity of the church benefices; whereas, it lies in the superiority to these of the college benefices. It is not the deficiency of endowment in the one, but the fulness, or, at least, the excess of endowment in the other, which is the efficient cause of the good rendered to society.

NOTE D, page 66.

For the earlier history of the two English universities, the reader would do well to consult Anthony Wood's "Athenæ Oxonienses," and Fuller's "History of the University of Cambridge." Wood's work is a history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford, from 1500 to 1695. He is, besides, the author of "Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis." The facetious Fuller carried down his history to the middle of the seventeenth century. It abounds in delectable specimens of the academic wit and humour of his day. In this work, indeed, as well as in his "Church History of Britain," there is the strangest mixture of amusement and information.

The moving cause of many of these endowments was superstition, as will be seen in a subsequent note. But to this there were also many honourable exceptions. In the deed of endowment of Clare Hall in Cambridge, the munificent Lady De Clare professes to be actuated by "a desire for the extension of every branch of useful learning, that there might no longer remain an excuse for ignorance; and to create a firmer concord and closer union among mankind, by the civilizing effects of indulgence in liberal study." This is as far back as 1340.

But perhaps the finest specimen of this pious and enlightened liberality, was afforded by the good Bishop of Winchester, William de Wykeham, the munificent founder of New College, in Oxford. Wood thus expresses himself:—"Thus was this noble work finished and completed by the bounty of the thrice worthy and never too much admired prelate, not so much for the eternizing of his own name, but chiefly for the public good; that the Holy Writ and all other sciences might the freer be dilated; that

Christ might be preached, and the true worship of him augmented and sustained; that the number of clerks might be increased, which were before swept away by pestilences and other miseries of the world."

That there is a native *vis inertiæ* on the part of the public in reference to learning, which needs to be operated upon by aggressive forces from without, and in virtue of which, it, without endowments, and without statutes of apprenticeship, would speedily decline, is manifest from the whole history of literary institutions. In Fuller's History of Cambridge for 1545, he says, that "there was now a general decay of students, no *colledge* having more scholars therein than hardly those of the foundation, no *volunteers* at all, and only *persons pressed* in a manner by their places to reside; indeed, on the fall of the Abbeys, fell the hearts of all scholars fearing the ruin of learning."

Note E, page 67.

The following is a catalogue of those who have been educated at Oxford, and whose names are the most familiar, at least to ourselves, as associated with the learning or the politics of England:—

1. Merton College.—Bishop Jewell, Bishop Hooper, Shute Barrington Bishop of Durham, Duns Scotus, *Wickliffe*, Anthony Wood, Steele.
2. University College.—Thomas Kay or Caius, Lord Herbert, Hurd, Radcliffe, Sir William Jones.
3. Baliol College.—Bishop Douglas, Keil, *Bradley*.
4. Exeter College.—Prideaux, Conybeare, Secker, Lord Shaftesbury, Maundrell, Kennicott.
5. Oriel College.—*Bishop Butler*, Sir Walter Raleigh, Dr Joseph Wharton.
6. Queen's College.—Henry V. *Bernard Gilpin*, William Gilpin (on the Picturesque), Wingate, Wycherley, Mill (Prolegomena), Halley, *Addison*, Tickell, Seed, Shaw (Travels, &c.), Collins (Poet), Burn (Justice of the Peace).
7. New College.—*Lowth*, *Young*, Pitt (Poet).
8. Lincoln College.—Archbishop Potter, Tindal (Deist), Hervey (Meditations), Wesley.
9. All Souls' College.—*Sir Christopher Wren*, *Jeremy Taylor*, *Blackstone*.
10. Magdalene College.—Bishop Horne, Wolsey, Hampden, Hammond, Sacherevell, Yalden (Poet), *Gibbon*, Chandler.
11. Brazen Nose College.—Fox (Martyrs), Buxton (Melancholy), Petty (Political Arithmetic).

12. Corpus Christi College.—Pococke (Traveller), Twyne, *Hooker*, Dr Nathaniel Foster, Day, Sir Ashton Lever.

13. Christ Church.—*John Owen*, Atterbury, Horsley, Lord Littleton, Lord Mansfield, Ben Jonson, Otway, Gilbert West, Cambden, Gunter, William Penn, Desaguliers, Lord Bolingbroke.

14. Trinity College.—Chillingworth, Denham (Poet), Blount (Traveller), Harrington (Oceana), Derham, Whitby, *Lord Chatham*, Thomas Warton.

15. St John's College.—Archbishop Laud, Briggs, Sir John Marsham (Chronologist), Josiah Tucker.

16. Jesus' College.—Usher.

17. Wadham College.—Walsh (Poet), Admiral Blake, Creech (Lucretius), Dr Mayow, Harris (Hermes).

18. Pembroke College.—Bishop Bonner, Pym, Whitfield, Shenstone, *Dr Johnson.*

19. Worcester College.—Sir Kenelm Digby.

20. Hertford College.—Richard Newton, Selden, Dr Donne, *Charles Fox.*

21. St Alban's Hall.—Massinger (Dramatic Poet).

22. Edmund Hall.—Sir Richard Blackmore.

23. St Mary's Hall.—Sir Thomas More, Harriot.

24. New Inn Hall.—Scott (Christian Life).

25. St Mary Magdalene Hall.—Sir Henry Vane, Lord Clarendon, Sir Matthew Hale, Theophilus Gale.

The following is a similar list of names associated with Cambridge. The same individual is sometimes connected with both universities; and it will be observed, that Cambridge, on the whole, exceeds Oxford in the number and higher literary stature of its gigantic men:—

1. Peter's House, or College.—Law Bishop of Carlisle, Dr Sherlock Senior, Garth the Poet, Gray the Poet.

2. Clarehall.—*Archbishop Tillotson*, *Cudworth*, Langhorne, Dodd.

3. Pembroke Hall.—Dr Calamy, *Spencer* (Poet), Mason, *William Pitt.*

4. Granville and Caius College.—*Jeremy Taylor*, Titus Oates, *Dr Harvey* (Circulation of the Blood), *Dr Clarke*, Lord Thurlow.

5. Trinity Hall.—Dr Horsley.

6. Corpus Christi, or Benet College.—Dr Briggs, Fletcher the Dramatic Poet, Dr Sykes.

7. King's College.—Pearson (on the Creed), Oughtred, Gouge, Walsingham, Waller, Collins the Free-thinker, Sir Robert Walpole, Horace Walpole.

8. Queen's College.—Bishop Patrick, Erasmus, *Wallis*, Thomas Fuller.

9. Catharine Hall.—Lightfoot (Hebrew), Dr Sherlock Junior, Hoadley, Reay.

10. Jesus' College.—Archbishop Cranmer, Elliot the Missionary, Flamstead, Fenton, Jortin, Hartley, Sterne, Gilbert Wakefield, Henry Venn.

11. Christ's College.—Latimer, Bishop Porteous, MILTON, Joseph Mede, Francis Quarles, Howe, Sanderson, *Paley*.

12. St John's College.—Gauden, *Stillingfleet*, Roger Ascham, Cecil Lord Burleigh, Ben Jonson, Otway, Cave, Prior, *Bentley*, Ambrose Philips, John and Thomas Balguy, Ogden, Soame Jenyns, Theophilus Lindsey, Horne Tooke, Churchill.

13. Magdalene College.—Waterland, Lord Stafford, *Waring*.

14. Trinity College.—Wilkins, *Barrow*, Smith (Optics,) Tunstall, Newton (Prophecies), Bishop Watson, BACON, NEWTON, *Dryden*, Lord Essex, Donne, *Coke*, Cowley, Pell, Cotes, Conyers Middleton, Atwood, Maskelyne, *Porson*.

15. Emanuel College.—Farmer (Shakespeare), Bishop Hall, Chandler, Hurd, Horrox, *Matthew Poole*, Charnock, Sir William Temple, Law (Serious Call), Martyn (Botany).

16. Sidney Sussex.—Ward (Mathematics), *Oliver Cromwell*, Wollaston.

Beside these, Cambridge can lay claim to *Lord Byron*.

NOTE F, page 81.

The practice of an initial examination obtains in colleges of more recent formation. It does so at the college of Belfast. Those who attend there with a view to the presbyterian ministry, have to undergo examination by a committee of clergymen of their own denomination, previous to their admission as students. At Maynooth they require a pretty high preliminary education; and the common age of their students on entry is seventeen. The following is extracted from the Minutes of Evidence taken by the Commissioners of Inquiry upon Irish Education:—

"It appears that in order to be admitted into the lowest class, a young man must be able to construe Cæsar's Commentaries, the works of Sallust, Virgil's Eclogues, and the first four books of the Æneid, Horace's Epistles, and Cicero's Orations against Cataline. He must also be conversant with the Greek Grammar, and he must be able to read the gospel of St John, the first book of Lucian's Dialogues, and the first three books of Xenophon's Cyropædia! He is liable to be examined in all these books.

"Can you state what would be the probable expense that a young man must have incurred in his education, previous to his admis-

sion into that class? I should think they are generally three years at a Latin and Greek school.

"What is the general price of instruction at such a school as they must attend? The general price of instruction in such schools at present, is a guinea a quarter; but as the schools are not numerous in this country, the young men that go to school, or rather their parents, are obliged, in many instances, not only to defray the expenses incurred with the schoolmaster but likewise to pay for their diet and lodging, very frequently at a considerable distance from the residence of their parents.

"Is the expense of the education which it is necessary to obtain, previously to a young man's being admitted to Maynooth, so great as to make it impossible for persons of a very low order in society to be admitted into the college at Maynooth? I think it is: and more particularly the expenses they are subjected to on entering, and after entering the college."

It appears, then, from this extract of the Maynooth Evidence, that to obtain the requisite preliminary education, parents have often to send their sons to provincial schools at a considerable distance from home; and that the expense incurred thereby is such, as to place the college education above the reach and ability of the lowest orders. Notwithstanding, the institution is attended by 391 students; and this is deemed so full an attendance, by the President, Dr Crotty, that he thinks it would be very inconvenient to have a greater number in one establishment. There is, therefore, a two-fold instruction in this passage. First, though our parochial schools should not afford the education required under a new system of regulation for our universities; yet, if there should be one adequate school in each county, for example, we need not wait for the regeneration of an elementary system of scholarship over the whole country, ere we exact a high preliminary education for colleges. And secondly, we need not despair, notwithstanding the additional expense that would be thus incurred, of a sufficient attendance for the supply of all our learned professions. The attendance would be somewhat reduced certainly; but the present state of the competition for vacancies in the church, or for employment in the professions of medicine and law, may well convince us, that there is very great room for such a reduction.

The following resolution, therefore, by the Trustees of the Maynooth college, we hold to be worthy of adoption by the colleges of Scotland:—

"At a meeting of the Trustees of the Roman Catholic college, held in said college, on the 26th June, 1821, it was unanimously resolved, 'That after the expiration of two years from this date, no scholar shall be admitted upon the establishment of the Royal College of Maynooth who shall not be found capable of answering

in the Latin and Greek authors set down in the following entrance course.'"

For the list of books, see the Eighth Report on Education in Ireland, page 57.

NOTE G, page 93.

A very effective method of teaching a class, is to prescribe an order of reading to the students, from the best treatises which have been written on the subject taught; and to follow up this reading by a strict daily examination on the part of the Professor. By means of his own running commentary, he can at the same time give his own independent views, and give the colour of his own mind to every successive topic which shall present itself in the course of the session. Between their careful perusal of the best standard works in their own apartments, and their animated converse on the subjects of these with the Professor in his class-room, there is the best security that can be conceived for the students making a sound and well ascertained progress in the various branches of learning. By this method of teaching, the Professor is dispensed from the ponderous and often unnecessary task of composing a full system of lectures. But it does not supersede occasional or supplementary lectures, by which he might rectify, or illustrate, or add, to the lessons of those writers who have gone before him. He might himself, in this way, reach the press through the medium of the chair, and bequeath so many text-books for the courses of philosophy in future generations. It is thus, that we may best realize the twofold advantage of retaining in our colleges all that is most precious in the wisdom and learning of the times that are past, and yet of keeping pace with the most recent discoveries, nay of accelerating their progress.

NOTE H, page 110.

We trust that, in the department of medicine at least, the London university may have virtually the benefit of a statute of apprenticeship. The statute that none shall obtain license to act as a practitioner who has not attended *a* course of lectures on certain branches of medical learning, goes a great way to secure this benefit for *the* courses that are best fitted to accomplish the candidates for reputation and employment in this honourable profession. We are further hopeful, that even without any statute, this latter motive will operate powerfully in gaining a numerous attendance from the students of law. We have less

fear, therefore, of a copious supply of students, on the event of good appointments, for the appropriate classes of two of the learned professions. But while it was well, we think, to refrain from the institution of a theological professorship in the university itself, we feel strongly impressed with the benefits that might result from a certain arrangement which we shall now explain, both to the character of this great metropolitan seminary, and to the interests of theological education.

The friends of the dissenting academies in England will not deny the struggles and the severe efforts which it costs to uphold these establishments. Would it not greatly abridge the expense of them, if relieved altogether from the charge of their student's literary education, they could appropriate their funds to that part of the tuition which was purely theological? This might be accomplished by any body of dissenters, who shall ordain a course of attendance on certain classes of the London university as indispensable for the admission of students into their theological seminary. Such an act as this must of course be liable to revocation, and would be revoked, on serious offence being taken with the spirit or substance of the instructions in London.

This scheme, so far as it could be proceeded in, we hold to be pregnant with advantages. In the first place, it might secure for the university a statute of apprenticeship of very wide operation. Should half the dissenters of England be thus associated with that institution, a very large yearly supply of students would thence be afforded; and in the security of their attendance, there might be as lofty and sustained a learning upheld as in the endowed colleges of Scotland or England.

But, secondly, it would operate in raising the theological as well as the literary education of the dissenting ministers. When released from every other charge beside that of their divinity classes, they could perfect and extend these nurseries of sacred science, so as to fill their churches with more accomplished theologians.

And, lastly, when regarded in this connexion, the London university might become an engine of great moral power; and the oldest and wealthiest establishments of our land might be made to feel its ascendant influence, and be thereby provoked to a most wholesome jealousy. We have adverted, in the text, to the likelihood of its beneficial re-action on the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. But should it, further, be the mean of overspreading England with a lettered and enlightened dissenting ministry, who added the weight of piety to the weight of cultivated talent, we scarcely can imagine how a more powerful, and at the same time a more salutary stimulant could be brought to bear upon the church. We should not apprehend, in such a state of things, the most distant tendency to an overthrow of that venerable hierarchy. But we should certainly look under

heaven for its great and glorious revival—and should the London university be really, however indirectly, the cause of a more virtuous ecclesiastical patronage in that country, this, though it meaneth not so, will be its noblest achievement in the cause of humanity and patriotism.

It is on these grounds that we should rejoice in observing such a connexion as we have now pointed out between the London university, and the dissenting bodies of England.*

Note I, page 114.

The melancholy effect of leaving religious instruction to be originated by the native and spontaneous demand of the people, is most strikingly exemplified in the southern and western sections of the United States of America. The following extract is from

* We are glad to observe, in the very intelligent address of the Rev. H. F. Burder, at the opening of Highbury College, a seminary for the education of independent ministers, that he holds out a prospective view somewhat similar to that which we have now given. We do not altogether sympathize with his reflection on the exclusiveness of "a dominant hierarchy." But we join most heartily in his prayer—"May that university which is about to be established in our great metropolis realize the hopes of its best friends and most enlightened advocates! May it afford the most valuable facilities for laying deep and broad that foundation of literature and science, on which our theological seminaries may erect a superstructure fair and firm."

In the report of the Committee for 1826, on the college at Homerton, there occur the following extracts, which an intelligent reader will at once perceive as bearing upon this question.

"It becomes necessary for your Committee to direct the attention of the Meeting to the serious diminution which has taken place in the annual receipts, arising in part from the distressing reduction in the list of subscribers, occasioned by death and the extraordinary commercial calamities which have so widely affected the general interests of society, and partly from its having been found necessary, in order finally to close the Building account, and to liquidate the balance due to the late Treasurer, to sell out £1000, 3 per cent. Red. and £105 new 4 per cent.

"By this indispensable measure, coupled with the sale of stock in the preceding year, the permanent revenue of the Society is diminished nearly £100 per annum; and an inspection of the Treasurer's accounts will show that the annual expenditure exceeds the entire income by at least £350, an excess which must lead to most ruinous consequences unless repaired by measures of a vigorous and instantaneous character. To such measures your Committee pledge themselves, and most earnestly entreat all the friends of the Institution to co-operate with them, by strenuous exertions to procure donations and annual subscriptions to such an extent as can alone perpetuate the benefits which this Society has been enabled to confer upon the Churches during the last hundred years.

"The object of the Institution, which has existed about a hundred years, is to support twenty young men of decided and approved piety, who possess respectable talents, and are desirous of devoting themselves to the glory of God, and the immortal welfare of mankind, by engaging in the work of the Christian ministry, in pursuing a course of study adapted to the attainment of such branches of literature as may best qualify them for the intelligent and honourable discharge of the sacred office to which they aspire. The period of time allotted to the entire course is six years; the first two of which are occupied solely in classical pursuits, and the remaining four in classical, theological, and philosophical studies. *In cases where a classical education has been previously enjoyed, the term of study is contracted proportionably to the attainments which have been made.*"

the narrative of a Tour by the Rev. Samuel J. Mills through that country.

"Never will the impression be erased from our hearts, that has been made by beholding those scenes of wide-spreading desolation. The whole country, from Lake Erie to the Gulph of Mexico, is as the valley of the shadow of death. Darkness rests upon it. Only here and there, a few rays of gospel light pierce through the awful gloom. This vast country contains more than a million of inhabitants. Their number is every year increased, by a mighty flood of emigration. Soon they will be as the sands on the sea-shore for multitude. Yet there are at present only a little more than one hundred Presbyterian or Congregational ministers in it. Were these ministers equally distributed throughout the country, there would be only one to every ten thousand people. But now there are districts of country, containing from twenty to fifty thousand inhabitants entirely destitute. 'And how shall they hear without a preacher?'"

NOTE K, page 121.

The excellent Philip Henry, who was expelled from his charge as the established minister of a parish for nonconformity, had the opportunity of contrasting the comparative efficiency of the two systems. We hold the following testimony from him to be peculiarly valuable.

"Yet the opportunity he found there was of doing the more good, by having those that were his charge near about him, made him all his days bear his testimony to parish order, where it may be had upon good terms, as much more eligible, and more likely to answer the end, than the congregational way of gathering churches from places far distant, which could not ordinarily meet to worship God together. From this experience here, though he would say we must do what we can, when we cannot do what we would, he often wished and prayed for the opening of a door, by which to return to that order again."

See the edition of Philip Henry's Life, by J. B. Williams, page 47. There is a note subjoined to this extract, by the present, or some former Editor, by which it is attempted, but without success, to neutralize the force of this important testimony. I may hear take the opportunity of adding, that this edition by Mr Williams contains much original matter, whereby he has enhanced still more the value of one of the most precious religious biographies in our language.

Note L, page 129.

In the short but very instructive pamphlet of my enlightened friend Mr Hale of Homerton, entitled, "Cursory Remarks upon the Present State of Protestant Dissenting Congregations," we meet with ample confirmation of our principles on this subject. He, though himself a zealous dissenter, and a most liberal supporter of their interests, seems to feel that these interests can only be upheld by a severe struggle against the popular and the prevailing bias of our nature. The following observations by Mr Hale we deem to be in the highest degree important and judicious.

"In the common transactions and business of life, we know that an increased demand for any of its comforts or luxuries will always secure an increased supply; but we must proceed in an inverse ratio, when it regards the welfare of immortal souls. 'The carnal mind is enmity against God.' There is no desire in the human race for religious instruction—they are totally averse from it; and, to speak in the political language just referred to, we must always overstock the market with a supply before we can have reason to expect any demand."—

"There are many worthy pastors in various parts of the empire, who know, from bitter experience, the truth of these observations; who have been struggling for years against the tide of adversity, and whose extreme distresses are known only to the afflicted partners of their lives, and to those of their children who have been early inured to the severe privation of almost every domestic comfort. Their anguish has often been such as to render them totally unfit for the labours of the Sabbath: and while they have been called to exhort their congregation to the practical exercise of every relative duty, they have been sensible that their own inability to discharge their just debts has been too freely circulated by some of their hearers; that unjust motives have been partially ascribed to their conduct, and that thus an advantage is taken, by the enemies of religion, to destroy the effects of their preaching.

"I am aware that it will be said by some, that the young Minister should endeavour to keep a school; but this is not desirable. The constant and faithful discharge of his ministerial duties will sufficiently occupy his time, while any other employment will naturally tend to diminish his usefulness. In many situations the establishment of a school is not practicable; in others the ground is already so occupied that the attempt would be fruitless; and frequently, where Ministers have for a while persevered in the plan, it has ended in their failure, and sometimes in the abandonment of their pastoral duties."—

"It must, however, be admitted, 'that there are many minis-

ters of irreproachable character at this time unable to obtain pastoral engagements; and also, that there are many stations highly interesting and important that are suffering greatly from the want of able and learned ministers."—

"What must be the feelings of a young man who has devoted himself to the Christian ministry, and who, by his amiable conduct and presevering industry while in the college, has gained the approbation and affection of his tutors—I say, what must be the feelings of this holy young man, when, after preaching acceptably to the congregation which he has been supplying, and from which he has received a pressing invitation to become their pastor, he finds, to his inexpressible grief, that the income which they have been accustomed to give to their minister will not be sufficient for his bare maintenance!"

"With respect to those 'stations, exceedingly interesting and important, which are suffering incalculably from the want of Ministers,' it is acknowledged, that the chief obstacle to such stations, being suited with able Pastors, is the not raising a sufficient provision for their frugal maintenance."—

"By far the greater part of our dissenting congregations lie under the charge of not contributing what they ought to do for their Pastors."*

Note M, page 154.

The Crown, in its church patronage of Scotland, has been in the habit of evincing so far a deference to the wishes of those who are interested in its nominations, as generally to decide the appointment by the wishes of the majority of landed proprietors in the parish—estimating that majority, however, by the valued rent. We should deem it an improvement on the practice, were Government, in this matter, to grant the benefice on the application of the numerical majority of heritors. Should the elders be admitted along with the heritors to a voice in the application, this would place the Crown Patronages of Scotland on the same footing which obtained in regard to all the patronages at the beginning of the last century. For ourselves, we are not very confident that a purer exercise of the right would be secured by any further extension of the franchise.

* The Pamphlet from which these extracts have been taken, was called forth by the following observation of a writer in the Congregational Magazine, who seems to have felt, and to have felt truly, the feebleness of the native demand for the services of ministers:—

"When the supply of any article exceeds the demand, the invariable consequence is, a diminution of its value. If ministers should increase in a much greater ratio than the necessities of the churches require, the inevitable consequence will be, a degradation of the ministerial character."

Historically, a universal suffrage in the appointment of clergymen has not proved itself to be a specific against the evil of corrupt and unworthy nominations. The unitarianism which has taken possession of many of the originally orthodox chapels in England; and the Arianism which entered the Presbyterian Synod of Ulster in Ireland, sprung up there under a system of popular election. It is true that Arianism is now rapidly declining in the North of Ireland—and that, too, because of the recent nominations being almost all in favour of orthodox clergymen. But this is saying no more for patronage as vested in the people, than that it is partaking in the improvement which is now taking place in the exercise of all other patronage. The dominant spirit of the country is fast working its way throughout all the forms and frameworks of outward constitution.

While upon this subject, we may take the opportunity of expressing our regret that the Government grant has not been sooner restored to the college of Belfast—and that, too, from the apprehension of its proving a nursery of Arianism. Even though it were greatly worse in this respect than it is at present, we should have no such fear—being assured that in the growing orthodoxy of the synod of Ulster, and in the necessary influence, which, apart altogether from stipulations, that body must have on the professorial appointments, there is a moral security against the apprehended evil, far greater than could be provided by any formal ratifications.

PART II.

LECTURES

ON

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND EXTENSION

OF

NATIONAL CHURCHES;

DELIVERED IN LONDON, FROM APRIL TWENTY-FIFTH TO MAY TWELFTH, 1838.

LECTURES

ON

RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS.

LECTURE I.

Statement of the Question respecting a National Establishment of Christianity; and Exposure of the Misconceptions regarding it.

1. THERE is a felt indisposition on the part of certain religionists to the question of an Establishment; and that just because it appears to them a mere question of machinery. They view it as at best an earthly expedient for the diffusion and settlement of Christianity in the world. It seems with them to imply a distrust in the efficacy of divine grace; nor can they find room in their contemplation for the respective parts, which belong to the agency of God and the instrumentality of man, in the great work of providing for the religious education of the people. Such is the homage which these men, of strong but unintelligent piety, would render to the supremacy of that Being who

rules and actuates and determines all things. In the entireness of their dependence upon Him, they would themselves do nothing—as if in things sacred, and more especially in the affairs of the church upon earth, human skill and human activity were alike uncalled for.

2. To meet their antipathy in this very general form, it might be perhaps enough to say, that, if acted upon or carried into effect, it were in utter violation of all the analogies both of nature and of providence. In the business, for example, of agriculture, as well as of seamanship and the arts, do we behold processes of human contrivance, adapted to powers, that often, in their principle and mode of operation, are altogether beyond the reach of human comprehension. And certain it is, that the dependence we ought to feel on the Sovereign of our world, for the shower and the sunshine and the various influences of the firmament above, does not supersede the diligence wherewith we ply the labours, and both devise and prosecute the schemes, of our well-arranged husbandry below. Here, then, we have a supernal influence in the hands of God, conjoined with a terrestrial economy in the hands of man. If nature withhold her part, there might be no valuable produce from fields cultivated with whatever skill or whatever strenuousness. If we withhold our part, there might be a hundredfold less of valuable produce from the same fields lying waste and neglected, however genial the seasons, or with whatever benign an aspect the year may have rolled over us. But, instead of this, in the operations

of common husbandry, man concurs with nature, and nature concurs with man—he by his unremitting industry, the processes of which are all palpable and known; she by her ceaseless and mysterious agency, the footsteps of which are recondite and unknown. Man cannot fathom or foretell the courses of nature—for, whether in the arcana of our heaving atmosphere, or in the depths of the vegetable physiology, there is in each a laboratory, the recesses of which we have never entered, and the inner movements of which are alike beyond our cognizance and our control. Yet this does not restrain the confidence wherewith we address ourselves to the culture and management of the soil; and it is by the patent working of man, superadded to the inscrutable working of nature, or rather of Him who is the author of nature, that we obtain the sustenance of millions from a territory, which, if abandoned to nature alone, would yield, but a precarious subsistence for the beasts of the field, and a few straggling savages.

