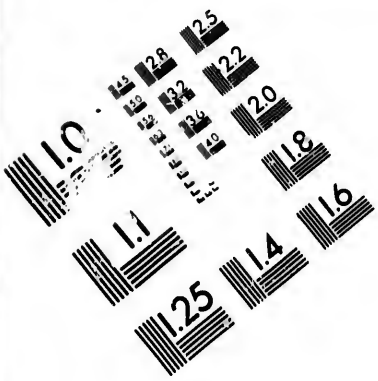

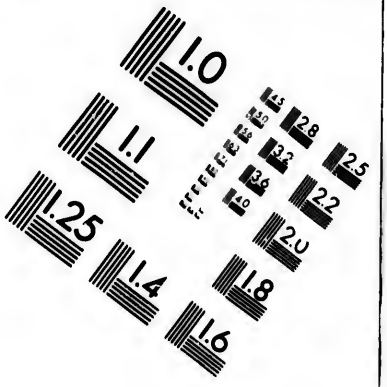

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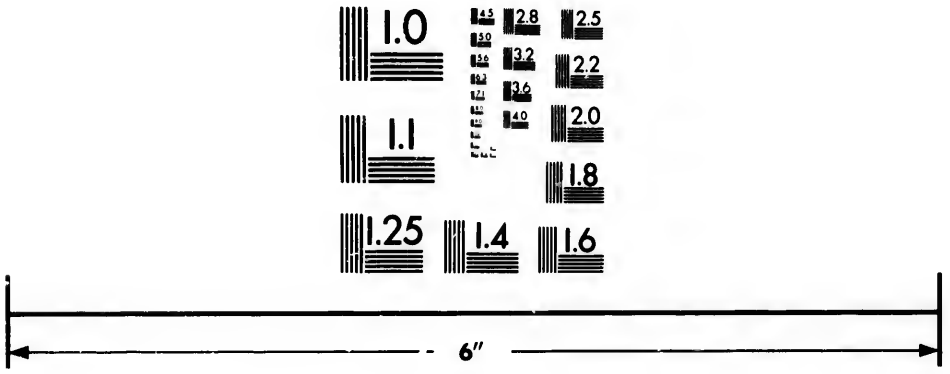

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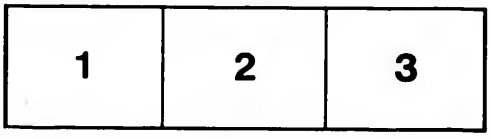

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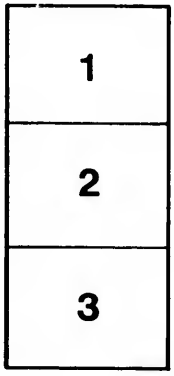

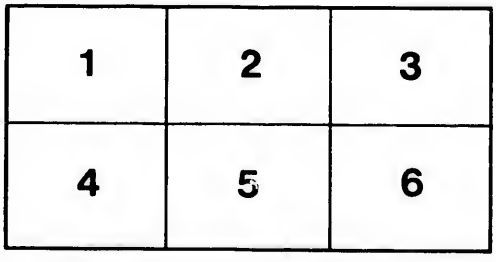

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Church, the State, and the School.

BY

I. ALLEN JACK, A. B.,

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

SAINT JOHN, N. B.:
J. & A. McMILLAN, PRINTERS, 78 PRINCE WM. STREET.
1875.

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I. ALLEN JACK, A. B.,

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(From the Maritime Monthly for April, 1875.)

NEARLY nineteen hundred years have passed since the wise men from the east sought the star which stood above the resting place of the child Christ, the long expected Light of the World. No anxious seeker now gazes at the midnight heaven for that star; the bodies of those wise men have long since been mingled with the dust of the ancient dead; but the name of the Bethlehem infant is hallowed among all nations, and His light has penetrated the darkest corners of the earth. The light which came with Christ, unlike the glimmerings of former ages, was destined never to expire, never to be more than momentarily dimmed; its influence was all-pervading; and individual, social, and national character, through its means, has ever since been changed. Legal codes, before the Christian era, approached perfection; systems of philosophy revolved round truth, distant at one time, near at another, but never touching; those who sought to be wise were often true to manhood, virtuous, and benevolent, but, before Christ came, they were at best in spiritual and intellectual darkness. The possible results of a life spent in search of virtue and wisdom were most vaguely guessed, and the shadow of the last dread messenger hid no certain brightness from the eyes of the dying sage. He thought that he would pass the Stygian stream, but poetic legendary, or his own speculations, only told him what there was beyond its gloomy waves.

That the principles of philosophy never can be generally applied towards the proper regulation of human conduct, is very certain, although it is admitted that systems of religion, formed by philosophical thinkers, have largely influenced the actions and motives of mankind. Philosophy asks no one to take for granted that which cannot be proved; and, as only the well grounded student can properly devote attention to the subjects suggested by philosophers for

investigation, the ignorant or partially educated man, wrapped up in wordly affairs, or tied to a routine of duties engrossing all his time, must remain ignorant, or, at best, can only learn to shake off old ideas without comprehending new principles. Hence it is evident that the masses of mankind must learn from some source, which they must admit to be trustworthy, if not infallible, and by the most simple method, the results of certain actions and courses of conduct. The oracles, the divinations of the priests and soothsayers, and, in a few instances, written religious codes, avowedly procured from supernatural sources, partially supplied this want, and, to some extent, restrained humanity from commission of crime and indulgence in vice, and assisted governments in preserving social order. That even the teachings of Socrates and Plato would have had an ill effect upon the morals of the multitude seems very clear, as the tendency of their teaching, although contrary to their intentions, was to encourage disbelief in the religion upheld, if not established, in the State. To suggest a motive for living well, and to prove the certainty of reward after death for a well spent life, were the great difficulties which presented themselves to both pagans and philosophers; for few, even of the former, believed that the life of man was limited to this earth, and, at least some of the latter, maintained the complete immortality of the soul.

Men, according to the great philosopher, were as though in a vast cave, where, in miserable darkness, they attempted to discharge their duties and provide for their wants. At length, he says, a few wise men groped their way towards the light at the mouth of the cavern and emerged into perfect day, After gazing at the wonders exposed before them, they returned to the darkness within, and attempted to persuade their comrades to seek the sunshine and the beauteous world outside. But their companions would not hear them, and called them fools and blind, because the sunlight had so dazed their eyes that they could not pick their way or see the different objects in the gloom.* Yet even Socrates, whose sight was clearer, and who saw in brighter light than his companions, was conscious that there was a greater luminary than he had seen, by means of which the uncertain paths would be made plain to the seekers of wisdom. Thus, after uttering the grandest moral precepts ever heard in the times of almost universal

* Plato's Republic.

heathenism, he concludes,—"But, my friends, we cannot know what things are true unless it be revealed to us by a God."

