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A

SERMON

DELIVERED IN

THE TRON CHURCH, GLASGOW,

ON

WEDNESDAY, Nov. 19th, 1817,

THE

Day of the Funeral of Her Royal Highness

THE

Princess Charlotte of Wales.

BY

THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D.

MINISTER OF THE TRON CHURCH, GLASGOW.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The following Sermon is the fruit of a very hurried and unlooked for exertion—and never was there any publication brought forward under circumstances of greater reluctancy, and with a more honest feeling of unpreparedness on the part of the author. The truth is, that he was at a great distance from home, when the urgency of the public demand for his personal appearance on the nineteenth of November reached him, and that so late, that he had no other resource than to write for the pulpit during the intervals, and after the exhaustion of a very rapid and fatiguing journey. It is true that he might revise. But to revise such a composition, would be to re-make it; and he has chosen rather to bring it forward, and that as nearly as possible in the literal terms of its delivery.

But it may be asked, if so unfit for the public eye, why make it public? It may be thought by many, that the avowal is not a wise one. But wisdom ought never to be held in reverence separately from truth; and it would be disguising the real motive, were it concealed, that a very perverse misconception which has gone abroad respecting one passage of the Sermon, and which has found its way into many of the Newspapers, is the real and impelling cause of the step that has been taken; and that, had it not been for the spread of such a misconception, there never would have been obtruded on the public, a performance written on a call of urgent necessity, and most assuredly without the slightest anticipation of authorship.

But, it may be said, does not such a measure as this bring the pulpit into a state of the most degrading subordination to the diurnal press, since there is not a single sermon which cannot be so reported, as, without the literality of direct falsehood, to convey through the whole country all the injuries of a substantial misrepresentation? And if a minister should condescend publicly to notice every such random and ephemeral statement, he might thereby incessantly involve himself in the most helpless and harassing of all controversy.

Now, in opposition to this, let it be observed, that a person placed in this difficult and disagreeable predicament, may advert for once to such a provocation, and that for the express purpose, that he may never have to do it again. He may count it enough to make one decisive exposure of the injustice which can be done in this way to a public instructor, and then hold himself acquitted of every similar attempt in all time coming. He thereby raises a sort of abiding or monumental antidote, which may serve to neutralize the mischief of any future attack, or future insinua-

tion. By this one act, though he may not silence the obloquies of the daily press, he has at least purchased for himself the privilege of standing unmoved by all the mistakes, or by all the malignities which may proceed from it.

Yet, it is no more than justice to a numerous and very important class of writers, to state it as our conviction of the great majority of them, that they feel the dignity and responsibility of their office, and hold it to be the highest point of professional honour, ever to maintain the most gentlemanly avoidance of all that is calculated to wound the feelings of an unoffending individual.

There is one temptation, however, to which the Editors of this department of literature are peculiarly liable, which may be briefly adverted to, and the influence of which may be observed to extend even to a higher class of journalists. There is an eagerness to transmute every thing into metal of their own peculiar currency—there is an extreme avidity to lay hold of every utterance, and to send it abroad, tinged with the colouring of their own party—there is a ravenous desire of appropriation extending itself to every possible occurrence, and to every one individual whom they would like to enlist under the banners of their own partizanship, which, for their own credit, they would be more careful to repress, did they perceive with sufficient force, and sufficient distinctness, that it makes them look more like the desperadoes of a sinking cause, than the liberal and honest expounders of public politics and literature, which claim so respectable a portion of the intelligence of the country.

The writer of this Sermon has only to add, that he does not know how a sorer imputation could have been devised against the heart and the principles of a clergyman, than that, on the tender and hallowed day of a nation's repose from all the sordidness and all the irritations of party, he should have made the pulpit a vehicle of invective against any administration; or that, after mingling his tears with those of his people, over the untimely death of one so dear to us, he should have found room for any thing else than those lessons of general Christianity, by which an unsparing reproof is ministered to impiety, in whatever quarter it may be found—even that impiety which wears the very same features, and offers itself in the very same aspect, under all administrations.

He has subjoined an Appendix, on the subject of an extended ecclesiastical provision for the town of Glasgow, and regrets, that he is not in such circumstances of leisure, as to allow of a more full and elaborate exertion on a topic so important.

SERMON,

&c.

"For when thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness."—ISA. xxvi. 9.

I AM sorry that I shall not be able to extend the application of this text beyond its more direct and immediate bearing on that event on which we are now met to mingle our regrets, and our sensibilities, and our prayers—that, occupied as we all are with the mournful circumstance that has bereft our country of one of its brightest anticipations, I shall not be able to clear my way to the accomplishment of what is, strictly speaking, the congregational object of an address from the pulpit, which ought, in every possible case, to be an address to the conscience—that, therefore, instead of the concerns of personal Christianity, which, under my present text, I might, if I had space for it, press home upon the attention of my hearers, I shall be under the necessity of restricting myself to that more partial application of the text which relates to the matters of public Christianity. It is upon this account, as well as upon others,

that I rejoice in the present appointment, for the improvement of that sad and sudden visitation which has so desolated the hearts and the hopes of a whole people. I therefore feel more freedom in coming forward with such remarks as, to the eyes of many, may wear a more public and even political complexion, than is altogether suited to the ministrations of the Sabbath. And yet I cannot but advert, and that in such terms of reproof as I think to be most truly applicable, to another set of men, whose taste for preaching is very much confined to these great and national occasions—who, habitually absent from church on the Sabbath, are yet observed, and that most prominently, to come together in eager and clustering attendance, on some interesting case of pathos or of politics—who in this way obtrude upon the general notice, their loyalty to an earthly sovereign, while, in reference to their lord and master, Jesus Christ, they scandalize all that is Christian in the general feeling, by their manifest contempt for him and for his ordinances—who look for the ready compliance of ministers, in all that can gratify their inclinations for pageantry, while for the real effective and only important business of ministers, they have just as little reverence as if it were all a matter of hollow and insignificant parade. It is right to share in the triumphs of successful, and to shed the tears of afflicted, patriotism. But it is also right to estimate according to its true

character, the patriotism of those who are never known to offer one homage to Christianity, except when it is associated with the affairs of state, or with the wishes, and the commands, and the expectations of statesmen.