3. Now this holds true, in all its parts, of what may be termed the work of spiritual husbandry. It may be, nay it is by the descent of an influence from above, that every human spirit is reclaimed from the barrenness, from the deadly blight of nature, and made to abound in the fruits of righteousness. But our entire dependence on God, who giveth the increase, does not supersede the entire diligence wherewith the ministers of the gospel should give themselves to the labour of planting and watering, each his own allotted part

of the vineyard. So far from superseding, it should stimulate, that labour; and affords the best warrant or vindication which can be given of it. There is a region in South Africa, where the soil is of the best capabilities; but where, from the utter want of rain all the year, vegetation is nearly unknown, or, at least, no human industry can obtain a recompense, by any additions which it can possibly make to the produce of it. Here, then, it is not the presence, but the negation, of a celestial aliment, which suspends all terrestrial labour as hopeless and unavailing; and if, in virtue of some physical change, this aliment were restored, or rain were to fall as in other countries of the globe, then, and then only, could there be a meaning or a justification for the appliances of human activity and skill; and then a busy agriculture, now unlocked, would find room and encouragement for its various processes. And it is even so in the work of spiritual cultivation. For the prosperity of this work, we are taught that there must be a descent of living water from the upper sanctuary. Yet this descent does not supersede—it rather calls for—a work of preparation on the earth which receives it. The part which God takes in the operation, does not abrogate the part which man ought to take in it. They are the overflowings of the Nile which have given rise to the irrigations of an artificial husbandry in Egypt, for the distribution of its waters. And there is positively nothing in the doctrine of a sanctifying or fertilizing grace from heaven above, which should discharge us—but the contrary—from what may

be termed the irrigations of a spiritual husbandry in the world beneath. It is not enough that there be a descent; there must be a distribution also, or ducts of conveyance, which, by places of worship and through parishes, might carry the blessings of this divine nourishment to all the houses and families of a land. There is nothing, therefore, in the doctrine of the Spirit's agency that should foreclose the question, which still remains to us in all its importance, of the best polity, or the best platform, for a church upon earth. While we acknowledge the celestial descent, we must not neglect the terrestrial distribution. That there is a co-operation between these, is evident from the single expression of men being fellow-workers with God. But the principle rests not on any single or incidental testimony. It pervades the whole system of the Divine administration; and the neglect of it is a radical and pervading error in Christianity. A machinery is not the less essential upon earth, that the impellent force which guides and animates its movements is from Heaven. There is nothing in this to disparage or do away with the paramount necessity of a spiritual influence—whatever the apprehensions may be of a mistaken, I should even say a drivelling though sincere piety, which greatly underrates the importance of a visible and material economy in things ecclesiastical, and would set it aside as a mere system of earthly means and earthly expedients. Such an economy may, notwithstanding, in the order of cause and effect, be an essential stepping-stone to the salvation of millions; and that without

[illegible]

[illegible] however [illegible] and asserted [illegible] Hea- [illegible] human souls: and he [illegible] neither prevent nor ule- [illegible] of its spiritual barrenness.

[illegible] the more, let it [illegible] that when the Spirit does [illegible] human soul, it is generally [illegible] the medium of the Word, or, to express [illegible], the Bible forms the material path- [illegible] communications. There is nothing [illegible] doctrine therefore to extenuate, but rather [illegible] to enhance, the importance of multi- [illegible] the Scriptures, and giving universal circu- [illegible] them over the world. But the applica- [illegible] to our argument becomes still more obvious when we also recollect, that, both at the com- [illegible] and throughout the successive ages of Christianity, although the Spirit has ever been the great agent in the work of conversion, He makes choice of His own vehicles, and has always an- [illegible] an especial virtue to, or puts an especial honour on, the instrumentality of man. By

means of one heavenly visitant, the whole substance and truth of Christianity might have been conveyed with power to the mind of Cornelius. But for this purpose two were employed—one preternatural message having been sent to Peter, for the purpose of bidding him go to Cornelius; and another to Cornelius himself, for the purpose, not of delivering the gospel to him, but of preparing him to expect the visit of a fellow-mortal, from whose lips he should receive it. And so it was in the act of Peter speaking to Cornelius and to the other members of his household, that the Holy Ghost fell upon them. The same mysterious agent who gives efficacy to the read also gives efficacy to the preached word—but preached, not by beings of a higher to those of a lower order, but by men to men. It is the Divine Spirit alone who sends the message with efficacy to the heart; but still it is a message borne to the ear by human messengers. In other words, they are bibles and ministers that form the two great parts of His main and chosen instrumentality. And, in our capacity as fellow-workers with God, it is for us to set this instrumentality agoing—to see that a bible should be in every house, and that a minister should have access to every family. These form our plain and palpable doings for the furtherance and distribution of that Christianity upon earth, which, nevertheless, but for the descent of a heavenly influence from above, could have no being in the world. It is ours to strike out the channels of conveyance,—it is for God to fill them. The work which belongs to us in this spiritual hus-

bandry is as patent as that of planting and watering is in common husbandry. The work which belongs to God of giving the increase, is, in both, beyond the sight and search of all our faculties—wholly inscrutable in the mysteries of grace; and far from being fully comprehended, whether in the mysteries of the fitful weather above our heads, or in the still profounder mysteries of vegetation.

5. There is nothing, then, in the doctrine of the Spirit to reduce, but every thing to enhance, the importance of the gospel being preached—and so, therefore, the importance of the question, What is best to be done, that we might secure its being preached to every creature? If there be one economy, under which there is every likelihood that, with all our strenuousness and care, we shall fall short of more than half the population; and another economy, by which it may be made sure that the calls and lessons of Christianity shall be brought to every door—this, all other circumstances being equal, forms in itself a strong ground for our preference of the latter over the former. It is our purpose to demonstrate, that this invaluable property of a full or universal diffusion belongs only to a National Establishment; and to make it palpable, by all the lights of history and human nature, that it never is, and never can be, realised either by the Voluntary System, or by what has been termed the System of Free Trade in Christianity. But we must first premise what is meant by a National Establishment of Religion in a country—or tell what that precisely is which creates or constitutes such an establishment.

6. We shall assume, then, as the basis of our definition for a Religious Establishment, or as the essential property by which to specify and characterise it,—a sure legal provision for the expense of its ministrations. It is a question merely of nomenclature or of definition, and not of doctrine, wherewith we are at present engaged. Our sin gle attempt at this moment is, not the statement of our belief, but the settlement of our language —that there might be a clear and common understanding of the terms used by us, in the course of our argument. We are not saying, at present, whether the legal establishment of religion be a good or a bad thing—we are only telling what we understand such an establishment specifically to be; and saying, that wherever we have a certain legal provision for the ministrations of Christianity, there we have an Establishment of Christianity in the land. It is this which forms the essence of an Establishment; and, as such, must be singled out from among all the other accessories wherewith it may happen to be variegated. This idea of an Establishment may or may not imply what is commonly meant by a connexion between the church and the state. If it be the state which maintains the church, we admit that there is such a connexion—whether this maintenance be their ancient and original gift; or a grant renewed every year, and which may or may not be recalled by the civil government. But the truth is, that the maintenance may have originated in other sources —in the bequest of individuals, or numerous private acts of liberality, prompted by the affection

of the pious for the Christian good, whether of the community at large, or of special districts in various parts of the land. In our eyes it is not less an Establishment on this account, than if supported by a direct allowance from the national treasury. To realise our idea of an Establishment, it is enough that there be legal security for the application of certain funds to the maintenance of Christian worship or Christian instruction in a country; and this in whatever way these funds may have originated. If the church be indebted for its revenues to the benefactions of the rich and the religious in other days, then it may have no more connexion with the state than the state has with any other charitable endowments in the kingdom—where so much property is destined to certain ends; and all which the state has to do in the matter is to make good the destinations, or to see that effect and fulfilment be given to the intentions of the original testators. It is in this sense chiefly that we understand the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to be national or established institutes for the purposes of education. Their *status* or character, as such, does not depend on the antiquarian origin of the property which belongs to them—which, it so happens, they owe, in greater part, not to the liberality of the civil rulers, but to the piety and patriotism of individuals. It depends not on the origin of their property, but on the sureness of its application; the justice of the nation, or the authority of the state and of the laws, being engaged in the defence of it, whether against encroachment, or against its application to

other objects than those on which it is now expended.

7. But even although the church should be wholly supported by the state in things temporal, and a connexion between them be established thus far, it follows not that this connexion should proceed any farther. There might be an entire dependence on the state in things temporal, without even the shadow of a dependence upon it in things ecclesiastical. Although the church should receive its maintenance, and all its maintenance, from the civil power, it follows not that it therefore receives its theology from the same quarter; or that this theology should acquire thereby the slightest taint or infusion of secularity. The state is the dispenser of things carnal; and the church, in exchange for this, is the dispenser of things spiritual: but these things spiritual may retain their purely spiritual character, notwithstanding; and be ministered by the priests to the people, without adulteration or one ingredient of earthliness. The church receives from the state the maintenance of its clergy; and the clergy, in return, give to the subjects of the state a Christian education,—but they might, and do, reserve to themselves the whole power and privilege of determining what that education shall be. For their food and their raiment, and their sacred or even private edifices, they may be indebted to the state; but their creed, and their discipline, and their ritual, and their articles of faith, and their formularies whether of doctrine or of devotion, may be altogether their own. Such may be the line

of demarcation between the civil and the ecclesiastical—that, while the state maintains the teachers of religion, it meddles not with the things that are taught. It may ordain a scholastic establishment, yet leave unfettered the whole determination of the learning to an educational board. Or it may ordain an ecclesiastical establishment, and leave entirely with the church the determination of its own lessons—alike unfettered by any dictation or control on the part of the civil authority. By a system of endowed schools, education might be introduced into hundreds of districts, which, but for this provision, might have remained in unlettered ignorance; and that, too, a right and pure education. By a system of endowed churches, public worship and religious instruction might be introduced into hundreds of districts, which, but for this provision, might have remained in grossest heathenism; and still nothing else be observed or taught but a pure and scriptural Christianity. An endowment may not deteriorate the quality either of common or Christian education, while it adds inconceivably to the diffusion and the amount of both.

8. And it is the more necessary to insist on this consideration, that the attempt is so often made to excite the idea of an essential contamination, in every approach which the church might make to the state, and even when with no other object than that of simply holding forth a maintenance to her clergymen. And the church might submit herself so far to the state as to receive this maintenance, and yet abide as spiritual, as holy and inde-

pendent a church as before—only enabled to distribute the waters of life more copiously among the population, while as purely as ever. When a West India planter sends for a Moravian missionary, and maintains him in the work of instructing the labourers on his estate, we have here the little model of an Establishment. The planter maintains the missionary; and the missionary, in return, teaches on the estate of the planter—yet teaches nothing there but his own Christianity. The Bible is as much his fountain-head as before—truth and holiness as much the objects of his resolute adherence as before. The whole effect of the relation upon which he has entered, is to bring the gospel into contact with hundreds of immortal creatures, who, but for this miniature establishment, might have lived in guilt and died in darkness. It may or it may not have been a spiritual impulse on the mind of the planter which originated the proposal; either a regard to the immortal well-being of his fellow-men, or an enlightened regard to his own safety and advantage, on the principle, that, if his labourers were religiously trained, they would be thereby transformed into a submissive, orderly, and industrious population. With him it may have been a mere calculation of profit and loss; but, whatever the force was which opened the door, still it was a door of highest Christian usefulness to the missionary—and they may have been motives of the purest and highest order, which led him to acquiesce in the proposal. And what is true of the little model of an establishment on this single plantation, may hold

true when expanded into the actual machine of a great national establishment of Christianity over a whole empire. It is uncertain whether it was policy or piety which actuated the mind of Constantine. But whatever secularity it may have been which prompted the overture on the one side, it may have been accepted on the other in purest love to the souls of men, and without the surrender or compromise of one iota of Heaven's high sacredness. When the great autocrat of the Roman Empire, from a persecutor became a nursing-father, the church might then have raised her orisons of gratitude to Him who turns the hearts of kings whithersoever He will; and, now that a way was opened to the plenteous harvest of so mighty a population, might have entered on her now larger field with as holy a zeal for her Master's word, and as lofty an independence throughout all her pulpits, as in the days of martyrdom.

9. We know that, contemporaneously with this establishment of the Christian religion in the days of Constantine, there was, not the birth but the progress of a great and general corruption, which had its commencement in other causes two centuries before. There is nothing in the mere distribution of ecclesiastical labourers over the territory of the Roman Empire, each working in his proper vocation, and in return for a right and regulated income;—there is nothing in such an economy that can at all account for that fearful degeneracy of the church which began even in the first century; and which the establishment that took place early in the fourth did not originate, and, as it appears

from the actual history, could not arrest. The essence of that corruption lay, not in the ascendancy wherewith an establishment had vested the civil power, giving it an undue influence over things ecclesiastical; but, diametrically opposite to this, it lay in the ascendancy wherewith the superstition and ignorance both of princes and people had vested the ecclesiastical power, of which it most unworthily availed itself, to its own enormous aggrandisement in things temporal—at once supplanting the rightful authority of God in His Scriptures; and substituting both a doctrine and discipline of its own, by which to blind the souls of men and subjugate them to its sway. Had emperors and kings understood their own place, and resisted every encroachment by the hierarchy on their own proper and legitimate functions—there was nought whatever in the system of endowed churches, for the universal spread of a Christian education, that could have given rise to a despotism of priests; any more than a system of endowed seminaries, for the spread of a common or literary education, could have given rise to a despotism of schoolmasters. The truth is that influences were at work, which, either with or without an establishment, would have landed Christendom in the terrific Popery of the middle ages—the product, not of that economy for which we are contending, and by which, in return for their legal maintenance, the ministers of the church would, each in his own district, have given forth the lessons and performed the services of the gospel for their respective populations; but the product of an enslaving

superstition, that enabled an ambitious priesthood to riot at pleasure over the consciences and fears of their deluded votaries. Their enormous wealth was the fruit of voluntary offerings made by the people; and their enormous power, in its first beginnings at least, the fruit of voluntary concessions made by princes, who partook in the debasing fanaticism of the times. The effect of a regulated establishment might have been to regulate and restrain the characteristic excesses of that period; and to those who, unable to discriminate, are ever sure to confound the adjuncts or the accidents with the causes of certain great and complex phenomena, we would propose for contemplation the ecclesiastical state of Presbyterian Scotland on the one hand, and Catholic Ireland on the other—the first with an establishment, the second under the entire ascendancy of the voluntary principle; and then ask, in which of the two countries it is, that a corrupt and a domineering priesthood are doing the most to vitiate the pure doctrine of the apostles, or to injure the peace and virtue of the commonwealth?

10. It is fortunate that the reformers knew, how, in this matter, to make distinction between the machinery and the men; and that, instead of destroying the machinery of the Establishment in their respective countries, they only placed it in other and better hands; and so had it worked by men of another doctrine and another principle than before. An establishment, in fact, with its universities and its parishes, might be the best and most active instrument of conveyance in a land,

either for good or for evil, either for a corrupt or a scriptural theology. And so they went intelligently to work. They did not, with blind and headlong zeal, demolish the old apparatus of distribution. They substituted the true gospel for a false one; and sent forth its now amended and purified lessons along the old path-ways of conveyance. The Establishment, in the days of Popery, made sure of a pulpit and a minister in every little district of the country. The Reformation did not destroy this arrangement. It kept up the same fountain-head as before in the colleges, and the same rills of distribution in the parishes and throughout the churches of the land; and maintaining, as was done most strenuously by Knox and all enlightened reformers every-where, the necessity of a settled provision for the teachers of Christianity—it but changed and new-modelled the system in respect of the things that were taught. Whatever the scholarship may be, whether common or general, wherewith you want to charge and inoculate the population of a country, if you desire that it shall be universally spread, you cannot but desire an effective mechanism for the full and ready diffusion of it. The lessons may be good or they may be bad; say that they are bad, and then the question is, Whether shall we change the lessons, or take down and so demolish the machinery? The obvious thing, we should imagine, would be to do as the reformers did—to change the lessons; and if, after this, they be the lessons now of a pure and wholesome theology, we ask, in the name of common sense, where lies the wisdom of destroying

the machinery—kept up, it would appear, so long as it subserved the propagation of corruption and error; and now that this evil is transmuted into good, proposed to be taken down when it might enhance the propagation of righteousness and truth? Is this the treatment, we would put the question, which the government of a country—or if it be a popular government, at the bidding of the collective mind or will of the community at large—is this the treatment which the society of that country ought to bestow on the respective elements of good and evil? After having for ages furnished the evil with all facilities, for its rapid march and full circulation through the families of the land—then, when the evil has been made good, is that the time when these facilities should be taken away? So long as the religion taught was a moral poison, by which to vitiate the hearts and habits of the people, it had the prerogative of an establishment, by which access was made for it through every district and into every door. Strange, if when the religion from a deadly virus has become the water of life, that we should then dispense with those aqueducts of conveyance, by which it might be spread abroad for the healing of the nation. It is well that the venerable fathers of our Protestant church, making distinction between the things which differ, felt and judged otherwise from the headlong innovators of the present day. They medicated the quality of the thing that was circulated; but they let alone the apparatus of circulation. In their achievement we behold the wisdom and the principle of genuine reform. The other achievement is by men of a

different spirit—done, it may be, in the name of reform; but marking the very crisis, and having in it all the characters of a revolution—whether it be the act of a legislature, which lends itself, either to the cupidity of the nobles, or to the outcries of the multitude; or an act of pillage by the multitude themselves, broken loose from the ancient holds of authority, and borne waywardly and uncontrollably along on the surges and amid the uproar of wild insurrectionary violence.

11. And here may we pause on the instructive contrast between the ecclesiastical reformers of the past and present day. It is on the high walk of theology and sentiment that we meet the former—it having been their aim, not to destroy the established church, but to animate it with another spirit; or to give it other doctrines and other principles than before. In these times, again, the hands of our reformers are differently employed—taken up chiefly, not with the internal but the external—with what may be termed the economics of the church, its rights, its revenues, the number and pay of its office-bearers; and were their sole aim a better distribution of its wealth, instead of the abridgment or the alienation of it, this, though a humble, might yet prove an innocent, nay, even a salutary undertaking. The real object of the first reform by Luther and his contemporaries was to mend the church's faith. The professed object of the second reform is to mend the church's framework—though often the obvious effect of the attempted changes, as in Ireland, were to mutilate and weaken, and ultimately to destroy. In former times, it was a

high war of intellect and principle, and many of the best heads and noblest hearts of England were engaged in it—when the lore of her profoundest students, and the testimony of her sainted martyrs, and the outraged moral sense of a now awakened community, were all enlisted on the side of Scripture, and of a pure scriptural ministration throughout the parishes of the kingdom. Altogether it was a nobler controversy, and maintained on a nobler field, than that which now calls forth the championship both of priests and of parliament men. The struggle then related to the quality of that nourishment which should be given to the souls of the people; and the noble result was, that it should be the pure bread and water of life, taken at once from the repositories and fountainheads of inspiration; and not adulterated, as before, by the mixtures of a corrupt and superstitious Popery. The struggle now relates, not to the kind or quality of this spiritual nourishment, but rather to the kind of apparatus that should be maintained for the distribution of it. It is a question, not of theology or of morals, but of machinery; and many are the economical and the arithmetical reformers of our age, who feel themselves abundantly qualified for the entertainment of it. We cannot but remark the total difference, both in character and aim, between the two reformations. If the one were a doctrinal or moral, the other perhaps may be termed a mechanical—or, as the sure effect were not to mend but to demolish altogether the framework of the Establishment, it may best of all be styled a machine-breaking reformation; and of course its

advocates, or rather its instigators and its agents, are the machine-breaking reformers of the present day—far more mischievous in their higher walk, but hardly more intelligent, we do think, be they in or out of Parliament, than the machine-breakers of Kent, the frame-breakers of Leicestershire, or the incendiaries of a few years back in the southern and midland counties of England. It was by strength of principle, or strength of argument, that the venerable fathers of nearly three centuries back achieved their reformation—it will be by strength of hand, or a sort of sledge-hammer energy, that the coarse utilitarians of the present generation, in a period of frenzied delusion on the part of the multitude, or by a wayward exercise of power, unintelligent and unknowing on the part of the legislature, will ever be able to accomplish theirs. If it be the consecrated title of reformation which is to avail them in this day of conflict, if by its means, as with the magical influence of a watchword, they are to enlist in their favour the passions and prejudices of men—then never was there more exemplified the omnipotence of words or sounds over the human understanding—never did conjurers in any walk, whether of politics or of fortune-telling, operate with such success on the credulity of the world, or practise a grosser delusion in the use and by the prostitution of a venerable name.

12. In this age of distempered speculation, we gladly look back, and that with affectionate remembrance, to the more excellent way of our forefathers. Knox new-modelled the faith; but he did not, in spite of all the violence that has been

ascribed to him—he did not demolish the pulpits of the Catholic establishment. He did infinitely better—he took possession of them. He did not destroy a good machine, because of the bad working of it. He did what was a great deal wiser—he dismissed the workmen, and committed the machine into other hands. Fury is often blind; and, if ever there was a provocative to its wildest excesses, it was at that time, when the accumulated wrongs of many ages had at length aroused an indignant community, against the profligate and the persecuting ecclesiastics who so long had lorded over them. Between the cupidity of the nobles and the indiscriminate rage of the multitude, the Establishment itself might have been swept off as a moral nuisance from the face of the country. But our great reformer interposed in its defence; and, making his resolute stand for the churches and stipends of the clergy, he transmitted the material framework, not without hurtful molestation, but still as entire and uninjured as he could, for the use of future generations. The truth is, that, without such an apparatus, he could not have propagated, with the speed and facility which he did, the doctrines of his own reformation—which went like lightning over the land, not on the wrecks of the establishment, but through the numerous pathways, which the establishment, as far as preserved and upholden, had still left open to him. But for this, he might have found a lodgment, on the naked strand where he alighted, yet found the country at large an impenetrable forest; and which he only entered and pervaded by the old channels,

through which now, and by numerous rills of intersection, he sent forth the pure water of life, the lessons of his sound and scriptural theology, among all the parishes. And accordingly all that remains of Popery in Scotland is in those Highland fastnesses —where there might be said to have been no parishes, or these so large and impracticable, as to have been left without the benefits of an Establishment. And so, amid the stormy agitations of that period, when there was a general effervescence in all spirits, his views were calm and enlarged and philosophical. He may have looked indulgently on, when the edifices were pulled down, which harboured the most corrupt and powerful of the old hierarchy; but he protested against all the violence that was offered, and certainly with too much effect, on whatever of the Establishment was really serviceable, or could be turned into use—either for the instruction of the clergy, or the instruction of the people. He denounced the shameful appropriations that were then made, of the wealth which should have gone to the better and more frequent endowment both of churches and colleges. His was the inspiration of lofty principle; but there was a regulating as well as impellent power in his mind —there was the guidance of profoundest wisdom along with it.

13. That corruption and error have been spread abroad by the organ of an establishment is no more an argument for the destruction of the establishment, than that infidelity and licentiousness have been printed is an argument for the destruction of printing-presses. The way is to preserve and to

extend both—making the one the instrument for a full diffusion of Bibles, and the other for a full diffusion of Bible-preaching and Bible-sentiment through the land. To do otherwise, were as if a physician, to get quit of some disease in the blood of his patient, should, instead of operating on the quality of the liquid, so mangle the apparatus by which it finds its course through the corporeal framework as to stop the circulation of it. Were the water of London to take on a deleterious tinge from the accession of some impurity—the way surely is to purge it of this, or, if possible, to bar the ingress of it, rather than make insensate attacks on the subterranean machinery, by which distribution is made of it through the streets of the city and into the houses of the citizens. Yet this last is in the style of our modern reformers. They would suppress parishes; or, by at least a partial destruction, keep back the water of life from certain parts of the territory. Or they would abolish church-rates; and no longer enforce those contributions from the wealthy, by which access and accommodation are provided for the supply of gospel instruction to the families of the poor. Their war is not against any system of theology—for about this they are mainly indifferent, as if all systems were alike in their eyes; but their war is against the machinery set up in other days, and preserved to our own times, for the circulation of its lessons—a machinery effectual then for the spread of a deadly superstition, and so for the subjugation of all spirits to its sway; but which might be as effectual now for the spread of a pure

and undefiled Christianity, and so for the healing of the nation. The days were, "when a man was famous, according as he had lifted up axes upon the thick trees, or according as he gave of materials or money for the building and the endowment of churches. But now they would break down the carved work thereof at once with axes and hammers. They have said in their hearts, Let us destroy them together: they would burn up all the synagogues of God in the land."

14. The desirable church reform, then, whether for England or Scotland, is not certainly to destroy the machine—not even to mutilate or abridge; but rather, as we shall afterwards state, to repair and strengthen, and greatly to extend it. There may, besides, be other external or even economical changes that should be honoured with the name of improvements; but mainly, the great reform is that which, leaving the framework of the Establishment untouched, would infuse into it another spirit, or make it the vehicle of a more powerful and scriptural ministration than heretofore. In short, the thing wanted is an internal reform; and, for carrying this into effect, we do not require a change in the theology of either of the churches —none at all in their creeds—a very little, perhaps, in their service-books—though at all times, for the efficiency of any church, even of the best and purest theology on earth, we are dependent, and that most essentially and vitally, on the conscientious and disinterested and well-principled exercise of its patronage. It is not enough that we have a good machinery—we must have good men for

the working of it. Even when they had the worst of men, the reformers of other days, with a wisdom and discrimination which do them infinite honour, kept up the machinery; and only, after they had substituted the Protestant for the Popish doctrine, committed the working of it into other hands. What an emphatic condemnation is held out by their example, on the headlong reformers of the present day—who, without the provocative of a more corrupt or incompetent priesthood than heretofore; but in the face of a most palpable amelioration, and that in all the three kingdoms, on the general worth and devotedness and personal Christianity of the clergy, would seize on this as the time for destroying, and so wresting from their hands, the most effective of all instruments for the religious education of our people. To speak of our own Scotland, there cannot be imagined a wider contrast and dissimilarity than that which obtains between the long past and the now proposed reformation—the former made good by the resolves and the prayers, and at length sealed by the blood of their dying martyrs—who fought, not for the demolition of their kirks, but for the free use of Scripture, and the setting up of a pure ministry within their walls—the latter reformation, even that of the times in which we live, borne along, as if permitted to take effect it most assuredly would be, on a wild career of sweeping and destructive violence, and amid the hosannas of a multitude, as unlike, as east is distant from the west, to those holy worshippers—who, to hide them from their persecutors, assembled round

their pastors in mountain-solitudes, and sat down to their sacraments, under the naked canopy of heaven. Such were the reformers of these golden days; and they bear not one feature of resemblance to the reformers of the age in which we live—those impetuous and bustling agitators, in whose breasts politics have engrossed the place of piety; resolved at all hazards upon change; and prepared to welcome, with shouts of exultation, the overthrow of those altars which, in holier and better times, upheld the faith and devotion of our forefathers.