To render their religious or philosophical principles practically useful to society was an obvious duty to the earnest social leaders among the Greeks and other classic nations, and they necessarily recognized the desirability of implanting those principles in the minds of the young. In youth a man learns what he should do; in manhood he is expected to remember and act under his early teachings. Or to quote the words of a great writer on Christian ethics,—"The former part of life is to be considered as an important opportunity which nature puts into our hands, and which, when lost, is not to be recovered. And our being placed in a state of discipline throughout this life for another world, is a providential disposition of things, exactly of the same kind as our being placed in a state of discipline during childhood, for mature age, our condition in both respects is uniform and of a piece, and comprehended under one and the same general law of nature."* Amongst the Athenians, who are here selected because they conceived and practised systems for state, social, and individual government, which always will be considered models of excellence, when a youth could read with fluency, he was set to learn by heart passages selected from the best poets, in which *moral precepts and examples of virtuous conduct* were inculcated and exhibited. At the age of eighteen or twenty the sons of the more wealthy citizens attended the classes of the rhetors and sophists, who gave their lectures in the Lycēum, Academy, or other similar institution; a course somewhat analagous to entering a university in our own times. Here the young man studied rhetoric and philosophy, under which heads were included mathematics, astronomy, dialectics, oratory, criticism and *morals*.†

It will be observed that, throughout his entire course of instruction, the young Athenian was taught morality, or, in other words, the religion of his day. Sparta alone, of all the Grecian communities, adopted what may be termed a general system of education under the special control of the State, but, throughout the whole of Greece and in Rome, the instruction of children generally claimed the attention of the leading minds. It would be tedious to investigate the systems of instruction pursued among the various

* Butler's Analogy, Cap. V., Part I., Sec. 3.

† History of Greece, by William Smith, LL.B., pp. 387-388.

ancient nations; but it may be generally stated that every enlightened dynasty encouraged the instruction of such of its youth as were destined to have any voice in the conduct of public affairs, or to occupy any responsible and independent position in society; and that the systems of instruction pursued were of as perfect a description as the existing state of knowledge could supply. The reasons which would induce a government to interest itself in the education of the young are various; as to the manner and extent of State intervention, in such education, we shall refer hereafter. In the first place it is absolutely necessary, in a well regulated State, that every man should be able to distinguish between right and wrong; that he should be made to fully comprehend the consequences, both temporal and eternal, of every bad action which he commits; and that he should learn so to act, in regard to his own affairs, that he does no injury to his neighbors. It is also essential that he should have sufficient knowledge to enable him to maintain himself and those depending on him, and to lay by enough to support himself and them in case of his sickness, and to assist in sustaining his family in case of his death, otherwise the burthen of such support must necessarily fall upon the public. Finally, it is highly desirable that he should be capable of comprehending and exercising his rights of citizenship, and his duty towards the State as a voter and possible representative of public opinion. To discharge these and other offices which we have not enumerated, we maintain that his instruction should be essentially of a religious character. We have pointed out the glaring defects in the heathen religions of the past and in philosophy. These defects may, for the sake of convenience, be classed together under one general head,—uncertainty as to the object and destiny of human life. Socrates and Plato saw in what respects the then existing philosophy and religion were defective, and it is quite certain that revelation alone could render either perfect. If, then, the wise men of long ago taught their children all the spiritual and intellectual wisdom then attainable, and, if these wise men saw that their systems were defective in the particulars to which we have adverted, should we, in any way, hinder the children of this age from using the perfect light which God has given for their use? Should we keep them in a moral cave and not suffer them to pass from out its gloom?

A system of education which does not comprise religious instruction, is not only religiously wrong and incapable of transforming a

youth into a pious man and good citizen, but it is also scientifically imperfect. Religion is so intermixed with every duty of life, that we might as well attempt to make a man an artist, by teaching him how to draw and how to color, without teaching him the laws of perspective, as to expect him to do right without knowing the laws of God, and the nature and condition of God's relation to the human race.

Compare the Revolution in France, in the time of Louis XVI., with that in England in the time of Charles I.: in the former case the philosophers instigated the movement, in the latter religious zealots; in the one case there was wild confusion, terror and crime; in the other order and speedy tranquility. Philosophy is generally incapable of training men for the duties of this life, and does not prepare them for the life hereafter; and education is not worthy of the name if it does not point the way through this world to the world to come, and if it does not treat our present existence as a state of probation and discipline preparatory to a life beyond the grave. A system of education, which merely endeavors to prepare a child to battle with the present life, is therefore low in its aims, lower indeed than the better kinds of philosophy, and is necessarily hostile to the true idea and method of Christianity, as explained by Butler and all other orthodox Christians.

The quantity of education which a child receives must necessarily vary with the means and position of himself or his parents; but, whether instruction be imparted in school or college, it should always be in its degree, of the very best quality. To be so, it must be religious and, we need scarcely add, denominational: otherwise it is of too confused and indefinite a character to be capable of guiding the motives and actions of the person taught. Some persons, from natural kindliness towards their fellow men, and hatred of polemics; and others, with too great a respect for the intellectual powers of man, from that misconception of science which leads them to consider revelation and the dogmas of faith subservient to scientific teachings, believe that mankind may be made religious by means of the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and belief in a supreme but undefined deity. There are men who claim to be considered prëeminently liberal Christians, when they have thrown aside those principles of their faith which are opposed to the views of others with whom they wish to associate

as fellow-worshippers and workers. If there was nothing in the words,—"The Faith once delivered unto the Saints;" if there was nothing definite and imperative in the command to hold fast by that faith and to walk in the ancient paths, we might grant that the design of such persons is deserving of commendation, and that it is desirable that the Christian world should assist them in carrying out their plan. Religious unity however can never be accomplished through such a method as that to which we have referred, except by a woful sacrifice of creeds, and an utter stifling of individual consciences. No union can certainly be accomplished between the iconoclasts and those who invoke saints; between Universalists and the Calvinistic churches; between the Unitarians and the vast number of believers in the Trinity; or between the Baptists and the denominations which practice infant baptism. And these are only a few of the leading differences existing in the religious world. It would be extremely difficult, with the greatest care and caution, to frame a prayer, except of the most general description, being at the same time non-committal and meaningless; and it would be simply impossible to interpret scripture, without offending seriously and with reason, more than one of the religious sects, if they were all assembled together for the purpose of joining in prayer and hearing such interpretation. That all this is generally admitted by educationalists is certainly true, and, for that reason it may seem unnecessary to point out these difficulties. We do so however, because we think their magnitude is not fully appreciated, or rather because we believe that many persons are of opinion that they do not present obstacles to the success of purely secular week-day schools. This brings us to a most important part of our argument which must be discussed before we consider the duties and capabilities of government with regard to education. Those who assert that religious instruction can be sufficiently imparted to a child at home and in the Sunday-school, necessarily assume that the child has at least one parent or guardian; that the parent or guardian is religious, that he is capable of teaching and has the time to teach; and that the child, not otherwise religiously instructed, or, in part instructed religiously at home, attends the Sunday-school. In reality all of these conditions rarely exist together, and in many instances, none of them exist at all. Some children are orphans; others have depraved parents; and a large proportion of children have parents who, from want of