But the frivolous and altogether despicable taste of the men to whom I am alluding, must be entirely separated from such an occasion as the present. For, in truth, there never was an occasion of such magnitude, and at the same time of such peculiarity. There never was an occasion on which a matter of deep political interest was so blended and mixed up with matter of very deep and affecting tenderness. It does not wear the aspect of an affair of politics at all, but of an affair of the heart; and the novel exhibition is now offered, of all party-irritations merging into one common and overwhelming sensibility. Oh! how it tends to quiet the agitations of every earthly interest and earthly passion, when Death steps forward and demonstrates the littleness of them all—when he stamps a character of such affecting insignificance on all that we are contending for—when, as if to make known the greatness of his power in the sight of a whole country, he stalks in ghastly triumph over the might and the grandeur of its most august family, and singling out that member of it on whom the dearest hopes and the gayest visions of the people were suspended, he, by one fatal and resistless blow, sends abroad the fame of his victory and his strength, throughout the wide

extent of an afflicted nation. He has indeed put a cruel and impressive mockery on all the glories of mortality. A few days ago, all looked so full of life, and promise, and security—when we read of the bustle of the great preparation—and were told of the skill and the talent that were pressed into the service—and heard of the goodly attendance of the most eminent in the nation—and how officers of state, and the titled dignitaries of the land, were chariotted in splendour to the scene of expectation, as to the joys of an approaching holiday—yes, and we were told too, that the bells of the surrounding villages were all in readiness for the merry peal of gratulation, and that the expectant metropolis of our empire, on tiptoe for the announcement of her future monarch, had her winged couriers of despatch to speed the welcome message to the ears of her citizens, and that from her an embassy of gladness was to travel over all the provinces of the land; and the country, forgetful of all that she had suffered, was at length to offer the spectacle of one wide and rejoicing jubilee. O Death! thou hast indeed chosen the time and the victim, for demonstrating the grim ascendency of thy power over all the hopes and fortunes of our species!—Our blooming Princess, whom fancy had decked with the coronet of these realms, and under whose gentle sway all bade so fair for the good and the peace of our nation, has he placed upon her bier! And, as if to fill up the measure of his triumph,

has he laid by her side, that babe, who, but for him, might have been the monarch of a future generation; and he has done that, which by no single achievement he could otherwise have accomplished—he has sent forth over the whole of our land, the gloom of such a bereavement as cannot be replaced by any living descendant of royalty—he has broken the direct succession of the monarchy of England—by one and the same disaster, has he wakened up the public anxieties of the country, and sent a pang as acute as that of the most woful domestic visitation, into the heart of each of its families.

In the prosecution of the following discourse, as I have already stated, I shall satisfy myself with a very limited application of the text. I shall, in the first place, offer a few remarks on that branch of the righteousness of practical Christianity, which consists in the duty that subjects owe to their governors. And, in the second place, I shall attempt to improve the present great national disaster, to the object of impressing upon you, that, under all our difficulties and all our fears, it is the righteousness of the people alone which will exalt and perpetuate the nation; and that, therefore, if this great interest be neglected, the country, instead of reaping improvement from the judgments of God, is in imminent danger of being utterly overwhelmed by them.

I. But here let me attempt the difficult task of rightly dividing the Word of Truth—and

premise this head of discourse, by admitting, that I know nothing more hateful than the crouching spirit of servility. I know not a single class of men more unworthy of reverence, than the base and interested minions of a court. I know not a set of pretenders who more amply deserve to be held out to the chastisement of public scorn, than they who, under the guise of public principle, are only aiming at personal aggrandizement. This is one corruption. But let us not forget that there is another—even a spurious patriotism, which would proscribe loyalty as one of the virtues altogether. Now, I cannot open my Bible, without learning that loyalty is one branch of the righteousness of practical Christianity. I am not seeking to please men but God, when I repeat his words in your hearing—that you should honour the King—that you should obey Magistrates—that you should meddle not with those who are given to change—that you should be subject to principalities and powers—that you should lead a quiet and a peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. This, then, is a part of the righteousness which it is our business to teach, and sure I am that it is a part of righteousness which the judgment now dealt out to us, should, of all others, dispose you to learn. I know not a virtue more in harmony with the present feelings and afflictions and circumstances of the country, than that of a steadfast and determined loyalty. The time has been, when such an event as the one that

we are now assembled to deplore, would have put every restless spirit into motion, and set a guilty ambition upon its murderous devices, and brought powerful pretenders with their opposing hosts of vassalage into the field, and enlisted towns and families under the rival banners of a most destructive fray of contention, and thus have broken up the whole peace and confidence of society. Let us bless God that these days of barbarism are now gone by. But the vessel of the state is still exposed to many agitations. The sea of politics is a sea of storms, on which the gale of human passions would make her founder, were it not for the guidance of human principle; and, therefore, the truest policy of a nation is to Christianize her subjects, and to disseminate among them the influence of religion. The most skilful arrangement for rightly governing a state, is to scatter among the governed, not the terrors of power—not the threats of jealous and alarmed authority—not the demonstrations of sure and ready vengeance held forth by the rigour of an offended law. These may, at times, be imperiously called for. But a permanent security against the wild outbreakings of turbulence and disaster, is only to be attained by diffusing the lessons of the gospel throughout the great mass of our population—even those lessons which are utterly and diametrically at antipodes with all that is criminal and wrong in the spirit of political disaffection. The only radical counteraction to this evil is

to be found in the spirit of Christianity; and though animated by such a spirit, a man may put on the intrepidity of one of the old prophets, and denounce even in the ear of royalty the profligacies which may disgrace or deform it—though animated by such a spirit, he may lift his protesting voice in the face of an unchristian magistracy, and tell them of their errors—though animated by such a spirit, he, to avoid every appearance of evil, will neither stoop to the flattery of power, nor to the solicitations of patronage—and though all this may bear to the superficial eye, a hard, and repulsive, and hostile aspect towards the established dignities of the land—yet forget not, that if a real and honest principle of Christianity lie at the root of this spirit, there exists within the bosom of such a man, a foundation of principle, on which all the lessons of Christianity will rise into visible and consistent exemplification. And it is he, and such as he, who will turn out to be the salvation of the country, when the hour of her threatened danger is approaching—and it is just in proportion as you spread and multiply such a character, that you raise within the bosom of the nation the best security against all her fluctuations—and, as in every other department of human concerns, so will it be found, that, in this particular department, Christians are the salt of the earth, and Christianity the most copious and emanating fountain of all the guardian virtues of peace, and order, and patriotism.