Though at the hazard of detaining you a great deal too long, I cannot resist the inclination I feel to crave from you the indulgence of ten minutes, while I read a few extracts from the writings of one, alike characterized by great power and great prejudices; who saw clearly how to distinguish, when treating of the Church of England, between the machine and the working of it—having at once the highest possible value for the one, and the worst possible opinion of the other. I speak of William Cobbett, whose shrewd discernment at least will be admitted by all; and who, speaking of the church as a machine or apparatus, expresses himself in the words that we subjoin.*

* "An Established Church, a church established upon Christian principles, is this—that it provides an edifice sufficiently spacious for the assembling of the people in every parish; that it provides a spot for the interment of the dead; that it provides a priest, or teacher of religion, to officiate in the edifice, to go to the houses of the inhabitants, to administer comfort to the distressed, to counsel the wayward, to teach the children their duty towards God, their parents, and their country; to perform the duties of marrying, baptizing, and burying, and *particularly*, to initiate

Our distinct object is to demonstrate the power and the properties which belong to a National Establishment of religion, viewed as a machine; and, in regard to the working of it, we may at

children in the first principles of religion and morality; and to cause them to communicate, that is to say, by an outward act of theirs, to become members of the spiritual church of Christ: all which things are to be provided for by those who are the proprietors of the houses and the lands of the parish; and, when so provided, are to be deemed the property or the uses belonging to the poorest man in the parish as well as to the richest."

Then follows his opinion of the actual working of this church in the hands of its actual clergymen, in which opinion I do not sympathise; and shall endeavour to qualify his conclusion, by a few closing sentences of my own.

"This is an Established Christian Church; and this you, the parsons, will tell the people that they actually have; and you will tell the people who have no house and land, that in calling for the abolition of tithes, they are in fact calling upon the rich to take from them, the poor, the only property that they have in the country. Alas! you will tell them this in vain. They know that the church is not this thing now to them; they know that you do not visit their houses and comfort them when they are sick, except in instances so very rare that they hardly ever hear of them; they know that you do not teach their children, and that, though the churchwardens annually certify the bishop that the children *communicate*, hardly a workman in the kingdom ever saw or heard of such a thing being done; they know that you are frequently on the bench, perched up as justices of the peace; they know that you frequently sentence them to punishment without trial by jury, and sentence to transportation, for what is called poaching. This is the capacity in which they now know you; and to induce them to stir hand, foot, or tongue, in defence of this establishment, is no more possible than it is to induce a Jew to give up a farthing of his interest."—"I was a sincere Churchman"—"because it was reasonable and just, that those who had neither house nor land, and who were the millions of the country, and who performed all its useful labours, should have a church, a churchyard, a minister of religion, and all religious services performed for them, at the expense of those who did possess the houses and the land. In a word, in the church and its possessions, I saw the patrimony of the working people, who had neither house nor land of their own private property. For these reasons I was a friend, and a very sincere friend, and able to be a very powerful friend of the Church Establishment.

least state, as our triumphant confidence, that, notwithstanding the exaggeration of its enemies, the evidence is every day growing, of its vast practical importance to the moral well-being of

"But," &c.—*Cobbett's Political Register, December* 21*st*, 1833.

"*Ought we to have any Establishment at all?* In answering which for ourselves, it is our own opinion, that this nation has been much more religious and happy under the influence of the Protestant Established Church, than it is ever likely to be in case that church were abolished. To make the question still more close, let it be this, *whether it be reasonable that any one should be called upon to contribute towards the maintenance of a church, the tenets of which he dissents from?* This is making the question as home as it can well be. And we do not hesitate to say, that there is to us nothing so outrageously unreasonable in the idea. One thing is certain, that if *all* are not to remain liable to pay for the church, it is no established or at least no *national* church. Reasons are not wanting, to show the benefits of a national religion, or a mode of worship, or some religious establishment, the peculiarities of which are under the especial patronage and peculiar favour of the government. In judging of such a matter, we can only be guided by experience; and experience is not less wisdom here than in all other things."—"It does not follow that because an institution has been abused it should be done away with, if the institution itself be necessary or beneficial. Even kings may require now and then to be driven from their thrones; but that does not prove the necessity of doing away with the throne."—"If it be allowed (and we think it ought to be), that an establishment is desirable for such a purpose, the dissenters cannot well object to paying the clergy of a different persuasion. An establishment cannot consist of *all creeds*, or the Quakers themselves would have a right to form a part of it. As we have before said, the church is not *national* unless *all* be taxed towards its support; and, for the sake alone of preserving decency for religion, it appears to us to be no more unjust than it is impolitic towards the community in general, to require the aid of *all* in maintaining that in which *all* are equally interested."—*Cobbett's Political Register, April* 20*th*, 1833.

"But then come the just and charitable principles of the Christian religion; and they say this to the owners of the land and the houses, 'The land and the houses are yours, but not in such absolute right as to exclude your working and poorer brethren from all share. There shall be a church in each parish, and a priest for the teaching of religion; there shall be a churchyard for the burial of the dead; there shall be sermons and

our nation. If it be an undoubted truth, that there is a distinct and a decided improvement in the *personel* of the Church of Scotland; if in England, the mighty instrument is passing into the

prayers and marriages and baptisms—and these shall form the possessions of the inhabitants, the property of those who labour.'" —*Cobbett's Political Register, September 14th*, 1833.

"Go upon a hill, *if you can find one*, in Suffolk or Norfolk; and you can find plenty in Hampshire and Devonshire and Wiltshire; look to the church steeples, one in about every four square miles at the most on an average—imagine a man, of small learning at the least, to be living in a genteel and commodious house, by the side of every one of these steeples, almost always with a wife and family; always with servants, natives of the parish, gardener, groom at the least, and all other servants. A large farm-yard, barns, stables, threshers, a carter or two, more or less of glebe and of farming. Imagine this gentleman having an interest, an immediate and pressing interest in the productiveness of every field in his parish—being probably the largest corn-seller in the parish, and the largest rate-payer—more deeply interested than any other man can possibly be in the happiness, harmony, morals, industry, and sobriety of the people in his parish. Imagine his innumerable occasions for doing acts of kindness; his immense power in preventing the strong from oppressing the weak; his salutary influence coming between the hard farmer, if there be one in his parish, and the feeble or simple-minded labourer. Imagine all this to exist close alongside of every one of these steeples, and you will at once say to yourself, hurricanes and earthquakes must destroy the island before that church can be overthrown. And when you add to all this, that this gentleman, besides the example of good manners, of mildness, and of justice, that his life and conversation are constantly keeping before the eye of his parishioners—when you add to all this, that one day in every week he has them assembled together to sit in silence; to receive his advice, his admonitions, his interpretation of the will of God as applicable to their conduct and their affairs; and that, too, in an edifice rendered sacred in their eyes, from their knowing that their forefathers assembled there in ages passed, and from its being surrounded by the graves of their kindred—when this is added, and when it is recollected that the children pass through his hands at their baptism, that it is he alone who celebrates the marriages, and performs the last sad service over the graves of the dead—when you think of all this, it is too much to believe that such a church can fall. Yet fall it will," &c.

"This settles the matter as to the church as it now stands;

hands of a more efficient clergy than before; if in Ireland, persecution, with its wonted influence, is begetting a resolute and high-toned spirituality in the devoted ministers of that deeply-injured hierarchy—is this, we ask, the time to wrest from the hold of its now more faithful and energetic agency, that engine which would enable them to operate with tenfold effect on the families of the land? The work of reformation was prosecuted more wisely in other days; when, notwithstanding the provocative of a grossly immoral and tyrannic priesthood, they but changed the agency and preserved the engine. And with our present agency, I trust we shall, by the blessing of Heaven, be enabled, not only to preserve but to perfect the engine; and that, with enough of energy and conscientiousness and devoted zeal on the part of their ministers, all the menace and agitation by which they are surrounded will only rivet the three churches more firmly on their bases, and rally more closely around their common cause, the wise and the good of our nation.

and then the next question is, *Can it be restored to what it ought to be?* If it could be, that is the thing that ought to be done—because, though people in great towns do not perceive it, it is a serious change to the country—a serious change to the 465 parishes of Devonshire, for instance, to the 629 parishes of Lincoln, the 731 parishes of Norfolk, the 411 parishes of Kent—a serious change to take away one little gentleman out of every one of these parishes."—*Cobbett's Political Register, February 22d*, 1834.

LECTURE II.

Vindication of a Religious National Establishment, in opposition to the Reasonings and Views of the Economists.

BEFORE entering on the positive and direct argument in favour of a National Establishment of religion, I endeavoured in my last lecture to do away this initial objection, or rather this initial prejudice against it—as if the connexion between church and state which is implied by it, implied also a secularization of Christianity, to which it is not equally exposed under all other methods either for extending or maintaining the gospel in the world. In these days of fierce partizanship, we cannot expect much of cool and clear discrimination—when men are borne along as if by a sort of gregarious impulse, and under the influence of a popular and prevailing cry. In Edinburgh, a few years ago, at one of those public meetings, where the connexion between church and state is no sooner spoken of than it lights up an instant and sensitive antipathy in the hearts of assembled thousands, there was a speech delivered by an American clergyman of the Presbyterian denomination, who happened to be an acquaintance of my own. The multitude whom he addressed were every one of them enraptured, at hearing from his

lips, that the idea of any such connexion was held in perfect abomination all over America. I afterwards ventured to make the whole controversy a subject of conversation with him; and my first question was, whether if a Christian philanthropist, seized with a strong affection for a district in Maryland, were to bequeath ten thousand pounds for the erection of a church and ministerial dwelling-place, and for the maintenance of a clergyman, providing at the same time that this clergyman should be of the Presbyterian denomination, and that, in things ecclesiastical he should be wholly under the control of his own Presbyterian judicatories in America—whether such an endowment would be rejected by their General Assembly or Supreme Court of Management, as an unscriptural and unchristian thing, or be accepted by the body as an accession to the means of religious usefulness. There could be but one answer to this question, which was, that an endowment thus destined, and thus placed under the guardianship of what he deemed to be a pure scriptural church, would be welcomed and encouraged to the uttermost. I then asked whether, if these endowments were so multiplied as that the whole state of Maryland should be covered with them—still adhering to the supposition that the theology of all these Maryland clergymen was in no subordination whatever to the will of the testators, but only to the will of their ecclesiastical superiors, the Presbyteries and Synods and General Assembly of America,—whether such an arrangement, admitted by him to be desirable and good in reference to

one small territory, whether the character and effect would be at all changed, if the benefit of it were multiplied several hundred times, and spread over the whole of Maryland. It of course was most readily admitted, that just as one apple, multiplied by 750, does not land you in 750 oranges, but in 750 apples—so one moral and religious benefit, multiplied by the same number, does not land in 750 evils, but in 750 most unquestionable and most desirable benefits. After this the transition was not a difficult one, from the single state of Maryland to the whole United States of America; and then the only adjustment betwixt us which remained to be made was, whether such a great and general endowment that would have so delighted all their hearts, if coming from the hands of so many thousand generous individuals, whether, if it had come down to them as the fruit of an endowment that had been instituted many hundred years ago, and was therefore so firmly based on a separate and proprietary right of its own, that no one individual could honestly affirm of himself, that he was injured by its existence in any thing that belonged to him—whether, as he and his brethren would rejoice in the coming on of such an endowment, whether they would willingly consent to the taking of it off at the clamorous outcry of men who represented it, not only as a bane and a burden on the commonwealth, but as an unchristian abomination in the midst of their land. The rejoinder upon this was a very memorable one. If all you mean by an Establishment is an organized provision for a clergy, we

should rejoice in it. If this be the whole amount of the connexion between church and state—if maintenance and nothing else come from one quarter, and an unfettered theology from the other, without contamination from the authority of man, but subject only to an ecclesiastical judgment, grounded on a principle of deference to the word of God—a simple arrangement of this sort is truly a different thing from what we understand by a religious Establishment. The thing we deprecate is the authority of the civil magistrate in matters of religion; but we should be thankful to him or to any one else, for giving us what he termed an organized provision for clergymen. Now this organized provision is truly all that we contend for. It is just, in other words, a legal provision for the support of a Christian ministry—an arrangement which might truly be gone into, and which actually is gone into, without the slightest infringement on the spiritual prerogatives of the church, or on the ecclesiastical independence of her clergymen. It is obvious from all this, that the indignation of our transatlantic friend was directed against a wrong object; and that he failed in making the requisite distinction between the act of a government in giving food and raiment to ministers, and the act of a government in assuming a lordship over the creed and consciences of ministers. But it is not amid the din and uproar of public acclamations that men can be expected to distinguish very clearly between the things which differ. When an orator denounces the connexion between church and state, the effect is

instantaneous on all those who, without logic and without discrimination, are carried along by the deafening outcries, and no less deafening plaudits, of an assembly, amid the noise and excitement of which, the still small voice of truth is overborne.

But we must now pass on to the proper subject of this lecture, which is the vindication of a religious National Establishment in opposition to the reasonings and views of the economists.

1. By the system of a free trade in commerce, its various exchanges are left to the pure operation of demand and supply; and the two, it is thought, should be permitted, without interference, to regulate and to qualify each other. When the demand for any particular commodity increases, it will be the interest of the dealers to provide it in larger quantity than before; or, when the demand is lessened, it will be their care to reduce the supply accordingly—so as that the market shall not be overstocked with any article, beyond the extent to which it is sought after. It admits, we hold, of the clearest demonstration, that it is unwise to interfere with this law of action and reaction—or, as it may be termed, with this natural law of political economy. The supply rises and falls just as the demand rises and falls. Government should make no attempt to restrain the supply beneath this point by means of a prohibition, or to encourage it above this point by means of a bounty. Such an interference is an offence to all wise and enlightened economists; and resented by them as a disturbing force, that would violate the harmonies of a beautiful and well-going mechanism.

2. This prepares us to understand what is meant by the system of a free trade in Christianity. Under its hands the article of religious instruction is left to the same treatment, and to the operation of the same laws, with an article of ordinary merchandise—according to which, Christian instruction should be provided for a community, to a greater or less degree, just as there is a demand for it; or, in other words, is left to be regulated by the laws, and of course to be limited by the extent of the market. At this rate the supply, whether as respects its amount upon the whole or the proportion of it in various places, will be made to suit the taste of the customers. It will betake itself to those places where there is, what economists term, an effective demand for it—that is, where there is wealth enough and will enough, to ensure a remunerating price for the expense of its preparation. A free trade in commerce, only seeks to those places where it can make out a gainful trade; but it is sure to avoid or to abandon those places, where, whether from the languor of the demand or the poverty of the inhabitants, it would be exposed to a losing trade. By a free trade in Christianity, let the lessons of the gospel follow the same law of movement; and these lessons will cease to be taught in every place, where there is either not enough of liking for the thing, or not enough of money for the purchase of it: or that religion, the great and primary characteristic of which was that it should be preached unto the poor, must be withheld from those people, who are unable by poverty to provide a maintenance for

its teachers. And the teachers of this religion, whose office it is, after the example of its great Founder, to seek and to save those who are lost, must make no attempt to awaken from their slumbers, those who have no value, and will therefore give no price for their ministrations—because lost in the apathy of a deep and settled unconcern, and sunk in the indifference of spiritual death.

3. This brief and bare statement, one might think, of the effects of a free trade in Christianity, should be enough to condemn a system which seems to carry its own signal refutation along with it. But we ought to understand what the precise distinction is between Commerce and Christianity, which calls for such a difference of treatment between the two as that for which we are contending —so that while the one prospers to the uttermost under the system of free trade, and reaches by its means the greatest possible diffusion of its blessings and benefits through the world; the other, under the same system, would shrink into narrower dimensions, and be limited to a small fraction of the human species. If there be a diversity in the two cases, there must be a reason for it, which admits of being distinctly stated, and which may be distinctly apprehended. When Turgot and Smith and others proposed to assimilate the one to the other, so as to leave them both to the pure operation of demand and supply; and without the artificial encouragement, whether of bounties or endowments —if there be error in the proposition of these economists, they must have been misled by the light of some false analogy, which surely is capable

of being exposed. In other words, there must be some intelligible principle, capable of being propounded and put into language; and on which the system of free trade, so applicable to the one case, is not alike applicable to the other also.

4. The following then is our explanation. Generally speaking, there is, by the very constitution of our nature, a sufficient intensity of desire, and consequently of demand, for the articles which commerce deals in, and so as to call forth an adequate supply of these articles, or a supply commensurate to all the exigencies of human society. There is no such intensity of desire or of demand for the article of Christian instruction. When it is affirmed, in regard to the goods of ordinary merchandise, that they might, with all safety, be left to the operation of demand and supply, it is always presupposed of the one element, that it is sufficiently strong to stimulate and call forth the other. And so it usually is. The longer a man is in want of food, the keener will become his appetency of hunger—till at length he would give any price, or make any sacrifice, in order to obtain it. And so it is of other sensations, which impel him to seek after other necessaries of existence—as the cold which makes it indispensable to his comfort, that he should be clothed and lodged, as well as fed. Even when the necessaries of life are refined into exquisite and high-wrought luxuries, there is a sufficiently spontaneous and wide-spread desire after these, to ensure a sufficient demand for them, in the physical sense of taste and the vanity of man or his natural love of distinction—

the one disposing him to the gratifications of the table—the other, though at the expense of all he can give away, to the decorations of his person and equipage and household establishment. Man's natural liking for these things, affords a powerful enough guarantee, either for that part of his labour which he is willing to put forth, or for that part of his wealth which he is willing to give up, in order to acquire them. Between the love of gain on the one hand, and the love of enjoyment on the other, there is no danger but the wheels of commerce will move with velocity enough—and in the very direction, too, that is most suited both for the needs of customers and the prosperity of dealers. It seeks no other aid at the hands of the legislature, than the enforcement of justice between man and man. The bounties wherewith a misjudging government would seek to encourage it, but serve to displace or to embarrass its movements—which, by the voice of all experience and all philosophy, might be left with the utmost safety and the best possible advantage, to a self-going mechanism of its own.

5. Now the very reverse of all this holds of Christianity, or rather of Christian instruction, viewed as an article which is beneficial to man; and which should therefore be distributed, to all the extent that is good or desirable to mankind, throughout the mass of society. It is not with man's intellectual, or his moral, as it is with his animal nature. Although it be true, that the longer he has been without food, the more hungry he is, or the greater and more urgent is his desire

of food—yet the more ignorant a man is, not the greater, but generally speaking, the less is his desire of knowledge. And this converse proposition is still more manifestly true of his moral than of his intellectual wants. The more immersed a man is in vice or in voluptuousness, not most certainly the greater, but beyond all doubt the less, is his desire of virtue or his desire of holiness. There is no natural hungering or thirsting after righteousness; and before man will seek that the want should be supplied, the appetite must first be created. The less a man has, whether of religion or righteousness, the less does he care for them, and the less will he seek after them. It is thus that nature does not go forth in quest of Christianity; but Christianity must go forth in quest of nature. It is, on the one hand, the strength of the physical appetency; and, on the other hand, the languor of the spiritual, the moral, or the intellectual appetency, which makes all the difference. The law of our moral and intellectual is not the same, but reverse or contrary to the law of our physical wants. With the physical, the intensity of the desire is directly proportional to the want; with the intellectual and moral, it is inversely proportional, or the less he has of these the less he cares for them. The strength of man's natural craving, guarantees an effectual demand for food or raiment, or all that might contribute to the shelter and convenience of the house that is over his head —which, rather than want, he will go if he can to the most distant market, and with the full price in his hand for them. But though we may trust to

his natural longing, for the goods which are to be had in a market, there is no such natural or universal longing for the good to be had in a church, or in a college, or even in a school. And never, therefore, was there a more unfortunate generalisation than that by which our economists have placed on the same footing, the articles of ordinary merchandise with the articles whether of common or Christian education; or by which, because they have demonstrated of bounties for the one that they were unnecessary or even mischievous—they therefore contended against endowments for the other, as being, in their operation, alike mischievous or alike unnecessary.*

* As far back as 1817, I had occasion to publish a sermon which I preached on the death of the Princess Charlotte, wherein I adverted to the want of churches in Glasgow; and subjoined an appendix, in which there occurs my first exposition of this argument. The following is a brief extract.

"Dr Adam Smith, in his Treatise on the Wealth of Nations, argues against religious establishments, on the ground that the article of religious instruction should be left to the pure operation of demand and supply, like any article of ordinary merchandise. He seems to have overlooked one most material circumstance of distinction. The native and untaught propensities of the human constitution, will always of themselves secure a demand for the commodities of trade, sufficiently effective to bring forward a supply equal to the real needs of the population, and to their power of purchasing. But the appetite for religious instruction is neither so strong nor so universal as to secure such an effective demand for it. Had the people been left in this matter to themselves, there would, in point of fact, have been large tracts of country without a place of worship, and without a minister. The legislature have met the population half-way, by providing them with a church and a religious teacher, in every little district of the land; and by this arrangement have increased, to a very great degree, the quantity of attendance and the quantity of actual ministration. In point of fact, a much greater number of people do come to church, and do come within the application of Christian influence, when the church and the preacher are provided [illegible], than if they had been left to build a meeting-house, and

6. These principles are in full accordance with the facts, both of past history and of present experience. With many, there is a confused imagination, that, previous to the establishment of Christianity, the whole ministry of the gospel was conducted on the system of free trade. On a closer view, however, and a proper discrimination of the things which differ, it will be found, that what actually took place was the very reverse of this. It is true, that in all ages, the lessons of the gospel behoved to be paid for by some one, because the teachers of the

to maintain a preacher themselves. There is a far surer and more abundant supply of this wholesome influence dealt out among the population under the former arrangement, than under the latter one; and it is this *excess* of moral and religious good, which forms the only argument for a national establishment that I shall now insist upon.

"The argument of Dr Smith goes to demonstrate the folly of a national establishment, either of meal-sellers or of butchers, or of any national establishment for supplying the people with the necessaries and the comforts of life. But the peculiarity already adverted to, renders it totally inapplicable to the question of a national establishment for supplying the people with the lessons of Christianity."

This argument I have been incessantly repeating since, on numberless occasions, and in a variety of forms; but it strikingly marks the slow progress wherewith a principle before unheard-of makes way in society—that, for at least fifteen years, any testimony I could lift upon the subject was like the voice of one crying in the wilderness. It is now more familiar to Scotland since the extension of our church, no longer a matter of mere speech or speculation, has become a living and practical concern. I believe that in this part of the world, it is chiefly indebted for any currency it might have, to the important circumstance of its having been adopted by Lord Brougham some years ago, who, in a speech in the House of Peers, made use of the very consideration, and propounded it, almost in the very words which I have now uttered in your hearing—after which it expanded into full notoriety, when this particular reason for an established church, instead of lying hid in so many paragraphs of obscure authorship, went forth over the whole length and breadth of England, under its far more influential title of the Lord Chancellor's argument.

gospel behoved to be maintained. But the whole system hinges upon this—who paid for these lessons? We know by whom it is, that, in the exchanges of ordinary business and on the principles of free trade, the payments are usually made. They are the customers or users of the commodity that is purchased, who, generally speaking, pay its price and its whole price. It were in violation of the system of free trade, if government paid any part of that price in the shape of a bounty. And it were an equal violation of the same system, from whatever quarter that bounty should come—whether from the state, or from any body of associated philanthropists, or from private individuals. It is the doctrine, and we hold it a sound one, of the economists, that an article should no longer be brought to market, if the price which purchasers are willing to pay for it, do not remunerate the cost of its preparation; or if, to help out that price, advances must be made by any party distinct from the purchasers themselves. For in this case it were a losing trade; and so much of the capital of the country, it is argued, would be thrown away on a profitless or hurtful investment. And one of the foremost articles in our modern, and, as we think, enlightened creed, is, that the supply of all those goods should cease, for which there is not an effective demand, that would cover the whole expense of bringing them to market—that the whole matter of demand and supply, in fact, should be left to find its own adjustment, in the free choice of the two parties concerned in it; or should be made to hinge exclusively on the price which the

one party are willing to give, and the profit which the other party are willing to receive. Let these two elements act and re-act at will on each other, and so as to make out between them a self-going mechanism, that would only be put out of order, as if by the violence of a disturbing force—should the intervention of any third party be admitted, for the purpose either of help or of hindrance. In other words, the economists contend, and with our entire acquiescence, for the establishment of a perfect freedom in the world of trade, as being the condition of things, in which the best and most beneficial result, the greatest good or maximum of commercial prosperity, is realised—when dealers on the one hand are most profited, and customers on the other are most pleased.

7. Now let us consider whether this is the footing on which the world ever is or ever can be supplied with its Christianity, or rather with its Christian instruction, in the way that is best for the moral interests of our species. It was not so at the first introduction of Christianity, in virtue, not of a movement from earth to heaven, but of a movement from heaven to earth; and the expenses of which, throughout the infancy and boyhood of the Saviour, were certainly not defrayed by those for whose welfare the mission was undertaken. It was not so during the time of His public ministry, when three or four women ministered to Him of their substance, as He travelled from place to place over the land of Judea; and so He was maintained at the cost of the few for the benefit of the many. It was not so in the journeyings of His

disciples, two by two, among their countrymen—who, when they entered a city, fixed their residence in some particular house, and were supported by the hospitality of one individual for the good of the general population. It was not so when the apostles went forth after the resurrection; and received their maintenance from such as Simon the tanner, or Lydia the seller of purple, or Stephanus and Fortunatus, and Achaicus, and others of those Scripture worthies who harboured and entertained the men of God, while they held out the bread of life, without money and without price, to the multitude at large. It was not so when the last, but not the least of the apostles, provided with his own hand for his own necessities; and the wages of Paul the tent-maker, enabled Paul the apostle, to labour in his sacred vocation without wages. It was not so when he received from other and distinct churches, that, in the church of Corinth, the gospel might not be chargeable to any; and he would suffer no man to strip him of his boasting in the regions of Achaia. And, to come down from the age of the New Testament, it generally could not have been so, that the extension of Christianity was carried forward during the first three centuries. The men who were not yet Christians did not, in those days, send to the apostolic college for men who might give them the lessons of the gospel; but, by a reverse process, teachers went forth among the yet benighted countries of the earth; and their expenses, at least in the first instance, behoved to be borne, not in the shape of a price by those who received

the benefit, but in the shape of a bounty by those who dispensed it. In all these instances, contrary to every law or character of pure trade, the expense was borne either totally or partially by one party, and that for the good of another party. It was not as in the ordinary exchanges of commerce. The receivers were not the purchasers; and what they did receive was not a thing by them bought, but a thing to them given. It is an utter misconception that when Constantine set up in his dominions a national establishment of Christianity, he made the first infringement on that system of free trade by which the prosperity of this religion had been heretofore upholden; for, from its very outset, Christianity stood indebted, for almost every footstep of its progress, to a system and a policy directly the opposite of this. When he came forth with his great imperial bounty or benefaction, he only did on the large scale, what thousands of benefactors had previously, and for hundreds of years, done on a small scale before him. When he became the friend and nursing-father of the church, he did for the whole territory of which he was the sovereign, what, times and ways without number, the friends of the church had already done, each for the little district in which he himself resided, or for the introduction and the maintenance of Christian worship in some chosen locality of his own. With his great national endowment, he but followed in the track of those private and particular endowments which, sometimes temporary and sometimes perpetual, had multiplied beyond all reckoning, during the preceding ages of Christianity;

and in virtue of which it was, that churches innumerable were raised, and congregations were formed; but chiefly in the large and flourishing cities of the Roman empire. The peasants, or they who lived in the country and villages, inhabitants of the pagi, and hence called Pagans, were, in the great bulk of them, still unconverted—insomuch that Paganism in those days became synonymous with heathenism; or, in other words, the great majority of the rustics or countrymen of that period, notwithstanding the strenuous and apostolic exertion of many thousands of Christian missionaries for about three centuries together, were still adherents to the old superstition and idolatry of their forefathers. The universal endowment, by which a ministry was provided for every little section of the territory, or the whole was broken into parishes, opened a way to the moral fastnesses that were still held and occupied by the countless millions whom all the efforts of by-gone generations had not reached; and so brought a whole host of gospel labourers into contact with the wide and plenteous harvest of the general population.