knowledge or teaching capacity, cannot train their children properly; while a very large number of children, not otherwise religiously instructed, do not attend Sunday-school. Sunday-school teachers know well the utter ignorance, in religious matters, of many intelligent children of even respectable parents, and they also know the hopelessness of attempting to teach such children the most simple truths in the brief time allotted for such a purpose once a week. The only effectual aid to the Sunday-school, in cases where children attend such an institution, must be the week-day school, and the efforts of its teachers should be in a great measure subservient to those of the solely religious instructor. It is argued by the secularists that at least some, they do not say all, branches of education are disconnected with religion, and we grant, that, with regard to a very limited number of such branches, considered solely as independent subjects, it may be truly stated that they are not connected with religion. We think, however, that those, who endeavor to argue in favor of purely secular education upon these premises, entirely lose sight of the principal functions of the teacher. A good and effective teacher in a day school should do more than merely give instruction in the ordinary branches of learning. He is not only an instructor but a disciplinarian, and, as such, he should primarily correct the faults and endeavor to cure the vices of his pupils on sound religious principles, and should necessarily be enabled to explain, why certain things are wrong, and why a certain course of conduct should always be pursued. We also conceive that it is his duty to instruct the scholars as to the use that they should make of their acquirements, and to explain that learning may be dangerous to the individual as well as to the community, if its possessor does not recognize his obligations to his God and to his neighbor. It is moreover quite apparent that the historical text book, and all historical teaching, must be imperfect to a great extent, and colorless, and must be deprived of half their interest, with the exclusion of the religious denominational element, when it is well known that the struggle of creeds has been the chief cause of the greater number of historical events. Again we conceive that it would be most dangerous to teach the physical sciences, without explaining fully the harmony which exists between them and revelation, but which is certainly not apparent to one who studies the one without the other, and, in this matter especially, the necessity arises for

denominational effort, as it is well known that the churches differ among themselves as to the proper acceptation of the miracles, and the harmonizing of apparent differences between the teachings of the scientists and of the Bible. Difficulties of this kind may not be so great in the primary schools, but, in the higher educational institutions, they must occur; and, under a pure non-sectarian system, must produce the very worst consequences. And yet we are told that the intelligent and careful parents, who are assumed to exist, and the Sunday-school teacher, who is also assumed to intervene, in the brief moments at his disposal for this purpose out of his hour or so once a week, can repair the damage done in the day-school, and supply the deficiencies in the education of the child which the non-sectarian day-school cannot supply. It should also be remarked that children are naturally inquisitive, especially with regard to matters of religion, and that a child requires information upon almost every conceivable subject, and, for the purpose of obtaining such information, will constantly put questions to his teacher, many of which may be absurd, but none of which should be unanswered. Under the non-sectarian system of education, however, many of such questions cannot be answered by the teacher, who strictly adheres to the principles of that system. And here again it might be urged, with every show of reason, that not only the pupil, but also the teacher, suffers from the workings of the system. We all know under what restraint persons at times are placed, on account of some topic being excluded from conversation, during the presence of one or more individuals. A constant guard must be kept in such case, not only upon the words, but upon the very thoughts: the effort to talk becomes painful, and the withdrawal of the persons concerned is felt to be a great relief. Imagine then the restraint which is placed upon the teacher, by the mandate that he shall deal with no religious dogma in his school. Surely the difficulties in the way of establishing a perfect, unreserved sympathy between teacher and pupil are great enough without erecting this barrier. The result of the system is clearly to lead the child to think that religion is not in any way connected with his school hours or duties; and we may be thankful if he does not learn, in the non-sectarian school, to think that Sunday only, or even no day, is God's day, or that it is better to avoid acquiring knowledge of a subject, which the Senate of his country seems to consider it

unadvisable for him to attempt to know. Thus a great modern thinker writes, who, from earliest childhood, was taught nothing of religion: "I was brought up from the first without any religious belief, in the ordinary acceptation of the term. My father, educated in the creed of Scotch Presbyterianism, had, by his own studies and reflections, been early led to reject not only the belief in Revelation, but the foundations of what is commonly called Natural Religion. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * He found it impossible to believe that a world so full of evil was the work of an Author combining infinite power with perfect goodness and righteousness. * * * * * * His aversion to religion, in the sense usually attached to the term, was of the same kind with that of Lucretius: he regarded it with the feelings due not to a mere mental delusion, but to a great moral evil. He looked upon it as the greatest enemy of morality; first, by setting up fictitious excellencies,—belief in creeds, devotional feelings, and ceremonies, not connected with the good of human kind,—and causing these to be accepted as substitutes for genuine virtues; but above all, by radically vitiating the standard of morals; making it consist in doing the will of a being, on whom it lavishes indeed all the phrases of adulation, but whom in sober truth it depicts as eminently hateful. I have a hundred times heard him say, that all ages and nations have represented their gods as wicked in a constantly increasing progression, that mankind have gone on adding trait after trait till they reached the most perfect conception of wickedness which the human mind can devise, and have called this God, and prostrated themselves before it. This *ne plus ultra* of wickedness he considered to be embodied in what is commonly presented to mankind as the creed of Christianity. * * * * * * The time, I believe, is drawing near when this dreadful conception of an object of worship will be no longer identified with Christianity; and when all persons, with any sense of moral good and evil, will look upon it with the same indignation with which my father regarded it."* The ideas conceived by this illustrious thinker demonstrate to a large extent the result of purely secular teaching, and also the necessity for carefully guarding all teaching from the possibility of a like result. It is fortunately true that few children, like John Stuart Mill, are led to hate or despise religion, but it is certain that the non-sectarian school

* Autobiography John Stuart Mill, pp. 38–41.

is not calculated to create or foster in the minds of the young either respect for or belief in any definite religion or, we might say, any religion. The morality which is there imbibed, by a large number of children, is also of the most meagre description, and merely assists in promoting scepticism without engendering those philosophical ideas, which, when acquired by a highly cultivated mind, sometimes produce, as in the case of Mr. Mill, a comparatively wise and useful member of society. Who can say what influence for good Mr. Mill lost by the sad defect in his early training? We think it is Joseph Hume who, when speaking of the Established Church in England, enunciates the sentiment, so often quoted,—"That the union of State and Church should be maintained, not because it renders the Church political, but because it makes the State religious." If these are not his words, the careful reader of his history will at least discover that the idea contained in the phrase is Hume's. Probably for the same reasons which we have urged, in an early part of this article, although opposed, for the most part, to all revealed religion, he apparently disagrees with the more modern thinker, and gives religion a certain position, not from the good which he receives, or expects to receive from its teaching, but from the assistance which it renders the preservation of order in society. A most learned and Christian American clergyman,* formerly a member of the Unitarian body, thus forcibly expresses his views upon the matter, which must commend themselves to every modern religious observer: "A penetrating thinker of the Continent of Europe inquired some years ago, what all the popular plans of education would be worth to a nation, if they only instructed its rogues how to pick its locks and outwit its police. Sooner or later the people will wake up to the plain old fact that knowledge needs faith to make it strong, or safe, or happy; that man is a living soul as well as a calculating machine; that science is not salvation; and that the glory of learning is to render men not merely knowing, but wise. The controversies that are going on, on both continents, respecting educational economics and conscience-clauses, are, for the present, concerned about different interpretations of Christianity. But before long, as we already begin to see in some of our cities, the question will be between Christianity itself and Atheism. In that alternative, a

* Dr. Huntington.

bare formal reading of some garbled copy of the Scriptures will be a poor security to our children's faith; nor do the Sunday-school and the family as yet furnish all the Christian light that these children need." After a careful review of the whole argument, we are driven to a conclusion, to which there is no alternative,—That no system of education can be considered good, unless accompanied by sound religious and moral training.

