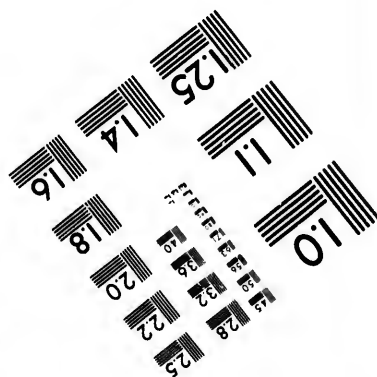
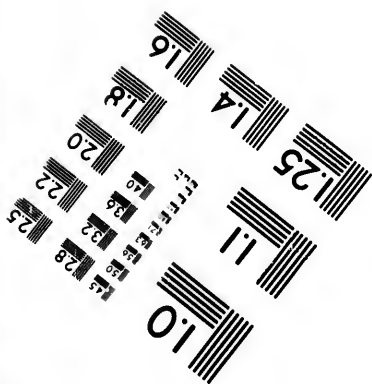
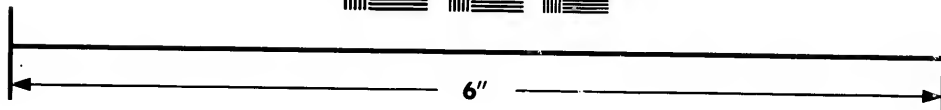
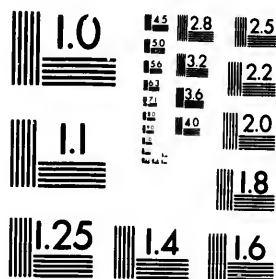


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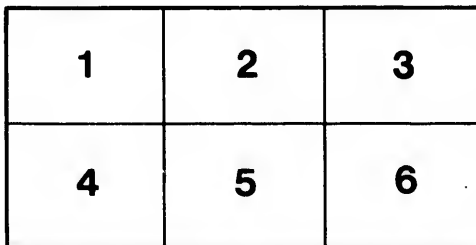
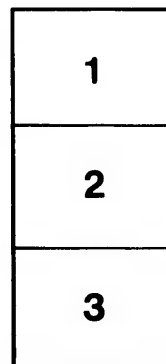
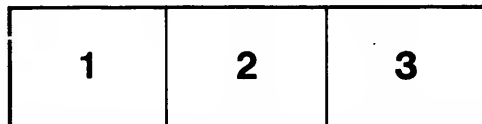
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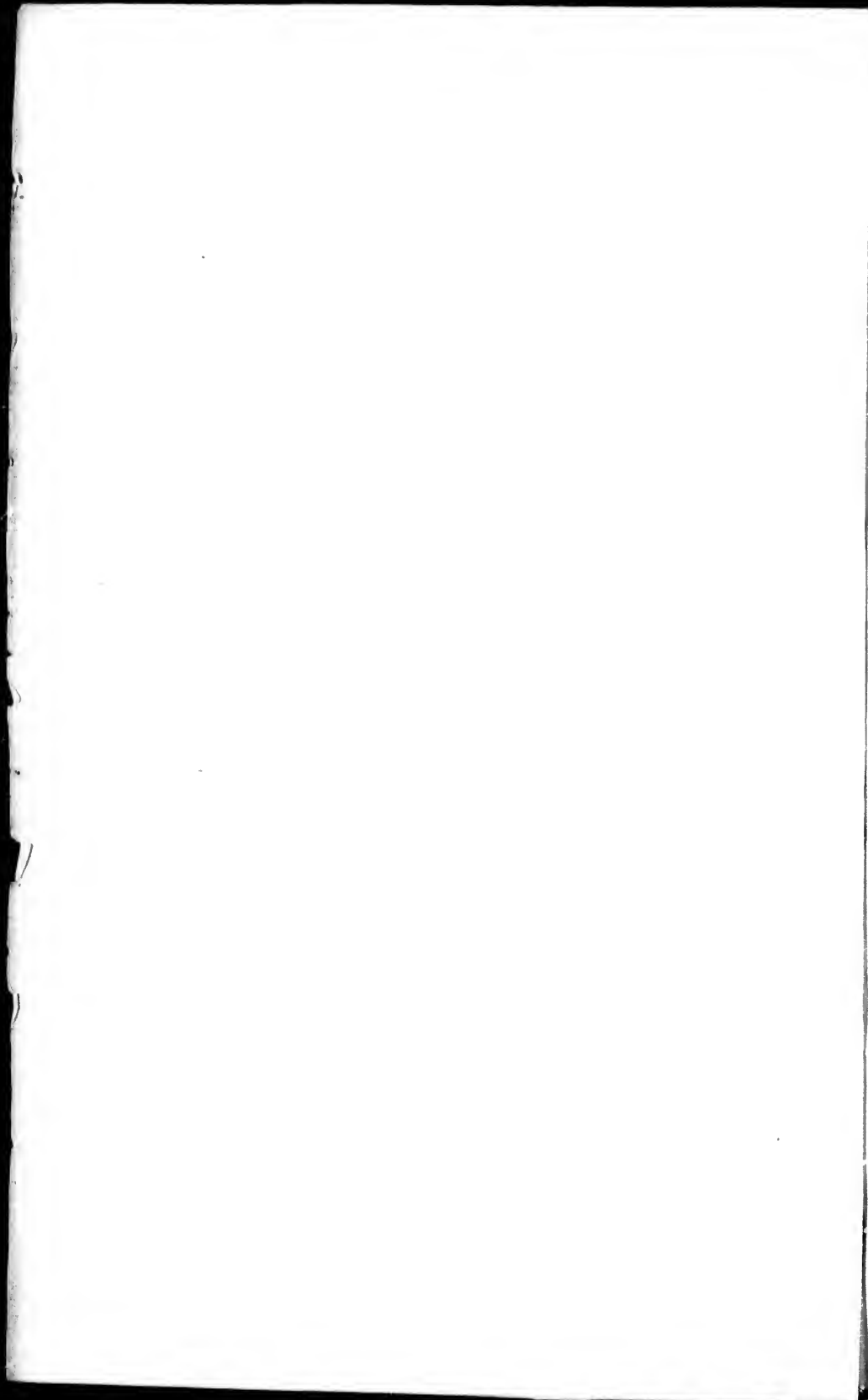
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ON  
COLONIAL LITERATURE,  
SCIENCE AND EDUCATION ;

WRITTEN WITH A VIEW OF IMPROVING THE  
Literary, Educational, and Public Institutions

OF  
BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

BY  
GEORGE R. YOUNG, Esquire,  
OF HALIFAX, NOVA-SCOTIA :  
BARRISTER AT LAW, &c.

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IN THREE VOLUMES:--VOL. I.

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1842.

Entered according to the Act of Assembly, the 5th day of  
November, 1842, by George R. Young, of Halifax, Esq.

# DEDICATION.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONORABLE LUCIUS BENTINCK,  
**VISCOUNT FALKLAND,**

KNIGHT GRAND CROSS OF THE GUELPHIC ORDER, AND  
MEMBER OF HER MAJESTY'S MOST HORORABLE PRI-  
VY COUNCIL,—LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR AND COM-  
MANDER-IN-CHIEF, IN, AND OVER HER MA-  
JESTY'S PROVINCE OF NOVA-SCOTIA,  
AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

MY LORD,—

I have great pleasure in acknowledging the permission given of dedicating this volume to your Lordship, because, it is known, that your Lordship cherishes an earnest attachment for the refined and elegant pursuit of letters.

It will be to me, as a Colonist, a high gratification, if a perusal of these Lectures shall induce your Lordship to aid the only desire which has animated me in the labour of preparing them,—of reforming the educational institutions, elevating the literary tastes, and improving the principles of Legislation in Nova-Scotia, and the other Colonies of British North America.

To be a good Father or a good Landlord, is no dishonourable reputation—but to be a good Governor, and to exercise

day of  
Esq.



the high prerogatives of the Crown, in founding institutions calculated to promote the intelligence, improve the habits, and extend the religion of a people, is one of the first duties, as it is one of the noblest privileges, of a statesman. That Your Lordship may continue to labour diligently in this sphere, and by benefitting these Colonies, preserve the favour of your Sovereign, and lay up a store of consolatory recollections for future years, is the sincere wish

Of Your Lordship's,

Very Obedient humble Servant,

GEORGE R. YOUNG.

HALIFAX, 1st November, 1842.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE following lectures have been written to carry out and complete a literary design, which was formed some years ago. During the two sessions in which I was President of the Institute in Halifax, it occurred to me that a series of Lectures might be prepared upon distinct and attractive branches of letters, philosophy and legislation, so as to give a condensed and graphic view of their respective histories and progress,—to sketch, in short, a general outline, which the student could afterwards fill up, according to natural taste and predilections—and to aid in this useful labour, by giving references to the best authors, where the subjects and questions were fully and elaborately treated. With this idea the outlines of some of these lectures were read and published at the request of the Institute. This plan was then supposed to be novel, and met the approval of literary men, in whose taste and judgment I placed greater reliance than in my own. If assimilated to essays, I frankly admit here, they cannot claim even the limited merit of novelty. Of the latter there are in the history of knowledge many examples. “MAGNA COMPOSERE PARVIS,” the essays in the Spectator upon the Imagination and Evidences of the Christian Religion—Hume’s and Knox’s volumes—the series of popular dissertations on science contained in Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal and the Penny Magazine—

Blackstone's, Kent's and Story's Commentaries on Law, are all works where comprehensive and popular views are presented of the different branches of learning, philosophy, or law, on which they treat. This design therefore is only original in giving to the Lectures a STRICTLY EDUCATIONAL CHARACTER. They are addressed to both sexes. They embrace the Infant School, the College, the Institute, the Museum, and the Library; suggest the principles of a thorough system of practical education for these Colonies:—and then endeavour to guide the mind in the general subjects these volumes embrace, free of all party or sectarian views, in the great work of self-improvement, which is the only sure foundation of extensive acquirements, purity of taste, and solidity of judgment. Schools and Colleges confer the habits of learning only: to acquire practical and useful information is the business of after life. The woman and the man can only obtain in childhood the means of knowledge and of self-culture: to extend and use these acquisitions is a duty which runs from childhood to the grave.