8. But, instead of looking to the distant past, of which the history is far from perfect, the same lesson might be drawn from the observation of present or modern times. Certain it is, that the introduction of Christianity into any new land, proceeds by a very different method from the introduction thereinto of any of the goods of ordinary merchandise. The commercial adventurers look for the remuneration of their expenses, to the price or equivalent given by the natives them-

selves. The missionary adventurers are upheld in their expenses, not by a price, but generally in whole, and almost always in part, by a bounty—the bounty of those who employ and send them forth, in full equipment for their high enterprise of charity. In this process, that law of equal and reciprocal barter, between them who bestow and them who receive the benefit, which the advocates of a free trade contend for, is altogether unknown. Rather than want the teas of China, the families of Britain do, in effect, send for them along half the circumference of the globe, and defray the whole cost of the expensive and distant voyage by which they are brought to our shores. But who paid for the outfit and all the other charges of that first missionary vessel, which first wafted the gospel to the remote island of Otaheite? Not the natives themselves, who should have wanted the blessings of Christianity for ever, had we waited for their effective demand; or not moved but in the expectation of a safe and profitable return from their hands, for the cost of this great undertaking. The undertaking originated with us; and was defrayed to the last farthing, out of a missionary fund raised from the benevolent of our own land. It is generally thus that all missionary work is upholden—paid and provided for, not by the receivers of Christianity, but by its dispensers, or rather by those who maintain the dispensers. So that, at least in the extension of Christianity, we do not sell the gospel, but offer it: we do not calculate on a price, as in the operations of commerce, but have recourse to a bounty, that dread and depre-

cation of all the economists—without which, whatever the effect might be on the continuance of Christianity in old countries, the propagation of it, at least in new countries, were altogether hopeless. Some may contend, that, on the principles of free trade, Christianity could be perpetuated wherever it is already planted; but few will have the hardihood to affirm, that, on these principles, its first settlement could have been effected in any land.

9. But though Christianity were indebted to the operation of a bounty, for every footstep of its progress from one region to another, this is far from being decisive of the controversy. For properly the question relates, not to the methods by which Christianity is introduced, but to the methods by which it might be maintained in any land. It might be very true that the taste, and consequently the demand, for this religion, must first be created among those people to whom it is at present unknown; and that therefore anterior to this, instead of waiting till it be sought after, it must be offered to their acceptance, or be carried to their doors, and taught to their families, not at their own expense, but at the expense of others beside themselves. It is even thus that commerce sometimes obtains a footing for itself in particular countries. Before the natives can have a liking for certain of its articles, they must first have a sight and a trial of them; and so instances can be given, where dealers have adventured their goods into places, where, instead of finding a market, they had first to form one—at their own hazard,

therefore, or even expense in the first instance, and not at the expense of customers. But though it was thus at the commencement of the trade, it could not possibly be thus that we can explain the continuance of the trade. The same people who would not send for the commodity at the first, might, when once made to know and to relish it, rather than want, be abundantly willing to pay for it afterwards. And might not Christianity be sped in like manner? Though introduced at the expense of others, might it not, when the appetite for its lessons is excited, be maintained by themselves afterwards; and that not by certain of the nation for the benefit of the rest, but entirely and exclusively by those who receive the benefit? It might be very true that missionaries, at the charge and bidding of those who are Christians, must be employed for the conversion of those who are not Christians; but may it not also be true, that, after their conversion has been effected, then a native demand will be set agoing; and ministers be employed at their own charge and their own bidding, for keeping up this religion from generation to generation?

10. There is a great semblance of probability for this, in much that might be seen, both throughout our own land and in various countries of Christendom. In Britain, there are many hundreds of large and flourishing congregations, where all the expenses of the service are defrayed by the hearers themselves. These are pure instances of free trade, and of an interchange as complete and equal as any which ever takes place between the buyers

and the sellers of a market—where Christian instruction is rendered by the one party, and where its price, its whole price, is rendered by the other party—where there is not one farthing of endowment to help out the maintenance of the clergyman; and a remuneration for his labour, often adequate and respectable, is fully made good to him by those who enjoy the fruits of it. This operation of demand and supply is often exemplified both within and without the church of England, in many a successful chapel and many a prosperous meeting-house—where, in virtue of a large or a wealthy attendance, the produce of the seat-rents is sufficient, both for the payment of the minister and for all the other expenses of the concern. And, most assuredly, we have no quarrel with institutes like these—provided only that a pure gospel is delivered, and that Christian good is done by them. In whatever way Christ is faithfully and efficiently preached it is the part of every honest disciple therein to rejoice; and no one can question the undoubted contributions made to the cause of religion, in the proprietary chapels of such churchmen as Newton and Cecil and Howel and Daniel Wilson, or of such dissenters as Watts and Doddridge and Andrew Fuller and Robert Hall. But it follows not, that, because there is a fitness in such as these to supplement the establishment, there is also a sufficiency in them to supersede the establishment; or, that the economy which is found to succeed within the limits of many a select and separate assemblage of worshippers, is the proper type of that larger economy, the object of which is to ex-

tend the blessings of Christian knowledge over the whole length and breadth of a land.

11. And, on viewing more specifically and attentively the state of these unendowed chapels, it will be found, that, on the strict principles of a reciprocal trade, a very large proportion of them could not possibly be sustained. In very many instances, the seat-rents of the occupiers, aided even by their voluntary offerings, are inadequate to the yearly expenses of the undertaking: and so subscriptions have to be instituted, which are carried beyond the hearers themselves; or collections are advertised for the benefit of the chapel-funds, to which the public at large are invited; or creditors, whether by constraint or generosity, have to transmute their loan into a gift, by the abandonment of their claims altogether; or journeys have to be undertaken, that money might be raised in various ways to help on the building of chapels in progress, or to extricate those already built from their sore embarrassments: And the innumerable other shifts and difficulties of these heavily indebted concerns, familiar to those who are vested with the management, all serve to demonstrate, that, unlike to the other articles which are brought into a market, and of which the supply is continued only because of an adequately remunerating price —unlike to these, the returns for the article of Christian instruction are very often beneath the prime cost incurred in the preparation of it. In thousands of instances, we might venture to say, the inadequacy of the whole sum obtained from the seat-rents must be made up by a liberality or a

bounty obtained from other quarters; or, which is the same thing, they who receive the whole benefit of the ministration do not pay the whole price of it—and the deficiency is covered by certain others who have no share in the benefit. In this transaction between the minister and his people, what is given on the one hand, and what is received on the other, do not stand to each other as the equivalents of a mercantile exchange. The payment for his services consists of two ingredients—one in the character of a price, but the other in the character of a present, which coming from the hands of individuals might be termed a benevolence, and would be termed an endowment did it come from the hands of the state.

12. But the strongest argument remains behind, for the necessity, either of such a benevolence being raised from the Christian public, or of such an endowment being obtained from the state. We may find, though a very few, of those wealthy congregations, which, in virtue of a revenue made up of golden seat-rents, can support their clergymen in affluence—and of course the highest in the scale, as may be seen at a glance on the face of the assemblage within, or as may be collected at the proper hour by the passing traveller without, from the throng and splendour of the many vehicles which beset the chapel doors. And, descending from such, there may perhaps be some hundreds more of independent or self-subsisting congregations in our land, which at the end of the year can exhibit their favourable balance, and be appealed to as so many examples of the prosperous working

of the system of free trade in Christianity—where wealthy merchants, even substantial tradesmen, and at times, though rarely, a certain but small proportion of the best-conditioned among the working classes in the cheapest or outskirt pews, make up a body of worshippers, of whom it may justly be said that they pay to the full and without help from any foreign quarter, for the spiritual provision both of themselves and of their families. Over and above these, we have as many thousands of those places of worship, which, but for the aid, either of private or public benevolence, would have turned out to be so many failures—indebted for their perpetuity to helps which are perfectly honourable to both parties, but which, as being departures from the system of free trade, serve at least to demonstrate its insufficiency for the supply of any land with the lessons of the gospel. And, accordingly, we find, that, in such congregations, it falls short of maintaining them; and that because congregations of altogether a more plebeian cast and composition than those which we have just specified—planted, it may be, in some poorer districts of the country; or admitting, if in town, a larger proportion of artizans and labourers. The system of free trade does something for these congregations, but does not and cannot do all. It should be accredited with the sum of all the prices fetched, in the shape of seat-rents, from those who are hearers. But these, in violation of that free trade system which repudiates all bounties, have to be supplemented by presents fetched from those who are not hearers. These, therefore, are not

specimens of the sufficiency of this system. The difficulties under which they labour, their struggles to keep themselves afloat, the many shifts and difficulties which they must resort to, in the shape of drafts on the charity both of individuals and of the public, may all be appealed to as evidences, that, however commerce may thrive—on the native power of her own articles to summon the attendance of customers, and call forth a full equivalent at their hands; it is not thus that Christianity can be so sped and carried forward, or can ever become commensurate to the whole length and breadth of a country's population.

13. But, as we have already said, the strongest argument of all remains behind. We have accompanied the progress of these unendowed chapels so far down in the scale of society; and have found, in the greatest majority of those which we come to last, that, on the mere footing of a commercial speculation, they could not be upholden. They in all probability would never have been built, but for the prospect of an addition from some other source than the market-price of sittings; and certain it is, that without such addition they would never have been maintained. When thus pushed to their extreme limit, and then examined as to the rank and quality of those who repair to them, it will be found that they serve chiefly for the accommodation of those who may be designated the lower of the middle class; and these mingled, to a certain extent, with household servants, and the better-conditioned of the working classes in society. But the decisive fact is, that beyond this limit, across

which our chapel undertakers have never ventured —and that because, from the ulterior on the other side of it, there is the certainty of a dead loss to scare them away—on this untrodden vastness, there do exist thousands and thousands more, comprising often the great mass and majority of the common people, whom a deficient Establishment on the one hand has necessarily left out; and whom all the energies of Dissent upon the other, with all which the system of free trade can do, and all which Christian benevolence does into the bargain, have not overtaken. They cannot, it would appear, be allured as customers into those houses which dissenters have provided; and there are no houses provided by the Establishment to take them in as commoners—and that, because the Establishment has fallen short of its proper design, which is to hold forth Christianity without charge to the poor, or as a common good and benefit for all the families of all the population. And so it will be found that, in this surplus territory, whether it be met with in town or country, the great bulk and body of our ordinary workmen are neither church-goers nor chapel-goers. It is a question of statistics, and admits of being determined arithmetically and experimentally. Our assertion is borne out by every ecclesiastical survey that has been made in those places where the church is greatly short of the population, and where the free trade system has put forth all its energies to supplement the deficiency. And, accordingly, there are eighty thousand human beings in Glasgow, who should be the regular attendants on divine worship, and

who yet go regularly and habitually nowhere; and fifty thousand in Edinburgh; and at the very least half a million in London; and untold myriads in the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire. The thing admits of being brought decisively to the test of observation. It is at the choice of any single inquirer to verify it on his own account. Let him go forth on any district, whether of town or country, if the same or similarly conditioned with the places which we have now specified, and it be chiefly inhabited by men of handicraft and hard labour—let him fix at random on some contiguous thousand of a population made up of such materials, and he will often find, that, where at least one-half should be every Sabbath in the house of God,—not one hundred or a tenth of the whole, much oftener not a hundred and twenty-five or one-eighth of the whole, very seldom indeed one hundred and fifty or between a sixth and seventh of the whole—that have sittings in any place of worship, whether in the parish church or in meeting-houses of all denominations. On the field of his investigation, the population may have doubled or tripled, or perhaps even be assembled on a territory where, within its limits a century before, there was not a single human habitation. It is most interesting to know what free trade does, and what it leaves undone, in such new and increasing settlements as these. And it will invariably be found, that while shops and markets, and the number of victuallers or clothiers, keep full pace with the increasing population and their increasing demand for food and raiment—the churches and

the chapels, even the schools, and of course the number of teachers whether for religion or learning, have notoriously fallen short and not kept pace with them. The dealers in those things which are necessary to life ever maintain an equal proportion with the growing number of the families. The dealers in those things which are necessary to godliness fall behind this proportion, very often to one-fifth, not unfrequently to one-tenth, sometimes so low or even lower than one-twentieth—leaving a vast moral wilderness in all those places where the people have been left to multiply, and at the same time left to themselves. Dealers, of course, accommodate their wares to the taste and inclination of their customers; and it were a transgression on the principle and philosophy of free trade to interfere with this process. And true it is, that to its single operation may be confided with all safety, the supply of the physical wants of our nature. Let a bazar be instituted for the sale of provisions; and at the powerful and ever-recurring call of hunger, the multitude with one accord will flock daily to its portals, and with such a price in their hands too as will remunerate all the expenses of the establishment. Let the institute be a church, for distribution amongst them of the bread of life, or for the supply of their moral and religious wants; and its presence in the midst of them, with the weekly invitations of its Sabbath-bell, will fail to attract beyond the veriest handful of the surrounding population to this house of prayer—and more especially, if the market-price for the accommodation and the service be expected at their

hands. It may or it may not be filled to an overflow by hearers from all distances, who have both the wealth and the will to pay for their attendance. But hundreds often are the families in the precincts of this temple of piety, so near that the voice of its psalms may enter their dwellings, yet not awaken them from the insensibility of their spiritual death. In the midst of besetting opportunities do they abide in their fastnesses; and just because left, as the system of free trade leaves every one, to their own inclinations—are there thousands, nay millions, in our land, who, abandoned to themselves, and voluntary aliens from the light of the gospel, are left to live in guilt and die in grossest darkness.

14. Such is the melancholy upshot of those rash and unfortunate generalisations, which the philosopher often indulges in his closet; and which have sometimes, to the great curse of the nation on whom they are inflicted, found their way into the cabinet, and been carried into effect, by those vain and misguided statesmen, who, themselves the erring worshippers of science and ambitious of its honours, have drunk, but not deeply, at the Pierian spring. It may be well in commerce, that markets should be left to find their own spontaneous level; and that the two elements of demand and supply should be suffered, without interference, to come to their own mutual adjustment of themselves. But it is not well that matters should thus be left in Christianity—else no attempt will be made, either to instruct the poor or to reclaim the profligate; and men, left to their own native indifference in spiritual things, will lapse into a habit of irre-

ligion, will rather never be raised or liberated therefrom. The benefits which commerce confers upon the world are all provided at the expense, not of the dispensers, but of the recipients. Let this be the footing on which the benefits of Christianity are provided also; and in what possible way shall we reach either the depraved or the destitute?—those who have no will for its moral and spiritual blessings, or those who have no wealth to purchase them? In truth, there is no enlightened philanthropist bent on the highest interests of humanity, and no enlightened patriot or statesman bent on the chief good of his own land, who would not prize it as a most gainful as well as glorious achievement, if the great bulk of the people in these realms would but consent to take the lessons of Christianity for nothing; and be taught in the doctrine and morality of the gospel at the expense of others, and without one farthing of the purchase-money being advanced by themselves. This sacred theme—the education of the people, more especially when the education of principle, has been utterly vulgarised by the computations of a cold and secular utilitarianism. Never was there a wider departure from all principle and truth, than when proposed to liken this highest good of the community to the goods of ordinary merchandise—whether viewed as an error of speculation by the *savant*, or as the crude imagination of the prosperous citizen, who appeals to the snug prosperity of his own thriving chapel, which, because filled to the door by wealthy seat-payers like himself, he would, therefore, hold forth as the representative and type of that system, by

which the religion of a whole country should be provided for. The best and greatest interests of human society must not be so trifled with. And, after all, there is not only false sentiment but even false arithmetic in the view of these gross and mercantile calculators. The universal scholarship for which we are contending, would, if carried into effect, be indeed the cheapest defence of our nation —whether its expenses shall be defrayed in the form of a liberality by the hands of private individuals, or from the public treasury in the form of an endowment.

15. We have not yet, however, made good the conclusion, that a National Establishment is the best and fittest expedient for providing our general population with the lessons of Christianity, although we trust it may now appear, that it is not on the free trade principle, which is the principle of let alone, that we can most effectually secure this high interest. We may have scored off this from the list of expedients; yet other expedients for the religious education of the people may remain to be disposed of, besides that of an Establishment—and having now delivered our views on the scheme of the economists, we shall proceed in our next lecture to expound and to give our estimate of another scheme, which, though generally held to be identical with the former, is in some material respects, distinct from it;—we mean the scheme of the voluntaries.

LECTURE III.

Vindication of a National Religious Establishment, in opposition to the views of those who allege the Sufficiency of the Voluntary Principle.

THE Voluntary Principle is partly in unison with the doctrine of a free trade in Christianity, but far from being altogether so; though thus generally imagined by our undiscriminating adversaries, who, in the management of this controversy, have so confounded the things which differ, as to assail the system of endowments sometimes under the former argument and sometimes under the latter—unconscious all the while of such an occasional conflict and contrariety between the two reasons which themselves employ, that the one reason often completely neutralises the other. We should in fact have taken up the anti-establishment expression of the Voluntary Principle sooner—had it not been that the other, or the principle of a free trade in Christianity, though not so current in the vocabulary of the general public on this question, is now the favourite expression of our senators and economists; and more embodies that conception in their minds, on which many of them do hold a National Establishment of Christianity to be uncalled for. Under this title it carries more the air of science or of

profound and enlightened statesmanship; is recommended by such names as those of Smith and Turgot and others of the high *savans* both in France and in England; and altogether has such a character or pretension of philosophy about it, as to prove greatly more seducing to minds enamoured of those generalisations, in which a lofty and comprehensive intellect delights to indulge. It is by a slow and laborious process, and after many a severe encounter with the prejudices of the age, that the original speculations of the closet, however sound, come to have their practical effect and development in the hall of legislation. It has been said that it took half-a-century, ere the enlightened political economy of Dr Smith found its way into the statute-book. But a great and unfortunate error has been implicated with a theory otherwise unexceptionable; and will it take another half century, ere the proper discrimination be made, and that error be discharged from the minds of those legislators, who have imbibed the whole system and philosophy of this great master in economical science? And meanwhile, because the doctrine of a free trade in commerce has now become an article of the popular and prevailing creed, must we be doomed to hear for the whole of that period of the doctrine of a free trade in Christianity also? Never truly did two distinct questions stand more widely apart from each other, or had less of a common principle to rest upon; and should, in consequence of the two being resolved alike, our Religious Establishments be abrogated—then will the best and greatest of our national institutes have been offered up in

sacrifice to the wizard power of a phantom—to the mere deceit and sorcery of a name.

We now come to the proper subject of this day's lecture.

1. When men tell us in argument of the *Voluntary Principle*, they are not aware of a certain ambiguity in the phrase, which, though not generally noticed by controversialists, would, if fully exposed and done away, go far to simplify, if not to settle, the whole controversy. When we ask our antagonists, what substitute they would propose for a national establishment of religion, we shall at one time hear of a free trade in Christianity; and at another of the Voluntary Principle—and that from the mouth of one and the same reasoner. Yet in one sense of the Voluntary Principle, there is an utter discrepancy between it and the system of free trade; and it is only in the other sense of it that the two are analogous, or rather identical, the one with the other. If this matter were perfectly cleared up, we think it would chase away a certain mistiness which overhangs this whole question—insomuch that the agitation of it has, in many instances, been a combat in the dark. It has often been found to terminate an intellectual warfare, when the champions on each side of it have been made to understand, both each other and themselves.

2. There now seems on all hands a strong practical sense, if not an explicit and avowed one, of the insufficiency of the free trade system, for the supply of the world with the lessons of Christianity. This has long been acknowledged, or at least

acted upon in the business of foreign missions, or in the business of supplying foreign parts with the knowledge of the gospel. Instead of waiting till the demand for Christianity comes of its own accord, from men ready with an indemnifying or remunerating price, to cover all the expenses of bringing it to their shore—the dispensers of Christianity go forth on their missionary voyage, in quest of men, to whom they might offer this pearl of greatest value, and on whom to urge the acceptance of it without money and without price. Instead of discerning in this process any of the methods of ordinary trade, there is here a reversal of all its principles; and what comes near to the point at issue, there is a like reversal of them in the home as in the foreign missionary enterprise. And accordingly we have the one institute as well as the other. We have the Home Missionary Society, that would never have been thought of, but for the experimental feeling of a destitution and depravity at our own doors, which required the very same treatment with the heathenism of distant lands—and this society composed of the very men, too, who, while they give evidence by their own doings of the insufficiency of the free trade system, can yet talk of this as the grand specific, on the strength of which they might dispense with a national establishment of religion altogether. There is in truth no analogy between their operations, and those of commerce on the system of free trade, or of commerce alike unfostered and unfettered by any artificial regulations. The agents of this society, the men who labour under them, in the streets of

our city or the villages of our country population, are not maintained on the principles of a market —do not receive their necessary hire in the shape of equivalents from those who are benefited by them; but in the shape of a bounty from those who employ them. We say that all they who have become parties in such an institution, stand committed, if not in favour of a National Establishment, at least against one of the favourite substitutes, by which it is proposed to replace the want of one—against the system of a free trade in Christianity. They tell us emphatically by their own conduct, that something else, something additional must be tried, beside the mere operation of demand and supply as in ordinary merchandise; which, however sufficient for the upper and middle classes—who, if they have got the will, have also the wealth to purchase the lessons of the gospel for themselves—has long proved itself to be glaringly insufficient for the great mass of the common people, for that mighty host of immortal and accountable beings, who compose the great bulk and body of every commonwealth.

3. Still we may have cancelled or disposed of the free trade system, and made effectual demonstration of the necessity for its being supplemented if not set aside, by the adoption of some other expedient for the Christian instruction of the people; and yet not made it out, that this expedient should be a legal and sure provision for the maintenance of an established clergy. The doctrine of an establishment may have other rivals, or other

antagonists to contend with, beside the system of free trade; and accordingly such an antagonist has been conjured up within these few years, under the name of the Voluntary Principle—which, though identified in the imagination of our opponents with a free trade in Christianity, is yet not throughout all its extent identical therewith. Had it been perfectly the same, we should have viewed it as having been already fought against, and placed *hors de combat.* But the two are in certain respects distinct, and each requires a distinct argumentation—although confounded together by the undistinguishing advocates of the Voluntary Principle, who thus prove themselves alike insensible to the strength and the weakness of their own cause.

4. There are two sorts then of the Voluntary Principle, which are almost never adverted to; but which it is of the utmost argumentative importance to discriminate the one from the other. A man, then, may either make a voluntary return, in the shape of a price or equivalent, for those Christian ministrations which are rendered to himself or his family; or he may make a voluntary offering in the shape of a donation, to set agoing or to support a Christian ministration for others beside himself, or for other families than his own. The one may be altogether as voluntary a payment as the other. He may not have been more willing to make remuneration for his own share of the article of Christian instruction to himself—than he is willing to make a contribution that others may share it along with him. Both of these exercises, however different in their effect and object, have

been referred to the Voluntary Principle; and the result has been, that, to a great extent, it has darkened or bewildered the whole controversy. Two things so different in their nature, ought to be signalised and set apart from each other by different names. When a congregation, therefore, do from their own contributions, whether formed by seat-rents or otherwise, support their own minister —we shall put it down to the account of internal voluntaryism; and that because the members of the congregation raise within themselves a sufficiency for all their expenses. In so far as they have been helped to accomplish this by the contributions of others, not members of the congregation, we shall put it down to the account of external voluntaryism—as coming from the people without the limits of the congregation. In other words, the one is voluntaryism *ab intra;* the other voluntaryism *ab extra.* We regret the scholastic character of these designations; but we can find no others more expressive than these.

5. It will now be seen how far the Voluntary Principle is coincident, and how far it is in conflict, with the system of free trade in Christianity. It must be obvious of internal voluntaryism, that it is just another name for this system; and must therefore share in all the defects and all the impotency, under which we have proved it to labour. On the principle of a free trade, or of a trade unforced and unfostered by any bounty, each congregation is left, out of its own resources, to pay the expenses of its own ministry,—a principle of which we have already demonstrated, that it leaves mil-

lions and millions more of our British population —all in fact who have neither the wealth nor the will to purchase a Christian education for themselves—in a state of heathenism. But any shortcoming in the price which these are willing to give for their religious instruction, may be supplemented by the contributions which others from abroad are willing to advance, so as to make out such a remuneration as may be essential to keep the chapel and its services agoing. Now whatever comes from this source, comes from the willingness of the people to give, who have no benefit from these services; or, in other words, is the produce of external voluntaryism. But this lands us in what, to all intents and purposes, is a bounty; or the moment you draw upon external voluntaryism, you make a practical acknowledgment of the insufficiency of the free trade system, for the supply of a population with the lessons of the gospel. We hear of the sufficiency of the Voluntary Principle for the supply of all the moral and religious wants of a population; but if ever, to make this out, the internal voluntaryism draw upon the external, in order to supplement its own deficiencies, let us at least hear no more of the sufficiency of the free trade system: neither let us hear any more of the same objection to bounties in Christianity, which the disciples of our modern and enlightened school in political economy prefer against bounties in commerce. If ever the internal need to be helped by the external voluntaryism, what becomes of the sufficiency of the free trade principle? And, on the other hand, if the offerings of the external be

thankfully received by the voluntaries themselves, when involved in the struggles and harassed by the short-comings of their internal voluntaryism—what becomes of the economical argument against a national establishment of Christianity? When the Voluntary Principle in all its extent, or as comprehensive of the internal and external, becomes your specific for the Christianization of a country—then the free trade system ceases to be that specific, for it is set aside, whenever the internal requires the aid of the external; or, to express it differently, whenever a bounty has to be given for the purpose of repairing the deficiencies of the market price. At all events, let us no longer hear of the Voluntary Principle, and the principle of a free trade in Christianity, put into the same category; or so confounded, as if the one were tantamount to the other—when, in truth, the Voluntary Principle, in that branch of it which we have denominated voluntaryism *ab extra*, offers as great a violence to the system of the economists in this matter, as does the doctrine of a national establishment, or of a certain legal provision for the support of a Christian ministry in a land. The free trade in Christianity, and External Voluntaryism, are as distinct from each other in the ecclesiastical question—as a market price and a bounty are in the economical question.