The judgment under which we now labour, supplies, I think, one touching, and, to every good and Christian mind, one powerful argument of loyalty. It is the distance of the prince from his people which feeds the political jealousy of the latter, and which by removing the former to a height of inaccessible grandeur, places him, as it were, beyond the reach of their sympathies. Much of that political rancour, which festers, and agitates, and makes such a tremendous appearance of noise and of hostility in our land, is due to the aggravating power of distance. If two of the deadliest political antagonists in our country, who abuse, and vilify, and pour forth their stormy eloquence on each other, whether in parliament or from the press, were actually to come into such personal and familiar contact, as would infuse into their controversy the sweetening of mere acquaintanceship, this very circumstance would disarm and do away almost all their violence. The truth is, that when one man rails against another across the table of a legislative assembly, or when he works up his fermenting imagination, and pens his virulent sentences against another, in the retirement of a closet—he is fighting against a man at a distance—he is exhausting his strength against an enemy whom he does not know—he is swelling into indignation, and into all the movements of what he thinks right and generous principle, against a chimera of his own apprehension; and a similar re-action comes back

upon him from the quarter that he has assailed, and thus the controversy thickens, and the delusion every day gets more impenetrable, and the distance is ever widening, and the breach is always becoming more hopeless and more irreparable; and all this between two men, who, if they had been in such accidental circumstances of juxtaposition, as could have let them a little more into one another's feelings, and to one another's sympathies, would at least have had all the asperities of their difference smoothed away by the mere softenings and kindlinesses of ordinary human intercourse.

Now, let me apply this remark to the mutual state of sentiment which obtains between the different orders of the community. Amongst the rich, there is apt at times to rankle an injurious and unworthy impression of the poor—and just because these poor stand at a distance from them—just because they come not into contact with that which would draw them out in courteousness to their persons, and in benevolent attentions to their families. Amongst the poor, on the other hand, there is often a disdainful suspicion of the wealthy, as if they were actuated by a proud indifference to them and to their concerns, and as if they were placed away from them at so distant and lofty an elevation as not to require the exercise of any of those cordialities, which are ever sure to spring in the bosom of man to man, when they come to know each other, and to have the actual sight of each other. But, let

any accident place an individual of the higher before the eyes of the lower order, on the ground of their common humanity—let the latter be made to see that the former are akin to themselves in all the sufferings and in all the sensibilities of our common inheritance—let, for example, the greatest chieftain of the territory die, and the report of his weeping children, or of his distracted widow, be sent through the neighbourhood—or, let an infant of his family be in suffering, and the mothers of the humble vicinity be run to for counsel and assistance—or, in any other way, let the rich, instead of being viewed by their inferiors through the dim and distant medium of that fancied interval which separates the ranks of society, be seen as heirs of the same frailty, and as dependent on the same sympathies with themselves—and, at that moment, all the flood-gates of honest sympathy will be opened—and the lowest servants of the establishment will join in the cry of distress which has come upon their family—and the neighbouring cottagers, to share in their grief, have only to recognize them as the partakers of one nature, and to perceive an assimilation of feelings and of circumstances between them.

Let me further apply all this to the sons and the daughters of royalty. The truth is, that they appear to the public eye as stalking on a platform so highly elevated above the general level of society, that it removes them, as it

were, from all the ordinary sympathies of our nature. And though we read at times of their galas, and their birth-days, and their drawing-rooms, there is nothing in all this to attach us to their interests and their feelings, as the inhabitants of a familiar home—as the members of an affectionate family. Surrounded as they are with the glare of a splendid notoriety, we scarcely recognize them as men and as women, who can rejoice, and weep, and pine with disease, and taste the sufferings of mortality, and be oppressed with anguish, and love with tenderness, and experience in their bosoms the same movements of grief or of affection that we do ourselves. And thus it is, that they labour under a real and heavy disadvantage. There is not, in their case, the counteraction of that kindly influence, to alleviate the weight or the malignity of prejudice, which men of a humbler station are ever sure to enjoy. In the case of a man whose name is hardly known beyond the limits of his personal acquaintance, the tale of calumny that is raised against him extends not far beyond these limits; and, therefore, wherever it is heard, it meets with a something to blunt and to soften it, in those very cordialities which the familiar exhibition of him as a brother of our common nature is fitted to awaken. But it is not so with those in the elevated walks of society. Their names are familiar where their persons are unknown; and whatever malignity may attach to the one, circulates abroad, and

is spread far beyond the limits of their possible intercourse with human beings, and meets with no kindly counteraction from our acquaintance with the other. And this may explain how it is, that the same exalted personage may, at one and the same time, be suffering under a load of most unmerited obloquy from the wide and the general public, and be to all his familiar domestics an object of the most enthusiastic devotedness and regard.

Now, if through an accidental opening, the public should be favoured with a domestic exhibition—if, by some overpowering visitation of Providence upon an illustrious family, the members of it should come to be recognized as the partakers of one common humanity with ourselves—if, instead of beholding them in their gorgeousness as princes, we look to them in the natural evolution of their sensibilities as men —if the stately palace should be turned into a house of mourning—in one word, if death should do what he has already done,—he has met the Princess of England in the prime and promise of her days, and as she was moving onward on her march to a hereditary throne, he has laid her at his feet! Ah! my brethren, when the imagination dwells on that bed where the remains of departed youth and departed infancy are lying —when, instead of crowns and canopies of grandeur, it looks to the forlorn husband, and the weeping father, and the human feelings which agitate their bosom, and the human tears which

flow down their cheeks, and all such symptoms of deep affliction as bespeak the workings of suffering and dejected nature—what ought to be, and what actually is, the feeling of the country at so sad an exhibition? It is just the feeling of the domestics and the labourers at Claremont. All is soft and tender as womanhood. Nor is there a peasant in our land, who is not touched to the very heart when he thinks of the unhappy Stranger who is now spending his days in grief and his nights in sleeplessness —as he mourns alone in his darkened chamber, and refuses to be comforted—as he turns in vain for rest to his troubled feelings, and cannot find it—as he gazes on the memorials of an affection that blessed the brightest, happiest, shortest year of his existence—as he looks back on the endearments of the bygone months, and the thought that they have for ever fleeted away from him, turns all to agony—as he looks forward on the blighted prospect of this world's pilgrimage, and feels that all which bound him to existence, is now torn irretrievably away from him! There is not a British heart that does not feel to this interesting visitor, all the force and all the tenderness of a most affecting relationship; and, go where he may, will he ever be recognized and cherished as a much-loved member of the British family.