When in England in 1837 some of the Lectures were submitted to my late friend, Dr. Birbeck, the President of the London Institute; and who deservedly enjoys the high reputation of being the founder of these Institutions in Great Britain; and he and others, engaged in the vast and Christian cause of popular instruction, expressed their approval of the scheme, and offered to lend them the influence of their names. I have a letter from this venerable Man, in relation to them, and referring to the name of Lord Brougham, which I preserve as a literary treasure. Before they were ready for the press, professional and other engagements then interfered, and in-

duced me to abandon the task, until some future and more fitting time. During the last three years they have lain on my table, and been a source of mental relaxation and refreshment, when an hour of leisure could be spared from graver, and perhaps more profitable, pursuits.

A domestic affliction which bereft home of its fairest ornament, induced me at the close of the past year to seek consolation in solitary, but I trust not dishonourable, studies. Former labours were revised—the plan reformed and extended; and as an offering to the memory of one most deeply and deservedly lamented, the endeavour has been made to engraft a deeper spirit of religion into the principles and system of Colonial Education, in the hope, that the fresh germs may yet fructify, and cover the land with a vigorous and beautiful foliage. They are yet far from the standard of utility which I hoped to have attained; but if, with all their imperfections they have the effect of calling abler minds into the same field of exertion, the history of Colonial Literature, Law, and Legislation, may yet be adorned with a series of volumes written on a similar plan, so as to place in the hands of every young person of either sex, who is animated with the noble desire of self improvement, cheerful lamps to guide in the search for knowledge, virtue and happiness.

I publish the work with no expectation of pecuniary profit. Books published in the Colonies have never been a very promising speculation—if it even entail a loss I shall not be without a recompense. It has already afforded me many peaceful and consolatory hours. To live in a world, and to indulge in visions of one's own, surrounds the mind for the time with a beaming and tranquil atmosphere, which sweetens the

progress of life, and lets the stream glide more beautifully and calmly on. The dreams and hopes of the mind stretching to an ideal and abstract perfection may be delusive; but if the imagination will indulge in cheering and hopeful aspirations, (and who so severe as to hold it always in absolute subjection?) they are the same for a time as reality itself.—These labours however have yet to receive a higher reward. If the desire for founding improved Educational and Scientific Institutions be extended to every Settlement and Township in British North America, and the modern views I advocate, become the policy of our Legislatures, the desired harvest will be gathered in. To see Schools, Colleges, Institutes, and Museums, grow up around us,—modern principles embraced and acted upon,—the Old World instructing and benefiting the New,—children harvesting the wisdom, and adopting the experience, of their Fathers,—and Colonies, in their infancy, cultivating and cherishing a taste for philosophy, science, and the belles-lettres; and embracing modern principles of Legislation, which it has been the work of centuries to create and systematise in Europe—is a prospect which must delight and animate every rightly-constituted mind.

An opinion besides has obtained, and is daily gaining strength, that the present era of affairs requires extra exertion—that to strive to advance the general intelligence, and to confer upon these Colonies a literary standing and name, is to perform an honourable duty. A new destiny is promised to them, for Britain clearly intends to raise another England on this Continent, and to give to the energy of the Anglo-Saxon race, the glorious inheritance of her Constitution. Here the steamboat, after her passage across the broad waste of waters,

first touches. Here the spirit, the intelligence and the improvements of the old world ought first to be made visible, and be sent back, in bright and reflected rays, to our Mother-land. It is repeating a truth often before told, but not on this account the less impressive, that General Education, based on Christian principles, is favourable to National morals and virtue,—that a knowledge of science leads to the extension and perfection of art,—that a taste for learning and literature induces intellectual research and refinement,—and that these, when combined, beget a happier tone of social and political feeling. A generous enthusiasm for education and literature has ever softened the temper of the age; created and sustained a vigorous spirit for public improvement; and founded institutions which are the glory of our race.

To endeavour to promote these benign and happy results cannot be labour in vain. As every rain drop that falls in Nubia adds to the volume and fertility of the Nile—every fresh stone increased the height and grandeur of the Pyramids—each individual soldier exalts the strength of an army—and Science itself, however abstract and recondite, is but the multiplication of single ideas: so every fresh contribution to colonial literature *may* add to the provincial fame. I submit these volumes in patient hope to the criticism of my fellow colonists, whose decision on former efforts has cheered meditative and solitary hours; but be the decision as it may, I trust the example set will soon be followed by others, and that it will not be long before these Colonies reach that position in the history of Education, Literature, and enlightened principles of Legislation, which it is their high and undoubted destiny yet to occupy. There is a spring and vivacity in the



Provincial mind which cannot be repressed:—it is flashing around us with promethean fire—it is visible in the rapid rise and extent of private and public enterprises—in the increase of spirit, and talent of the Colonial Press,—and the blessings of Providence cannot but descend upon those, who, with an humble, earnest and candid spirit, labour to give it a right direction, and to base the pursuit of intellectual improvement and Colonial polity on the principles of a Catholic faith.— ‘Happy is the man, says the sage of old, that getteth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding. For the merchandize of it is better than the merchandize of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold. She is more precious than rubies; and all the things that are desired are not to be compared to her. Length of days are in her right hand and in her left hand are riches and honour, HER WAYS ARE WAYS OF PLEASANTNESS, AND ALL HER PATHS ARE PEACE”—this is the language of inspiration and therefore the language of truth; and adopting these passages as a text, it will be my duty in the subsequent passages to prove that they are the results which flow to individuals and nations, from the cultivation of literature and science.

HALIFAX, MAY 1, 1842.

## EXPLANATIONS.

---

NOW that the first volume has passed through the press, I think it right to submit it to the reader with the following explanations:—

In writing the "History of Knowledge," which is given in the two first lectures, and in illustrating the pleasures and advantages derived from literature and science, I have had a two-fold object in view:—to circulate, in the first place, sound and liberal views; and, in the second, to extend the fame of the best books and popular authors, by whom the same questions have been more fully discussed. It will be recollected that the book is not written to instruct the scholar,—it professes no such lofty intention,—it is published to beget a love for literature and education in the Colonial mind—to *popularize* letters and science, in circles where they are not duly appreciated; and with this view I have often preferred an extract to original composition, and quoted an authority, where some may think it savours of parade. I trust also that other authors in the Colonies, and the many able men who cherish the same tastes as my own, will do me the credit of believing, that, in endeavouring to raise our Colonial literature and education on a broader basis, I have had every desire to pay due homage to their labours,—and in free-

ly referring to them, whenever they could be made available, to claim no undue merit for my own.

I should do injustice here to my own feelings, if I did not offer my acknowledgements to the editors of the Colonial Press, for the very kind and flattering expressions, they have used in introducing the prospectus to the notice of their readers — they have spoken thus of the *promise*,—it will gratify me to learn that the *performance* has not disappointed their expectations; and that the appearance of the subsequent volumes, upon subjects, not inferior in importance to those already treated, will thus be assured of a favourable reception.

It is to be observed, that one or two of the lectures are framed, as if they had been previously read before a Literary Society. In consequence also, of the mass of statistics on Colonial education, and on the Schools in New England, which has crowded in upon me since the publication of the prospectus, I have been obliged, in giving space to them, to transfer three lectures, intended for this, to the second volume. It has cost me much labour and anxiety to condense the information I wished to convey, within the prescribed limits.

I have lastly to express my acknowledgements to my publisher, MR. CROSSKILL, and to the Printer, MR. BARNES, for the infinite pains they have taken to render the volume, in mechanical execution, creditable to the Colonial Press. Had I looked to economy, or adopted the advice of many friends, the book would have been published in England or the United States. I do not regret *now*, that a work on Colonial Literature, although published at an extra cost, has been issued from a Local Press.

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## LECTURE I.

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**Introduction to General Literature and Science; The effects and benefit of their cultivation on individuals, and nations; Comparison between Ancient and Modern Knowledge.**

### CONTENTS.

Literature of the Golden Ages—the eras of Literature defined. In the two first learning confined to a chosen few; not extended to the people;—the vigour and originality of the works then produced. Literature of the Ancient and Middle ages—no press—books nor mode of publication.—Authors and Works—Rev. Mr. Wishart's "Rough Sketch of English Literature"—English Language—influence of Chaucer. Age of Queen Anne and Louis the Great—state of education among the common people—Lord Bacon's belief in Divination—trials for Witchcraft—state of Morals and Education—Mr. Colquhoun's Lecture—Revival. Publication of the Spectator—style of English Authors—the rise of the present Age of letters—Historians and Philosophers—publication of Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews—their influence upon style and Literature.—Increase of Reviews and Periodicals.—A review of the improvements and discoveries of the age.—Names and productions of the great men who have adorned it—Astronomy—Geology—Colonial System—Steam Engine—Political Economy, &c.

**SINCE** the close of the last century up to the present time, no question has been more warmly discussed than that of Popular Education. There are many who have even yielded their opposition in so far as to admit the expediency of educating the mass in the elementary branches; but who unhesitatingly condemn the introduction of Institutes, Libraries, and the spread of Popular Science and Philosophy, by any

general system, as dangerous to the good order and well-being of society. They object to the action of the age, not in the pursuit of letters and science among the higher classes, but in the extent and character of education attempted to be given to the mass; and doubt if this more extended intelligence is calculated to promote the cause of morals and general happiness, and ameliorate and dignify the destinies of mankind. There are not a *few* of these, both in these Colonies and other countries; and who, from advocating these opinions, oppose the progress of popular instruction, and, according to the views of many, the success of general literature. I intend to meet this question as one of pure logic; and by tracing the progress of knowledge, and by a reference to historical facts, to vindicate before you the auspicious results—the improvement and embellishment which are attendant on the spread of philosophy and letters. We cannot look to the experience of the past, and the exertions which are making *abroad*, without learning lessons useful *at home*; and it is an impression, which has been long and deeply implanted in many patriotic minds, that to improve the systems of education, and elevate the Literature of these Colonies, is one of the noblest, because most useful, spheres of public enterprise.