6. Let us now, after these various explanations, understand the real state of the controversy. Our antagonists, who think that a national establishment of Christianity ought to be superseded, tell us of the sufficiency of the Voluntary Principle.

But this cannot be the sufficiency of internal voluntaryism, which is but the system of free trade under another denomination; and the short-comings of which have been made abundantly manifest. To make up for these short-comings, to provide a gospel ministration for the millions and the millions more whom the system of free trade or of internal voluntaryism does not overtake, were an achievement worthy of the highest efforts of philanthropy and patriotism. But viewed as a deed of patriotism, it is the proper work of statesmen, or of the government whose affairs these statesmen administer —thus landing us at once in a legal, or national, religious establishment. But this is resisted, and still, as heretofore, on the alleged sufficiency of the Voluntary Principle—not surely of the voluntary principle *ab intra*, this being already disposed of; but of the voluntary principle *ab extra*, or on the sufficiency of the external voluntaryism to compensate all the defects of the internal. Perhaps viewed as a deed of philanthropy, they regard it, not only as the proper but as the exclusive work of philanthropists, and in which the government ought to have no share. At all events, the question is now brought within a narrower compass than before. We presume it to be agreed on both sides, that the outcast millions ought to be reclaimed from the ignorance and irreligion of heathenism. The only difference relates to the party at whose expense this great achievement ought to be perfected —whether by private Christians, under the impulse of a religious benevolence; or by an enlightened government under the impulse of a paternal regard

for the highest weal of its subject population. We, the advocates of a National Establishment, hold it the duty and wisdom of every state, thus to undertake for the education of the great family under its charge, and to provide the requisite funds for the fulfilment of the enterprise—and this without prejudice, but the contrary, to the liberality of those individuals, who might choose of their own means to build more churches, and maintain more ministers—thus adding to the amount of Christian instruction in the land. Our antagonists on the other hand hold this to be only the fitting work of individuals, whether acting separately or in associated bodies—to be their concern, and theirs exclusively; and that the government of a country should have nothing to do with it.

7. We do not object to these supplemental efforts of private Christians, and by which the shortcomings of an establishment might in a greater or less degree be repaired. But ere we confide the religion of our people to the growth and multiplication of their churches, we should like to know in how far they have filled up those blank spaces, which, in the course of an increasing population, our national churches have left behind them. In the deficiency of our existing apparatus, the Voluntary Principle has had an ample field for the trial of its energies; and we desire to understand, whether, in virtue of those spontaneous and expansive properties which have been ascribed to it, the mighty surplus of our unprovided millions has indeed been overtaken. In this land of perfect toleration, there has been no want of liberty for the great experiment; and

now, at the end of at least a century, since chapels may without let or hinderance have been planted in each vacant portion of the territory, let us be told, whether all the national and all the voluntary churches together be commensurate to the exigencies of our augmented population. When reckoning the outcast multitude in our land who congregate nowhere, and that because there were no cheap and accessible places of worship which could take them in, we at that time appealed to them as evidence of the insufficiency of a free trade in religion. But in truth they afford evidence of more than this. This system of free trade is tantamount only to the system of internal voluntaryism. But the existing number of our voluntary chapels represents all that has been done, not by the internal only, but by the internal and external voluntaryism together. Over and above those places of worship which are wholly sustained by the seat-rents of the congregations assembled in them, it comprehends, not only those which are wholly sustained, but that still greater number who are partially helped by the liberalities of Christian benevolence. The unprovided millions of the British population furnish a measure, not for the deficiency of the free trade system or the voluntary principle *ab intra*, but for the deficiency of that system after all the additions which have been made to it by the voluntary principle *ab extra*. They let us know, that, after both have done their uttermost, there is a task of first-rate social and national importance, even the Christian education of thousands and thousands more of our British families,

which remains undone. These tell us a great deal more than the impotency of the great economical specific, even that of free trade in Christianity. They further tell of the impotency of the great sectarian specific, or of the voluntary principle. If such be the filling and the fertilising power of voluntaryism, whence those mighty wastes of barrenness and moral desolation which meet the eye, in all the over-crowded towns and all the recent and still churchless villages of our empire? How comes it that, while shops and markets for the supply of their physical necessities keep full pace with the tide of advancing population, chapels and churches for the supply of their spiritual necessities should fall so immeasurably short of it—bespeaking not only the languor of the spontaneous demand, among those people who should be willing to pay for Christian instruction to themselves; but bespeaking the languor of Christian charity, among those people who should be willing to give it on behalf of others without money and without price? We confess a greater value for experience than for experiments; and when, in spite of all the talent and energy of our dissenting brethren, we witness on the outfield of our National Establishment, open now to their enterprise for several generations, such a spectacle of defects and difficulties and grievous destitution, with the myriads of unreclaimed wanderers whom they have never reached, and far less overtaken—we do apprehend, that, on the overthrow of this venerable institute, the same evils, now so largely exhibited on all the unprovided remnants of the country,

would be realised and multiplied over the whole length and breadth of the land. We must first behold the moral triumphs of voluntaryism, in the many hundreds of surplus localities which are before our eyes, ere we can consent to give up the whole territory into their hands; and do think that men who have evinced so little their power to rebuild, should be somewhat less fiery and precipitate in their zeal to destroy.

8. If, on taking the moral statistics of a land, we found, that, after all the voluntary efforts both of individuals and societies for the spread of education, a large proportion of the peasantry were destitute of all good scholarship, we should not feel it to be incongruous, but in perfect keeping with our idea of a government in the exercise of its best and highest functions, should we look to the advance of funds from the National Treasury, for the erection of schools and the requisite endowment of teachers, in every little section of the territory; or, in other words, for a commensurate scholastic establishment at the expense of the state. And what is true of common, we hold to be alike true of Christian education. If, in spite of all the strenuousness and zeal of our religious philanthropists, we behold millions and millions more destitute of virtue as well as knowledge; with as little sense of immortality as the beasts that perish; and, reckless alike of their obligations to God and man, living in that guilty abandonment of all principle, which is at once ruinous to their own everlasting prospects and hazardous to the peace and order of the commonwealth—then, if competent for the

rulers of a state to provide against the nuisance of a population untaught in letters, it is still more competent, we should say still more imperatively binding, to provide against the still more hurtful and intolerable nuisance of a population untaught in morality and religion. If it be lawful and incumbent on the civil magistrate to achieve the one object by means of National Schools and schoolmasters—where lies the objection to his achievement of the other by means of National Churches and clergymen? In other words, we can discern no greater reason in a Scholastic than in an Ecclesiastical Establishment, or rather a more emphatic call for the latter than the former. What is true of the smaller family of a household, holds true of the greater family in an empire. If both the parent in the one case, and the governor in the other, be chargeable with a guilty indifference, who should suffer their respective families to remain unschooled—there is guilt of a deeper dye, if, by the indifference or neglect of either, they are suffered to remain unchristianised.

9. We are sensible both of a feeling and a theory in our day, which are strongly and strangely adverse to this conclusion. It is extremely difficult to describe the antipathy, either in the nature or in the grounds of it; but the fact is undoubted, of a certain sensitive notion that is now generally afloat, as if a government overstepped the limit of its own proper and legitimate functions, by charging itself in any way with the religion of the people. On the contrary, it is reckoned to be in the magistrate the very perfection of enlightened patriotism

on this subject, when like Gallio he cares for none of these things. And thus it is held, by the disciples of a certain cold and metaphysical utilitarianism, as one of the chief proprieties of a government, that it should be quite unconcerned, nay unconscious of the religion of its subjects—as if, bereft of all vitality and sentiment, it were reduced to a sort of mechanical automaton which had other functions to perform; and to go beyond which, more especially for the education of the people in the faith and principles of any theological system, were an utter confusion of the characteristics and the species of things. Such is one of the theories of our day—in conforming to which a government should, as a government, be lifeless of all regard to things sacred; and, maintaining a calm and philosophic indifference to all the modes and varieties of religious belief, should refuse to entertain the question, in which of these varieties the people ought to be trained—or, rather, make it wholly the affair of the people themselves, with which they have no business to intermeddle in any form, whether or not they are to have any religion at all.

10. Now we protest altogether against this view of a government—against what may be termed this artificial inversion of its idea. We plead for its moral prerogatives; nor can we forget the human principles and human feelings of the individuals who compose it—whether it be the humanity which glows in the breast of the king upon the throne, or the humanity that tells on the sensibilities, and also does and ought to tell on the votes of a parliament. A righteous and religious monarch, or righteous

and religious senators, must impress their character on their acts; nor can we understand the distinction, or rather the disjunction, which is spoken of in these days, between Christian governors and a Christian government. We have no such notion of the moral that we have of the physical chemistry, in the compounds of which, the properties of the ingredients may be changed or disappear. The corporation of a state cannot be thus denaturalised, or reduced to a sort of *caput mortuum*, discharged of all soul and all sentiment—as if by a process of constitution-making in the crucibles of a laboratory. The cold metaphysical abstraction that is thereby engendered, may exist in the region of the ideal; but it does not exist in the region of the actual, nor even in the region of the possible; for men, though convened within the hall of a legislative assembly, will not, therefore, forget that they are men; or think that they must renounce all care for the highest well-being of families, when called to deliberate on the well-being of a nation.

11. And accordingly we find that, unchecked by any freezing limitation of this sort, a Parliament or National Assembly does collectively give way to the very principles, or tastes, or feelings, by which the men who compose it are separately and individually actuated. For example, they have the desire, that at least plain and popular learning should be diffused throughout the mass of the community; and so, without let or hinderance, will they vote away the nation's money, and that for the support and establishment of schools, and for the sake of a general scholarship throughout the

nation. Or, with a still loftier cast of intellect, they are bent on the encouragement of science; and so, with like freedom, will they grant of the funds of the nation for literary societies and universities and museums and botanic gardens —and all for the sake of a loftier learning, or for the philosophy of the nation. Or, in their love and value for the arts, will they, from the same source still, that is from the nation's revenue, the product of hard taxation, purchase and throw open a magnificent park, for the health and recreation of the public; or a gallery of choice pictures, and that for the improvement of a nation's taste. Or, with the very impulse which enters into the heart of the humblest individual, will they listen to some tale of suffering, and not from their own funds but from the funds of the state, undertake the charge of relieving it—as when they provided for the destitution of the Highlands; or resolved at the expense of the nation, on a voyage of benevolence for the discovery and rescue of the missing ships detained through the winter in Greenland, and this in obedience to the call of the nation's humanity. Now we have yet to learn, in the midst and with a multitude of such proceedings as these, why an assembly of legislators, having in themselves a sense and principle of religion, or bent on the moral and Christian education of society at large, or lastly in obedience to the call of the nation's piety, why they might not, and for the accomplishment of this high end, ordain, and from the means of the nation, an establishment of national churches —even as, for the accomplishment of other ends,

they ordain national schools and national universities, and public or national institutes of various sorts and descriptions. We cannot but imagine our antagonists reduced to a difficulty, who would leave a government free to provide for the health, or the scholarship, or the taste, or even the amusement of the people; and yet would tie up their hands against any provision for the moral wants of the community, or for training the families of our land in that best and highest of all education—the education of principle and piety.

12. And so far from any speciality of argument against such a destination, all the sound reasoning, we apprehend, is a reasoning *à fortiori* in favour of it. To establish our conclusion, it does not even require, however desirable it might be on other grounds, that we should have a parliament of spiritual men; for let them be utilitarians only, and that too in the coarsest or merely material sense of the term, and it were a mighty advancement of all their objects, that the people should be trained in the principles and habits of religion. Neither the taste of the nation, nor the scholarship of the nation, can so facilitate the business, or so prodigiously lessen the expenditure of a government, as would the Christianity of the nation. It is this latter education of which Burke's celebrated aphorism holds most emphatically true, that it were the cheap defence of the commonwealth. A universal Christianity would annihilate crime; and though even then the poor should still be with us, or there should still be poverty in the land, it would at least annihilate pauperism. And what a uni-

versal Christianity could accomplish in full, would be accomplished in great part by a universal Christian education, which might not annihilate, but would at least indefinitely reduce, both of these great and expensive evils. It were an incalculable saving of the wealth, and still more a saving to the happiness of the nation, that there should be the prevention of crime rather than its punishment. And it were a like saving, that there should be the prevention of pauperism rather than a positive administration to relieve its necessities, or to meet its exactions, which at one time in England amounted to three times the revenue of the National Church. It could be made an affair of numerical computation and an argument might be raised from it to suit the understanding even of the most arithmetical of our statesmen. The outlays on our civil and criminal jurisprudence—the still more enormous outlay, of our parochial expenditure; and what we have not yet noticed, the outlays on the maintenance both of the military and constabulary forces, to overcome an untrained, and therefore a turbulent community, exceed, and more than in a tenfold ratio, all the outlays which would be required for a system of religious discipline, by which to form a manageable population of peaceful and industrious and well-ordered families; and which last outlays, after all, should not be viewed in the light of an expenditure which the Voluntaries want to save, but as the present destination of a long-established property which the Voluntaries want to seize upon. But without remarking further on this injustice—had we only yet been at the com-

mencement of the work—had we still to institute a new, or to extend a deficient establishment—and could the object be provided for only by a grant from the Treasury—such an application of the public money might be vindicated, we contend, not alone on the high ground of religious principle, but even on the infinitely lower ground that is taken by those who merely view it as a question of polity and economics. The main object of the Christian who desires an establishment is the godliness of the people, and that they may secure the promise of the life which is to come; but to provide such an establishment is also the wisdom of the statesman, even though his main or only object should be the interest of the life that now is. When a Christian labours for an establishment of churches, it is, first and foremost, for the kingdom of God and His righteousness; but the patriot and the statesman should also labour for an establishment of churches, though only for the sake of the "all other things which are added" to them.

13. It will now be seen that there is a harmony not previously seen, perhaps not even suspected before, between the doctrine of a national establishment, and at least one great branch of the Voluntary Principle. It is no doubt at utter antipodes with the maxim that each man should pay his own minister, which, if raised into a universal and unexcepted category on this subject, would not only exclude a payment by the state, but even the contributions of private benevolence, either for the erection of churches or the maintenance of clergymen. But this total abandonment

of the great mass of the people to themselves—this assertion of the sufficiency of internal voluntaryism for the supply of the country with religious instruction, is pretty well now given up, at least in practice, and by sectarians of all denominations as well as churchmen. Innumerable are the appeals made by the Voluntaries themselves to the generosity of the public in behalf of their labouring congregations; and the call is responded to by thousands, who feel that to give for the religious education of the people is the best and most productive of all benevolence—and their contributions, whether from an impulse of piety or of patriotism, are not more willingly made by the one party than they are welcomed by the other. It is not very discriminating we think, thus to hail the liberalities of private individuals, and to refuse or regard them as incompetent and wrong, when they are congregated in the form of one great liberality from the state. For in truth, the very spirit which prompts the individual gifts needs only to be strong enough and general enough, to call forth a gift from the treasury. This were but one of the many examples, in which the voice of a country is found to have an influential control over the acts of a government. Let the sentiment prevail, that it is good to pay for the Christian instruction of those who either cannot or will not pay for it themselves; and a government, when adding its own great national subscription to those of the many individuals who have preceded and pointed the way to it, is not thwarting the sentiment by which they were actuated, but only giving further expression,

or larger and more lasting effect to it. There is no fear lest a popular government like ours will award a grant for the erection or the endowment of churches, till they anticipate a virtual ratification of the deed by a preponderance of feeling in its favour from without—or till encouraged to the measure, if not by the numerical majority of tax-payers, at least by that class of them whose larger payments constitute the vast majority of by far the larger part of the revenue of our nation. In as far then as they are concerned, we behold in an ecclesiastical provision by the state, an example of external voluntaryism, or a willing public contributing of their wealth to the Christian instruction of the common people, through the medium of a willing government. It only differs from a separate or a personal contribution, by the channel of conveyance through which it passes—or as a mite given by the hand to some individual object of charity, differs from a mite cast into a treasury that has been opened for the relief of this and of all similar objects. When, instead of local establishments for the good of so many special districts raised by the munificence of individuals, we behold a great national establishment for the good of the whole country and raised by an endowment from the state—we only see the final development of an anterior tendency, which operated in the minds of many thousands of private Christians; or their collective mind finding its outlet, and its ultimate expression or effect, in the act of a government. A parliamentary vote then in aid of religious education, is, both in principle and effect, but an

example of the Voluntary Principle *ab extra.* And you will now perhaps see, that, on this subject, there was room for a distinction between the things which differ, but which are apt to be confounded —even though you may have disliked the scholastic and somewhat repulsive terms which we have employed for the expression of it. It is but internal voluntaryism, or rather the assertion of its sufficiency, which comes into conflict with the principle of a national establishment. On the moment that the internal draws upon or seeks for help from external voluntaryism—which it does in fact all over the kingdom—our cause is practically and substantially gained; for this external voluntaryism, so far from being in conflict with the principle of a national establishment, is in perfect and precise coincidence therewith.

14. We have had a recent illustration of all this in the doings of Scotland. It is but a moderate estimate of the ecclesiastical destitution which obtains there, when we affirm, that at least half-a-million of inhabitants who ought to be church-goers, have no right of occupancy in any place of worship —whether in the established church or the dissenting meeting-houses. The population had greatly outgrown the provision originally instituted, for supplying them with the lessons of the gospel—having increased since the days of John Knox from one million to two millions and a half. Till within these four years, it was left chiefly to the energies and the efforts of internal voluntaryism, to meet and make provision for this enormous deficiency; and the result is that certainly not more than one-

third of the outfield population has been thereby overtaken. At all events, there remains as great a number to be provided for as corresponds to the gross population of a million, and these, it is to be remarked, consisting mainly of the common people—the most helpless, because the least able, and when once the habit of irreligion is formed also the least willing, to help themselves. For it cannot be too much insisted on, that they are not the poorest in the community who attend the meeting-houses, but of a higher grade than these —though in greater part, perhaps, and of course with many exceptions, of the lower of the middle class, as shopkeepers and master tradesmen, and in certain places a considerable number of husbandmen, with doubtless a small proportion of the better-conditioned among our artizans and even labourers. It is upon these last that the evils of our ecclesiastical destitution have principally fallen. They are the working classes, and families of the working classes, who have been laid in consequence under the burden of a great moral calamity. It is for their relief, for their enlargement, that the scheme of church extension has been formed; and whereas we have been represented as seeking a boon for the church, the true spirit and design of our enterprise is to obtain, at the hands of the public and the hands of the government together, a boon for the common people.

15. In the prosecution of this enterprise, we, in the first instance, have been drawing largely upon external voluntaryism. In virtue of our repeated appeals and applications to the Christian benevo-

lence of the land, we have undertaken the erection of 180 churches—greatly more than half of which are now in progress of building; and nearly one-half of which are completed, and indeed opened, for the regular services of the sanctuary. It was highly instructive to us, when our friends the Voluntaries, at the outset of this great operation, thought they saw in it the triumph of their own cause—saying that we had at length given in to their principle, and become Voluntaries ourselves. Now it is very true, that, in defect of their internal voluntaryism, in utter defect of their free trade system, which, after a century of perfect freedom for the enterprise and the utmost strenuousness in the prosecution of it, left without the blessings of a gospel ministration half-a-million who ought to have been church-goers, and a whole million of general population—it is very true, that, in these circumstances, we are attempting, by the liberality of others, to do for our unprovided thousands and tens of thousands, that which their own poverty, and their own listlessness together, have prevented their doing for themselves. We are glad to understand that the Voluntaries approve of this; or that in any thing there is a community of sentiment betwixt us. We can bear to be told, that we too, in our endeavours to repair the deficiencies of our church, have had recourse to the voluntary principle—for, as far as our share of it is concerned, we hold it to be a very sound one. Nay, we should have rejoiced most heartily, had their internal voluntaryism sufficed for the moral and religious wants of our countrymen; and would bid it God

speed to the whole extent of its capabilities and efforts. It is only because these have fallen short of the object that we have taken an onward step to external voluntaryism; and should furthermore rejoice if, in the tried sufficiency of this expedient, we found that no additional exertion was called for. But this is not our experience; and therefore we do take another step onward; and having drawn all we can from a pious or philanthropic public, are now endeavouring to draw as much as we can from a patriotic or paternal government. We are not sensible of any incongruity between these two applications. They are not conflicting, but conspiring movements; or the consequential following up of one step by another, along a line of continuity. After having obtained from the good will of our countrymen the sum of two hundred thousand pounds for the erection of places of worship, and that in behalf of a people unable to build churches of themselves,—we now knock at the door of our rulers, in the hope of propitiating their good will to a grant, and that too in behalf of the same people, quite as unable of themselves to maintain their clergymen. We stand before the ministers of the crown, not so much in the attitude of supplicants,—for we ask nothing for our own personal advantage,—but rather in the attitude of donors, telling them what is our contribution, and asking what is theirs, to the religious education of the community,—a cause dear to us as Christians, and which should be as dear to them as statesmen. We have traversed no one view for which we ever contended upon this subject; and whereas, our

friends and most vigilant guardians, the Voluntaries of Scotland, allege of us, because of this our appeal to the liberality of the Christian public, that we have come over to their principle,—they, from the first moment of preferring the same appeal themselves; and when they sought, which they have ever done, from the generosity of contributors, what they could not make good from the seat-rents of their own congregations,—from that moment, in truth, did they abandon their own, and come over to our principle. And we cannot blame them for this—believing, as we do, that, but for a benevolence from without, the Christian instruction of the people never has, and perhaps never will be provided for. Meanwhile we maintain that there is no conflict, no contrariety, but the utmost harmony of principle, between the legal and voluntary parts of our conjunct operation. We have been gifted with one sum by a willing Christian community in Scotland; and we expect, sooner or later, to be gifted with another, by a willing House of Commons in London; and after having obtained the willing support of both these parties, our pugnacious opponents will be quite welcome to call us Voluntaries, if they please. Only we hope that it will serve to rectify their conceptions, after they have made the discovery, that even the Voluntary Principle, which they have hitherto imagined to be all against our cause, if viewed comprehensively enough, and in all its bearings, is actually on the side of a National Establishment for the Christian education of the people.

16. So little have we any doubt of the perfect harmony between a contribution from external voluntaryism and a grant from the state—that the one, we have every confidence, will at length prove a stepping-stone to the other; and in the very proportion that we enlarge the first, do we strengthen and multiply our claims, and add a greater momentum to all our appliances for the second. So thoroughly indeed is this our conviction, that the discouragement we have lately received at the hands of our rulers, will only redouble our exertions in the country; believing, as we do, that if the voice of 180 congregations fall short of the requisite force to carry an endowment, the voice of 250 or 300 will at least come nearer to it; and furthermore resolved, as we are, not to desist till we have done our uttermost for the families of the working classes, and so enlisted in favour of the great design the friendly and approving suffrages of the great mass of the commonalty in Scotland. Yet this, we are told, is but the cry of the unfranchised population, of men who have no suffrages, and are therefore of no weight in the senate-house. We believe, on the contrary, that the cause of the unprotected and the poor, whenever it comes to be thoroughly understood, is of mighty influence there. And besides, we not only begun our enterprise under the countenance and support of the highest orders in the country; but even in that class which supplies the greatest numbers to the constituency of Scotland, the ten-pounders and a little upwards, whose prejudices were strongest against us at the first, we are every

year making sensible progress; and have no doubt that, if we only persevere, and are adequately upborne by the contributions of the liberal, we shall be enabled to lift a still louder appeal than heretofore; so that with the authentic demonstration of a continued, or rather a greatly augmenting interest in our cause, on the part of the British public, the British Legislature will at length give way.

17. We trust that this will both explain and justify the efforts which the friends of our church, most of them clergymen from Scotland, are now making in London,—not merely to recruit our exhausted treasury, but, if possible, by that most authentic of all demonstrations, the names and the sums of those who shall have enlisted their testimony in favour of our object, to make palpable exhibition in the eyes of Government,—soon to hear a fresh representation on the subject, of the growing strength and popularity of our cause. The best recommendation I can give of their errand, is to state the class or description of persons for whom they are labouring,—and who are now shut out from the benefits of moral and religious instruction, in virtue of the numbers in our land having increased, and the Establishment not having increased along with them. On whom is it that the burden of this calamity principally lights; and of what description in society are those sufferers, who are left without a church to humanise and elevate their spirits,—without a clergyman, who might be at once the friend and adviser of their families? They are the men who, finding

no provision within the Church, are either not able or not willing to provide a ministration for themselves. The two requisite elements for this, are the wealth and the will; and they who want either of these, or most generally both of them together, form the great class of our unhappy exiles from the habits and observances of a Christian land. In other words, they are the depraved and the destitute, whom we seek to reclaim; and it is in their cause, or for the relief of their moral necessities, that we labour to interest the Government of these lands, in the enlargement and further endowment of the Church of Scotland. There is not one of our actual clergymen who will be benefited by the measure. We seek by it no increase to any of our livings; and as we have no pluralities, each of our new churches must be occupied by a distinct and additional ecclesiastic. Let the Government themselves determine what his revenue ought to be; and then, for every shilling which they contribute thereto, by a grant from the treasury, let that shilling go, not in augmentation to him, but in deduction from the seat-rents, which we are at present forced to demand from the general population. We repeat, then, that the *terminus ad quem* of our proposition is, not any personal object of our own, but the public object of a cheap Christian education to the community at large. We knock at the door of Government, not in the crouching attitude of supplicants for ourselves,—but in the firm and high attitude of donors,—with two hundred thousand pounds, or a hundred and eighty new churches, as an offering

to a cause of highest patriotism; and saying, "This is our contribution; what is yours?" It is not true, as represented, that we stand before them as so many fawning and pampered ecclesiastics, bent on the further aggrandisement of ourselves or of our order. We appear for the families of our peasants and our artizans, and our men of handicraft and hard labour. We are the tribunes of the people, the representatives of that class to whom the law has given no other representatives of their own,—of the unfranchised multitude, who are without a vote, and without a voice in the House of Commons. Our sacred object is, the moral well-being of that mighty host who swarm and overspread the ground-floor of the fabric of our commonwealth; and, after the mists of prejudice and misconception have cleared away, our ultimate hope of success, under Heaven, is in the inherent and essential popularity of our cause. You will not therefore be surprised if we look for the countenance of those who esteem the moral well-being of the poor as the highest boon which can possibly be conferred upon them; and also of those who look upon our present contest as being, in fact, a contest between a higher and a lower element in society—and who, along with all the better and finer spirits of our nation, are anxiously bent that the higher of the two elements should carry it. For you cannot but remark, that there is a certain coarse utilitarianism making way even in our high places, and which threatens to vilify and vulgarise the whole system of our affairs; a growing distrust in the efficacy of moral expedients,

and the substitution of palpable, or material, or merely economical expedients, in their room; a dealing with but the grosser principles of our nature, as if mind and conscience, and the higher faculties were too shadowy and ethereal things for a legislature to work upon; and so a harsh and stinted parsimony in providing even for the common, but still more for the Christian education of the working classes,—a universal cry for cheapness, and thus, perhaps an immediate saving of money, but with the sacrifice, let it be remembered, of the money's worth,—and ultimately with a tenfold greater cost, that might have been prevented by a timely expenditure. The memorable aphorism of Burke, that "Education was the cheap defence of nations," has now become obsolete and old-fashioned, in this headlong and scrambling demand for all other sorts of cheapness. It seems to have been forgotten how much cheaper it is, that we should have to do with an intelligent and well-trained peasantry, than with a population adrift from the restraints of principle; each generation, from the growing numbers of the community, more unprovided with the means of instruction than the preceding; and so rising up in still more reckless defiance to all the duties of life, and to all its decencies. This misleading and miscalculating economy will be disappointed of its own object, and be at length filled with the fruit of its own ways. Unless the emollients of Christian kindness and Christian instruction be brought to bear on the turbulence of the popular mind, a smouldering fire, which now lies at the bottom of

the social and political edifice, will at length burst forth, and explode it into fragments. And a day of fearful recompense for the moral wrongs of a long-neglected population will be the sure result or re-action of that process, by which our rulers shall have conducted us onwards, step by step, in the path of deterioration, till we have landed in the veriest dregs and degeneracy of an iron age.