Of recent years it has been asserted that the State is in duty bound to provide means of obtaining an education for all its subjects, and so often, and with such marked emphasis, has this dogma been repeated, that in large communities it is generally treated as a truism, and an undeniable basis for an argument in favor of common free schools. Whence came this dogma we have never been able to learn, but we know that it is opposed to the ideas of the best modern thinkers, and that it has not been recognized in those countries where education is in the most perfect condition. We would suppose that where a religious dogma clashed with a dogma promulgated by a secular authority; where both dogmas relate to the same subject matter, if any effort were attempted towards effecting a compromise or concession, the sacrifice would be made not of the religious, but of the secular principle. Strange to say, religious men, who readily admit the necessity of amalgamating religious with secular instruction, give their adherence to the State when it says we will educate all our citizens, but not on a religious basis. We shall now proceed to investigate the true duties and powers of the State in regard to public instruction, and to ascertain in what particulars a free non-sectarian school system is compatible with such duties and powers. Mr. Herbert Spenser enters very fully into the discussion of National Education, in an article, which contains views with which we do not coincide, but which, with reference to the capacity and responsibility of the State in this matter, is thoroughly sound, and will be found most difficult to answer. He says: "Were there no direct disproof of the frequently alleged right to education at the hands of the State, the absurdities in which it entangles its assertors would sufficiently show its invalidity. Conceding for a moment that the government is bound to educate a man's children, then, what kind of logic will demonstrate that it is not bound to feed and clothe them? If there should be an Act of Parliament provision for the development of their minds, why should there not be an Act of Parliament

provision for the development of their bodies? If the mental wants of the rising generation ought to be satisfied by the State, why not their physical ones? The reasoning which is held to establish the right to intellectual food, will equally well establish the right to material food; nay, will do more—will prove that children should be altogether cared for by government. For if the benefit, importance, or necessity of education be assigned as a sufficient reason why government should educate, then may the benefit, importance, or necessity of food, clothing, shelter and warmth be assigned as a sufficient reason why government should administer these also." The writer further argues that State education is wrong, because it interferes with parental rights; because it cannot define the quality and quantity of education to be imparted; because it obliges the State to set up a fictitious model of citizenship; and because it unwisely obstructs individual development.* Mr. John Stuart Mill, whose views upon this and kindred subjects, not connected with or considered irrespective of religion, are entitled to the highest respect, thus lays down the principles applicable to this subject. "If the government would make up its mind to require for every child a good education, it might save itself the trouble of providing one. It might leave to parents to obtain the education where and how they pleased, and content itself with helping to pay the school fees of the poorer classes of children, and defraying the entire school expenses of those who have no one else to pay for them. The objections which are urged with reason against State education, do not apply to the enforcement of education by the State, but to the State's taking upon itself to direct that education, which is a totally different thing. * * * * * An education established and controlled by the State should only exist, if it exist at all, as one among many competing experiments, carried on for the purpose of example and stimulus, to keep the others up to a certain standard of excellence. Unless, indeed, when society in general is in so backward a state that it could not or would not provide for itself any proper institutions of education, unless the government undertook the task; then, indeed, the government may, as the less of two great evils, take upon itself the business of schools and universities, as it may that of joint stock

* Social Statics, by Herbert Spenser: New York, D. Appleton & Co. Part III., Cap. XXVI., on "National Education."

companies, when private enterprise, in a shape fitted for undertaking great works of industry, does not exist in the country. But, in general, if the country contains a sufficient number of persons qualified to provide education under government auspices, the same persons would be able and willing to give an equally good education on the voluntary principle, under the assurance of remuneration afforded by a law rendering education compulsory, combined with State aid to those unable to defray the expense." * The Reverend Dr. Rigg, a distinguished Methodist clergyman and writer, Principal of Westminster Training College, and Member of the London School Board, fully endorses these ideas. A student and teacher through all his youth and early manhood; afterwards, during more than twenty years of very extensive and various intercourse with the middle and lower classes of the people, in most parts of England, and among mining, manufacturing, and agricultural populations, as well as in large middle-class towns, continually intent upon the study of social and educational facts and needs, and holding the position of Principal in one of the largest Training Colleges in the kingdom, his opinions must necessarily carry the greatest weight. After quoting the above extract from Mr. Mill with unqualified approval, Dr. Rigg, writing in 1873, continues: "There was, then, a truth at the bottom of the position as to national education held by the ultra voluntary party five-and-twenty years ago, although they knew not how to define and limit it, and, in consequence, applied it so blunderingly as to bring upon themselves a decisive practical refutation of their strong assertions, and to drive many of them, in defeat and confusion, to the contrary and much more radically untenable position which they hold to-day. There are still amongst us, however, men who, having been moderate and wise in 1846, remain wise and practical to-day. Dr. Binney refused, thirty years ago, to unite with those who deprecated and denounced all government interference in matters of education. To-day he equally refuses to join with those around him who would do away with all voluntary action or responsibility in regard to public education. He declares that, in his judgment, it is no more a primary duty of the State to provide a child with school education than to supply a child with bread; though it may, in special circumstances, become the duty of the State to do both the one and the other, as it is

* Essay on Liberty, John Stuart Mill.

certainly its duty to make sure that the child has what is absolutely needful, whether in the way of bread or of schooling.* But if these principles are right, free education for the whole people at the cost of the State must be altogether an untenable claim, must be an unwarrantable demand. I know, indeed, of no theory, of no principle, on which such a claim can be supposed to rest, with any show of stability or authority, except the communistic theory or principle, such as was ideally exemplified in Plato's 'Republic,' and was to some extent practically carried out at Sparta, and such as forms at this day a part of the platform on which the International Society takes its stand. This Communism of the International Society proclaims that not the family, but the individual, is the unit in the national system of society; that the State is not built up of families; that the nation is a mere numerical aggregate of individuals. It denies parental claims; nay, it denounces them, and even reviles the family institution, as selfish and tyrannical. * * * * * Here we have the real source and inner meaning of those ideas as to necessary and universal uniformity and gratuitousness of education, which have been so loudly insisted upon by some recent educational agitators. * * * * * In April, 1870, I had an instructive exemplification of what I have now been stating. I was passing down the Rue des Saints Pères, in Paris, and was attracted by a bookseller's shop, of which the designation was, 'The Library of Social Science.' In the window of this shop I was struck to see the announcement that there was lying there for signature a petition to the Chambers on behalf of universal, compulsory, and gratuitous education. I went to the shop and bought two of the publications on social science, which were lying there. I found in both of them, taught in the most unblushing and audacious manner, the view which I have been describing; the foulest contempt and abuse poured upon the marriage institute and family life, and the doctrine expounded and insisted on that the individual exists only for the State; that there is no such thing as family sanctity or family rights; that the State must rescue the units of the nation, the children who happen to appear upon the earth, from all parental pretensions, and educate them gratuitously, compulsory, philosophically, on the ideal plan and pattern, for the State. Nowhere else in Paris did

* See "The British School," by T. Binney, the well-known Congregationalist clergyman. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

I see any announcement as to universal, compulsory, gratuitous education. I found after this a meaning and a context for this demand of gratuitous universal education, which I had not seen before."* So fully and so forcibly does the learned and reverend writer state the case, that we find no room for comment on words which express our own sentiments exactly, and in a manner which needs no improvement.