There is perhaps no mode in which this argument can be so effectively pursued, as in drawing a contrast between the present and the past ages of philosophy and literature; and thus tracing the tendency of knowledge upon national morals and general happiness. The present age—justly distinguished as one of the golden and palmy times of literature and learning, presents different aspects, and prospects far superior, to any which has preceded it. Voltaire, in his introduc-

tion to "Le Siècle de Louis le Grande," has arranged these into four\*. The age of *Alexander*, in which Homer and Phidias, Thucydides and Demosthenes, shed the glories of genius upon Greece. The *Augustan* age, when Horace and Virgil left their poetry as inheritances to Rome. The age of the *De Medici*, of which Roscoe has drawn the picture in such splendid colouring. And, lastly, that era in which the contemporaneous Courts of Louis and our own Queen Anne, were honoured with such a galaxy of poets, historians, statesmen, and philosophers. Butler, in the *Reminiscent* divides the ages of literature into different cycles or periods. His arrangement is as follows :—

"Every learned reader is aware that history presents several eras, in which the powers of the human mind have been eminently displayed in various branches of knowledge—1st among these may be reckoned the *age of Homer* ; his poems are the only memorial of it which has reached us : but it is impossible that they should have been the single instance of genius and taste produced during the period in which that poet lived. 2. The next may (but with great laxity of Chronology) be called the *age of Philip and Alexander* : 3, the *age of Ptolomy Philadelphus*, king of Egypt, follows ; it is not often mentioned, but it produced Theocritus, Apollinus, Rhodius, many persons eminent in Art and Science, and one certainly of the most important works of antiquity, the Greek version of the Old Testament, usually termed the *Septuagint* : 4, the *Augustan age* is illustrated by names familiar to every classical reader : 5, the *Saracenic period*, or the *era of the Omniades* ; "the flourishing ages" as they are

\*See Blair's Lectures, 2d Vol. p. 179.



described by Swinburn, "of Arabian gallantry and magnificence, which rendered the Moors of Spain superior to all their contemporaries in arts and arms, and made Cordova one of the most splendid cities of the world. Cordova was the centre of politeness, taste and genius; tilts and tournaments, with other costly shows, were long the darling pastimes of a wealthy and happy people, and this was the only city of the west where geometry, astronomy, and physic were regularly practised:" 6, the *age of Julius the second and Leo the tenth*, so admirably illustrated by Mr. Roscoe in his lives of Lorenzo de Medici and Leo. The Reminiscent has sometimes thought that an interesting history of the revival of literature in this age might be formed by supposing a literary tour on the plan of "*The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger*." A young Sasmathian initiated in the classics by some Italian or German, whom war or commerce had carried beyond the Vistula might make his way into Italy; and after much wandering become the commensal of Erasmus at Basle, and remain with him but with a liberal allowance for casual excursions until his decease; then he might resume his wanderings, visit England and Scotland, and spend his last days with Grotius. Much of course he should see, read and hear; and all he saw, read or heard he should communicate to some favoured correspondent, who after the decease of his friend should publish his letters with notes. Such a work, from a pen of taste, learning and industry, would be even more interesting than that of Barthilimi, and find its way to every school, every library, and almost every toilette in Europe. How grateful it would be to men of letters to hear that Mr. Hallam was engaged in such a work! 7, the *age of Louis the*

*fourteenth*, is yet the glory of France. With the single exception of Music, every Art and Science, every branch of elegant or profound literature was then cultivated in that kingdom, by persons to whom the public opinion of all Europe has uniformly assigned a lofty place in the temple of fame."

These *four*, above alluded to in the arrangement of Voltaire, are distinguished from the *fifth* and present, in this grand and essential difference—that in all of these anterior ages, letters and learning were confined to the *few*, and unknown or forbidden to the *many*. The volume then sealed, except to the elect, is now unclasped and open. In the sublimer manifestations of genius, in the freshness and concentrated energy of single minds,—they may have surpassed us; for some exalt the productions of these ages, and especially those of antiquity, as infinitely superior to any in modern times, but the altars upon which their votive offerings to the muses were hung, were sanctified only by their own presence, and a few chosen and appointed worshippers: no crowd ever gathered at the threshold, or entered the temple—it had a sublime, but it was an austere and lonely gradeur.

In each age, a single, or a few productions have appeared of transcendent, if not incomparable excellence. There is no modern epic, for example, not even excepting *Paradise Lost*, which can match the *Iliad* of Homer; and no orations in modern times, which could have kindled the latent springs of the heart, whether allied to patriotism or the nobler passions, like the *Phillippics* of Demosthenes, or the *Catullines* of Cicero. It is admitted that no Satirist has ever yet appeared to equal Horace, in his knowledge of human cha-

racter, graceful pleasantry, or barbed wit. Pope's *Essay on Man*, valued as it is, and deserves to be, can have no comparison with the "*Ars Poetica*." The *Æneid* of Virgil is a work *sui generis*,—standing alone, and perhaps incomparable. And if we study the ages in which these works were produced, no philosophers deserve more unqualified admiration than Cicero, the Elder Pliny, or the Divine Plato. And yet it is known that in the eras in which these—the illustrious—"the truly illustrious dead" flourished, the mass of the people were untaught, and were sunk in the lowest state of religious and social barbarism. The art of printing did not then exist, and the works of these gifted men, which now are the school-boy books of the age, and form the cottage libraries of the Peasantries of Iceland, and the south west coast of Ireland\*, were elaborated on tablets of wax, or enwrought upon costly rolls of papyrus, accessible to, and of course known, only by a few. The Grecian and Roman authors published their works by public readings at the Olympic Games in Greece, and in the Forum at Rome. Beyond the crowd, upon whose ear the voice of the Reader fell, they were comparatively unknown. In the Provinces they were unheard of, and their illumination instead of brightening the general mind, and extending a light to all—shed an intense and brilliant flame upon a narrow circle of admirers.

The learning of the Middle ages had neither a more comprehensive, nor more effective influence, upon the people.—The Goths and Vandals, when they issued from their nor-

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\*During a visit paid in 1838 to the lakes of Killarney, I was fortunate enough to fall in with several examples of the "Poor Scholar"—I examined some of them in the Classics, and found them respectably versed in ancient learning.

thern fastnesses, and invaded the fruitful territories of the south, trampling down in their march every fabric of civilization—the temples of the Gods, the arches of the Emperors, built to commemorate their triumphs—the noblest specimens of sculpture,—annihilating the architectural glories of Athens, and sacking Imperial Rome herself, expelled philosophy, literature, and the Arts, to Asia Minor, and the countries of the East. In them, happily, they were preserved and cherished. When the dominion of these barbarians had passed away—when Italy sprang from its long night of darkness, and founded another and blushing fame upon a body of young and vigorous republics—when the spirit of the crusades and of commerce, had created a closer intercourse between Europe and Asia, the Sciences and Arts were recalled from their banishment, and restored to a congenial soil, rapidly advanced to their former excellence; still they were confined to their cities, and embraced by their *literati*, and diffused no intelligence, and spread no genial and kindly influence, to the mass. The learning of these times was brilliant as the solar light at its centre; but there were no rays penetrating to and irradiating the system to the extreme boundaries of the circle.

In Robertson's Introduction to the History of Charles 5th, which contains so masterly a view of the rise of the feudal system, and of the importation of the arts and letters from the East to Europe, from the intercourse created by the Crusades and Commerce, there is the following graphic and striking passage:—"But from these expeditions, extravagant as they were, beneficial consequences followed, which had neither been foreseen nor expected. In their progress to-

wards the Holy Land, the followers of the Cross marched through countries better cultivated than their own. Their first rendezvous was commonly in Italy, in which Venice, Genoa, Pisa and other cities had began to apply themselves to commerce, and had made considerable advances toward wealth as well as refinement. They embarked there, and landing at Dalmatia, pursued their course by land to Constantinople. Though the military spirit had been long extinct in the Eastern Empire, and a despotism of the worst species had annihilated almost every public virtue, yet Constantinople never having felt the destructive rage of the barbarous nations, was the greatest as well as the most beautiful city in Europe, and the only one in which there remained any image of the ancient elegance in manners and arts. The naval power of the eastern empire was considerable.—Manufactures of the most curious fabric were carried on in its dominions. Constantinople was the chief mart in Europe for the commodities of the East Indies. Although the East Saracens and Turks had torn from the Empire many of its richest provinces, and had reduced it within very narrow bounds, yet great wealth flowed into the capital from these various sources, which not only cherished such a taste for magnificence, but kept alive such a relish for the sciences, as appears considerable, when compared with what was known in other parts of Europe. Even in Asia, the Europeans who had assumed the cross, found the remains of the knowledge and arts which the example and encouragement of the Caliphs had diffused through the empire. Although the attention of the historians of the Crusades, was fixed on other objects than the state of society and manners, among

the nations which they invaded, although most of them had neither taste nor discernment enough to describe these, they relate, however, such signal acts of humanity and generosity, in the conduct of Saladdin, as well as some other leaders of the Mahometans, as give us a very high idea of their manners. It was not possible for the Crusaders to pass through so many countries, and to behold their various customs and institutions, without acquiring information and improvement. Their views enlarged; their prejudices wore off; new ideas crowded into their minds; and they must have been sensible of the rusticity of their own manners, when compared with those of a more polished people. These impressions were not so slight as to be effaced upon their return to their native countries. A close intercourse subsisted between the East and West during two centuries; new armies were continually marching from Europe to Asia, while former adventurers returned home, and imported many of the customs to which they had been familiarised by a long residence abroad. Accordingly, we discover, soon after the commencement of the crusades, greater splendour in the Courts of Princes, greater pomp in public ceremonies, a more refined taste in pleasures and amusements, together with a more romantic spirit of enterprise, spreading gradually over Europe; and to these wild expeditions, the effect of superstition or folly, we owe the first gleams of light, which tended to dispel barbarism and ignorance."