LECTURE IV.

On the Circumstances which determine a Government to select one Denomination of Christianity for the National Religion.

1. It seems a very clear and indisputable axiom, that there can be nothing better for a nation, than when a common sentiment on the side of what is good is shared between the rulers and the people; or, when one and the same principle, and that a right one, is found to harmonize and actuate them both. A certain amount of agreement between these two parties is at all times indispensable to the internal tranquillity of a state; and there do occur periods in history, when this unanimity becomes so strong and cordial and sympathetic, that it has given rise to a general and wide-spread enthusiasm—a kind of moral jubilee in the land, when high and low rejoiced together; and the heart of the king upon the throne beat in unison with the acclamations of the multitude. On such occasions the distinction between the legal and the voluntary is forgotten; and both are often blended together in one common offering at the altar, whether of charity, or of patriotism, or lastly of religion—as when the hostile Armada made its approaches to the shores of England, and the appeal of the sovereign to the people was responded

to, not by the willing services alone, but the willing contributions of all the orders in the land: Or as when, in recompense to the family of a public benefactor, not only is a grant from the Treasury welcomed by the public approval, but followed up by the public subscriptions, in testimony of departed worth or departed patriotism: Or, as happened more than once within the remembrance of us all, when famine, or pestilence, or some signal calamity, has involved thousands of families, the same pathetic representation which opened the hearts and purses of the wealthy, also unlocked the coffers of the state. And there have occurred many other passages in the annals of our nation, where the governors and the governed, had money been called for towards the attainment of their common object, would have trampled under foot that line of demarcation, which, but for the wretched controversy of the present day, might never have been heard of. This union of now warring elements might have been exemplified, even in the days of that cruel and capricious despot who first broke off from the spiritual tyranny of Rome—still more under the brief and gentle sway of his religious successor —and still more when the imprisoned bishops, those venerable Fathers of the English Church, who could have laid down their lives in defence of the pure faith and the sacred rights of conscience, were met, on their egress from confinement, by the loud and rapturous acclaims of a then liberated nation. It is from such evolutions—brief, while brilliant, though they are—that we catch, as it were, the transient glimpse of a community in its

best and happiest mood—when one simultaneous feeling pervades all classes; and, in the pulsations of one mighty heart, the breath of one actuating and reigning spirit, the wealth and efforts of all are consecrated to one common object, and all jealousies are forgotten.

2. And it has happened not infrequently in the history of nations, that religion has been the theme of this generous and wide-spread exultation—as on the restoration, in the days of the Old Testament, of its long-forgotten ordinances—or, in modern times, on the celebration of some achieved triumph, whether of truth or liberty. These form the brightest and sunniest periods, in the otherwise dark history of the kings of Israel—when the monarch met in convocation with his people, and both rejoiced together in the re-establishment of the worship of their forefathers. There was no conflict between the legal and the voluntary in those days; when, under the authority of the one, the people duteously and faithfully rendered their tithes; and, under the impulse of the other, added their free-will offerings—when the king made his levies or issued his munificent grants from the royal treasury; and, at the same time, the people cast abundantly, and with unsparing hand, into the treasury of the temple. There is now, it would appear, a war of extermination between these two principles—as if the one were destructive of the other, and there was not room for their contemporaneous operation. Under the best of the Jewish monarchs, and in the best periods of the Jewish history, they acted and re-acted to each other's

hands; and we need only cast an eye over the reigns of David and Solomon, and Joash and Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah and Josiah, to be convinced that that was the happiest state of the commonwealth when there was the harmonious working of both.

3. But these were Jewish kings who lived, in common with their subjects, under a palpable and declared theocracy—who had prophets, with the credentials of Heaven's authority, to guide and to correct them; and the book of God's law, which had ordained a priesthood, and prescribed a maintenance for the support of their families. There was, during the subsistence of this older economy, a clear and express sanction for an established religion. But the question now respects Christian kings and Christian communities; and, in the absence of that distinct and definite authority for an established church in the New, which stands forth so unequivocally in almost every book of the Old Testament, we have to inquire what the circumstances were, which, under our present dispensation, brought on, and as we think justified, an enactment for the provision of a national clergy, who might teach the lessons of the gospel, and conduct its services among the people at large.

4. The causes, as far as they are known to us, which led to the first establishment of Christianity as a national religion, might be stated in a few words. For centuries after the original promulgation of the gospel, it was not only an unprotected but a persecuted faith. Under this severe regimen it was nurtured into strength; and from year to

year, took deeper and firmer root,—as if cradled by the storms, in the midst of which it grew into maturity; and it was only fed and fostered the more by every new edict that was framed for its extirpation—till converts were so multiplied, and the public mind was so far carried in its favour, as to leave it doubtful whether it was the piety of Constantine, or the policy of Constantine, which led to his espousal of Christianity, and determined him to throw the shield, not only of his imperial protection, but of his imperial patronage over it. If the former explanation be the true one—if the change of his profession originated in the power of truth and principle, then he but did upon his throne what a Christian parent does in his family. The one carried into effect the wishes of a christianised heart over a larger, as the other does over a smaller sphere of operation. Each, by the arrangements of Providence, obtained a certain measure of ascendancy over other minds and other consciences than their own; and gifted as the one was with influence over an empire, and the other with influence over a household, we behold in each the example of a gift consecrated to the honour of Him who is the Universal Giver; and whom they now believed to be the author of that Christianity sent down from heaven on purpose to rule and to regenerate the world. In compliance with this great duty, and as fellow-workers with God, the one did for his subjects what the other does for his children—provided them with a Christian education, as the best boon which a religious monarch can confer upon his people.—On the sup-

position of the monarch being himself a Christian, such is the account, and such also we deem to be the vindication of that procedure by which he awarded a maintenance to the teachers of the gospel, and bade them, in return, carry the lessons and services of the gospel throughout his population. But he may have been no Christian; and policy, not principle, may after all be the key for the explanation of his conduct. He must then be tried by a different standard; and if he cannot be vindicated as a religious, he may at least be vindicated as a wise governor; and that, not because he conceded to the religion of the majority, but because he consented to place his subjects under the best moral regimen, for the formation of a virtuous and well-ordered commonwealth. If even the heathen of these days could say of Christians, Behold how they love each other! if so palpable was the exhibition of their superiority, that, by general acknowledgment, they made the best citizens and the best soldiers in the empire—Constantine may have seen that, by the establishment of a universal Christian education, he best consulted both for the economic well-being of his people, and for the prosperous administration of his own civil and political affairs. If we cannot speak to the sincerity of his principle as a man, we may at least speak to the soundness of his policy as a monarch; and although this vindication leaves the blemish of ungodliness and of political hypocrisy on the memory of Constantine, it lays no blemish on the compliance of the other party in this great transaction—we mean of the Church, in having com-

plied with the overtures which he made to them. We read of the earth helping the woman. But we nowhere read, that it is the duty of the woman to refuse this help, or to refrain from the facilities which are opened up to her by the hand of Providence, for the multiplication of her converts. He who can make the wrath of man to praise Him, can make the ambition of monarchs subserve the honour and extension of His own spiritual kingdom in the world; and the Church, in prosecuting this subserviency, and labouring to make the most of it for the salvation of human souls, is but following the bequeathed duty of preaching the gospel to every creature—is but doing good unto all men, as she has the opportunity.

5. The first example then which we have quoted, of a government having made selection of a faith, to be by them signalized and supported as the national religion—is that of Constantine, who evinced all the greater strength of motive and determination in the act of doing so, that, in setting up this new establishment, he superseded or overthrew an old one. It is all the more favourable to the exhibition whether of sentiment or policy; it manifests with a so much greater force, and therefore distinctness, the inducement which led to this measure, that, in the adoption of it, the prejudices on the side of an ancient and hereditary worship had to be overcome—the very circumstance of a struggle and a strenuous resistance having to be encountered in effecting the movement, bringing out more palpably into view some one, if not all, of the many influences under which it was carried.

The second example of any thing similar to this in history took place at the Reformation, when a change was accomplished in the national establishments of several countries in Europe—not a change, as before, from Paganism to Christianity, but a change from Popery to Protestantism, or from one denomination of Christianity to another. There was the assumption of one kind of faith for the national church, made all the more striking and noticeable by the rejection of another—affording therefore so much a better chance of our being able to detect the principle of so great a revolution. Nor is it difficult to find it, in the history of a period so much nearer to ourselves. There may have been other reasons besides those which can be alleged in vindication of this great movement resolvable neither into conscience nor patriotism, as those which actuated the bosom of our capricious and tyrannical Henry. But we speak not of the reasons which explain—only of those which justify the change; and perhaps the best historical example which can be given of them, will be found in the Elector of Saxony, who established the Protestant religion in his kingdom, under the impulse of the Protestant faith, or of a sincere Protestant feeling in his own heart. The faith of the monarch justified the part which he took in it—or the proposal of such a change; and it was the faith of his subjects which justified the part which they took in it —or their acquiescence in the change. Without both these ingredients, it may have been attempted by the monarch, but not been accomplished by him —as by James, who, for attempting to impose the

national establishment of his own faith on an adverse and reluctant kingdom, was hurled from his throne. We shall not stop at present to inquire, whether the conviction was right or wrong, or take up the time, which at present we cannot afford, with the demonstration, though we hold it to be impregnable—that wherever there is access to the light and the opportunities of our present day, and there be notwithstanding a wrong belief in religion, some element of moral evil might be detected in the process which led to it. But, without tracing our way so far backward, grant the sincerity of the potentate—of James, for example, in his Catholicism; of Charles in his Episcopacy: and the Elector of Saxony, in his Lutheran Protestantism—it may be said, both of him who succeeded and of those who failed in the establishment of their own doctrine as the national faith, that all three in the attempts which they made were alike conscientious, and this might serve for the vindication of the men—even as it would serve for the vindication of five hundred men, if the power, instead of being concentrated in one individual, were lodged in such an assembly, and they gave forth their collective voice in favour of an establishment which coincided with the faith of the majority. The only other reason we can sustain in vindication is one of patriotism, as the former was one of piety; or which had respect to the temporal, as the other had respect to the spiritual well-being of the people. We can imagine a monarch without the principle of religion, but of sound enlightened policy—we mean the policy which has for its object, not the main-

tenance or the increase of his own power, but the prosperity of his kingdom and the present welfare of its families. The one is a justifiable motive on a heavenly, the other is a justifiable motive on an earthly standard. Both influences, the religious and the philanthropic as they may be termed, may have acted at the same time on the mind of the Elector of Saxony. He may have felt, and with a deep sense of sacredness, the truth of Protestantism; and he may have been alive also to its secular blessings—to the virtue, and the intelligence, and the industrious habits, which its education and its principles carried in their train. The act of setting up a Protestant Establishment in his dominions may have been at once the act of a sincere Christian and of a sound patriot.

6. We may now carry our views onward in history—nay down as far as from what has been done by governments in former ages, to what might or should be done by governments in the present day. And at this moment, there is no legislative body in Europe who are more called upon, to be ripe and ready on the principles of this great question, than the Parliament of England. There is a loud and instant call upon them for a wise and righteous decision. We cannot imagine a heavier misfortune to our beloved land, than that a measure, so pregnant with consequences both to the present and future generations, should cast up at random; or in the eddying whirl of party and political movements, instead of coming forth as an unfettered, but withal well-weighed deliverance, on the part of intelligent and high-principled men—best of all

if done on the greatest, and which should be the first consideration of, What is truth? but, if not disposed to entertain this question, next best, when done on the consideration of, What is the most effectual regimen for training the successive generations of a country in the virtues of good citizenship, and so as shall be likeliest to ensure for the commonwealth the blessings of a moral and religious population? On either consideration we should not fear for our own Protestantism; for, though the two considerations be distinct from each other, in practice and fulfilment there is a real harmony between them. For the determination of the one question, the lights of conscience and erudition ought to suffice in every well-principled and well-educated assembly: For the determination of the other, it will be enough to consult the lights of history and of economic science.

7. It is well that there should be two principles, altogether right and legitimate, on either of which the question of a religious establishment might be hinged; so that, whatever the incapacity of senators might be to decide on the first of these principles, that is, on the theological truth of any given system of belief—there might remain the other, the moral and economic principle, on which to ground their determination, that is, on the fitness of any system, by the influence and the lessons of its discipleship, to humanise a population, and impart such habits as are best both for the comfort and the virtue of families. And yet we can see no incongruity, no extravagance, but the contrary, in the supposition of its being quite competent for an assembly of legislators,

to decide on the former of these principles; or to give their suffrages for the maintenance of a certain national creed, as well on the ground of that divine authority which has prescribed the lessons of our education for heaven, as on the ground of that human judgment or experience, which tells of the best education for the virtues of good citizenship on earth. We are aware of the summary and contemptuous rejection to which this proposition is liable—as if it would transform the senate-house into an arena of theological conflict; and senators into wrangling polemics, who, to be accomplished for their task, would need to grapple with whole libraries, with the tomes of the mighty controversialists in former ages, or at least, it may be thought, to be deep read, both in the Fathers of the Christian church, and in the Fathers of our own Reformation.

8. Now this is exaggeration. It would have been truth had the proposition been to devolve upon civil rulers, or to devolve upon a parliament, the office of settling and of filling up the national creed, even to its minutest articles; or of framing the whole polity of a church, from the highest to the lowest of its office-bearers, from the most solemn ordinances of its ritual to the most inconsiderable observances of its ceremonial and its forms. The settlement of these is the proper work of ecclesiastics. But the great and general question between Protestantism and Popery does not hinge upon these—a question to which the public mind in many countries of Europe, and particularly in our own, was all awake, and, we may add, intelligent also; and to which the representative mind in the body

of legislators was alike sensible, and ought surely to have been, nay actually was, alike intelligent. This was not a question which could only be resolved in an assembly of priests or of scholastics; out a question that might be rightly entertained, and rightly decided also, in any assembly of well-educated Englishmen. We could not imagine a more testing evidence of an incompetent and vulgarised parliament, than that it should not be qualified to decide the question between the merits of Protestantism and Popery—or which of the two systems, not in respect of policy, but in respect of absolute truth and of sacred obligation, is the most worthy of being upholden as the national faith of these realms. This is neither a minute, nor is it a manifold controversy, but one great and simple question, on which too there shine the broadest lights, both of moral and historical evidence: and that is, whether the Scriptures, as being of divine authority, be the only rule of faith and practice in religion—or whether, coördinate therewith, the decisions of any councils or governors in the church, after the days of the apostles, should be admitted to an equal or superior lordship over the consciences of men. This, of all the countries in Europe, is not the land, where it should be difficult to find hundreds, or even thousands, of the upper and middle classes in society, with information enough, and scholarship enough, to pronounce intelligently upon this question—the richest of Christendom in that literature, and accessible too to all readers, the literature of the Christian evidences—the land of the Stillingfleets, and the Clarks, and the Butlers,

and the Lardners, and the Paleys,—or if any shall recoil from these ecclesiastical names, the land of deepest reasoners in philosophy, of Bacon, and Newton, and Milton, and Locke, and Boyle, and Sir Gilbert West, and Lord Lyttleton, all of whom have done profoundest homage to Christianity, and many of them have told, and with irresistible weight of argument, that the voice in the Scriptures is a voice which speaketh to us from heaven. In this nation, of all others, there is none, with the ordinary schooling of a gentleman, who could not thoroughly inform himself, and by the reading of a few weeks, on this great question, so as to decide between the authority of the Bible, and the authority of Rome's apostolic church; between the miracles of the gospel, performed in the face of the then civilised world, and the mummeries of the Papal superstition, transmitted to us in barbarous legends, those products of the cells and the convents which overspread Europe through the dark and dreary millennium of the middle ages. We owe it to its church and its universities together, that this knowledge is so rife in England—familiar as household words in so many of its accomplished circles, so many of its ancestral halls—and that, not because of any professional interest in theology as a science, but in virtue alone of a full and finished education. It is thus that we have abundant materials for a parliament that could decide the question on its high and proper merits. We only need a parliament of England's best principled and best educated men. But should we not be so fortunate; should the disaster ever befal us, of vulgar and upstart

politicians to be lords of the ascendant; should an infidel or demi-infidel government wield for a season the destinies of this mighty empire, and be willing, at the shrine of their own wretched partizanship, to make sacrifice of those great and hallowed institutions, which were consecrated by our ancestors to the maintenance of religious truth and religious liberty; should, in particular, the monstrous proposition ever be entertained, not to tolerate (for that is quite as it should be) but to endow Popery—not perhaps to abolish, but at least to abridge the legal funds for the support of Protestantism, and at all events to uphold an antiscriptural, and with this aggravation, that it should be at the expense and with the diminution of a scriptural faith—let us hope that there is still enough, not of fiery zeal, but of calm, resolute, and withal enlightened principle in the land, to resent the outrage—enough of energy and reaction, in the revolted sense of this great country, to meet and overbear it.*

* "Speaking of the competency of men not ecclesiastical, to decide a question which hinges on the evidence and authority of the Bible, there is, we have long apprehended, a striking contrast between the lay mind of France and that of England in this respect; and one of its most remarkable displays is, when Voltaire, in the examples which he has quoted of the aberrations of the human understanding—along with the case of Roger Bacon, having written upon witchcraft—brings forward also that of Sir Isaac Newton having, in his declining years, written a commentary on the book of Revelation. Now, as to our great philosopher, who transferred his mighty intellect from the study of the works of God, to the study of his word, this may have taken place at the decline of his years, but not, most certainly, at the decline of his understanding. The truth is, that he felt a kindredness between his old and his new contemplations; that, after having seen farther than all who went before him into the godlike har-

9. But let us imagine for a moment the concession made, though we think it neither a right nor a necessary concession, that it were too theological for a Parliament to decide between the two religions of Popery and Protestantism, on the ground of the argument which respects their truth —there remains another argument, which it is surely competent for the most secular assembly on earth

monies of the world, he was tempted to search, and at length did behold the traces of a wisdom no less marvellous in the godlike harmonies of the word; that, after having looked, and with steadfastness, for years on the mazy face of heaven, and evolved thencefrom the magnificent cycles of astronomy, he then turned him to Scripture, and found, in the midst of its now unravelled obscurities, that its cycles of prophecy were equally magnificent: and, whether he cast his regards on the book of Revelation, or on the book of Daniel, who, placed on the eminence of a sublime antiquity, looked through the vista of many descending ages, and eyed from afar the structure and the society of modern Europe —he whose capacious mind had so long been conversant with the orbits and the periods of the natural economy, could not but acknowledge the footsteps of the same presiding Divinity in the still higher orbits of that spiritual economy which is unfolded in the Bible. And while we cannot but lament the deadly mischief, which the second-rate philosophy of infidels has done to the inferior spirits of our world, we feel it almost a proud thing for Christianity, that all the giants and the men of might in other days, the Newtons, and the Boyles, and the Lockes, and the Bacons of high England, have worshipped so profoundly at its shrine. But, chief of these is our great Sir Isaac, who, throned although he be by universal suffrage, as the very prince of philosophers, is still the most attractive specimen of humanity which the world ever saw—and just because the meekness of his Christian worth so softens while it irradiates the majesty of his genius. Never was there realised in the character of man so rare and so beauteous a harmony, that he who stands forth to a wondering species of loftiest achievement in science, should nevertheless move so gently and so gracefully among his fellow-men—not more revered for the glory he won on the field of discovery, than loved by all for the milder glories of his name—his being the modest, the unpretending graces of a child-like nature—his being the pious simplicity of a cottage patriarch."—*Third Volume of Dr Chalmers' Lectures on the Romans.*

to entertain; and that is the argument grounded on the palpable and glaring experience that tells us, and with an evidence too plain to be resisted, under which of the two regimens it is that we can best provide for the moral and economic well-being of a population. I will not speak of the impolicy of France in their expulsion of the Huguenots, who carried into other countries the arts and the habits by which they might have enriched their own. I will not speak of the contrast which strikes the eye of every traveller, between the Catholic and Protestant cantons of Switzerland. I will not speak of the moral and industrious population of the United Provinces, or tell of their immeasurable superiority in virtue and freedom, and all that makes for the superiority or well-being of a nation, over the people of Spain, that land at once of superstition and despotism—the land of their proud oppressors, against whom they nobly revolted, and as nobly triumphed. The lesson may be learned by us nearer home. Literally, he who runs may read it in Ireland; and that on a cursory glance, and in the course of a few days' rapid travelling. It is patent as the light of day, that the same geography, which marks off the distinction between the two faiths, also marks off the distinction between, on the one hand, a land of industry and peace, with a population of thriving families, and on the other, a land teeming with all moral and all political disorders—a land of mendicity and midnight tumults, where violence is abroad in their streets and their highways; and at home, in their wretched hovels, where are found, and almost in-

variably, the filth and the squalid destitution of perhaps the worst-conditioned peasantry in Europe. Let us have but the names of the Popish and Protestant counties, and we could learn from the map, which is the region of grievous and general distress, of unequalled turbulence, of fierce and incessant agitation; and which the region of prosperous industry, of peaceful and orderly habits, and of decent respectable sufficiency, even down to the lowest labourers of the soil. The truth is open to us through many channels, and by various statistics —as the amount of crime and number of commitments in the province of Ulster, when compared with the rest of Ireland—the proportion of military required in these two great departments, to protect from outrage, and maintain the authority of Government—the vagrancy that meets us everywhere in the one territory, and is comparatively rare in the other. These all speak for themselves; and if our statesmen are afraid of the theological question, we ask them to take it up as a question of polity, and tell us in the name of all that is dear to patriotism, whether it were better to have a nation of Papists or a nation of Protestants in that unhappy land. We are aware of an utter heartlessness in the negociations of national policy, when ambassadors meet, and if the balance of power required it, would barter away or bargain for the faith of whole countries, just as they would barter away or bargain for the protection and encouragement of their commerce. And there is, too, a balance of power to be adjusted at home, as well as on the great theatre of the politics of

Europe; and what takes place in the war of states, may also take place in the war of parties—when the temptation to make the same unprincipled sacrifice may occur; and when, for the ambition of place, the moral interest of a whole nation is disregarded, and both the comfort and character of its families are given to the wind. If any thing can add to this atrocity, it is when perpetrated, not by the simple adoption of that which is evil, but by the transmutation of the good into evil—when done in the face of possessory rights; and the proposal is, not merely to plant a corrupt establishment, but to change a better establishment for a worse—in other words, to clear out the Protestantism, and so make room for the Popery; or, at least, to abridge the one, and follow it up by such institutions, whether of an ecclesiastical or scholastic nature, as will surely extend and perpetuate the other. We can imagine nothing that would so mark the utter absence and abjuration of all public virtue in public men, than, with their eyes open—not you will observe, to persist in what is bad, but, greatly worse—to retrograde into what is bad; and lavish the resources of the nation on the maintenance of a faith, which, if the sacred consideration of immortality must be kept out of the question, all history and experience tell, is, of every form and variety of religion, the most fitted to blind and vitiate a population.

10. But, when considering the movement by the state in the days of Constantine, we made a reference to the clergy; and then observed that, without the forfeiture of principle, but rather in com-

pliance with the dictates both of the most sound principle and of the soundest and most upright policy, they could accept of a national provision, and undertake in return for the Christian education of the people. And in like manner would we speak of the part, which belongs to the clergy of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland. They virtually did undertake the Christian education of the families in their respective parishes; and, I will speak only of the generations that are past, they have not acquitted themselves of that undertaking. It is in the spirit of an even-handed justice that we would make this avowal; for though it never can vindicate, it at least explains, and perhaps in some degree palliates, the indifference, nay, in some instances we believe, the hostility even unto death of many of our statesmen to the church of our sister kingdom. It cannot be disguised that, with many illustrious and honourable exceptions, the clergy as a body, have not, during the whole of the last century, done what they might, or done what they ought, for the cultivation of the vineyard, made over by the state to their care; and which, in return for their maintenance, they should by this time have put into right order, and now been keeping in order. But we must not lose sight of the goodness of a machine in the badness of the working of it. We must see where the failure lies—not in the magnitude of those revenues, which the wayward politicians of our day are now labouring so hard to reduce, if not to annihilate—not in the number of those Protestant labourers, whom, with a strange inversion of all

sound policy, they are now doing their uttermost to diminish—not in things pertaining to the framework of the Establishment, wherewith they are now tampering by all sorts of paltry economical reform. The whole evil, in the great bulk and essence of it, has been, that the Church in former times was carelessly and corruptly patronised. The Church itself, viewed as a machine, is well fitted for its work, provided only that it be well supplied with good and able workmen. A few hundreds of these, with the spirit and apostolic zeal of good Bishop Beddel, could, in the multitude of their converts and the great moral change effected in their respective neighbourhoods, have made this as manifest as day. Had this establishment been what it ought to have been, a great home mission, with its ministers acting the part of devoted missionaries, we should by this time of day have been rid of all our embarrassments. There would have been no Catholic question to perplex —and that because there might have been few or no Catholics. But matters there have not been so ordered. We need not speak of their pluralities, and their sinecures, and of all the evils of their clerical absenteeism. These are the more patent corruptions of the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland, and perhaps the only ones that strike the public observation. But over and above this, there was a mistaken policy, maintained and avowed even by their best clergymen, in the form of an honest though still of a grievously mistaken principle—as if they went beyond their legitimate province if they at all meddled with the Catholic

population; at which rate the primitive Christians went beyond their legitimate province, when they meddled with the Pagans of the Roman empire. Even the most venerated of their prelates, as Bishop Jebb, proclaims this in his published letters, as if it were one of the categories or proprieties of a Protestant minister in Ireland. We do not say that the maxim has been universally acted on, but it has been greatly too general, that to attempt the conversion of a Papist was to enter another man's field; and that, in kind at least, if not in degree, there was somewhat of the same sort of irregularity or even of delinquency in this, as in making invasion on another man's property. In virtue of this false principle, or false delicacy, the cause of truth suffered, even in the hands of conscientious ministers; and when to this we add the number of ministers corrupt, or incompetent, or utterly negligent of their charges, we need not wonder at the stationary Protestantism, or the yet almost entire and unbroken Popery of Ireland. We now inherit the consequences of the misgovernment and the profligacy of former generations. They may be traced to the want of principle and public virtue in the men of a bygone age. Those reckless statesmen who made the patronage of the Irish Church a mere instrument of subservience to the low game of politics—those regardless clergymen who held the parishes as sinecures, and lived in lordly indifference to the state and interests of the people—these are the parties who, even after making full allowance for the share which belongs to the demagogues and agitators of the

day, are still the most deeply responsible for the miseries and the crimes of that unhappy land.