We cannot however leave this branch of the question without citing another eminent authority, who is not unfrequently but most improperly classed among the supporters of the free and common schools. In the course of a debate in the British House of Commons on Mr. Foster's Education Act, Professor Fawcett said: "That he did not wish to enter upon the religious difficulty, but he trusted the House would permit him to insist on what he regarded as by far the most serious objection to the system of the payment of the fees by School Boards, which offered such a premium to free education that, if the clause were contiuued in force, and if the central authority did not exercise a greater control than heretofore, a system of free education would be established throughout the country. There was nothing he should more regret than such a result. In the first place it would weaken parental responsibility, the most valuable of all social virtues; secondly it would exclude what had already produced sufficiently baneful effects, viz., the taxing of prudent individuals still more heavily than at present for the sake of the improvident; and, thirdly, it would increase the tendency which was growing up in this country of people making others pay for that which they ought to pay for themselves. This tendency he regarded as the prominent characteristic of modern Socialism. It should not be forgotten that free education was the first plank in the programme of the International, which was pervaded throughout by the same principle. The State was to provide land for the people at a low price; the State was to provide houses for them at a cheap rate; the State was to lend capital to co-operative associations; and if this demand for free education were not resisted, encouragement would be given to Socialism in its most baneful form."† The term communistic, it may be remembered, is generally considered most incorrect and opprobrious when applied to

* National Education and Public Elementary Schools; J. H. Rigg, D.D. London: Strahan & Co., pp. 219–222.

† See the Report in the Times for March 6th, 1872.

the free and common school system in vogue in parts of America, but, according to the above leading authorities, it cannot be said to be misused in this connection.

A government which levies an assessment, directly or indirectly, upon all rate-payers for the purpose of sustaining schools under the exclusive control of the State, and open to all children in the State, is therefore clearly liable to censure in more than one respect. By carrying out such a measure, it adopts the policy of one of the most dangerous societies of the present day, and consequently invites its members to attempt further propagandism of their other baneful principles; it encourages the idle and lazy to place their dependence on public assistance instead of providing for themselves; it deprives the parent of the whole or a portion of his means, reserved for the education of his child in accordance with his own ideas, and thus virtually ignores parental authority; and it moulds general education into a set and, we fear, imperfect pattern, by which the intellect is fettered and original development of genius is prevented. Again, if, as is in some instances the case in a country peopled by members of various religious denominations, it adopts a non-sectarian system of education, it repudiates the claim of the churches to educate their members; it excludes religion from the schools, thereby imperiling the souls of children, and ungratefully refusing the aid of an institution which has always been the main prop of the State; and it treats the consciences of parents and of their spiritual advisers with contempt. The authority and rights of the parent, with regard to the custody and management of his child, have been fully defined and confirmed for a long space of time, and, in England, are treated with such respect, that, only in case of gross immorality or incapacity of the father, will the Court of Chancery remove the child from his care. Nor is the claim of the Church less deserving of consideration. The Church of England and the Church of Rome, in express terms, admit the child to church membership at its baptism, and the greater number of the other religious bodies accept the infant into their ranks by the same rite. On the admission of its new member we certainly conceive that a reciprocal responsibility is created and rests upon the two parties to the contract thus formed, under which the Church is bound to teach and the child to observe the rules and teachings of the Church. A Divine of the Protestant

Episcopal Church of the United States thus states the duty of his Church in this respect, and we apprehend that other Churches are equally bound to its observance: "We suppose no Churchman will dispute the statement that it is the business of the Church to educate her children. 'Feed my lambs' was one of the most solemn injunctions laid on the great Apostle. Whomsoever else we may free from the responsibility of training the young, we cannot free the Church of God." Referring to the quality of education imparted by the State in his own country, the writer observes: "It teaches the child reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and the rest, and gives him generally a yard of some sort to exercise his limbs in, and goes no farther. About God and his own immortal nature; about moral sanctions; about justice and righteousness, and their grounds, the State is precluded from speaking. It necessarily leaves these things to the Home and the Church. It claims, too, that it is right in doing so. But it would be a very obvious reply that an institution which confesses itself unable to train the being it takes charge of in matters most essential, has certainly no right to undertake that training at all. * * * * Education of the intellect is only giving a man tools. How he will use the tools depends on the education of his moral and spiritual nature. The more complete the tools are, the more dangerous they are, if the man is about to use them for evil. An educated villain is vastly more dangerous than an ignorant one. He is dangerous, too, in exact proportion to his education. Now all that the intellectual education of the schools, whether State or otherwise, can do, is to furnish the weapons and train the hand to their use. How they shall be used depends on the education of the spiritual nature, the Reason, the Conscience, and the Will. Who shall educate these? There is but one answer. Reason, Conscience and Will belong to the religious nature. Religion is needed for these. A being possessing these must be educated by a Church, real or *quasi*—by something in the nature of a Church, true or false. And as these give character to the man, as these are not attainments of learning, but the very manhood or womanhood itself, their education is the important part in the process. Whatever has had the training of these has given all the moral value to the life, has determined its bias, and decided its course and issue. But as this training is not only the most important, but the most minute, as it requires daily

patience and hourly watchfulness, it is manifest that the Church, to carry it out, ought to have the child under her control, and herself undertake the whole business of its education, intellectual as well as moral. The truth is, as we see, there is no real education possible that does not go upon the basis of religion. A religion—some eternal principles, some spiritual foundations for the facts of life—must be held and taken as fixed and taught, or education degénerates into the business of teaching a parrot to chatter, or a monkey to perform tricks. Therefore the Church has, in all ages, held it her duty to educate the young. She began her Church schools in the very fires of her persecutions. She sustained them and kept the torch of learning alive through the disastrous darkness after the Empire's fall. In her schools she trained Europe into civilization, and developed the intellect of the existing world. In her weakest and lowest fall she has never denied her duty as an educator, and has claimed the young for her own."* Dr. Rigg refers to this branch of the question in more than one portion of his work, and certainly fully coincides with Dr. Thompson. Dr. Rigg says: "The choicest and most influential spirits among the brotherhood of teachers must still be gifted and enthusiastic Christian teachers. We must justly rejoice accordingly, that whilst School Board schools are to be multiplied, the distinctive religious schools of the various Christian Churches are to be left free—as is their right—to take the leading part which befits them in the work of national education," and that "as a matter of fact, there has hardly been an effective national system of education anywhere that was not denominational."† "The question is," he says, "whether the Christian Churches, which, in this country and on the Continent, have thus far acted as the pioneers of progress and popular education, of every grade and kind, are henceforth to be dismissed from the State's educational service, and not permitted to bear their share in the great work which needs to be done."‡ Canon Barry, speaking upon the subject of education before Convocation, enters into the main points of discussion with great eloquence and ability, and it is with regret that we feel obliged to confine ourselves to a few short extracts from his speech. "We shall all acknowledge," he said, "that education in the largest sense, and the development of the

* Rev. Hugh Miller Thompson, D.D., in the Church Journal, July 31, 1873.