It is in this way, that through the avenue of a nation's tenderness, we can estimate the strength and the steadfastness of a nation's

loyalty. On minor questions of the constitution, we may storm, and rave, and look at each other a little ferociously—and it was by some such appearance as this, that he, who, in the days of his strength, was the foulest and the most formidable of all our enemies, said of the country in which we live, that, torn by factions, it was going rapidly to dissolution. Yet these are but the skirmishings of a pettier warfare—the movements of nature and of passion, in a land of freemen—the harmless contests of men pulling in opposite ways at some of the smaller ropes in the tackling of our great national vessel. But look to these men, in the time of need and the hour of suffering—look to them now, when in one great and calamitous visitation, the feeling of every animosity is overborne—look to them now, when the darkness is gathering, and the boding cloud of disaster hangs over us, and some chilling fear of insecurity is beginning to circulate in whispers through the land—look to them now, when in the entombment of this sad and melancholy day, the hopes of more than half a century are to be interred—look to them now, when from one end of the country to the other, there is the mourning of a very great and sore lamentation, so that all who pass by may say, this is a grievous mourning to the people of the land. Oh! is it possible that these can be other than honest tears, or that tears of pity can, on such an emergency as the present, be other than tears of patriotism! Who does not

see this principle sitting in visible expression on the general countenance of the nation—that the people are sound at heart, and that with this, as the main-sheet of our dependence, we may still, under the blessing of God, weather and surmount all the difficulties which threaten us.

II. I now proceed to the second head of discourse, under which I was to attempt such an improvement of this great national disaster, as might enforce the lesson, that, under every fear and every difficulty, it is the righteousness of the people alone which will exalt and perpetuate a nation; and that, therefore, if this great interest be neglected, instead of learning any thing from the judgments of God, we are in imminent danger of being utterly overwhelmed by them.

Under my first head I restricted myself exclusively to the virtue of loyalty, which is one of the special, but I most willingly admit, nay, and most earnestly contend, is also one of the essential attributes of righteousness. But there is a point on which I profess myself to be altogether at issue with a set of men, who composed, at one time, whatever they do now, a very numerous class of society. I mean those men, who, with all the ostentation, and all the intolerance of loyalty, evinced an utter indifference either to their own personal religion or to the religion of the people who were around

them—who were satisfied with the single object of keeping the neighbourhood in a state of political tranquillity—who, if they could only get the population to be quiet, cared not for the extent of profaneness or of profligacy that was amongst them—and who, while they thought to signalize themselves in the favour of their earthly king, by keeping down every turbulent or rebellious movement among his subjects, did in fact, by their own conspicuous example, lead them and cheer them on in their rebellion against the King of heaven—and, as far as the mischief could be wrought by the contagion of their personal influence, these men of loyalty did what in them lay, to spread a practical contempt for Christianity, and for all its ordinances, throughout the land.

Now, I would have such men to understand, if any such there be within the sphere of my voice, that it is not with their loyalty that I am quarreling. I am only telling them, that this single attribute of righteousness will never obtain a steady footing in the hearts of the people, except on the ground of a general principle of righteousness. I am telling them, how egregiously they are out of their own politics, in ever thinking that they can prop the virtue of loyalty in a nation, while they are busily employed, by the whole instrumentality of their example and of their doings, in sapping the very foundation upon which it is reared. I

am telling them, that if they wish to see loyalty in perfection, and such loyalty, too, as requires not any scowling vigilance of theirs to uphold it, they must look to the most moral, and orderly, and Christianized districts of the country. I am merely teaching them a lesson, of which they seem to be ignorant, that if you loosen the hold of Christianity over the hearts of the population, you pull down from their ascendency all the virtues of Christianity, of which loyalty is one. Yes, and I will come yet a little closer, and take a look of that loyalty which exists in the shape of an isolated principle in their own bosoms. I should like to gauge the dimensions of this loyalty of theirs, in its state of disjunction from the general principle of Christianity. I wish to know the kind of loyalty which characterizes the pretenders to whom I am alluding —the men who have no value for preaching, but as it stands associated with the pageantry of state—the men who would reckon it the most grievous of all heresies, to be away from church on some yearly day of the king's appointment, but are seldom within its walls on the weekly day of God's appointment—the men who, if ministers were away from their post of loyalty, on an occasion like the present, would, without mercy, and without investigation, denounce them as suspicious characters; but who, when we are at the post of piety, dispensing the more solemn ordinances of Christianity, openly lead the way in that crowded and eager emigration,

which carries half the rank and opulence of the town away from us. What, oh! what is the length, and the breadth, and the height, and the depth of this vapouring, swaggering, high-sounding loyalty?—It is nothing better than the loyalty of political subalterns, in the low game of partizanship, or of whippers-in to an existing administration—it is not the loyalty which will avail us in the day of danger—it is not to them that we need to look, in the evil hour of a country's visitation;—but to those right-hearted, sound-thinking Christian men, who, without one interest to serve, or one hope to forward, honour their king, because they fear their God.

Let me assure such a man, if such a man there is within the limits of this assembly—that, keen as his scent may be after political heresies, the deadliest of all such heresies lies at his own door—that there is not to be found, within the city of our habitation, a rottener member of the community than himself—that, withering as he does by his example the principle which lies at the root of all national prosperity, it is he, and such as he, who stands opposed to the best and the dearest objects of loyalty—and, if ever that shall happen, which it is my most delightful confidence that God will avert from us and from our children's children to the latest posterity—if ever the wild frenzy of revolution shall run through the ranks of Britain's population, these are the men who

will be the most deeply responsible for all its atrocities and for all its horrors.*

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* I cannot but advert here to a delicate impediment which lies in the way of the faithful exercise of the ministerial functions, from the existence of two great political parties, which would monopolize between them, all the sentiments and all the services of the country. Is it not a very possible thing, that the line of demarcation between these parties may not coalesce throughout all its extent, with the sacred and immutable line of distinction between right and wrong?—and ought not this latter line to stand out so clearly and so prominently to the eye of the Christian minister, that in the act of dealing around him the reproofs and the lessons of Christianity, the former line should be away from his contemplation altogether? But it is thus that, with the most scrupulous avoidance both of the one and the other species of partizanship, he may in the direct and conscientious discharge of the duties of his office, deliver himself in such a way as to give a kind of general and corporate offence to one political denomination; and, what is still more grievous, as to be appropriated by the men of another denomination, with whom in their capacity as politicians he desires no fellowship whatever, and whose applauses of him in this capacity are in every way most odious and insufferable.