In this era we have Dante,\* Petrarch, Ariosto, Tasso, Chau-

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\* For a beautiful Review of the Poetry and Character of Dante and Petrarch, see Hallam's Europe and the Middle Ages, 2d vol., p. 322.

cer, Michael Angelo, Raphael and Titian, but these men produced rather inheritances for posterity, than any fountain of intellectual wealth, at which the people could drink freely. The Court and nobility appreciated their value and felt their inspiration. They were ornaments for the Palace and the Castle, not the Arts or Books of the cottage.\* Learning then was shut up in the cloister and college. The ancient authors treasured up in costly manuscripts, were familiar only to the *fathers,—literarum docti*. They had no mode of reproduction except by the slow labours of the pen. The finest talents of the age were confined to the metaphysical subtleties of the schools; or to the profound, though perplexing, investigations of theological controversy. Of the learning of these ages, Robertson in his introduction to Charles V. thus speaks:

“The first literary efforts, however, of the European nations in the middle ages, were extremely ill directed. Among nations, as well as individuals, the powers of imagination attain some degree of vigour before the intellectual faculties are much exercised in speculative or abstract disquisition.—Men are poets before they are philosophers; they feel with sensibility, and describe with force, when they have made but little progress in investigation or reasoning. The age of Homer and of Hesiod long preceded that of Thales or of Socrates. But, unhappily for literature, our ancestors deviated from this course which nature points out, plunged at once

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\*Of the Literature of the Middle Ages, a very graphic picture is contained in the Edinburgh Review for April 1841, vol. 22, p. 22. It is founded on Berrington's elaborate work on the same subject. After a review of the Authors of Antiquity, the Critic says—“It thus sufficiently appears, that in the most useful branches of Literature, the Romans had made no progress at all, and the Greeks very little.”

into the depths of abstruse and metaphysical enquiry. They had been converted to the Christian faith, soon after they settled in their new conquests, but they did not receive it pure. The presumption of bad men had added to the simple and instructive doctrines of Christianity the theories of a vain philosophy, that attempted to penetrate into mysteries, and to decide questions which the limited faculties of the human mind are unable to comprehend or to resolve. These over-curious speculations were incorporated with the system of religion, and came to be considered as the most essential part of it. As soon, then, as curiosity prompted men to enquire and to reason, these were the subjects which first presented themselves, and engaged their attention. The scholastic theology, with its infinite train of bold disquisitions and subtile distinctions, concerning points which are not the object of human reason, was the first production of the spirit of inquiry, after it began to resume some degree of activity and vigour in Europe. It was not, however, this circumstance alone that gave such a wrong turn to the minds of men, when they began again to exercise talents which they had so long neglected. Most of the persons who attempted to revive literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had received instruction, or derived their principles of science, from the Greeks in the Eastern empire, or from the Arabians in Spain and Africa. Both these people, acute and inquisitive to excess, had corrupted those sciences which they cultivated. The former rendered Theology a system of speculative refinement, or of endless controversy; the latter communicated to philosophy a spirit of metaphysical and frivolous subtlety. Misled by these guides, the persons who



first applied to science were involved in a maze of intricate inquiries. Instead of allowing their fancy to take its natural range, and to produce such works of invention as might have improved their taste and refined their sentiments; instead of cultivating those arts which embellish human life, and render it comfortable, they were fettered by authority, they were led astray by example, and wasted the whole force of their genius in speculations as unavailing as they were difficult."

These were investigations, far beyond the reach of the common mind. It was in this age that Galileo suffered martyrdom for his philosophy—and that Faust for his invention of letters, was supposed by the learned in Paris to have been gifted with the magic art. The feudal system reigned in all its plenitude and rigour. The Peasantry were called villeins or slaves. They were *adscripti glebæ*, and passed with the title, like the other appendages of the soil. Machiavel then wrote his "Prince." The benefit of clergy was introduced in this cycle into the English code of criminal law, as an inducement that the monks and the laity might learn to read; and if such were the humble qualifications required for the Teacher, it was apparent that the primer could not be common amongst his flock.

In Mr. Dick's work "On the improvement of Society by the diffusion of knowledge," there is a popular and pleasing sketch of the state of learning in this age. "So great was the ignorance which then prevailed, that persons of the most distinguished rank could neither read nor write. Even many of the clergy did not understand the breviary, or book of common prayer, which they were daily accustomed to recite,

and some of them could scarcely read it." In the Appendix No 1. he presents the following summary of facts, which are derived chiefly from the "Historian" of Charles the 5th. "In the ninth century, Herband Comes Palatin, though supreme judge of the empire, by virtue of his office, could not subscribe his name. As late as the fourteenth century, Du Gueselin, constable of France, the greatest man in the state, could neither read nor write; nor was this ignorance confined to laymen, the greater part even of the clergy were not many degrees superior to them in science. Many dignified ecclesiastics could not subscribe the canons of those councils of which they sat at as members. One of the questions appointed by the canons to be put to persons who were candidates for holy orders, was this—"whether they could read the Gospels and Epistles, and explain the tenor of them, at least literally?" Alfred the Great complained, that from the Humber to the Thames, there was not a priest who understood the liturgy in his mother tongue, or who could translate the easiest piece of Latin, and that, from the Thames to the sea, the ecclesiastics were still more ignorant. One of the causes of the universal ignorance which prevailed during that period, were the scarcity of books, along with their exorbitant price, and the difficulty of rendering them more common. The Romans wrote their books either on parchment or on paper made of the Egyptian papyrus. The latter being the cheapest was, of course, the most commonly used. But after the communication between Europe and Egypt was broken off, on account of the latter having been seized upon by the Saracens, the papyrus was no longer in use in Italy and other European countries. They were obliged on that

account to write their books upon parchment, and as its price was high, books became extremely rare, and of great value. We may judge of the scarcity of the material for writing them from one circumstance. There still remain several manuscripts of the eighth, ninth, and following centuries, written on parchment from which some former writings have been erased, in order to substitute a new composition in its place, in this manner it is probable, several works of the ancients perished. A book of Livy or of Tacitus might be erased, to make room for the legendary tale of a Saint, or the prayer of a missal."

Before passing from the features of this age, it would be unjust, in a work avowedly devoted to Colonial Literature, if reference were not made to a series of beautiful original papers which appeared in the Halifax Novascotian, (1840) entitled—"A Rough Sketch of English Literature, from its first commencement to the age of Elizabeth." They are from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Wishart, lately Minister at Shelburne, but now situate at St. John, N. B. These rough Notes, and the masterly sketches of the Nineteenth Century by the same hand, contained in the earlier numbers of the Novascotian for 1840, have been regarded, and justly so, as the evidences of a richly cultivated mind, and superior powers of analysis and comprehension. I embody here a few extracts from his history of English Literature, in the hope that the sketches themselves may be more generally read, and that some spirited Colonial publisher may be induced to give them, and those of the Nineteenth Century, a more permanent existence and wider circulation, than they can enjoy while only to be found in the evanescent pages of a newspa-

per. Of the state of literature among the Saxons, and the influence of the Norman invasion upon the English language, (and it is to this view alone I will confine the present selections, because it is an inquiry peculiarly interesting to us;) he presents the following sketch :

“ A history of English Literature, written as it ought to be, would demand on the part of the author more time and research than authors are now willing to bestow—and would require a public more patient, more curious, and more enthusiastic of the beautiful, than is to be found in the Nineteenth Century.

“ We only could have wished that *we* possessed the powers and the leisure, and the independence requisite to the task, and spite of the utilitarian character of our times, we would have set about it manfully. But, alas! we can do nothing more than indicate the deficiency—leaving it for some abler and more fortunate man to supply. At present we shall endeavour to trace out a very meagre outline of our literature, formed from the scattered facts that we have gathered from various sources, and interspersed with the reflections that may suggest themselves as we advance.

“ Our knowledge of our Saxon ancestors is remarkably superficial and imperfect. They have left fewer traces of their existence behind them, than any other nation of modern Europe. In no instance with which we are acquainted, has the character and language of the conquered, been so thoroughly merged in that of the conquerors. The general principle which we gather from history, is, that the invaders of a country, being less numerous, and commonly less civilised than its inhabitants, adopt its manners, customs and lan-

guage. But the Normans, on the contrary, were more civilised than those whom they attacked, and hence the almost total obliteration of the characteristics of the Saxon race. It is upon our language that they have left the most numerous traces of their existence; and probably from it are to be derived the most exact memorial of their prejudices. Something may be learned from what remains of their architecture—something more from other sources, but all put together the amount is woefully insignificant.

“We have consulted several authorities, and all that we have gleaned from them amounts to this; that the Saxons were a tame and sober race, and that the poetry which they have transmitted to us bears the impress of their character, consisting almost wholly of metrical legends of their favourite saints, garnished with a more than sufficient quantity of miraculous incident. Their most learned authors wrote in Latin, and have left us some heavy and prolix chronicles, into which the marvellous enters, almost in as large a proportion as into the legendary poetry.

“Such then are the remains of the Anglo-Saxon literature, fabulous chronicles in Latin, fabulous biographies in the vernacular dialect, both the performances of superstitious men, and displaying neither fancy nor discrimination.—Innumerable manuscripts of this period crowd the shelves of our great libraries, but so destitute are they of all that can interest, that few or none of them have been opened but by the curious and patient antiquarian.

“The origin of English literature, properly speaking, dates no higher than the conquest; anything written anterior to that event is too insignificant to be taken into the account.—

The study of the Anglo Saxon period may reward the antiquary with many facts, curious and even valuable in an etymological view: it can yield but very little to the literary critic.