11. But here the distinction again recurs, which has been so often insisted on, between the goodness of a machine and the goodness of its working. If the latter have been in fault, that is no reason why the former should be condemned or given up to destruction. The remedy is not to abolish the Protestant Establishment of Ireland, but rightly to patronise it; nor can I imagine a wider contrast, than between the wise and the temperate reformers from Popery of 300 years back, who, despite the enormities of that system, let alone the material apparatus of its establishment, and only committed it to other and better hands—and the reformers of the present day, who have abridged and would destroy the Protestant church, and that too in the face of a manifest revival in the zeal, in the character, in the devoted and missionary spirit of its clergymen; who, unlike to those predecessors for whose errors, I should say for whose crimes, they are not responsible, consecrate their whole time, and talent, and unrequited labour to the moral interests of their country—the martyrs of its now misplaced and excited violence, yet we trust the agents of its coming regeneration. The truth is, that, among the established churches of our empire, that of Ireland, in the vital and spiritual sense of the term, is the most prosperous of the three. "While its outward man perisheth, its inward man is renewed day by day." The hand of power may strip it of its temporalities; but we trust that its indomitable spirit in the cause of a pure and scriptural faith, will

not so easily be quelled. Though despoiled of their rights, they will not abandon their duties. Like the Christians before the days of Constantine, they may perhaps have to win the ground over again—when the Church, purified by the discipline of adversity, will again arise in its strength; and, repeating the conquest of truth over the errors of a degrading superstition, will add another victory to the triumphs of former generations.

12. But though such be the economy of things under which we live, that often the greatest good —moral and spiritual good—comes out of evil, that is no reason why we should do the evil that the good may come. Better if the injustice were not perpetrated, of that spoliation that would abridge or would abolish the Protestant establishment of Ireland. Better that the ministrations of a scriptural church should be upheld, than that they should be suspended, even in the hope of a great and consequent revival; and that the present generation should not be made to suffer, or be offered up in sacrifice, for the sake of the ages that are to follow. The hidden purposes of God do not form the measure by which to estimate the plain duties and obligations of man, whose part it is to proceed, not on that which is hidden, but on that which is revealed—to shun all which is palpably and at present evil, and to do all the good for which he has a present opportunity. There is nothing more instructive in the philosophy of public affairs, than to observe, that in those seasons when the government is weak, and the spirit of the country is wayward and strong, so

that the pressure from without carries it over the will or the principle within—in those seasons, when the governors and the governed may be said to change places—there is nothing more instructive, or from which a sounder lesson of political wisdom may be gathered, than to observe the almost constant misdirection of the popular zeal; and so the misuse of that power, wherewith for a time the people may be said to be invested. However good the institutions of a country may be, that the country may have the full good of them, it is indispensable that they should be placed in the hands of able and upright functionaries—for if not, they may have proved to be the instruments of evil, not however because the machinery, but because the men are in fault. In these circumstances, what we ask in the name of common sense is the desirable reform? and what is the right object for reformers to set their hearts upon?—Whether—it may be thought strange to ask—whether on the destruction of the machine, or on the appointment of right men for the working of it? There may be energy, there may be irresistible momentum, there may be the impulse of a good feeling, of a good and honest design; but there is no discrimination in the masses. With what salutary effect, one is apt to think, their influence might be brought to bear upon rulers, so as to compel a virtuous exercise of their patronage; and then every good institution of the country, and its churches among the rest, would be placed in fair circumstances, for the development of their properties and their power. But this is almost never

the use to which the popular will is turned—and so when let loose upon the commonwealth, unfit either to purify or guide, it is found powerful only to destroy.

LECTURE V.

On a Territorial Establishment, and the Reasons of its Efficacy.

1. But it may well be thought, that it is easier to state the grounds of preference, on which Protestantism should be adopted rather than Popery, even in those cases, where, as in Ireland, it is not yet the national faith, as being the worthier of the two for a national provision; and that not merely for the sake of its maintenance, but also of its propagation in the land—That it is an easier task to select the one and pass over the other, from the very wide and palpable distinction which there is both in principle and effect between them—than it were to select and single out from among the numerous sectarian varieties of Evangelical Protestantism, that one denomination, which is most entitled to the privileges and honours of an establishment. For, substantially speaking, they have all one and the same theology; and we may add, that, experimentally speaking, they have all made their respective contributions to the sound education of the people in the habits and principles of Christianity. Who can question, for example, the wholesome effect of the active and widely-extended ministrations, which have been rendered by the Wesleyan Methodists; and that, too, among the

families of that very class which stands most in need of those cheap or gratuitous services which it is one great object of an establishment to afford,—even the families of those poor men and labourers, who can, with the least safety, or with the greatest risk, be left to take their chance, or be abandoned to that most frail and fluctuating of all securities, we mean the operation of the voluntary principle. And we cannot deny the pure and effective ministrations of Baptists, and Congregationalists, and Presbyterians, and many other sectaries—all varying circumstantially from the Church of England, and each other; yet all, in essence and effect, teaching the same Christianity. It were, in our estimation, a grievous outrage not on charity alone, but on truth, to deny that the education given in many of our dissenting chapels, is a good education for heaven; and that in both countries we stand indebted to their coöperation, for much of the religion of our families. But does not this make it all the more puzzling, to assign any ground on which they should be excluded, we do not say from the honours, but from the substantial benefits of an establishment; or why a national provision should be withheld from the ministers of those Protestant denominations, more than from the Protestant Episcopalians of England? It may be easy to say, why we should keep out Popery and let in Protestantism; but it does not appear easy to fix on the proper reason, why, when there is so little to discriminate between them, we should let in one species of Protestantism, and keep out all the rest. The closer their modes of faith approximate

to each other, it does—it may well be thought—aggravate the task of selection, and make it all the harder to specify, why it is that the monopoly of the emoluments of a great national institute should have been vested in one alone; or why its favoured disciples should have been admitted into the bowers of the establishment, while all the rest have been left on the outfields of unendowed sectarianism.

2. These, at first sight, may appear to be formidable questions; and all the more so, the more nearly the sectarians approach in doctrine to the Church—or the more insignificant the points of difference are between them. Now we happen to think, that, where there is a substantial agreement and only a circumstantial variation—the adjustment of this matter, instead of becoming more difficult, becomes on that very account all the more easy; and though the principle on which we would let in Protestantism and keep out Popery, is not that on which we would let in the Episcopalians and keep out the Presbyterians and all other denominations from the Establishment in England—or, what might look strange, let in one set of Presbyterians and keep out all the other sets and sectaries, nay even the Episcopalians of the Southern Establishment from the Northern Establishment of this our land—still we think, that there is a substantial principle on which to vindicate these seeming anomalies of the ecclesiastical system under which we at present live, or to leave them untouched. But ere we proceed further in this undertaking, we must interpose in the form of a lemma, or as a stepping-stone to the argument which follows, a proposition which

has been mainly overlooked by all the parties in this controversy, or at least the importance of which to the decision of it has not been perceived —we mean the immense good of a religious establishment being formed on the territorial principle— the meaning and efficacy of which principle it will require a whole lecture to explain.

3. And first, as to what is meant by a territorial establishment. The circumstance of its being an establishment, involves in it a legal provision for the clergyman. But, over and above this, suppose, that, in return for this provision, the clergyman has a certain geographical district, whether in town or country, assigned to him; and that he is expected to take an ecclesiastical cognizance of all the families within its limits. To perfect this arrangement, they must stand so related to his church, as to have a right of preference over all extra-parochial* families to the occupation of its sittings; and he, on the other hand, should be so related to his parish, as, if not to have a right of entry into all the houses, at least to be bound in point of duty to make a tender, to every householder who is willing to receive him, of such ecclesiastical attentions and services as his time will permit him to bestow, and which might be conducive to the Christian good of himself and of his family. In other words, he is bound to superadd, as far as the people will let him, week-day and household to his Sabbath-day and pulpit ministrations. He is the minister not of a congregation

* That is, all families who reside without the limits of the parish in question

only, as far the greater number of our unendowed ministers are; but he is the minister both of a congregation and of a parish.

4. To illustrate this distinction between parochial and merely congregational ministers the more, we may point to those few instances, which exemplify what we have defined to be the essence or principle of an establishment, without at the same time that establishment being territorial. There is a legal provision to a certain amount, in the shape of a *regium donum* for the Presbyterian ministers in the north of Ireland—who are helped in consequence, to congregate their hearers at lower seat rents than would otherwise have been possible; but without any definite section of a territory being assigned to them, within the limits of which they might exert an ecclesiastical surveillance or guardianship over one and all of the families. The minister is thus enabled, to surmount in so far the barrier in the way of his ministrations, which lies in the want of wealth on the part of the people; but there is no guarantee secured under such an arrangement, for surmounting that other barrier, which lies in their want of will. He has to do with his hearers; but there is nothing in such an economy, which at all necessitates him to do with those who are not his hearers. They may choose to attend him if they so like; but if they do not choose, they may accumulate in any numbers without the sphere of his observation, or at least without the sphere of his moral influence and control. If they do not come to him, there is nothing in this congregational, even though endowed sys-

tem, which insures that he should go to them; and at this rate it is obvious, that whole masses of heathenism might be formed out of contiguous families, lapsing into their own native earthliness, and infecting each other with habits of irreligion. We can see how possible it is, that, in such a state of things, the people should sink into a rapid and fearful degeneracy—while there are no forces in a system so imperfect, by which to recal them. The same economy obtained at one time in the United States of America—only, instead of the legal provision being confined to one sect, it extended to all that were in sufficient force to muster one or more congregations. But neither here does it appear, that any ministers had the charge and superintendence of all the families within a given district. They preached to those who came; but there was no understanding on the part of the state, from whom they received their maintenance, of any obligation on their part to take any cognizance, or go in quest of all within the limits of a certain assigned territory who did not come. The Presbyterian establishment in Ireland is sectarian, but not territorial. In the Northern States of America, so long as it subsisted, it extended to a congeries of sects; and may therefore perhaps on this account be not regarded as sectarian—yet neither was it territorial. In the Presbyterian Establishment of Scotland, the Episcopalian of England, and, we believe, all the religious establishments in Europe, the ministers have to do with parishes as well as congregations; and therefore they are both sectarian and territorial.

5. Now, our object at present is to demonstrate, that it is in the territorial principle where the great strength of an establishment lies; and that, though by means of voluntaryism, or of a merely congregational establishment, we may somewhat retard the progress of irreligion in a country—yet that it is only by a territorial establishment, and in virtue of the peculiar energies and adaptations which belong to its parochial system, that we can lay an arrest on this melancholy process; and far more, it is only thus that we can recover a people from the moral degeneracy into which they have fallen.

6. It is well that both the reality of the disease, and the operation of our proposed remedy, can be ascertained by methods so strictly experimental—insomuch that henceforth we might almost dispense with any general reasoning to prove either the impotency of voluntaryism on the one hand, or the efficacy of a well-worked territorial establishment on the other. We are not sure but that in the study of this important question, we might obtain a clearer and more impressive view of the truth by limiting our attention to but one locality—from the present state and the future treatment of which, the whole principle and philosophy of the subject might be gathered.

7. In any large town, where the population has greatly outgrown the capacity of the established churches to hold them, you can be at no loss to find an apt specimen of ecclesiastical destitution, on which, after having experimentally ascertained the inadequacy of all the existing methods, the operation of our proposed remedy might then be

exemplified. For this purpose, let there be assumed a plebeian district of not more than two thousand people; and let a thorough investigation be made of the state and habit of the families—more especially as respects their church-going; and the number of sittings in chapels of all denominations, which, in defect of the legal provision, they have provided for themselves. The inquiry should first be made from door to door, at the mouths of the householders; and their answers, when thoroughly sifted and subjected, if need be, to the correction of various tests which it is needless to specify, will exhibit a melancholy proof of the impotency, the glaring impotency of that voluntaryism, which, in the arrogance of its boasted sufficiency, would supersede every other method but its own, for the spread of a Christian education throughout the community at large. A mighty field has lain open to its enterprises for several generations; and yet what has been the result? We do not need to guess, to speculate on the probabilities; for we can lay our immediate hand on the verities of the subject. Let the survey, which we now recommend, of one single locality, be at all accordant with the numerous surveys of other and similar localities, which have been actually taken; and we shall be sure to find, that, at the very most, not one in five or six—far more usually not one in eight—often not one in ten, and in some instances not one in twelve, fifteen, or twenty of the gross population, possess accommodation in any place of worship whatever, whether in churches or meeting-houses. Such is the

languor of the demand when people are left to themselves. Such is the certain consequence of their being abandoned, either to the voluntary principle, or to the system of free trade in Christianity—a conclusion this, not excogitated by any theoretical speculation of ours on the laws of human nature; but a conclusion, which might be verified by yourselves within less than half a mile of your own doors—resting on the firm basis of induction; or of that evidence, which, in every other department of inquiry, is respected as far the most authoritative and the most accordant with the spirit and the philosophy of modern science.

8. Now the question is, how shall we reclaim this outlandish population to habits of church-going? In what way shall we propose to go about it? They reside, it will be recollected, within the bounds of one locality—an assemblage of contiguous householders, occupying in space not more than a few streets, alleys, or lanes. In their assumed gross number of two thousand souls, the likelihood, often realised in London and elsewhere, is, that not two hundred go to any place of worship whatever—implying therefore a general population of sixteen hundred, or eight hundred human beings, the fit subjects for a public and regular ministration of the gospel, and who wait to be recovered from that habit of irreligion, which may not only have been confirmed by the practice of a whole lifetime, but into which the people of that district may have sunk and settled down for several generations. A voluntary chapel might be adventured in the midst of them, and be even filled to an overflow—not by

them, however, let it well be remarked; but by hearers from all distances, who have a predisposition for the services of the sanctuary, and a power as well as a willingness to pay for them. Now the probability is that the people have not the power; and at all events, and which forms a still more material obstacle, the certainty is that they have not the willingness. A predisposition for the regularities of Sabbath attendance, either was never felt or has long been extinct among them; and there is nothing fitted to awaken it in the mere presence or juxta-position of a chapel, whose minister has to do with hearers, and hearers only, and who takes no charge of other families besides. And this impotency, which attaches to the unendowed, attaches also in great part as a defect and blemish to the endowed minister—provided that no territorial charge has been assigned to him. He may be enabled, in virtue of his endowment, tc minister to the people at low seat-rents, and thus be helped over the first barrier in the way of their attendance—the want of ability to pay for church accommodation: but this does not help him over the second, which is greatly the more insuperable of the two—their want of willingness. He may be attended by those who have the predisposition —that is, just like the other, by hearers scattered up and down from all parts of the city; but be nearly as little attended as the unendowed minister before him, by people in his own immediate vicinity, or in the immediate confines of his own place of worship. Now the specific business which we should like to put into the hands of a Christian

minister is, not that he should fill his church any how—that he may do by the superior attractiveness of his preaching, at the expense of previous congregations, and without any movement in ad vance on the practical heathenism of the community: but what we want is, to place his church in the middle of such a territory as we have now specified, and to lay upon him a task, for the accomplishment of which we should allow him the labour and perseverance of a whole lifetime; not to fill his church any how, *but to fill this church out of that district.* We should give him the charge over head, of one and all of its families; and tell him, that, instead of seeking hearers from without, he should so shape and regulate his movements, that, as far as possible, his church-room might all be taken up by hearers from within. It is this peculiar relation between his church, and its contiguous households, all placed within certain geographical limits, that distinguishes him from the others as a territorial minister. And let the whole country be parcelled out into such districts and parishes, with an endowed clergyman so assigned to each, and each small enough to be overtaken by the attentions of one clergyman—we should thus, as far as its machinery is concerned, have the perfect example of a territorial establishment.

9. But good machinery, even the best in the world, can avail nothing of itself without the good working of it; and the all-important question remains, How are we to work the machinery of a territorial establishment? We shall study so to frame our reply to this question, as still to concen-

trate your regards on our supposed territory of two thousand inhabitants; and which, for the very purpose of making an *experimentum crucis*, we should like to be in the worst possible circumstances for such an achievement, that is, to be the section of a town, and that too, if you will, among the very deepest and most depraved recesses of the vast metropolis—where the present, the actual proportion of church-going is the lowest that is anywhere to be found—So that the object of our enterprise you will observe is, not to retain a people in their attendance on the ordinances of the gospel, but far more difficult, to recover from non-attendance—not to perpetuate a good habit, but to change a bad one; and to restore a people, now sunk among the lowest depths in the abyss of irreligion, from the degeneracy into which they have fallen. The question is, How shall a territorial minister address himself to so stupendous a moral undertaking; and where lies the charm or efficacy of that territorial system, on which we reckon for so stupendous a fulfilment?

10. He of course would begin with a very small attendance. Few, very few, would in the first instance be inclined to go to him on the Sabbath; and that is the precise reason why he should make the most of every opening and every opportunity for going to them through the week. Of these two parties, the minister and the people—on the unendowed, or even the endowed, if but the general and congregational system, the first movement is left with the people; and so with all those who have lost the taste and habit of waiting on the

ordinances of the sanctuary, no such movement ever can be counted on: and the people, once become alienated from the services of the gospel, might, for any force that is brought to bear upon them, remain alienated for ever. There is no self-orginating or spontaneous tendency to such an approximation; and the families will abide in the dormancy of nature until they are operated upon by an influence from without. The minister will never, by his mere power of attraction, draw them to his church; and he must therefore take another way of it—or, on the method of aggression, he must go forth upon their houses. In short, circumscribed though he is within a very limited sphere, he must fill it up, else he will never succeed in it, with the labours and the locomotion of a missionary. The movement never will begin with them; and it must therefore begin with him, or there will be no movement at all. The first impulse lies in his general week-day attentions; the final result, to be gradually come at however, in a greater or less number of years, and perhaps not till after the patience and painstaking of a whole incumbency, will be their general Sabbath attendance.

11. But it will be asked, what reason, grounded either on experience or on our knowledge of human nature, have we for counting on so mighty a practical effect as this—even in the course of a whole generation? We are quite sensible of a certain secular or shrewd incredulity, by which all our anticipations on this subject have been met and resisted; of a very prevalent idea, that, to

think of operating with any sensible effect on such stubborn and unlikely materials as the families of the working class in a city population, is but a confident and overweening imagination, which can never by any possibility be realised—that all sense and all observation reclaim against it; and therefore, however much to be admired as a picture—the beautiful fancy picture of a sanguine high-coloured and most amiable Utopianism—we must not look for the living fulfilment of it, in this our actual and every-day world. It is thus, that our project of subdividing city parishes has been put into the same category with another benevolent project, the parallelograms of Mr Owen; or likened to one of those many schemes of fond, but withal visionary and speculative philanthropy, which pass in rapid succession before the eye of the public, have their day and are forgotten. It is, therefore, all the more incumbent on us, to demonstrate the likelihoods of our proposed undertaking—to show wherein it differs from a romance of Arcadia; and prove that it has no common quality with a mere painting or fiction of airy sentimentalism.

12. Our first experience, then, which we quote with the greater confidence that it is so general—we had almost said constant and unexcepted, and which it is in the power of any one to verify at pleasure, is the welcome and cordiality on the part of the householders, wherewith these visits of a Christian minister are received. This is the actual finding among all who make the attempt; and surely, after it has become their finding, it

should no longer be stigmatised as our fancy. Whether in town or country, it makes no difference. There is an open door of admittance every where; and this forms a very great encouragement to at least the initial footsteps of our enterprise. From the immense overgrowth of our city parishes, the practice of household attentions, on the part of the clergymen, has got into desuetude: but now, when the thing is tried on little experimental slips of their huge territory, it universally happens, that the manifested good-will on one side, draws forth the response of an honest and heart-felt gratitude on the other. In this respect human nature maintains a certain identity, which survives every change of situation or exposure—insomuch that ministers, when transplanted into cities from the most remote and rural parishes in the land, have been astonished to meet with the same respectful and kindly entertainment of their visits from the families of the manufacturing, which they were wont to experience from those of our cottage and agricultural population. And the human nature of England is the same with that of Scotland. In the year 1822, I made a small household survey in the worst part of the parish of St Giles, in London, in company with Mr Joseph Butterworth, who then lived in Russell Square, at the distance of little more than a stone-throw from the wretched hovels that were explored by us. Our ostensible errand was not a dispensation of money, but an inquiry into the state of education among their young: or, in other words, ours was not an object by which we laid hold of the sordid appetencies of the people, but of a higher

and more generous part of their nature. There was not one exception, I will not say to the civility, but to the cordiality of our reception; which was no surprise to myself, for I had learned a good many years before, with what perfect confidence, nay with what a pleasurable exercise of the affections, one might enter the houses and hold converse with the families, even in the poorest and most outlandish districts of a city; while, on the other hand, Mr Butterworth uttered the observation, that it was only within a few months, since they had made the discovery that it was consistent with their personal safety thus to go forth among the people. In other words, such had been the ignorance among the rich and the poor of each other —such the barrier of suspicion or fear on the one side; and such most likely, because most naturally the consequent distrust or defiance on the other— that when at last the one party broke their way over the moral distance by which they had been separated, it was to them altogether an unexpected novelty, when they found that the other party welcomed their advances, and could enter with the most warm and intelligent sympathy on those concerns, which appertain to the brotherhood of our common nature. If this was indeed a discovery, it is a discovery which all of you have the opportunity of making for yourselves; and I shall be glad if this first experience should dispose you to wait, and be the willing disciples of any experiences which might follow—else it is possible, that while denouncing the theoretical imagination of others, you may be setting at nought the authority of facts,

and so evincing yourselves to be the most unsound and precipitate of all theorists.

13. So far from its being a theory, we are not aware of a more felt and familiar experience, than the power to conciliate and subdue human hearts, which lies, not in the gifts, but in the mere attentions or offices of kindness—however trifling in themselves, if they but give the authentic manifestation of genuine unequivocal good-will on the part of those who discharge them. It is not with a romance, but with a solid history, that we are dealing—when we read of the moral triumphs achieved in prisons by the philanthropy of Howard and Fry; and we are only carrying back their experience from prisons to parishes—we are only concluding from the more to the less marvellous, when we affirm, that the same charity which effected such conquests in the malefactor's cell, and before which the desperadoes of the gaol melted and gave way, will effectuate a still larger and more enduring conquest—when brought to bear, in their own dwelling-places, on the men and women of our actual and every-day world. If such be the might and mastery of Christian benevolence —such the omnipotence of its spell, even among the guilty outcasts of society, and that in the last stage of deprivation—what might we not anticipate from the working of the same engine in the earlier stages, when the man of God goes forth in the spirit of zeal and love; and in the midst of their domestic groupes, speaks out the earnestness of an affectionate heart to the fathers and mothers of families? But why make that a matter of inference,

which should be, and which is, a matter of direct observation? Let a parish minister go forth on the walk of household visitation; and the kindness of his reception, especially among the families of the working classes, is all but universal. Let their unpractised rudeness, nay even let their depravity be what it may, they almost never shut the door against him; and if he will but venture himself across their threshold, he may lay his account with a courteous, and in far the greater number of instances, with a friendly entertainment at their hands, at the commencement of a new parish, when provided with its new church, specially destined for the accommodation of the people who have been assigned to him, it is his part in the first instance to move toward them—for they never, if left to themselves, will move toward him. And he can be at no loss for topics of introduction to these, his parish families. The very announcement of himself as their minister, will secure, with the majority of the householders, a favourable outset; and there are so many ingratiating errands, by which he might incorporate himself and his doings, with the strongest and the tenderest affections of nature—as when he makes inquiry into the education of children; and can tell them of the schools which are visited by himself as their official guardian, and which are open for their reception; or as when his services are required for marriages, and baptisms, and funerals; or as when he volunteers the frequent entry of himself, at the bedsides of the sick and the dying; or as when, with kind and judicious advice, he can make himself of use to them in their

quarrels, or their misfortunes, or their difficulties; or as when a signal calamity befals the household, and the sympathy of neighbours is awakened, he falls in with the epidemic feeling—and, on every such occasion of a common sentiment and common effort for the good of the unhappy sufferers, between himself and the parochial community over which he presides, he rivets and confirms still more his moral ascendancy over them. To denounce all this as Utopianism, is really to betray the utmost ignorance and inexperience of our common humanity. It is not a fairy-land that we are now employed in picturing and setting forth. We are but describing our own average and every-day nature. We ask any man, possessing an ordinary sense or discernment of the feelings and the fellowships of social life—we ask him, not sanguinely to image, but soundly and soberly to estimate, the likelihoods of such an enterprise as we now set before him—when a Christian minister assumes to himself, in the heart of a crowded metropolis, a manageable vineyard, say of two thousand people, and turns it into a home-walk, where, day after day, he plies the attentions and charities which belong to his sacred office; and superadds to the personal influence which lies in the air and education of a gentleman, the weight of his personal character, and still more resistless, the weight of that tried and manifested friendship which glows within his breast, and pours forth, as from a fountain, the most gracious and endearing cordialities on all who are around him. We do not ask for him the eloquence, or the talent, or the rare and

surpassing brilliancy, which distinguish the few; we but ask for him the principle, the worth, the kind and Christian affection, which, by the power of the divine word, and with the operation of the divine Spirit, are diffusible among all. It is on the strength of high moral, and not of high mental qualifications, that we look for the result in question. If but gifted with these, he go forth on such a territory as we have ventured to chalk out for him; and, more especially, if he reside within or upon its confines—there is not a month will elapse before that, by his presence and his labours, he will light a moral sunshine throughout nearly all the habitations. We are not so extravagant, not so visionary, as to think, that, as by the lifting up of a magical wand, he will obtain, by dint of his week-day attentions, even in the course of half an incumbency, their universal attendance on his Sabbath services. If he gather in but a hundred hearers from amongst them in the first twelvemonth of his labours, this were enough for us to indicate the germ of a most hopeful experiment, and at length a most triumphant consummation; when, without magic and without miracle, he shall have congregated the residenters within his little domain into a parochial family; and, as the fruit of his sustained efforts and assiduities and prayers, he bequeaths them a now church-going and church-loving people to the minister of the next generation.