It appears to us, that a Christian minister cannot keep himself in the true path of consistency at all, without refusing to each of the parties all right of appropriation. Their line of demarcation is not his line. Their objects are not his objects. He asks no patronage from the one—he asks no favour from the other, except that they shall not claim kindred with him. He may suffer, at times, from the intolerance of the unworthy underlings of the former party; but never will his sensations of distaste, for the whole business of party politics, become so intense and so painful, as when the hosannahs of the latter party threaten to rise around him.

We often hear from each, and more particularly from one of these parties, of the virtue and the dignity of independence. The only way, it appears to us, in which a man can sustain the true and complete character of independence, is to be independent of both. He who cares for neither of them, is the only independent man; and to him only belongs the privilege of crossing and re-crossing their factitious line of demarcation, just as he feels himself impelled by the high paramount and subordinating principles of the Christianity which he professes. In the exercise of this privilege, I here take the opportunity of saying, that if the chastisement of public scorn should fall on those who, under the disguise of public principle, have *found* a personal aggrandizement for themselves, it should

Having thus briefly adverted to one of the causes of impiety and consequent disloyalty,

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fall with equal severity on those who, under the same disguise, are *seeking* for precisely the same object—that if there be some men in the country who care not for the extent of profaneness and profligacy that is among the people, provided they can only keep them *quiet*, there are also some men who care not for their profaneness or their profligacy, provided they can only keep them *unquiet*—who bear no other regard to the people than merely as an instrument of annoyance against an existing administration —who can shed their serpent tears over their distresses, and yet be inwardly grieved, should either a favourable season or reviving trade disappoint their boding speculation—who, in the face of undeniable common sense, can ascribe to political causes, such calamities as are altogether due to what is essential and uncontrollable in the circumstances of the country—and who, if on the strength of misrepresentation and artifice they could only succeed in effecting the great object of their own instalment into office, and the dispossession of their antagonists, would prove themselves, then, to be as indifferent to the comfort, as they show themselves now to be utterly indifferent to the religion and the virtue of the country's population.

But turning away from the beggarly elements of such a competition as this, let us remark, that, on the one hand, a religious administration will never take offence at a minister who renders a pertinent reproof to any set of men, even though they should happen to be their own agents or their own underlings; and that, on the other hand, a minister who is actuated by the true spirit of his office, will never so pervert or so prostitute its functions, as to descend to the humble arena of partizanship. He is the faithful steward of such things as are profitable for reproof, and for doctrine, and for correction, and for instruction in righteousness. His single object with the men who are within reach of his hearing, is, that they shall come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved. In the fulfilment of this object, he is not the servant of any administration—though he certainly renders such a service to the state as will facilitate the work of governing to all administrations—as will bring a mighty train of civil and temporal blessings along with it—and in particular, as will diffuse over the whole sphere of his influence, a loyalty as steadfast as the friends of order, and as free from every taint of political servility, as the most genuine friends of freedom can desire.

There is only one case in which it is conceived that the partizanship of a Christian minister, is at all justifiable. Should the government of our country ever fall into the hands of an infidel or demi-infidel administra-

I shall proceed to offer a few remarks on the great object of teaching the people righteousness, not so much in a general and didactic manner, as in the way of brief, and, if possible, of memorable illustration—gathering my argument from the present event, and availing myself, at the same time, of such principles as have been advanced in the course of the preceding observations.

My next remark, then, on this subject, will be taken from a sentiment, of which I think you must all on the present occasion feel the force and the propriety. Would it not have been most desirable could the whole population of the city have been admitted to join in the solemn services of the day? Do you not think that they are precisely such services as would have spread a loyal and patriotic influence amongst them? Is it not experimentally the case, that, over the untimely grave of our fair Princess, the meanest of the people would have shed as warm and plentiful a tribute of honest sensibility as the most refined and delicate amongst us? And,

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tion—should the men at the helm of affairs, be the patrons of all that is unchristian in the sentiment and literature of the country—should they offer a violence to its religious establishments, and thus attempt what we honestly believe would reach a blow to the piety and the character of our population—then, I trust that the language of partizanship will resound from many of the pulpits of the land—and that it will be turned in one stream of pointed invective against such a ministry as this—till, by the force of public opinion, it be swept away, as an intolerable nuisance, from the face of our kingdom.

I ask, is it not unfortunate, that, on the day of such an affecting, and, if I may so style it, such a national exercise, there should not have been twenty more churches with twenty more ministers, to have contained the whole crowd of eager and interested listeners? A man of mere loyalty, without one other accomplishment, will, I am sure, participate in a regret so natural; but couplé this regret with the principle, that the only way in which the loyalty of the people can effectually be maintained, is on the basis of their Christianity, and then the regret in question embraces an object still more general—and well were it for us, if, amid the insecurity of families, and the various fluctuations of fortune and of arrangement that are taking place in the highest walks of society, the country were led, by the judgment with which it has now been visited, to deepen the foundation of all its order and of all its interests, in the moral education of its people. Then indeed the text would have its literal fulfilment. When the judgments of God are in the earth, the rulers of the world would lead the inhabitants thereof to learn righteousness.

In our own city, much in this respect remains to be accomplished; and I speak of the great mass of our city and suburb population, when I say, that through the week they lie open to every rude and random exposure—and when Sabbath comes, no solemn appeal to the conscience, no stirring recollections of the past, no urgent calls

to resolve against the temptations of the future, come along with it. It is undeniable, that within the compass of a few square miles, the daily walk of the vast majority of our people is beset with a thousand contaminations; and whether it be on the way to the market, or on the way to the work-shop, or on the way to the crowded manufactory, or on the way to any one resort of industry that you choose to condescend upon, or on the way to the evening home, where the labours of a virtuous day should be closed by the holy thankfulness of a pious and affectionate family; be it in passing from one place to another, or be it amid all the throng of sedentary occupations; there is not one day of the six, and not one hour of one of these days, when frail and unsheltered man is not plied by the many allurements of a world lying in wickedness—when evil communications are not assailing him with their corruptions—when the full tide of example does not bear down upon his purposes, and threaten to sweep all his purity and all his principle away from him. And when the seventh day comes, where, I would ask, are the efficient securities that ought to be provided against all those inundations of profligacy which rage without controul through the week, and spread such a desolating influence among the morals of the existing generation?—Oh! tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon—this seventh day, on which it would require a whole army of labourers to

give every energy which belongs to them, to the plenteous harvest of so mighty a population, witnesses more than one-half of the people precluded from attending the house of God, and wandering every man after the counsel of his own heart, and in the sight of his own eyes—on this day, the ear of heaven is assailed with a more audacious cry of rebellion than on any other, and the open door of invitation plies with its welcome, the hundreds and the thousands who have found their habitual way to the haunts of depravity. And is there no room, then, to wish for twenty more churches, and twenty more ministers—for men of zeal and of strength, who might go forth among these wanderers, and compel them to come in—for men of holy fervour, who might set the terrors of hell and the free offer of salvation before them—for men of affection, who might visit the sick, and the dying, and the afflicted, and cause the irresistible influence of kindness to circulate at large among their families—for men, who, while they fastened their most intense aim on the great object of preparing sinners for eternity, would scatter along the path of their exertions all the blessings of order, and contentment, and sobriety, and at length make it manifest as day, that the righteousness of the people is the only effectual antidote to a country's ruin—the only path to a country's glory?