“The Norman invasion produced a marked and almost instantaneous change upon the national character. The higher orders among the Saxons vied with each other in adopting the manners and language of their warlike conquerors, who, on their side, were not backward in constraining an imitation on the lower classes, who adhered tenaciously to their own customs and speech.

“The language was the first thing to yield—the Saxon nobles seem to have been long ashamed of its rudeness, for, centuries before the conquest it had been usual with them to send their children to be educated in French monasteries, they therefore willingly adopted the speech of their masters. Royal Edicts assisted in diffusing the Norman—all legal and judicial proceedings were ordered to be carried on in it—it was commanded to be taught in schools—it formed the only medium of communication at court and among the nobility. So severely was it discouraged that we frequently see religious communities translating their charters into Latin from the original Saxon, a proof that no rights were recognised, which were conveyed in that tongue. Still the Normans were few compared with the original inhabitants—and men cling with great tenacity to the language of their fathers—the Saxon especially in the remote districts, and among the lower orders, struggled on for upwards of three centuries, and the amalgam of the two tongues were not complete before the days of *Chaucer*.”

In a subsequent passage of the same article he thus refers to the influence of Chaucer, in giving force, variety and beauty to the English tongue:—

“It is striking to contrast together the writings of the same man when he makes use of the Latin and of the vulgar idiom; no stronger evidence of the influence of language over thought could be adduced. In the one case he is always intelligible, at times spirited and even elegant—in the other he drags along with much and frequent effort, seems tongue-tied or pours forth incoherent sentences, which, at best enable you faintly to comprehend at what he is aiming. It is difficult to believe that in both instances he is the same man who speaks. The union of the two tongues which had been proceeding slowly during three centuries, was accelerated by Chaucer. English Language and Literature date from him, before him the two languages had refused to coalesce—from his time they began to harmonise. He obviously inclines towards the Saxon portion, and it would have been well for our poetry at least, had succeeding writers followed the same directions. He performed for our language something of the same office as Dante for the Italian; he found it in a shapeless and vacillating condition, and he gave it form and solidity; we are far from asserting that he did as much as the great man to whom we have compared him. In the hands of Dante, the Italian assumed almost as much force, precision, and grace, as it was capable of receiving. The English after Chaucer underwent numerous modifications ere it acquired its last degree from Spencer and Shakspeare. Chaucer’s task however was the more difficult of the two—Dante had but to settle the idiom which though loose and arbitrary was

far from inelegant. Chaucer to polish what was barbarous, to mould what was without form and comeliness, to select from the synonymous terms of the two languages, to choose what was best in each to supply the deficiencies of both from the richer vocabularies of their tongues; upon the whole he has succeeded in the attempt. That he was far from completing the amalgam appears from the passages of his poems, where Saxon and Norman appear pure and unmixed. We cannot compare him with either of his two great contemporaries, Boccaccio and Petrarch—the one the architect of his country's prose, the other the most elegant of her poets; he never loses so much as when viewed in company with these illustrious spirits."

The fourth era alluded to in this division, the age of Louis the XIV of France, and of Queen Anne and William of England, exhibited marked indications of improvement.\* Louis, although ignorant himself, and so little indebted to the

\*In this general sketch of the progress of knowledge, I have endeavoured to make my references to books of easy access. To those who wish to have deep and profound views upon this enticing and interesting subject, I would recommend the able and elaborate discourses of Professors Stewart and Playfair, to be found in the supplements of the Encyclopedia Britannica—the first entitled "A General view of the progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Science since the revival of letters," and the second "On the History of the Physical and exact Sciences." Both of these treatises are regarded as standard works by men of learning, and are distinguished for their taste, profundity, and eloquence. "The History of the Inductive Sciences, from the earliest to the present times," by Professor Whewell, of Trinity College, Cambridge, 3 vols., 1837, is a book of acknowledged excellence and research. For the History of Literature Mr. Hallam's works stand pre-eminent, and in the last volumes he has published "On the 15th and 16th centuries, we believe, he has supplied the History of that interesting period, to which the Reminiscent directed the public attention in the extract contained in a preceding page.



schools, that he could scarcely subscribe his own name, and certainly could neither have dictated a state paper, nor written a letter correct in its orthography, was a munificent patron of learning and the Arts, and held out that encouragement to genius, which, divine as it is, is not without its effect. France never was so much distinguished for her Poets, Philosophers and Generals—for by military authors it is doubted, whether, even the trained marshals of Buona-parte, Soult, Junot, or McDonald, were superior to the Condé or Turenne of Louis le Grande. There were Corneille, Richilieu, Moliere, Racine, Fenelon, Massillon, Boraloué, all names who stand in the van of talented men. In England, the glories of the age were founded upon the reputation of men, to whom even these were not superior. There were Marlborough in war—Boyle and Newton in Philosophy—Milton and Pope in Verse—Burnet and Tillotson in the Church—Temple and Addison in General Literature—Hale and Holt in the Law—Clarendon and Bolingbroke as Statesmen—and these are only the greater stars of the time. To Englishmen no recollections can furnish food for nobler pride; and yet, if we refer to the cotemporary historians of the period it will be seen, that the *paysans* of France were then a simple untaught race, chained in the deepest ignorance, and alive to the grossest superstitions. The peasantry of England, in their order of intelligence, were scarcely more advanced. I might quote on this point, if I had space, some curious passages from the historians of the age. “The great body of the people,” says one of them, “and of the poorer classes in the towns, were destitute of the simplest elementary education. They could not even read their Bibles.”—

Bacon, who had the strength of mind to reject the ancient schools, and the genius to strike out the inductive philosophy, gravely recommended\* divination as a branch of science worthy of cultivation. Trials for witchcraft † were then not infrequent. Chief Justice Holt, in the reign of James II, conducted no less than twelve. The power of fortune-telling was as much confided in as revelation. ‡ Hale, when Chief Justice, did not deny the gift of supernatural powers; and Johnson, great as he was in intellect, had not surmounted the lingering superstitions of the age—for half a century posterior, during his visit to the Highlands, he became a convert to the doctrine of "second sight."

To this subject, and it is a curious one, Dick in his admirable work "On the improvement of Society by the diffusion of knowledge," has devoted an entire chapter, and given a condensed and luminous view of the history of Omens. After

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\*In his treatise "De Dig et Ang."—he distinctly considers the doctrines of Angels and spirits as an appendix to natural Theology, and holds that their nature may be investigated by Science, including that of unclean spirits or demons, which he says holds the same place as poisons do in physics, or vices in ethics. (Lib. iii. c. 2.) Natural magic, the doctrine of fascination, the discovery of futurity from dreams and extacies, especially in bad health; from death-bed glimpses—in a word, *Divination* he holds to be branches of Science, worthy of cultivation, though he warns them against Sorcery, or the practice of Witchcraft.—(Ib. lib. iv. c. 3. lib. ii. c. 2.)

†For a very curious abstract of the prosecutions for witchcraft, both in Great Britain and the Continent of Europe, see the last chapter of Coombe's Constitution of Man. p. 356.—*Boston Edition.*

‡The Puritans carried this along with their severe and caustic spirit across the Atlantic, and hence the renowned code which prevailed throughout the New England States, known by the name of the *Blue Laws of Connecticut*. See Scott's letters. In Captain Marryatt's "Diary in America," many of these laws are extracted.

referring to the universality and prevalence of these beliefs, among the Chaldeans, the Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks, and other nations, in ancient times, in astrology—the faith of the Bramins in India in the Science, and their influence over the happiness of their believers; he adds—“In almost every country in the world this art is still practised, and only a short period has elapsed since the princes and legislators of Europe were directed in the most important concerns of the state by the predictions of astrologers. In the time of Queen Catherine de Medicis, astrology was so much in vogue, that nothing, however trifling, was to be done without consulting the stars. The astrologer Morin, in the seventeenth century, directed Cardinal Richilieu’s motions in some of his journeys, and Louisa Maria de Gouzaga, Queen of Poland, gave 2,000 crowns to carry on an edition of his *Astrologia Gallica*; and in the reigns of Henry the third and Henry the fourth of France, the predictions of astrologers were the common theme of the Court conversations.”

In referring to the history of these ages he gives the following additional facts—“In the duchy of Lorraine 900 females were delivered to the flames by one tribunal—under this accusation it is reckoned that upwards of 30,000 women have perished by the hands of the persecutor—the records of criminal justice in Scotland, are full of trials for Witchcraft, and it is said that more deranged old women are condemned there for the imaginary curse, than in any other country; but to those who wish to pursue the enquiry further—to see the popular delusions of the day, which are still extant—and the influence which the spread of knowledge and popular science has exercised, and is still

destined to exercise in destroying them, and their pernicious influence on the human mind, I refer to Dick's work, and its Appendixes, and to Sir Walter Scott's letters on Demonology and Witchcraft.

Although these influences have passed away by the spread of sound and practical knowledge, and are now rejected by educated men as the features of a darker age, many superstitions still linger among the common people, and thus prove, that, altho' learning and literature have advanced, there still remains much to be done in the education of the mass. In referring to these beliefs still prevalent, Mr. Dick adds:—Even in the present day, and in the metropolis of the British empire, this fallacious art is practised, and its professors are resorted to for judicial information, not only by the vulgar, but even by many in the higher walks of life. The extensive annual sale of more than 240,000 copies of "Moore's Almanac, which abounds with such predictions, and of similar publications, is a striking proof of the belief which is still attached to the doctrines of astrology in our own age and country, and of the ignorance and credulity from which such a belief proceeds.\* Parhelia, parselenae, shooting stars, fiery

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\*That the absurdities of astrologers are still in vogue among a certain class, appears from the publication of such works as the following—A treatise on Zodiacal Physiognomy, illustrated by engravings of heads and features, and accompanied by tables of the times of the rising of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and containing also new astrological explanations of some remarkable portions of ancient mythological history.—By J. Vanley. No. 1, large 8 vo., pp. 60, to be comprised in four parts. Longman & Co., 1828. A specimen of some of the fooleries and absurdities, gravely treated of by this sapient author, will be found in Nos. III and IV of the appendix to this volume.—*Dick.*

meteors, luminous arches, lunar rainbows, and other atmospheric phenomena, have likewise been considered by some, as ominous of impending calamities."