14. We would not overstate our prospects of success in this great enterprise. We know it to be a work of slowness and difficulty. We are quite sensible that, with those who have arrived at man-

hood, and lived all their days in a state of exile from the ordinances of the gospel—that with many of them, the obstinacy of their habits, habits of neglect and non-attendance, is well-nigh irreclaimable. And therefore it is, that we count on a very gradual accession from the grown up people of a newly allocated parish, to its infant congregation. And yet all experience tells, that, even of these, a goodly number may be confidently expected—beginning perhaps with a small fraction of the whole, who, a few at the first, draw others after them, till (the gregarious principle coming every year into fuller play,) the regular, the respectful observance of church-going ripens at length into one of the established proprieties of that little vicinage, which has been selected as the field of this momentous experiment—the experiment, we think, of all others, fraught with deepest interest both to the church and to the commonwealth. Yet however confident of the final result, we demand time and patience for its successive footsteps. In the midst of all these bright anticipations, it is our melancholy conviction that many of the old and middle-aged of such a heretofore neglected population may never be reclaimed, even to the external decencies of Sabbath observation; and that the locality on which this apostolic enterprise is going forward, will be relieved from the profaneness or profligacy, not by their conversion, but by their death. Our best hopes, we confess, are associated with the coming up of another generation; and under a right treatment of the ductile and susceptible young, congregated in parish schools, and

only one by which to penetrate and pervade the mass of a community? At this rate, we shall have here a Presbyterian village; there a Methodist township; somewhere else a land-ward domain, marked off either by natural or artificial boundaries, and within which the business of the paid instructor will, just as it happens, be to make Baptists of all, or Methodists of all, or Episcopalians of all, or Presbyterians of all. Each shade of opinion will have its own limits and its own localities; and, on the other hand, each locality, whether it be of town or country, will have its own theological designation. At this rate the fair face of our island would be like the skin of one of Jacob's cattle, spotted, speckled, ring-straked, with all the hues and varieties of sectarianism. At present the men of all parties can conveniently enough arrange themselves into congregations. But the government will not find it so convenient, if, attempting to be even-handed with all sects, and at the same time to provide a Christian education for all the people, it shall make the further attempt of arranging them into parishes.

5. It is quite obvious, that the people cannot thus be made over, at the arbitrary will either of civil or ecclesiastical superiors—cannot thus be made over, in sections of contiguous households, to this one or that other denomination, just according to the locality in which they happen to reside. And if, to avoid this inconvenience, each shall be left to choose their own denomination, and Government to endow all without respect to the territorial principle—then, on this system, all who choose to

ration of these. Even let them carry it so far, as to barricade their houses, even as their hearts are barricaded, against the approaches of this apostolic clergyman: and he need not yet give them up in despair. He has only to watch his opportunity and Providence will work for him. The hand of death may at length open a door for him—even to the worst habitation of aliens in the parish. Let him be ever ready with his services; and, in the hour of family disaster or family bereavement, the most sullen and else impracticable of these outlaws from all the decencies and humanities whether of Christian or civilized life, may at last give way. And when he makes good his entry, it will not be against their will; but with their will, softened and subdued under the power of that untired, that invincible charity, which they find it impossible any longer to withstand. The man who can achieve a victory like this, fully though it be within the likelihoods of nature and experience, has only to be disencumbered from the labours and cares of a general congregation; and, concentrating his efforts within a given territory, to operate with perseverance on its contiguous households, that he might build, by successive additions, from time to time, a local congregation out of them. And we have only to imagine the same repeated often enough from one manageable locality to another, or in other words, we have only to imagine a sufficiently thick-set establishment, in the hands of diligent and conscientious ministers, each working within his own domain, on the territorial principle—in order to effectuate the moral transforma-

from every ministration; and there is no certain provision by which to recal them. There is no counteractive force set up, by which to make head against that bias of the human will, wherewith it gravitates, as if by a sort of constitutional necessity, towards the alienation and lethargy of nature. The system, in fact, is tainted throughout with the disease and impotency of voluntaryism. Men are left by it, if they so incline, in voluntary exile from the ordinances of the gospel; and it wields no aggressive influence, by which either to restrain or to recover them. There might be men labouring in every neighbourhood, for the souls of those, who, in obedience to the summons of the weekly bell, repair to some one assembly or other of worshippers. But in every neighbourhood, there is an accumulating number of human beings, who yield no such obedience; and there is no man, although they stand in preëminent need of such a moral superintendence, whose peculiar office it is to care for their souls. The only functionary suited to their special condition, is a territorial minister; for they fall through, or fall between, into their own native irreligion among the congregational ministers who are labouring on every side of them. In these circumstances, the rapid degeneration of the community seems unavoidable; and the only adequate remedy is a well-worked territorial establishment. But government, on the one hand, cannot set this machine agoing in the complicated way of having to do with men of different bodies and different denominations—instead of providing for the Christian education of

its people, through the medium of one correspondence, and with the simplicity of one management. Neither, on the other hand, can the people be made over in aggregates and geographical divisions —each to its own variety of those multiform sects into which Protestantism has severed. To avoid this double inconvenience, the attempt to combine the territorial principle with an equal treatment of all the denominations, must be given up as impracticable; and some one denomination must be singled out, for an establishment whose ministers are to be charged overhead with the Christian education of the whole country—and each in his own sphere to have an oversight and a certain responsibility laid upon him for the religious knowledge and habitudes of all the families.

6. It is a most rightful wish, on the part of a government, that its people should be placed under an effectual system of Christian education; and if this cannot be done, but by means of a territorial establishment, then is it shut up unto the necessity of resolving on such an establishment, and that it shall be territorial. And again, if this cannot be well done but by a church of one given denomination, then is it further bound to select some one denomination, whose ministers it shall entrust with the high office, and maintain in return for the great service of teaching morality and religion to the people of the land. Now it is at this point that the question is laid upon us—On what principle ought the selection to be made? We have already seen that the principle is a very obvious one; and respecting which even statesmen, if but

men of large and liberal education, should feel no difficulty, on which to reject that church which would subordinate the authority of Scripture to the authority of man—or even place the decisions of their own sovereign pontiff, on the same level with the declarations of the Bible. But there are other churches, other ecclesiastical bodies, that have all agreed in abjuring this corruption; and are alike free from any participation in it. Many, we should say the great majority, of our Protestant sects, hold the authority of Scripture paramount to all other authority; and are so far agreed in the interpretation of it, as to hold the same fundamental tenets; and, while differing in circumstantials, to be at one on all the great and essential articles of faith. The government may be at no loss for reasons to eject Popery; but it may be at great loss for reasons to determine its preference of one shade or variety of Protestantism over all the rest—and that too in very proportion to the nearness of their agreement with each other. The difficulty is enhanced, when it comes to be regarded as a question of equity between sect and sect; nor is it readily seen, when there is a substantial unity of doctrine betwixt them, on what principle one should be admitted to the bowers of an establishment, while all others are suffered to abide outcasts from its emoluments and its honours.

7. Now this question, full of perplexity as it may seem, we think might be easily and at the same time be rightly and on a clear principle disposed of. And our first observation is, that the great, the primary design of an establishment is

wholly misunderstood by those who view it as a question of equity between sect and sect. The object of such an institution is not this, but wholly distinct from this, which is to provide a Christian education for the people. What does or what ought to move a government in the adoption of such an economy, is not that it may prefer one church or one order of clergymen over another; but that it may possess itself of a good and efficient organ, through which to distribute the lessons of sound morality and religion among the families of the land. Grant that either of two, or if you choose that any one of twelve sectaries, is equally accomplished for this great task—that may be a sufficient vindication for government taking any one it may choose into its employment; but no reason why government should alike employ them all. Nay, it is incumbent, morally incumbent, on the government to employ but one, if, in so doing, it retains the territorial principle, rather than employ all, if, in so doing, it must give up that principle; and so inflict the deepest injury upon the population. There may be no very distinct ground of preference in the overpassing merits of any one of these rival competitors, on which to guide the selection that the government should make. It may be difficult to allege, and still more to vindicate, the superiority of any one of these denominations to all the rest; in which case, the government should not suspend, on the determination of this question, an immediate measure for a sound Christian education to the families of the commonwealth. In so doing, it singles out for the national establishment

some one of these various denominations; and this, of course, involves the exclusion of all the others. This, regarding it in one aspect, may be viewed in the light of an injury to them; but, regarded in another aspect, it should be viewed in the light of a benefit to society. The so-called injury to the sects is a collateral effect, which forms no part of the wish, perhaps comes not within the contemplation, of the government at all. The benefit to the country at large is the moving principle of government, the object of its sole and single-hearted prosecution. It is not to be endured, that a great, nay, the greatest of all national objects, shall be thwarted and impeded, because minute differences in theology have arisen; and theologians, with their respective followers, have chosen, upon these differences, to fall out among themselves. The moral well-being of the nation is not to stand at abeyance, till an adjustment shall have been made among controversies not yet determined, and perhaps indeterminable. The government does right in resolving on a territorial establishment, and in selecting the ministers of one denomination to work it. Should it, because of this, incur the complaint of not doing equal justice to all the sectaries, it can allege, in its defence, the far higher consideration of doing equal justice to all the families of all the population, by so adapting the church which it pays and takes into its service—by so adapting it to the country, that it may reach all, and be comprehensive of all. It is neither for the exaltation of one sect, nor for infliction of a stigma on all the rest, that government confines its overtures to one

only. It is because in this way the business of a general Christian education is most thoroughly done, and most fully overtaken. The government is not to be diverted from this object, of highest and most catholic policy, by the differences which have broken out in the Christian world. Notwithstanding of these, it does right in keeping by the ministers of one certain denomination, provided they be vitally and essentially right; though, in so doing, they pass over the ministers of other denominations, who though vitally and essentially right also, have chosen to isolate their body into a separate communion, and to stand out on certain circumstantial peculiarities of their own. Nevertheless, the duty of government remains a stable and unaffected element, which is to ordain a right system of good and efficient education for their subjects; and leave the sectaries to settle their differences as they may.

8. Of these two parties—the government on the one hand, who have established and endowed the right-thinking ministers of a certain denomination; and the ministers of the denominations, as right-thinking it may be as the first, in all the leading articles of the faith and weightier matters of the law, and who may complain, that, while equally sound and scriptural with the clergy of the national church, they have been so unequally treated by the reigning power of the state—we say of these two parties, the state and the sectaries, the state should, in the question between them be less at a loss for their own justification. It is true, that, for the sake of a great moral blessing to the com-

munity, they have selected one set of ministers, to whom they have made over, in sections or parishes, the Christian charge, and entrusted the Christian surveillance of all their population. In so doing, they may have left out, let us imagine, five other sets of ministers—all of them equally deserving of such preference; and who may therefrom complain of the partiality. But the government cannot, for their sakes, break up the territorial principle, that great barrier against the inroads of heathenism; and, on the other hand, we ask in the name of Christian charity, whether the existence of their minor differences forms a worthy or sufficient cause for the barrier being taken down? Must the conveniences of an object so mighty as the Christian education of the people, be on this account trampled under foot; and we ask, whether it would not be far more beautiful and good, that these distinctions between sect and sect should be offered up a sacrifice on the altar of one common faith, and for the well-being of our common and general humanity—than that a cause so dear, both to piety and patriotism, as a universal schooling in the lessons of sound principle for all the people of the land, should be given to the winds? This were really straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel.

9. We do not speak of the sin of schism in the abstract. There is much said on this subject by certain domineering churchmen, who arrogate a mystic superiority to themselves, while they would consign all others beyond the pale of Christianity —wherewith we cannot in the least sympathise. It is not on any pretension of this sort, that we

would vindicate the establishment of the churches, either of Scotland or England. We do not feel it necessary for such a purpose, to depress immeasurably beneath us, either the creed or the government of other denominations. We most willingly concede of sectaries we could name, that they are at one with us in all which is vital, and only differ from us in certain minute and insignificant peculiarities; and yet the establishment, the single, the exclusive establishment, of our existing churches in their respective countries, might be made to rest, we think, on a firmer because a more rational basis —on a far clearer principle than is alleged by those, who claim for their ministers the immaculate descent of a pure and apostolic ordination. We disclaim all aid from any such factitious argument,—an argument which could have been of no avail against the Popery that we rejected, and should be of as little avail against those denominations of Protestantism which have been left unendowed. We contend against Popery as unscriptural. We contend, not against all Protestant denominations beside our own as being unapostolical, but, which is truly a different thing, we contend against the endowment of more than one denomination for one country as incommodious, and not fitted to the great object for which an endowment is desirable—and that is the general Christian education of the people of the land. In reasoning against Popery, the more erroneous, or the wider the difference from us, the more easily their case is disposed of. In reasoning, not we repeat against the Protestant sectaries, but against the endowment of them all save one—the

less erroneous, or the nearer they are to ourselves, the more easily their case is disposed of. If people will but attend to the distinction between one thing and another, they will find that there is no paradox here. It was on theological principles that we stripped Popery of her endowments. It is on the principles of a right fiscal, or a right economical arrangement—that, while recognising the substantial unity of two, three, or more of the Protestant bodies, we but endow one of them and leave out the rest. To the question by which it was thought they would have gravelled us, When the difference is so insignificant between the church and the sectaries, why treat them so unequally? —our reply is, When the difference is so insignificant, why keep up that difference at all?—Why do sectaries keep aloof from the church, on considerations which are confessedly insignificant and paltry? We hear of their common faith, that is, of their agreement with the church, on all vital and essential topics; and this, in opposition to the bigots within the Establishment, we heartily accord to the great majority of the Dissenters in both parts of the island. But if they agree in all that is essential, what is the character of the topics on which they differ? There can be no other reply to this, than that they must be the non-essentials of Christianity—the *nugæ triviales* if not the *nugæ difficiles* of doctrine or government—the caprices, or whimsical peculiarities, in which, through the very wantonness of freedom in this land of perfect toleration, men have chosen to besport themselves, and so broken forth into their party-coloured var-

ieties; each having a creed, or rather I would say (for substantially speaking nine-tenths of the people in Britain have all the same creed), each having a costume and a designation of their own. Meanwhile, if of the four, five, or six denominations it be granted—which we do most cordially, such being the character of their variations—that mainly and substantially speaking they all of them are right—The government, after having done what was theologically right in rejecting Popery, would still be theologically right in transferring the endowment of the national church to any one of these denominations. And if theologically right in fixing upon some one, then, on another ground—that is, for the sake of the territorial principle, with all its mighty benefits to the population, it would be fiscally or economically right in keeping by that one. We see no way of escaping from this conclusion, but by unchristianizing the Church of England; or the bigots without the establishment becoming as outrageous in their way, as are those bigots within the establishment who would unchristianize the Dissenters. Enough for government, that it has taken a scriptural church into its service; and vindication enough for its not taking more, that its work can be better done by one such servant than by several. To the remonstrance of the excluded sects, Why when we differ so little do you not take us in? it may well be replied, Why when you differ so little do you keep yourselves out? Truly it is not for government to make the adjustment here; nor is there another way of bringing the adjustment about, but by means of a larger

intelligence and a larger charity both in the church and among the sectaries themselves.

10. We trust it is now palpable—that, whereas, in proportion to the nearness which obtains between the endowed church and the unendowed sectaries, it has been thought all the more difficult to justify the selection of the one and exclusion of all the rest, it in very truth is all the other way. Let us overlook for a moment their circumstantial peculiarities, and grant them to be all equally well fitted for tutoring the families of our population in the lessons of a sound and scriptural Christianity—the government theologically could not be wrong, in adopting any one of them for the national establishment; but government fiscally and economically would be wrong, in thus adopting more than one—for it would embarrass thereby the operation of the territorial principle, and so endanger the great object of a universal Christian education. If you tell me of twenty sectaries, that they are all very near right—this is just telling me that government, in having taken one of these into its employment for the services of a national church, is not very far wrong. You may thus reduce it to a question of insignificance, which of them it shall be—while there is no insignificance, but the weightiest and most momentous of all national interests involved, in some one or other of them having this distinction conferred on it. Government, after having made the preference, and so standing acquitted of the greatest duty it owes to the commonwealth, leaves the whole charge of insignificance and folly to rest upon those who, for the sake of paltry and insigni-

ficant differences, will thus quarrel and fall out among themselves.

11. It is no purpose of ours to wound the feelings of our dissenting brethren, whose services in the cause of our common Christianity cannot be too highly estimated. It is true that we venerate the Church of England as a Christian church; but, so far therefore from laying a stigma on the sectaries, there are several, and these comprising a very large majority of the Nonconformists throughout England, who, in our apprehension, are so near in theology to the Establishment, that, for ourselves, we cannot make out a principle in any of the differences, on which they continue to stand without its pale. Yet we refuse not the credit of principle to themselves; and not because we hold them in error, but because we desire an effective Christian surveillance for all the families in the nation—which can never be accomplished without the responsibility and the charge being laid, not on the ministers of all, but on the ministers only of some one, and that at the same time a scriptural and right denomination—It is on this account, and on this account alone, that we contend for the endowment of one and of one only. On this subject we are altogether at one with the dissenters of a former age, as Baxter and many others, who would have felt the abandonment of a national support for the clergy to have been a national abandonment of Christianity; and who, without ever once dreaming of such a support for themselves, demanded no more, and would have been fully satisfied, with liberty and toleration.

12. I will not relinquish the hope of a consummation to all these differences; and that some high achievement of charity, a great and noble sacrifice at the shrine of true Christian patriotism, is still awaiting us. When once the habit of the Christian world is to think more on their articles of agreement, and less on their articles of difference; or, in other words when they come to think more on that which is great, and less on that which is little—when principles on the one hand, and points on the other, shall hold their just relative proportion and place in the estimations of men—then will the gravitating power which unites bodies to a common centre, prevail over the repulsions which are almost all associated with the now rapidly fading, and we trust soon to be forgotten, wrongs of former generations. When once the Church of England shall have come down from all that is transcendental or mysterious in her pretensions; and, quitting the plea of her exclusive apostolical derivation, shall rest more upon that wherein the real greatness of her strength lies—the purity of her doctrines—her deeds of high prowess and championship in the battles of the faith—the noble contributions which have been rendered by her scholars and her sons to that Christian literature, which is at once the glory and the defence of Protestantism—the ready-made apparatus of her churches and parishes—the unbroken hold which, as an establishment, she still retains on the mass of society—and her unforfeited possessory right to be reckoned and deferred to as an establishment still—When these, the true elements of her legitimacy and her

power, come to be better understood; in that proportion will she be recognised as the great standard and rallying-post, for all those who would unite their efforts and their sacrifices in that mighty cause, the object of which is to send throughout our families, in more plentiful supply, those waters of life which can alone avail for the healing of the nation. But the best and highest sacrifice of all were by the Dissenters of England, those representatives and descendants of the excellent ones of the earth—the Owens, and Flavels, and Howes, and Baxters, and Henrys of a by-gone age—who rejoiced to hear of all the Christianity which there was in the Church; and to see all which the Church did, if but done for the Christian good of the people. We speak not of the sin of schism, of which we have sometimes heard, in language far too strong for any sympathy or even comprehension of ours. But we speak of the blessings of unity; and we confess how greatly more it is endeared to us, since made to perceive, that, only by an undivided church, only by the ministers of one denomination, can a community be out and out pervaded, or a territory be filled up and thoroughly overtaken with the lessons of the gospel. Tell, whether it is of greater consequence that minor differences be upholden, or that the universal Christian education of our families shall be provided for? But, in truth, these minor differences may coexist with the operations of an effective establishment. We want not to overbear the consciences of dissenters; but, if possible, disarm their hostility to an institute, of which we honestly believe that its overthrow were

tantamount to the surrender, in its great bulk and body of the Christianity of our nation.

13. The question which has so long engaged us, is not one of justice between sect and sect; but, of a far higher character than this, a question of justice to the population. It is ever to be deplored, when a greater question is transmuted into a lesser; and the moral interests of the community should thus be suspended on the adjustment of a matter which affects but the personal feeling or the secular advantage of some one or more orders of ecclesiastics. It is thus, we fear, that the great boon of a parochial system of education has been so long withheld from the people of England. Is it right, or seemly, that the difficulties of a harmonious settlement between churchmen and dissenters, should stand in the way of a great national blessing to the families of the working classes? We trust that the legislature is now awakening to the truth, that no popular education can be of avail for the well-being of the community, which is not based upon religion. And then on the question of, What religion? we have not to speak over again the argument of principle which leads to the preference of Protestantism over Popery. And neither should we have to repeat that other argument, not of principle but of convenience and effect, which leads to the selection of one denomination of Protestantism, and not to the employment of all, for the territorial charge, whether of the Sabbath or week-day education of the people. In as far as parochial schools are laid under an ecclesiastical superintendence, it should be the superintendence of the ministers of

the ecclesiastical establishment—while open to all the population. In Scotland there is little or no resistance to this arrangement; and, while there is enough of jealousy and adverse feeling between the Church and the sectaries, there is, on the whole, a general and practical acquiescence in our scholastic economy. Our schools have been the nurseries of Christianity; but not that we are aware, have they ever been complained of as giving an undue advantage to the Established Church—nor, although it be the general practice of our dissenters to send their children to these parish seminaries, have we ever heard them spoken of as the nurseries of a proselytism that was all on one side, while injurious to every other denomination. Must religion, on the one hand, be excluded from education for the sake of harmony; or must education, on the other, be kept in abeyance for the sake of those minor differences, which separate the Church, and at least nine-tenths of the Protestant sectaries from each other? Let us hope that Christian philanthropy will prevail over all these difficulties; and that we shall soon have a sufficiently thick-set establishment of schools for the families of England—Protestant, in deference to the high behests of principle and truth—Parochial, and therefore connected with the Church,—that education, as well as religion, might have the full benefit of the territorial principle. The attempt to harmonize Catholics with Protestants in a common habit of attendance on unscriptural schools, and that in the vain hope of a great moral regeneration to ensue from the experiment, proceeds on

an entire reversal of the apostolic order—it is an attempt to be first peaceable and then pure. The attempt to harmonise the churchmen with the dissenters of England, in a common habit of attendance on schools where the theology of the Establishment is taught, is in the direct footsteps of that order—it being "first pure, and then peaceable."

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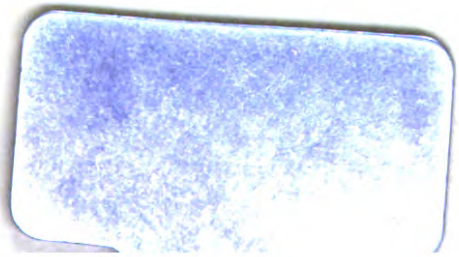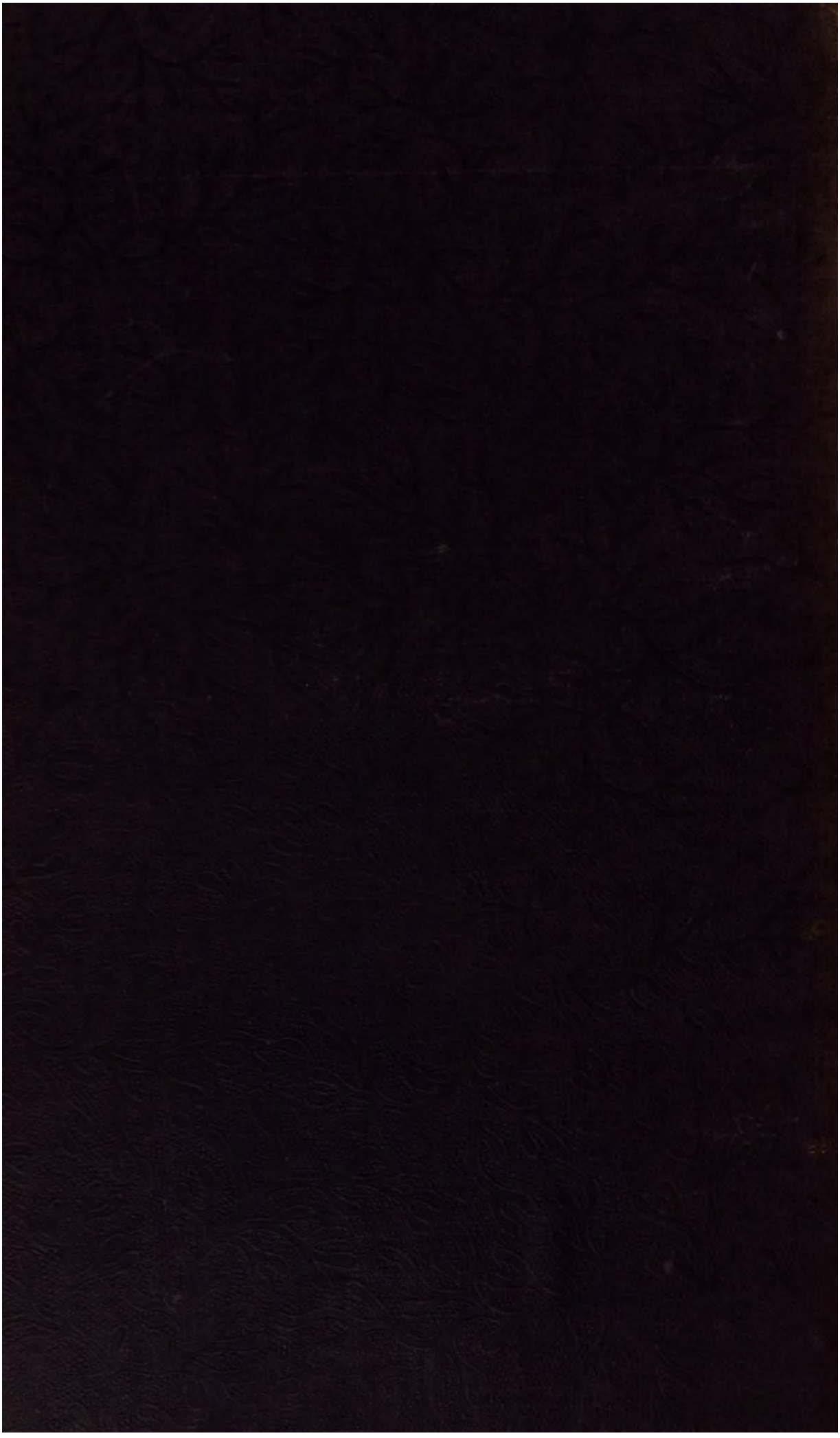
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