My next remark shall be founded on a principle to which I have already alluded—the

desirableness of a more frequent intercourse between the higher and the lower orders of society; and what more likely to accomplish this, than a larger ecclesiastical accommodation?—not the scanty provision of the present day, by which the poor are excluded from the church altogether, but such a wide and generous system of accommodation, as that the rich and the poor might sit in company together in the house of God. It is this Christian fellowship, which, more than any other tie, links so intimately together the high and the low in country parishes. There is, however, another particular to which I would advert, and though I cannot do so without magnifying my office, yet I know not a single circumstance which so upholds the golden line of life amongst our agricultural population, as the manner in which the gap between the pinnacle of the community and its base is filled up by the week-day duties of the clergyman—by that man, of whom it has been well said, that he belongs to no rank, because he associates with all ranks—by that man, whose presence may dignify the palace, but whose peculiar glory it is to carry the influences of friendship and piety into cottages.

This is the age of moral experiment, and much has been devised in our day for promoting the virtue, and the improvement, and the economical habits of the lower orders of society. But in all these attempts to raise a barrier against the growing profligacy of our towns,

one important element seems to have passed unheeded, and to have been altogether omitted in the calculation. In all the comparative estimates of the character of a town and the character of a country population, it has been little attended to, that the former are distinguished from the latter by the dreary, hopeless, and almost impassable distance at which they stand from their parish minister. Now, though it be at the hazard of again magnifying my office, I must avow, in the hearing of you all, that there is a moral charm in his personal attentions and his affectionate civilities, and the ever-recurring influence of his visits and his prayers, which, if restored to the people, would impart a new moral aspect, and eradicate much of the licentiousness and the dishonesty that abound in our cities. On this day of national calamity, if ever the subject should be adverted to from the pulpit, we may be allowed to express our rivetted convictions on the close alliance that obtains between the political interests and the religious character of a country. And I am surely not out of place, when, on looking at the mighty mass of a city population, I state my apprehension, that if something be not done to bring this enormous physical strength under the controul of Christian and humanized principle, the day may yet come, when it may lift against the authorities of the land its brawny vigour, and discharge upon them all the turbulence of its rude and volcanic energy.

Apart altogether from the essential character of the gospel, and keeping out of view the solemn representations of Christianity, by which we are told that each individual of these countless myriads carries an undying principle in his bosom, and that it is the duty of the minister to cherish it, and to watch over it, as one who must render, at the judgment-seat, an account of the charge which has been committed to him—apart from this consideration entirely, which I do not now insist upon, though I blush not to avow its paramount importance over all that can be alleged on the inferior ground of political expediency, yet, on that ground alone, I can gather argument enough for the mighty importance of such men, devoted to the labours of their own separate and peculiar employments—giving an unbewildered attention to the office of dealing with the hearts and principles of the thousands who are around them—coming forth from the preparations of an unbroken solitude, armed with all the omnipotence of truth among their fellow-citizens—and who, rich in the resources of a mind which meditates upon these things and gives itself wholly to them, are able to suit their admonitions to all the varieties of human character, and to draw their copious and persuasive illustrations from every quarter of human experience. But I speak not merely of their Sabbath ministrations. Give to each a manageable extent of town, within the compass of his personal exertions, and where he

might be able to cultivate a ministerial influence among all its families—put it into his power to dignify the very humblest of its tenements by the courteousness of his soothing and benevolent attentions—let it be such a district of population as may not bear him down by the multiplicity of its demands; but where, without any feverish or distracting variety of labour, he may be able to familiarize himself to every house, and to know every individual, and to visit every spiritual patient, and to watch every death-bed, and to pour out the sympathies of a pious and affectionate bosom over every mourning and bereaved family. Bring every city of the land under such a moral regimen as this, and another generation would not pass away, ere righteousness ran down all their streets like a mighty river. That sullen depravity of character, which the gibbet cannot scare away, and which sits so immoveable in the face of the most menacing severities and in despite of the yearly recurrence of the most terrifying examples—could not keep its ground against the mild, but resistless application of an effective Christian ministry. The very worst of men would be constrained to feel the power of such an application. Sunk as they are in ignorance, and inured as they have been from the first years of their neglected boyhood, to scenes of week-day profligacy and Sabbath profanation —these men, of whom it may be said, that all their moralities are extinct, and all their ten-

dernesses blunted—even they would feel the power of that reviving touch, which the mingled influence of kindness and piety can often impress on the souls of the most abandoned—even they would open the flood-gates of their hearts, and pour forth the tide of an honest welcome on the men who had come in all the cordiality of good-will to themselves and to their families. And thus might a humanizing and an exalting influence be made to circulate through all their dwelling-places: and such a system as this, labouring as it must do at first, under all the discouragements of a heavy and unpromising outset, would gather, during every year of its perseverance, new triumphs and new testimonies to its power. And all that is ruthless and irreclaimable in the character of the present day, would in time be replaced by the softening virtues of a purer and a better generation. This I know to be the dream of many a philanthropist; and a dream as visionary as the very wildest among the fancies of Utopianism it ever will be, under any other expedient than the one I am now pointing to; and nothing, nothing within the whole compass of nature, or of experience, will ever bring it to its consummation, but the multiplied exertions of the men who carry in their hearts the doctrine, and who bear upon their persons the seal and commission of the New Testament. And, if it be true that towns are the great instruments of political revolution—if it be there that all the elements

of disturbance are ever found in busiest fermentation—if we learn, from the history of the past, that they are the favourite and the frequented rallying-places for all the brooding violence of the land—who does not see that the pleading earnestness of the Christian minister is at one with the soundest maxims of political wisdom, when he urges upon the rulers and magistrates of the land, that this is indeed the cheap defence of a nation—this the vitality of all its strength and of all its greatness.