Mr. Colquhoun, of Killermont, M. P., in an introductory lecture delivered at the opening of the Institute at Glasgow, entitled "The moral character of Britain the cause of its political pre-eminence," thus speaks of the literature and education of the golden age of Queen Anne, and the causes which led to an improvement and revival:—

"The moral state of this country in the period to which I am alluding, the reigns of Anne, and the two first Georges, was perhaps the lowest, both in religion and popular education, which Britain ever knew. There was literature, indeed, pure and elegant—the literature of Steel, and Addison, and Pope. There was political knowledge, nor were there ever political combatants more famous than Swift and Bolingbroke; nor did the science of government ever advance more rapidly, than when her great principles were brought into daily controversy; these are times indeed, to which a political student will turn for the most ample and solid instruction. Yet political knowledge did not raise our condition, and the people looked on with indifference at an arena, upon which they were not fitted to enter. Nor was there in these days any want of critical acuteness, or of able theology; Clarke displayed his learning—Warburton exhibited his profound philosophy—Hurd collected his classical stores—and Hoadly enlisted the thunders of the pulpit in defence of liberty. But none of these touched the chord which vibrates to the hearts of the people, and therefore, none of them produced any impression on the public mind. Both in England and Scot-

land, the great mass of that mind lay dead and motionless ; and the pulpits of the church, though sounding with high words of learning, let fall none of that electric spark which could animate the heart. Within the English church, literature ill concealed the Arianism that was spreading. Without the church, the decline was so rapid, that the chapels founded by the Puritans, fell at this time into the hands of the Unitarians, who still retain them ; and thus a frigid and lifeless philosophy, chilled into stone with its sepulchral touch, the warm piety of a better age. In Scotland, at the very moment when the church was placed on a sound footing, a spirit of lukewarmness went up from all classes, and pervaded its institutions ; so that, at the time, when, if we look to their principles, we should judge them incapable of lapse, we find them falling headlong into the abuses of patronage. *Popular education was at the same time neglected ; education, which ever sits at the feet of Christianity, active but at her bidding, motionless during her slumbers : its value was then forgot, and its endowments perverted to other purposes ; for then arose that heap of abuses which has lately attracted the attention, and been exposed by the vigilance of Parliament.*— It was during this general decline of piety, and this low state of morals, that religion, excluded from the pulpit, disowned in the literature, and despised in the politics of the age, descended into the humble walks of society, and selected for herself two champions, by whom she prepared to rebuke the learning, and revive the patriotism of Britain, by an awakening of a moral kind, similar to that which heretofore she had adopted. The men whom she selected for this work, were not remarkable until animated by her spirit, but under her

influence, they exhibited powers of a superior kind. They shared between them those qualities, which, in an eminent degree, distinguished the Reformer: the acuteness, the logical skill, diplomatic sagacity of Knox, Wesley possessed; Whitfield his fervid oratory, and bold appeals to popular feeling. By the preaching of these two men an effect was produced, which, in these days, it is difficult to us to conceive. Through England and Scotland, even into the recesses of Wales, the contagious impulse spread and was communicated. The hardy Welsh mountaineers crowded round the preaching of Wesley, and the districts of Cumberland and Westmoreland poured out their multitudes. Bristol sent forth her numbers, charmed by the eloquence of Whitfield,\* and the calmer temperament of our own country was roused. The capital, and our western metropolis, stood in breathless wonder at his eloquence; criticism was silenced, and even the scepticism of Hume burst into involuntary praise.

“Here lay the springs of our national character; and by these men they were effectually touched; and under the touch, the whole body of society was moved, and vibrated as with a new impulse. The higher ranks were interested, the lower were roused at the welcome sound of that voice which had been silent for more than half a century, but which they still recognised and loved. In vain had Warburton poured his philosophy upon them, and Addison rebuked them with his dignified morality, and Clarke demonstrated to them the

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\*See the Life and times of the Rev. George Whitfield, M. A., by Robert Phillips, London, 1838—the work is very ably reviewed in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 67, p. 500, and a lively and graphic sketch given in the article of the life, eloquence and influence of this extraordinary man.

attributes of a God; these things were too high and too refined for them; but the plain impressive appeal of christian truth, that appeal which had met them in barbarism, and raised them in ignorance, which had sustained them in their struggles against religious dominion, and cheered them in the civil contests for their liberty; that appeal, when it reached them again in the eloquence of Wesley and Whitfield, they felt, and understood and acknowledged."

I come now to the present and the last. In the march of mind, in the useful triumphs of genius—in the general spread of education and intelligence—how far, how immeasurably far, does this surpass any former age of knowledge—[*Enriches des decouvertes des trois (four) autres,*" says Voltaire in his introduction to *Le Siecle de Louis Le Grand*, "il a plus fait en certain genres, que les trois fou ensemble."] It is difficult to delineate the exact line of demarcation between the fourth and the present—for from Milton, Addison, and Newton, up to the era of Porson, Johnston, Herschel, Scott, Byron, Moore, Allison, Bulwer and Dickins, there seems no break in the line of illustrious men. This age of literary atchievement, may be dated from the time of Chatham, Hume, Gibbon and Robertson; all of whom imparted a more masculine and nervous vigour to the national style and eloquence. But the earliest manifestations of the "concentrated genius" of the age, were exhibited in the publication of the Edinburgh Review—the bright precursor of that host of competitors which have since given to learning and criticism their peculiar efficacy and influence. It called out the London Quarterly, and they have since prosecuted in politics and letters, although in different spheres, a noble and inspi-



ring rivalry. It would be easy to dilate upon the inspiration which the exciting events of the American and French Revolution had upon the intellect of Europe. The first fired the oratory of Chatham, and since the days of Demosthenes, never did the potent spell of eloquence charm up so glorious a band of worshippers:—Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, Burke, Erskine, Canning, Brougham, Jeffery, O'Connell, and McAulay. The mantle of the classics seems to have descended upon them. The greatest historians of modern times, who may justly be contrasted with Herodotus, Thucydides, Tacitus and Livy, are of this period. Adam Smith followed out the crude and immature conceptions of the French Economists, and laid the foundation of Political Economy—a Science which must eventually form the basis of all just and enlightened legislation. He has not only reformed the French School, but opened the path which Malthus, Ricardo, McCulloch, Scrope, and Wheatley, have since pursued so successfully. Herschel has pierced beyond the discoveries of Halley and Newton, until he has widened the limits of our planetary system, and extended beyond all former estimate the boundaries of visible and peopled space.\* His son is now

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\*Nichols' *Architecture of the Heavens*, a work admirably fitted for popular use, gives a sublime view of the range of the telescope, and the luminous light of indistinguishable and distant systems, which it discovers to the student. In the Appendix the following beautiful and curious illustration is given of the Solar System:—"The Solar System is composed of a majestic central luminary (whose mass is made up of matter, like the earth, the atmosphere alone being luminous,) and a number of small engirdling bodies, which revolve around him in various periods. Toys named Orreries have generally been used to give a description of this mechanism:—they are mere toys, but never instructive, nor indeed can they be otherwise, as you will learn from the statement of the distances, and com-

tracking the Heavens in another Hemisphere, in search of new fields of vision, and labouring to give the telescope a wider range over the distant and unknown universe. His sublime and beautiful theory of Nebulæ and clusters of stars, has multiplied the probable theatres, not of worlds, but of systems, till the mind is lost and subdued in its contemplations, not only of what the universe is, but what it may be. Every new improvement of the telescope opens fresh discoveries, and new regions of infinity peopled with stars—where, where, is this boundary—what the intelligence and harmony that created and sustains them? “The Heavens do indeed declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth forth his handy-work.”

Poetry has assumed a nobler, and more useful, because a simpler range. Criticism has become more practical and healthy. The Novel deals with men and the events of life, and less with fancy and wild romance. By the genius of Scott it has been moulded into its most perfect form, and now blends the learning of history and the influence of morals, with the graces of the imagination. Add to this the

comparative magnitude of the several bodies, which I extract from Sir John Herschel's work. Choose any well levelled field or bowling green, on it place a globe two feet in diameter; this will represent the Sun; Mercury will be represented by a grain of mustard seed, on the circumference of a circle 164 feet in diameter from its orbit; Venus a pea, on a circle of 284 feet in diameter; the Earth also a pea, on a circle 430 feet; Mars, a large pin's head, on a circle of 654 feet; Juno, Ceres, Vesta, and Pallas, grains of sand in orbit, of from 1000 to 1200 feet; Jupiter, a moderate sized orange, in a circle nearly half a mile across; Saturn, a small orange in a circle of four-fifths of a mile; and Uranus, a full sized cherry or small plum, upon the circumference of a circle more than a mile and a half in diameter. Such are the contents and relative dimensions, of the Solar System!"—*Nichols' Architecture*, p. 207.

improvement in the metaphysical sciences, effected by Reid, Stewart, Brown, and Abercrombie; the discoveries in Chemistry, elaborated by Lavoisier, Davy, and Farrady; the steam engine of Watt, which, once discovered, was soon applied by Fulton or Symington to navigation, and has led to the introduction of the Railroad and steam carriage; the labours of Cuvier, Buckland and Lyell in Geology and comparative anatomy; the museum founded by the first in the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, and the last treatises by the others are imperishable monuments of human genius and industry; the calculating machine\* of Babbage; the locomotive engines of Stevenson; the light which has been cast upon vegetable physiology by Paley and Roget; the application of steam to spinning and weaving by Arkwright; and the progress made in the science of Agriculture by Sinclair and Davy—the new principles of trenching and draining—the saving of labour in field cultivation; the innumerable discoveries in the circle of the practical arts, founded on chemical analysis; and it will, I think, be readily conceded, that no former age† had a title of the intellectual glory and practical utility, appertaining to and distinguishing this.