† National Education, John Rigg, D.D., pp. 402-403. ‡ Idem, p. 404.

faculties in manly contact with the truths and influences of nature, man, and God, is simply an obedience to a great law of His Providence, following, as usual, His guidance, and leaving all the issues to Him. We shall all acknowledge that the first inalienable duty of carrying out that law is laid upon the parent by that parental relation which is the ultimate fact of human society, and that the whole community is called upon to aid and to guide, or, if it must be, to stimulate or to supply, the place of that natural agency. We shall all here acknowledge that the community, which is to undertake what is in its essence a spiritual work, entering the inner shrine of thought, conscience, feeling, must be a community which has spiritual life in it, and recognizes spiritual bonds, knitting it together—that, accordingly, in the ideal condition in which the Church should embrace all the people, it should be the work of the Church as a Church—that, even in the actual condition of things, the Church has a duty in this matter to the whole nation, and has powers to carry it out which no other body can wield—that, in proportion as we approach to or depart from that ideal, her leadership becomes easy or difficult, fruitful or unfruitful of blessing. On these main principles time allows me not to dwell; but we must take them with us as living truths in the performance of that duty which circumstances now force on us in special urgency—in the attempt to further and to direct that great educational movement which is passing like a wave over the waters of our English society. * * * * The Church and the clergy were leaders in the work of education, while other agencies slept, or were but half awakened: now that these other agencies are roused and peacefully at work, is she to leave the work to them, or confine herself to her own department of the work, and leave their action unaided and unguided? I venture to answer emphatically, No! to both these questions."*

The religious leaders of almost all denominations in England are strongly wedded to the idea that the schools should be denominational, and, as a natural consequence, we find that the Board Schools, which are called non-sectarian, but which in fact are not in all cases non-sectarian, are numerically weaker than the denominational schools, and are decreasing in number before the strenuous efforts of the supporters of the latter. It has been proposed by the extreme Radicals in England to make the Board

* See the Report in the Guardian for October 14, 1874.

Schools purely secular by excluding the reading of the Bible, but a movement of this kind will be met with the fiercest opposition, and cannot be successful. "The instruction" in the Board Schools is called "unsectarian;" but to a Roman Catholic it is sectarian, being a form of generically Protestant instruction out of the Scriptures. So also to the Deist, the Rationalist, the "advanced Liberal" Unitarian Christian, it is a form of sectarian dogmatic instruction, opposed to his "conscientious convictions." So far as the instruction goes, it is a broad Protestant form of Biblical Christianity, and favors certain Christian sects in common, to the exclusion of other religious communities, professedly Christian, or, perhaps also, professedly non-Christian." *

In general accordance with the ideas of the writers already quoted, the English system of education is far from being either universally free or universally non-sectarian. By the provisions of "The Elementary Education Act, 1870," any school, denominational or otherwise, containing a sufficient number of pupils educated to a fixed standard, receives a Parliamentary grant of so much for each pupil, which increases in amount to a certain maximum in direct gradation with the educational acquirements of the pupil. In consideration of this grant, and subject to its withdrawal in case of the infringement of the condition attached, the school managers undertake that direct distinctive religious instruction shall be given only at a stated time, and that, during that time, any pupil may be withdrawn from the school; and that no pupil, in opposition to the wish of his parent or guardian, shall be subject to any religious test or compelled to attend any religious service or place of worship. The selection of text books, and the general power to direct and control the character of the education, subject to the above restriction, which merely prohibits the inculcation of dogmatism, is left entirely in the hands of the managers of the school.

Thus has a Parliament, comprising men of most diversified and of no religious views, but in the main strongly Protestant and opposed to ecclesiastical claims, met a difficulty which some politicians, either wanting in due respect for religion, or devoid of courage or capacity, pretend to consider insurmountable. English statesmen gladly receive assistance from the Churches in the great work of national education, because they recognize the services of

* National Education, John Rigg, D.D., pp. 355–6.

the Churches in former ages in the cause, and because they know that the Churches are able and the State is unable to train a child into a good and useful citizen. English statesmen also see the downright wickedness of opposing the conscientious ideas of parents; and hail the assistance which the Churches afford, solely in an intellectual point of view, in developing genius, not in a single channel, or by a single method, but by varied methods, each of which is likely to possess some special merit. That the system is successful, and that it meets with general approval, is very certain. The Established Church and the more considerable bodies of Nonconformists are very generally supporting schools sustained in part by Parliamentary grants, and are working heart and soul under the system in generous rivalry. The principal persons indeed who oppose the grants to denominational schools are the extreme radicals and the members of the religious bodies too weak numerically or financially to establish their own schools in more than a very limited number of districts.

It is much to be regretted that the "unsectarian" Board Schools exist at all, but their existence must be considered as a compromise, which perhaps cannot be avoided, between the denominations in districts where religious divisions are numerous and the inhabitants poor. We now turn our attention for a brief space only to the consideration of the condition of education in the United States, where the secularists profess to have found all the appliances for producing honest, virtuous and good citizens. Before doing so however we would invite our readers to consider for themselves, and to compare the results which may, in part at least, be attributed to the educational influence of the British or American systems of education. We would suggest the following as interesting subjects for investigation in this connection. Is orthodoxy in faith stronger and more general in England or in the United States of America, and which of the two countries contains the greatest variety of religious sects and unbelievers? In which of the two countries do Mormons, Free Lovers and Spiritualists find most sympathy and encouragement? Are the average United States Senator and Congressman superior or equal in honesty to the member of the House of Lords and the representative in Parliament in England? Is the average contractor or trader in the United States superior or equal in integrity to the contractor or trader in England? We will not suggest replies

to any of these queries, but we think we may be pardoned in referring to the performances of the Tammany ring and to the Beecher-Tilton scandal, as incidents in the social history of America for which it would be difficult to find parallels in the past or present annals of the mother country. A most learned Congregationalist writer who, as an ecclesiastical historian, is considered by some to rank before Neander, in 1853, says of the United States: "It cannot be denied, that the new world, in its youthful buoyancy, undervaluing the past, reaching restlessly into the future, disposed rather to make than contemplate history, is by no means favorable to historical studies in general; and the lamentable divisions of the Church into denominations and sects, which in this country, under the protection of an unbounded freedom of conscience, is more consistently carried out than in Europe, calls forth, in itself considered, investigations of merely sectional and local interest, and party representations, and these, it is true, in abundance; while it contracts and damps all sympathy with the one universal kingdom of God, the communion of the saints of all ages and climes." After referring to the condition of popular Protestant theology in America, the writer continues: "In proportion as we despise and reject, in false independence, the experience of eighteen centuries, and the voice of universal Christendom, we rob the present also, and private judgment, of all claim to our confidence, and, as we shake the authority of history, in which we all strike root, we cut off the sources of our own life: for the individual believer is just as dependent on the whole Church and her history, as the branch on the tree, or the arm on the body."*