And it is with the most undissembled satisfaction that I advert to the first step of such a process, within the city of our habitation, as I have now been recommending. It may still be the day of small things; but it is such a day as ought not to be despised. The prospect of another church and another labourer in this interesting field, demands the most respectful acknowledgment of the Christian public, to the men who preside over the administration of our affairs; and they, I am sure, will not feel it to be oppressive, if, met by the willing cordialities of a responding population, the demand should ring in their ears for another, and another, till, like the moving of the spirit on the face of the waters, which made beauty and order to emerge out of the rude materials of creation, the germ of moral renovation shall at length burst into all the efflorescence of moral accomplishment—and the voice of psalms shall again be heard in our families—and impurity and violence shall

be banished from our streets—and then the erazure made, in these degenerate days, on the escutcheons of our city, again replaced in characters of gold, shall tell to every stranger, that Glasgow flourisheth through the preaching of the Word.*

And though, under the mournful remembrance of our departed Princess, we cannot but feel, on this day of many tears, as if a volley of lightning from heaven had been shot at the pillar of our State, and struck away the loveliest ornament from its pinnacle, and shook the noble fabric to its base; yet still, if we strengthen its foundation in the principle and character of our people, it will stand secure on the deep and steady basis of a country's worth, which can never be overthrown. And thus an enduring memorial of our Princess will be embalmed in the hearts of the people, and good will emerge out of this dark and bitter dispensation, if, when the judgments of God are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world shall learn righteousness.

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* The original motto of the City is, "Let Glasgow flourish through the preaching of the Word;" which, by the curtailment alluded to, has been reduced to the words, "Let Glasgow flourish."

APPENDIX.

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 merchandize. 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 tracks 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 is provided for them, than if they had been left to build a meeting-house, and 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.

The experiment, indeed, has been tried with variations on a large scale, and with results which are very instructive. In the southern, and, we believe, in the middle States of America, there is no general provision for the clergy. The population are left to find their own way to the supply of their own wants in this particular; and we have been credibly informed, that there are, at this moment, from four to five millions of the people of the United States, who are growing up without any regular administration of the Word, or of its ordinances amongst them. In the northern States, there is a legislative provision; and the difference in point of moral habit and character, between their population and that of the other States, is all in favour of religious establishments.

But we have long thought, that a still surer and more impressive argument may be drawn from a nearer field of observation. The article of general education has one property in common with the article of religious education. The appetite for it among the people, is not so great as the use of it to the people:—its agreeableness is not equal to its advantage. And, therefore, if left to their own native demand, it would not in fact be called for, up to the extent that it would be beneficial. This, then, supplies a fair occasion for the interference of government; and it is wise in them to build, in every section of their territory, a school and a school-house; and to defray part of the expense of the schoolmaster in the shape of salary; and to meet the people half-way, by placing this apparatus within their view; and by making scholarship both cheap and accessible, to lure their families to the habit of attendance. In Scotland, this has given rise to the parochial establishment of schools; and we have only to look to the respective peasantries of the two sister kingdoms, that we may estimate aright the wisdom and the good of such establishments. In Scotland, a ready made apparatus for education has been obtruded on the view of

the people for upwards of a whole century; and it is quite an anomaly in any of our lowland and country parishes, when any person rises to manhood without the acquirement of the elements of education. In England, this matter has been left to Dr Smith's operation of demand and supply; and, till very lately, when Societies have been instituted, which will never accomplish the object with the fulness and the certainty that parish schools do, the arts of reading and writing were rare accomplishments among the lower classes of society in that country. This difference between the two people, in point of general education, just hinges on the very principles which are concerned in the question of religious education; and I can never look to the moral and intelligent character of our own people, without gathering from it such a lesson, as endears to me all the religious as well as all the literary establishments of our nation.

But a still more direct and homeward argument, on the same side, may be drawn from the ecclesiastical state of our larger cities. It is quite notorious that the population of these cities has greatly outstripped the provision of churches that has been made for them by the establishment; or, in other words, the establishment takes up a very small proportion of the ground, and leaves a mighty remainder to that very operation to which Dr Smith seems inclined to leave the whole extent of the country. It were, therefore, an interesting point to ascertain, in how far this remainder is taken up by dissenters, or by those who exemplify the effect of that great principle of demand and supply, which is supposed by some to supersede the necessity of a religious establishment. I beg leave to recommend the prosecution of this important survey, to those who perceive its bearings on a great practical question most intimately connected with the interior policy of the state, and with the best interests of the population.

It was partly with this object in view, that the writer of this lately made a survey of his own parish, consisting of a certain district in the city of Glasgow. Those who reside in the place will recognize it, when he tells them that it comprises all that portion of the city which lies to the east of the Saltmarket, and to the south of the Gallowgate, within

the limits of the royalty, and containing a population of eleven thousand one hundred and twenty souls. He now regrets exceedingly that he did not push his inquiries to that degree of particularity which would have enabled him to state with precision the number of individual sitters, both in the establishment and among dissenters. He merely ascertained the number of three descriptions of families—those who had seats in the establishment—those who had seats among the dissenters—and those who had seats no where. He found that in the great majority of families, there were sitters somewhere; but soon perceived, that if, from the commencement of his survey, he had made it an object to ascertain the number of sitters in each family, he would have made out a fearful deficiency indeed of congregational attendance and congregational habits among the people. He at times accidentally got the information of one individual seat being all that was taken by a family of ten members; and, while he submits himself to the correction of more accurate surveys, he ventures the assertion, for the present, that, out of the above population, there are not three thousand five hundred sitters of every description—of whom the sitters in dissenting-houses form at least two-thirds of the whole.*

Now, in this district of town, there ought to be a church-going population of nearly seven thousand. The establishment does not furnish accommodation for one-sixth of this number, leaving a mighty remainder, over which Dr Smith's favourite principle is free to expatiate. And it certainly has expatiated, and with an effect, too, which claims the gratitude and the acknowledgments of the Christian public. The dissenters have, at the very least, accomplished double the quantity of good in this part of the town, which the establishment has done. But with all their zeal, and all the worth and literature of their clergy, and the many accomplishments which they possess, and no where more than in Glasgow, for attract-

* It will be recollected that, according to legislative enactment, in country parishes, accommodation ought to be provided for as many sitters as make up one-half of the population; and in town parishes, for as many as make up between one-half and two-thirds of the population.

ing a population, and for obtaining a wide and extensive influence among them, do we behold the one-half of the whole ground unreached and unreclaimed by them, and altogether left without the benefit of the fittest and most powerful instrument of moral cultivation among the people.