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\*This is unquestionably one of the wonders of the age.—The theory is explained in Chap. XX of Mr. Babbage's work on the Economy of Manufactures, and some of its results as applied to Hume's argument against Miracles, in the Ninth Bridgewater Treatise by the same Author.

†Upon the features of this age, as contradistinguished to those of the ages preceding, there is a beautiful Sketch given by Judge Story, in a discourse pronounced at Cambridge before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at the Anniversary celebration held on the 31st August, 1826. It has passed into the standard selections of American Literature, and will be found both in the collection of Judge Story's works, and in a volume entitled "American Oratory," compiled by a member

Again, to establish this unmeasurable superiority further, it is but necessary to touch upon a few leading facts in science and history. Matter was formerly reduced to four elements\* ; earth, air, fire and water—the shell of the earth was not pierced—Geology was unknown—and schools existed to deny even the entity and existence of things. Of Geography† the ancients knew comparatively nothing, for Britain was the Ultima Thule—beyond it there lay an unknown and frozen territory to the North—the earth was a flat plain—and between the northern and southern regions there was a region arid, parched and uninhabitable from the heat of the sun.—Their theories of ‡Astronomy were mere flights of imagination—the stars were set in what they called a thin and transparent ether, each placed in its own framework, and moving round the earth in eccentric congeries of circles. Con-

of the Philadelphia Bar, and published in 1836. The progress of knowledge—the growing empire of public opinion—the station and rewards of Authors—and the position of America in the Republic of letters, are delineated with all that erudition, classic taste, and powerful eloquence for which the author is distinguished. The value of classical learning may be praised too much—but although some of the opinions may be questioned, every scholar will rise from the perusal of this choice production refreshed and gratified. The world cannot estimate too highly the magnificent contributions made both to legal science and literature, by Chancellor Kent of New York and Judge Story of Cambridge—two of the first lawyers of the age—and alike remarkable for the uprightness of their public principles, and the purity of their domestic lives, as for their high talents and profound acquirements.

\*See Kidds' Bridgewater Treatise on the physical condition of Man, for the opinion of Lucretius on the constitution of matter in general, p. 304.

†For a popular sketch of the knowledge of the ancients in Geography, see Notes to Robertson's America—Note i. to viii.

‡In Adam Smith's Posthumous Works there is a very curious paper on the Astronomy of the ancients.—See introduction to Bigland's View of the World, vol. i., p. 12, 13.

trust these facts with subsequent discoveries, and our settled, and even familiar knowledge, of intellectual and physical science. Compare the logic of Aristotle with that of Reid and Brown;—Metaphysics now reduced to a creed, the provinces of the senses known, and the human powers classified into a general and harmonious system—Reid, Stewart and Abercrombie, with their beautiful and perfect system of mind, taught in the schools;—the four *original* elements of matter proved by modern chemistry to be compounds;—air and water to be composed of gases of the most opposite and conflicting powers;—and the earth to be composed of some seventy original elements of matter, to which the Chemists are daily adding. But in Geology how vast the progress!—We have traced back already the physical history of the earth, for periods of time on which history is silent; and opened up a magnificent\* series of formations, changes, decompositions, volcanoes—plants, animals and races—genera and species extinct—affording the evidence of miracles not less wonderful, and not less convincing, than those on which the Christian Revelation is founded. Human testimony says the Sceptic may deceive—in reply, says the philosopher, these miracles thus legibly written upon matter—a record itself visible *yet* to the eye, tangible to the hand, cannot deceive; and makes the evidences of miracles rest on the soundest foundation. But in Geography and in Astronomy how boundless the acquisitions, and into what magnificent and unseen vistas do they lead. We know the earth to be a pla-

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\*See upon this subject Buckland's *Bridgewater Treatises*.—*Geology*, chap. 13, on the general History of Fossil Organic Remains, p. 106, and Gesner's *Geology for the Cumberland Coal Fields of Nova Scotia*, p. 158, 159.

net—and every part of it has been travelled. Parry has stood at the centre of the North Pole, and discovery is busy to reach the centre of the Antarctic circle, yet unpiereed and unknown. The quadrant, chronometer and theodolite enable us to have the planets and stars as beacons to guide our vessels across the vast and unfathomable seas. The poles of the earth are believed to have been changed—the Continents,\* now inhabited, lay for ages embedded in the depths of the ocean, and are covered with the relics and *debris* of extinct volcanoes. The sea is advancing on some continents and retreating from others; and in looking forward to future ages we see the coral worm raising up new temples and worlds in the Eastern seas. For what destiny is it, it may be asked, has an instinct so curious and perfect, been conferred upon these myriads of insects, that they raise their erections† on the best principles of science, to resist the pressure and violence of the wave, and thus carry out the designs of a Providence, far, indeed, beyond the limited comprehensions of man. Turn, however, to astronomy—to the simplicity of its laws and unerring calculations, by which the motions of the stars and planets, and even the comets in their eccentric orbits, have been defined for a century past, and, if the past can guide the future, for centuries to come. If, however, contemplation is lost in the distant ages and formations of the world of which the discoveries of Geology are the record—in the elegant and coloured structures, matchless, it is said,

\*Lyell's Geology, 4 vol. p. 320, chap. 25, on the relative contiguity of Mountain chains.

†Lyell's Geology, 3 vol. p. 274. In Capt. Hall's travels in Loo choo, there is a beautiful picture drawn of the appearance of the Coral reefs.

in their beauty and proportions, regularly springing up to the surface of the broad Pacific—the mind is even further lost and subdued when we reflect on the boundless discoveries of the telescope, and trace in the *nebulous* stars, the semblance and probability of truth that systems and worlds are in the progress of change and creation in the heavens.—In Whewell's Bridgewater treatise on astronomy and general physics, there is a chapter devoted to the nebular hypothesis: the following passage is drawn from it.—p. 146 to 148.

“The reflections just stated may be illustrated by the further consideration of the nebular hypothesis. This opinion refers us to a sun surrounded with an atmosphere of enormously elevated temperature revolving and cooling. But as we ascend to a still earlier period, what state of things are we to support?—at still higher temperature, a still more diffused atmosphere. Laplace conceives that in its primitive state the sun consisted in a diffused luminosity, so as to resemble those *nebulæ* among the fixed stars, which are seen by the aid of the telescope, and which exhibit a nucleus more or less brilliant, surrounded by a cloudy brightness.—“This anterior state was itself preceded by other states in which the nebulous matter was more and more diffuse, the nucleus being less and less luminous. We arrive,” Laplace says, “in this manner at a nebulosity so diffuse, that its existence could scarcely be suspected.”

“Such is,” he adds, “in fact the first state of the *nebulæ* which Herschel discovered by means of his powerful telescopes. He traced the progress of condensation not indeed in one *nebulæ*, for this progress can only become perceptible to us in the course of centuries, but in the assemblage of

nebulae ; much in the same manner as in a large forest we may trace the growth of trees among the examples of different ages which stand side by side. He saw in the first place the nebulous matter dispersed, in the different parts of the sky. He saw in some of these patches this matter feebly condensed round one or more faint nucleus.— In other nebulae these nuclei were brighter in proportion to the surrounding nebulosity ; when, by a further condensation, the atmosphere of each nucleus becomes separate from the others, the result is multiple nebulous stars formed by brilliant nuclei very near each other, and each surrounded by an atmosphere ; sometimes the nebulous matter condensing in a uniform manner has produced nebulous systems, which are called *planetary*.\* Finally a still greater degree of condensation transforms all these nebulous systems into stars. The nebulae classed according to this philosophical view, indicate, with extreme probability their future transformation into stars, the anterior nebulous condition of the stars which now exist.

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“Leaving then to other persons, and to future ages to decide upon the scientific merits of the nebular hypothesis, we conceive that the final fate of this opinion must in sound reason strengthen the view which we have been endeavouring to illustrate,—the view of the universe, as the work of a wise and good Creator. Let it be supposed that the point to which this hypothesis leads us is the ultimate point of physical science ; that the farthest glimpse we can obtain of the

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\*See Nichol's *Architecture of the Heavens*, for a full and popular development of the Nebular theory.



material universe, by our natural faculties, show it to us occupied by a boundless abyss of luminous matter. Still we ask, how space came to be thus occupied,—how matter came to be thus luminous? If we establish, by physical proofs, that the first act which can be traced in the history of the world, is, that “there was light,” we shall still be led even by our natural reason to suppose, that before this could occur “God said, let there be light.”