The utility of building religious character upon a fundamental knowledge of ecclesiastical history is also referred to by a writer who long labored in the cause of the broadest of theologians. "Recurrence to the Bible," he says, "as the great authority has been accompanied by a strong inclination, common to all Protestant countries, to go back in every detail of life to the practices of early times."† The result of the neglect to master or to attempt

* History of the Apostolic Church. Philip Schaff, D.D., Professor of Divinity at Maryland College, Pennsylvania, pp. 131–2. See also Address of Henry B. Smith, Professor of Church History in Union Theological Seminary, New York, entitled *Nature and Worth of the Science of Church History*, Andover, 1851, where the same ideas are forcibly expressed.

† "The Education of the World," Frederick Temple, D.D. Essays and Reviews, p. 51.

to master the principles of faith, as treasured and developed by the Church in past ages, is to a large extent an indifference to religion and its claims, and it is not very surprising that the descendants of the Puritans, after the lapse of a century or so, have displaced the old master who formerly ranked next to the minister, and was indeed a religious teacher. The change that has taken place in the Massachusetts school system is somewhat startling, when compared with the views of the General Court of that Commonwealth so far back as 1647, expressed in an order regarding education which begins in the following terms:—"It being one chief project of the old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading them from the use of tongues, that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers in the Church and Commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors. It is therefore ordered, that in every household in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint, &c."* A recent writer in the United States, who is equally distinguished for the moderation and correctness of his sentiments, and who is one of the choicest spirits in the band of Congregationalist literati, charming modern readers with their excellent productions, cannot refrain from touching upon the present moral status of his country. He says we have lost faith with superstition and gained toleration, enquires whether toleration is anything but indifference, and concludes that everything is tolerated now but Christian orthodoxy.† It is possible, and even probable that foreigners may be largely influenced by prejudice against the institutions of the great, but even yet experimental Republic; but we need not seek for expressions of outside opinion, while we hear in all directions the protests of large and respectable bodies of Christians against the existing state of education in that country.

A Committee appointed by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New Jersey, to consider the subject of Christian Education, and the means of securing its greater efficiency, presented to the Convention of 1873 a voluminous report, which is equally startling in its statistics and its deductions. We can only make a few selections from this document, but should desire the

*Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1868, p. 327.

† Dudley Warner, in Back Log Studies.

thoughtful reader to obtain and peruse the entire report. "Our popular education system," the Committee states, "as a whole, is thoroughly unsectarian. About fifty years ago it was first advocated, under the leadership of a woman of rare genius, a celebrated Scotch woman, Fanny Wright, and by others of similar views. These promoters of the system ostensibly purposed to make war upon ignorance, but, as it is well known, they entertained the most infidel and anti-social theories in regard to marriage, property and Religion—and under cover of an excellent object, under the pretence of spreading education and waging war against ignorance, war was to be waged against religion; infidelity and the most anti-social theories were to be spread,—and to accomplish this, they knew well that time would be required, that a coming generation must be trained and prepared by a system of common schools, from which all Religion was excluded. Julian, the apostate of old, knew that the only effectual way to put out the sacred Faith, was to provide that it should not be taught, and therefore he forbade it; so Fanny Wright and her coadjutors endeavored to get rid of the marriage covenant, the rights of property, and the Christian superstition, as they called it, by devising for all the people common schools, in which Religion should not be taught. It is a matter of history that a secret society was widely organized in order to establish the system. Fifty years have passed away, but the direction of popular education has fallen into far other hands. And so far are we from charging its present advocates with any such motives, that we acknowledge among them some of the best and most philanthropic men of the age. It would be as untrue as unjust to charge upon them base infidel purposes, yet the principle they advocate to-day is so faulty in results, that it furnishes a powerful motive for great zeal in Christian Education. Their position taken is this: "Individual, domestic and political evils are due to ignorance, and can only be prevented by high intellectual culture." The experiment has been trying during the past forty years. And have the evils they seek to prevent, and the wrongs they would redress actually decreased? * * * * What evils then has this unsectarian system prevented? It has promised to bridge over sectarian differences and bring about a national unity of Christians. But what has it done to fulfil this promise? How many new sects has it prevented? Are there not to-day in proportion to the increase of populatiou half a dozen

sects where there was one fifty years ago? It is to be acknowledged that in one way it has accomplished much on the line proposed, for in its efforts to bridge over sectarian differences, it has helped to smooth much of sectarianism down into *nothingarianism* and *unbelief*. * * * * There are to-day in the United States twenty millions who profess the *No Religion*. What a reward for the labors, and what a testimony to the shrewdness of that female atheist, Fanny Wright.

What has the system done to prevent a dangerous literature? Has it not rather given a fresh impulse to trashy literature and a keener appetite for it,—"a literature which, while enlarging upon the dignity of human nature, and the inalienable rights of men and women, says but little in favor of the duty of obedience to authority, patience under reproaches, and contentment under the State in which Providence has placed us,—a literature exalting political activity and disparaging the life which is without excitement and sensation,"—a literature freighted with the spirit of licentiousness,—a literature which is the stuff out of which comes Socialism, Communism, Internationalism, and Prostitution.

And what is the moral condition of our country to-day? Is not our civilization growing more material and less moral, society less stable and less secure, individuals more lawless and anarchical? Are not fraud and bribery and robbery, in places high and low, ubiquitous and practised almost as a common trade? Witness the contrived insolvencies and adroit embezzlements of the public funds. Do our public men give us examples of a higher moral tone than existed before the days of public schools? Is there a true American who does not blush when he thinks of the last Congress? Do not some of us remember the time when the perpetrators of comparatively small peculations so outraged the public sentiment that they fled the country and died in exile? Whereas the most extreme offenders now with impunity flaunt their crimes and stolen wealth in the face of a helpless community. How cold-blooded murders multiply so fast that we have grown habituated to them, and the page of the daily journal recording their frequency and atrocity have grown stale! Witness the shocking suicides that desolate so many once happy homes with shame and misery! Do not the laws in many of our States, by providing facility for divorces, put marriage upon the footing of a simple contract, and legalize adultery and grant to lust the widest range?