I recur, therefore, to the difference in point of attendance and in point of actual ministration between that state of things where the population are left to themselves, and that state of things where they are met by a regular and a ready made provision, as the great practical argument for the necessity and the good of religious establishments. I assert that, if, with the growing population, there had been a growing ecclesiastical provision for their moral and religious wants; and that, if ministers had been permitted to cultivate a close and spiritual connexion with their parishes, by that connexion not being rendered impracticable; and that, if the mischievous system had not been adopted, of widening the breach still more between them and the people of their local and geographical vineyard, by exposing those seats, for which the parish ought, in all justice and in all expediency, to have the preference, to the general competition of the whole city; and that, if the clergy had been permitted to give their concentrated energies, each to a manageable district, where he stood endeared to the great mass of the families by his week-day attentions, and where the influence of these attentions was strengthened every week by the recurrence of his Sabbath ministrations; and that, if the government of our country had not fallen into the monstrous impolicy of withdrawing the mind and the talent of the clergy from their own peculiar objects, by the overwhelming accumulation of civil and of secular duties, which they have laid upon them; and that, if in this respect they had not been imitated by all the municipalities of the land, who, if not resisted to the uttermost, would do what in them lay to accelerate that precious transformation, by which the ministers of religion must at length, in our larger towns, sink down into officers of police, or drivelling subsidiaries to the mere arrangements of state and city regulation—Had some of these plain things been done, and some of them not been done, then I assert, that, at this moment, there would have

been in full circulation throughout that peopled mass, which looks to the distant eye so awfully impenetrable, the kindly and pacific flow of such a sweetening, but powerful influence, as would have made the complexion of our larger cities to be as different from what it is now, as the softness of home and of friendship is different from the rude aspect of hostility, or as the music of church-bells differs from the wild and terrific notes of insurrectionary violence.

It may perhaps be thought an anomaly of sentiment, that one so impressed with the need and the advantage of an extended religious establishment, should be equally decided as to the advantage of a most zealous, active, and unrestrained dissenterism. If the former were armed with such a power of intolerance as would enable it to crush the latter, instead of a blessing it would prove a curse to the country which sustained it. It would soon be overrun with indolence and corruption, and the various evils which are ever sure to result from the exercise of a secure and independent patronage. We are not stating it as our opinion, that this patronage should be vested otherwise than it is at present. We are not sure if any good would result from its transference to any other quarter than the one in which it has taken up its actual residence. We can never so forget the way in which many of the orthodox congregations of England have relapsed into Unitarianism, nor be so blind to the degree in which the infection of Arianism has spread itself over the North of Ireland, as to admit it as an infallible position, that popular patronage is the best way of raising a barrier against error of doctrine among the ministers of religion. We have long thought that the moral renovation of our people is not to be effected by pulling down the frame-work either of our Scotch or our English Establishments, and substituting others in their place. It is to be done by animating each of them with the breath of a fresher and more vigorous existence. And for the accomplishment of this object, we shall ever look upon dissenters as great moral benefactors of their country. They have taken up part of that ground which has been left untouched by the national clergy; though, for the reasons already given, we do not think that they will ever overtake the whole of it. They call forth a

most salutary reaction in the church. They exert a most salutary controul over the dispensers of patronage. They do make such progress at times as to perplex and alarm the bigots of an establishment. But such we believe to be the native preference of our people for our establishments, that we feel quite confident and secure, that dissenters never will make more progress than they deserve to make; and that they never will obtain such an ascendency over the mind of the country, as to lead to the subversion of its religious establishments, till these establishments deserve to be subverted. And in such an enlightened country as ours, the vigilant eye of the friends of the church and of its patrons, is open to all this; and the sense of the public is beginning to be more alive to an efficient clergy; and the mighty hold which dissenters have over the population, alarming to many, but never in the slightest degree alarming to us, has lent an additional impulse to these considerations; and thus it is that they are conferring a most important blessing upon our establishment, by raising within its bosom the salutary counteraction of zeal, and diligence, and piety. Such are the only legitimate weapons of our warfare. And in these circumstances, and with a single view to the moral and religious character of our people, we hail dissenters as our best and most valuable auxiliaries. We look upon them as indispensable friends, whose services we cannot spare. We disclaim all sympathy with those who are ashamed, or with those who are afraid of them. We should like to see every badge and remnant of inferiority taken from off their persons, and are most thoroughly convinced, that their full and equal admission into all the offices of the state, is an essential step in the progress of an enlightened policy.

No one who reads, and no one who heard the preceding sermon with attention, will conceive that by the introduction of twenty more churches and twenty more ministers, I meant to come forward with any formal or didactic specification of the additional number that would be required in Glasgow. We are quite aware, that in the eyes of men who are not accustomed to the exercise of generalization, there is nothing which imparts a more visionary character to any proposal of improvement, than to lay in perspective before them the

whole of its effect on the ultimate condition and character of our country. It is in fact placing before them a state of society so different from that which is immediately around us, that they feel as if they were transported into fairy-land; and this confirms them in their obstinate suspicion, that all about it is theoretical; and from the moment that this impression has found a lodgment within them, they become deaf as adders to every one representation of the plain and practicable steps by which the matter gradually arrives at its accomplishment. The building of one new church at present in Glasgow, is one step. The release of the existing clergy from the secularities laid on them by government, would be another step. The ready imitation of this salutary release, on the part of our municipalities, would be a third step. The very simple enactment, that the preference for church-seats as they fell vacant, should be granted to the inhabitants of the corresponding parish, would be no unimportant step. A growing demand for accommodation on the part of the people, and a liberal arrangement with those wealthy individuals who would willingly undertake the expense and the hazard of the erection of as many churches as should be called for, would be another mighty and decisive step in this great progression. And in a few years, a conviction of the good that was done by the real and practical exhibition of it, would ensure the continuance of the noble reformation. We neither expect, nor do we contend for any thing magical and instantaneous. This great national improvement may be as slow in its progress as the great national corruption was, which it is intended to remedy. It were desirable if it could be effected in a single day. But we shall rejoice if it be effected during the lapse of a single generation. And however necessary it may be, in arguing the matter, to outrun the present habits of thinking which obtain on this subject, there is no danger whatever that in the execution of a matter so weighty and so operose, there will be any such rapidity as shall at all disturb the repose of the most quiescent and sober-minded citizens.

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