Nay, is not divorce becoming an institution and free love its development. * * * * We would gladly believe, if we could, that the unsectarian system of education is in no way responsible for this state of things; we would gladly discredit, if we could, the report recently made by Prof. Aggassiz, who, after having examined the causes of prostitution, learned, he says, "to his own utter dismay, that a large proportion of these miserable women traced their fall to the influences that met them in the Public Schools."*

That the sentiments contained in this Report are not peculiar to a single Church is evident. The *Zion's Herald*, an influential Methodist journal, published at Boston, edited at that time by the Rev. Dr. Haven, who has since been appointed a Bishop, in 1871, commenting upon certain State appropriations towards the support of denominational education, contains the following strong expressions: "The State should exercise its judgment on all such cases. The State in all ages has helped Church education. It probably will in all ages to come. Refusal to do it gives education to the infidels, who get help on the plea that they are not sectarian, as Cornell" (University) "has done, and Harvard, while the best schools are unaided. Better help the College of the Holy Cross than Cornell: better Christ, with Mary and the Pope even, than no Christ at all."† Again the Bishops of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States in their address, delivered at the General Conference of the Clergy in 1874, thus express themselves: "We do not hesitate to avow that we regard the education of the young as one of the leading functions of the Church, and that she cannot abdicate in favor of the State without infidelity to her trust and irreparable damage to society. The reason for occupying this ground which inhere in the very nature of this interest, and in the relation of children to the Church, all are intensified by the antagonism of modern science, and the outcasting of the religious element from all the school systems fostered by State Legislation." We might multiply quotations from native sources to show that the system of education generally adopted throughout the Union is most unsatisfactory; but we think the extracts which we have supplied, conjoined with the knowledge which the reader, of even average intelligence, possesses of the true status of modern

* Journal of the Annual Convention of the Diocese of New Jersey, pp. 150–3.

† Extracted from Dr. Rigg on National Education, p. 235.

American society, are quite sufficient to show that the system in question is at least a fair subject for criticism if not for censure. Judged by its results we cannot well see how any honest educator can advise the adoption or sustainment of the United States method of education, and we cannot understand why those results should be quoted except to sustain an irresistible argument against non-sectarian education. It is a striking fact in connection with this momentous subject, that no religious body, as a whole, has boldly opposed the effort to exclude religious teaching from the schools except the Church of Rome. This we suppose is mainly attributable to what is to a certain extent true, that the Protestant denominations have a community of sentiment, and do not disagree so much the one with the other, as they disagree, in the aggregate, with the Roman Catholics. Hence, we presume, they are enabled to foresee a remote prospect of an introduction into the secular schools of a broad system of Religion, which will not be sectarian with regard to many Protestants, and which they falsely presume will supply the place of denominational teaching. It is also very certain that many members of the Protestant religious bodies see in the non-sectarian system a grand opportunity for breaking down the barriers and gradually undermining the structure of the Church of Rome, by educating its members to such a degree, and in such a manner, that they will at length depend rather upon their individual knowledge of right and wrong than upon her dogmatic teachings. To such persons we would reply in the words of the truly Protestant, but also truly liberal, Edmund Burke: "That were it possible to dispute, rail, and persecute the Roman Catholics out of their prejudices, it is not probable that they would take refuge in ours, but rather in an indifference to all religion; and that were the Catholic religion destroyed by infidels, it is absurd to suppose that the Protestant Church could long endure."*

If a law were enacted compelling all citizens to contribute to a general dinner of roast beef on Good Friday, it would be manifestly unfair to the Roman Catholics, who are compelled, by the rules of their Church, to fast upon that day. It is equally unfair to compel them to support schools to which they cannot in conscience send their children; and it is at the same time most insulting and most untrue to say that their conduct in this matter

* Burke's Life. By James Prior, Fifth London Edition, 1867, p. 413.

is not influenced by conscience. The present Earl of Shaftesbury, a thorough Protestant, nay more, a strong anti-Papist, thankfully acknowledges the benefits of the stand which the Church of Rome has taken against non-sectarian education, and calls upon the other religious bodies to follow her example in this matter. It is nothing but sheer tyranny on the part of the State to compel the members of that Church to assist in sustaining a system which is calculated to sap her foundations, or to curtail the means at their disposal for supporting those schools which she has always possessed.

We will conclude our argument on this branch of the subject by quoting from the immortal statesman to whom we have before referred. "Bad laws," says Burke, "are the worst sort of tyranny. In such a country as this they are of all bad things the worst, worse by far than anywhere else; and they derive a particular malignity even from the wisdom and soundness of the rest of our institutions."* "In the making of a new law it is undoubtedly the duty of the legislator to see that no injustice be done even to an individual; for there is then nothing to be unsettled, and the matter is in his hands to mould it as he pleases." "All religious persecution," he continues, "Mr. Bayle well observes, is grounded upon a miserable *petitio principii*. You are wrong, I am right; you must come over to me or you must suffer. Let me add, that the great inlet by which a color for oppression has entered into the world, is by one man's pretending to determine concerning the happiness of another, and by claiming a right to use what means he thinks proper in order to bring him to a sense of it. * * * If he be before hand satisfied that your opinion is better than his, he will voluntarily come over to you, and without compulsion; and then your law would be unnecessary; but if he is not so convinced, he must know that it is his duty in this point to sacrifice his interest here to his opinion of his eternal happiness, else he could have in reality no religion at all." In another place he observes with marked emphasis: "Religion, to have any force on men's understanding, indeed to exist at all, must be supposed paramount to laws."†

After a review of the whole subject of this article in all its bearings, we are led to the following conclusions:—That the State has the right to require that all its members shall be educated to

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* Burke's Works; by Prior. Speech at Bristol, Vol. II., p. 148.

† Burke's Works by Prior, "Tracts on the Popery Laws," Vol. VI.

a certain extent; and, as a natural corollary, that it may withhold from them, until they attain a certain educational standard, all positions of trust under government, and even the right to exercise the franchise. That the State should afford pecuniary assistance only to such children as are not provided with pecuniary means to obtain the requisite education, and should permit the guardians of children receiving this assistance to select their own schools when possible. That the State should aid all schools, denominational or otherwise, materially aiding the cause of education of an approved character, which afford opportunities for acquiring education to any child, without interfering with the liberty of conscience of such child or of its natural guardian. That the State should only form schools of its own, in cases where the particular community will not supply the educational need; and that, in such instances, every effort should be made to meet the religious ideas of such community as to the character of the education in its schools. A general system of government inspection of all schools receiving State aid, with regard to the intellectual acquirements of the pupils, would also be desirable if not essential; and any effort on the part of the State, calculated to stimulate educational progress and elevate the intellectual standard, should meet with universal favor. That a change will ultimately be effected in the generally existing condition of national education we most firmly believe, but we think that reliance should be placed rather upon the efforts of the large and progressive bodies of Christians, in which the life of the respective nations really lies, than upon those of the various legislatures. Nor do we think that America will be behind hand in the work of religious education. The wise men of the west will rise at last, and, like the eastern magi, will acknowledge that both intellectual and spiritual wisdom culminate in the infant of Bethlehem.