If any additional arguments were required to lift this age to a standard far superior to all those which have preceded it, it would be the lofty and pre-eminent station which Britain occupies in the Congress of Nations. Although but a small speck or point lying on the outline of the broad map of the old world—not larger than some principalities in the Germanic league or a district of France—she rules nearly supreme over the destinies of the world. To what does she owe this high pre-eminence? to the vigour—intellectual and physical—of the Saxon race. It is to these characteristics of her people she is indebted for her past advances in the arts—sciences—wealth and letters, and especially for that high moral influence she unquestionably enjoys. It is by them her soil has been covered with Cities, Manufactories, Castles, Temples and Minsters, embodying all that is solid, ideal and beautiful—and her ports filled with her countless commercial and naval marine; by them she has been, and is, enabled to lead the way in literature and science, and exercise a sovereign, though secret influence, on the rule and policy of other states. But, under the decrees of Providence, she cannot have been raised thus to this state of civilization, to have such influence confined to that narrow sphere in

which it has been produced. The restless energy of her people, their advance in the practical arts, their almost boundless powers of production, have made the internal supply far exceed the internal demand, and forced them to seek new markets for their surplus productions. To these again she is indebted for the creation of her foreign commerce; and it is these wonderful, and yet ever increasing powers, which give such an impulse to the powers of colonization.— If it is true, as before suggested, and it is a dream of philosophy so beautiful that one loves to cling to it, that the clusters of *Nebulae* are the elements of new systems and worlds in the progress of creation—if the coral worm in rearing its structures is spreading the basis of new continents and empires over the Pacific, it is but following out the harmony which the universe every where displays, and gives unity and system to the Physical and Moral World to believe, that the elevation to which Britain has reached, and the colonial system she has fostered, is a part of a great and magnificent plan of which the present developments are working for futurity. Certain it is, however, that these facts seem to unfold the outline of a benevolent and practical design to extend the Institutions, the improvements, and the literature of Europe over the Eastern Archipelago. New Holland, Van Dieman's Land, New Zealand have each the elements of a New Britain starting on its race of prosperity, with her Institutions, and that nobler inheritance—the gathered experience of some three thousand years—extending, refining, and adorning every branch of human knowledge.— Into every Colony England carries her Constitution, her laws, her arts, her literature, and that which is the best gift

of all—the virtues and energy of her people. A century will not pass on before Syria, Palestine, Chaldea, Persia, and Arabia—once the fairest scenes of civilization, will lie between countries blessed and adorned with the finest attainments of human enterprise and genius;—the Steam Boat will daily pierce the Tigris and Euphrates,—thread the course of the Red Sea, and career over the Persian Gulf;—it will probably not be long before the Rail Road runs from Cairo to Suez, and from the Mediterranean to Aleppo by Beles; and it cannot be conceived, that, if the intercourse in the middle ages, by the Crusades and otherwise, brought to Europe letters from the East, but that this blessing may yet be returned, and the letters of the West again pass to the East, improved and sanctified by their exile,—European civilization be transferred to these regions from whence its germs were first derived,—countries now desolate yield again their harvest returns of two-hundred fold—Palestine be wrested from the Infidel,—and the scattered tribes of Israel gathered again into the holy land. If such be a prospect which may rationally be entertained, the world owes a deep debt of gratitude to the men who have made the principles of colonization a study,—Columbus, Drake, Cabot, Raleigh, and among these none stands more pre-eminent at the present day than that of Wakefield, who, in his profound work of England and America, first suggested the\* principle now adopted by the Go-

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\*See appendix to Mr. Wakefield's Work. Merivale's Lectures on colonies and colonization, and an article in the Edinburgh Review for July, 1840, entitled "New Theory of Colonization,"—p. 231. Too much praise cannot be given to the public men of Upper Canada for the exertions they have lately made to lead emigration to that fertile Province. Its resources are boundless, and the rapid increase of a British Popu-

vernment, and universally acted on, which has given, of late years, so vast and steady an influence to the tide of British emigration flowing to the Eastern seas, and to her other colonial possessions throughout the world.

In nothing, however, does this age present the signs of so wonderful and almost miraculous a progress as in the means of communication introduced to track the ocean by steam.— In the facilities of intercourse, the advances made, in the last twenty years, far surpass the bounds of human conception.— At the close of the last century the Royal Mail from London to Edinburgh occupied six days in its transportation from the one capital to the other. Letters from Dublin to London were sometimes ten days in their passage. The vessels engaged in the American Trade from the English ports, performed one voyage in a twelvemonth. A journey from London to Paris was the exhausting labour of ten or twelve days. Suppose any prophet had then risen and foretold, that, before forty years an invention would be introduced, by which a letter from Dublin, mailed at 5 o'clock one evening, would be delivered in London—a distance of 420 miles—on the following day at noon; that the journey from Edinburgh to London would be reduced to 26 hours; Paris and London brought

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lation will not only give a new impulse to its prosperity—but will tend to that equalization of races in the United Province, which will produce political and social harmony. The past exertions of the Canada Company, and British North America Land Company are well known, but Dr. Rolph and Sir Allan McNab, for their late mission to the Mother Country, deserve the public gratitude, because they are likely to advance not the emigration of numbers only, but of capital and intelligence; and thus multiply those *nuclei* of British society and feeling, of which so many exist in Canada West.

within the moderate distance of one and a half days' journey; and that the broad Atlantic could be traversed from the one Continent to the other, in elegant and floating Hotels, in the brief space, and with almost unerring certainty, of 10 to 14 days, he would have been treated as a visionary, and his predictions laughed to scorn. And yet all these achievements have been accomplished. The speed of art surpasses even the fleetness of the clouds. In a strong gale they fly at the rate of \*40 miles an hour—a balloon has been driven at the rate of 80 miles. The steam carriages on the Great Western Railway between London and Bristol, go regularly †40 miles an hour—in the Liverpool and Manchester Railway a speed of 70 miles per hour has been accomplished. Dr. Lardner, in his treatise on the steam engine, has asserted, that the mails will yet be conveyed, on the rail road, at the inconceivable, and almost fearful, rate of 100 miles per hour. There is scarcely a sea or magnificent river into which the Steam boat has not penetrated. In the river Hudson a speed has been reached of 25‡ miles per hour, the average of the boats there is 18 miles per hour. They are upon the Elbe and the Rhone—have ascended the Rhine as far as Chalons—penetrate Austria and Hungary from the Black Sea by the Danube—encircle the shores of the Mediterranean from Gibraltar to Venice, and from Malta to Alexandria—navigate the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and §convey the mails from

\*Joyce's Scientific Dialogues, c. 99, p. 212, new edition.

†See report of Select Committee on Railways, returned to House of Commons 27th May, 1841.

‡Lardner on the Steam Engine, p. 270.

§Lardner on the Steam Engine, p. 158. A very excellent summary of the History of Steam Navigation will be found in the Appendix to Dick's Christian Philosopher, No. 9, p. 239.

the East Indies up the Euphrates and Tigris. In the ports of Great Britain 1100 steam boats are now owned. But the magnificent lines of communication established by them, have their widest circle in the New World. A traveller can now enter a steam vessel in Liverpool, and be landed in 16 days in Quebec—enter a steam boat there, and ascending the St. Lawrence and Ottawa, and by the Rideau and Welland Canals reach Lake Erie and Lake Superior, a distance of 6000 miles; or at Lake Erie he may pass through the Canal cut there leading to the Ohio, descend it and the Mississippi to New Orleans, embark thence for Cuba or the Bahamas, meet the West India line, and be transported to Southampton in England—the mighty mother of these magnificent projects—after completing a circle of 15,000 miles. In addition to these lines already formed, magnificent designs are still in contemplation. Mr. McGrigor in his late work, published in August 1841, \**“on the Commercial and Financial Legislation of Modern Europe,”* p. 264, refers thus to this Modern Enterprise:—

“Many other arrangements for carrying the mails by steam have been made by the Treasury and Admiralty, *belting* the world, as it were, from England to the Gulf of Mexico, and then to meet other Steam Ships on the West of the Isthmus of Panama, to communicate over the Pacific to New Zealand and New Holland,—meeting other lines communicating with India, and the Red Sea; and by crossing over the Isthmus of Suez, meeting the British Mail steam packets for England

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\* Lardner on the Steam Engine, 3d American, from the 5th London ed., p. 271, for the detailed account of plans in contemplation.

at Alexandria, we believe to be far from an impracticable delusion. The practicable and not unprofitable establishment of all this is not far distant; especially when we all know how very lately the practicability of running steam ships across the Atlantic was questioned, doubted and denied. Yet within the last year one British subject, Mr. Cunard, has not only entered boldly into a contract with the government to build four steam ships of 1200 tons, and with engines of 300 horse power each, and to run them across the Atlantic once a fortnight; but he has fulfilled that, considered most hazardous bond, by those ships having been all constructed, and by each of them having performed the voyage regularly, and with equal certainty as to time, in from eleven to twelve days, and under every circumstance of fair weather, and gales, and of tremendous storms blowing either with or against those ships."

When we reflect upon the effect which these will have upon \*Commerce—upon the extension of friendly relations—upon the diffusion of Science, the Arts and Literature—upon the propagation of Christianity—all in fact which adorns and dignifies the human race—it will be readily conceded that the destinies of the world seem to stand upon a new era, and

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\*Upon the effect of Commerce in the spread of civilization there is an excellent article in Bell's edition of Rollin's Arts and Sciences—article Commerce. See also Butler's Reminiscent on the same subject. Inaugural oration on laying the first stone of the London Institution, p. 347. Upon this subject the Introduction to Parks' Law of Insurance—the first Lecture of Chancellor Kent's Commentaries on the Law of Nations—and Sir James McIntosh's disquisition on the same subject, may be advantageously consulted to establish the beneficial effect of Commerce and Christianity, in extending the social ties by which Nations are held together.

that a prospect is opened for the future, far more bright, hopeful, and gladdening than has rested upon the past. In the law of mind, as in the law of physics, it is admitted that when the impulse of motion has once been given, the propelling power is ever on the increase, and no boundaries can be set to the unseen limits to which improvements may yet be carried.

As another striking and leading characteristic of the age, I would also refer to the attention paid by every enlightened Government to the collection of Statistics. Within the last twenty years an advance has been made, almost incredible, in gathering up the results of past experience. They embrace almost every branch of human knowledge upon which legislation and general laws can have any bearing or operation. The influence of the commercial codes of every country—tariffs and protection—on exchange and production,—of taxation upon comforts and the power of consumption—the results of machinery—Schools, Penitentiaries,—the effects of education upon crime,—the consequence of religious training upon national character and morals—the ruin attendant upon strikes and combinations—the benefits of liberality in the laws regulating trade and exchange between different countries—have been gathered, classified, and digested in tables of figures, till questions involving the prosperity of nations, the success of the arts, and even the spread of intelligence and religion, which before were subjects of abstract speculation and enquiry, have been reduced to settled rules and acknowledged principles. To prove the importance of these acquisitions we have only to turn to Baron Moreau and Dupin's tables, illustrative of the progress, prosperity and great-



ness of England—Marshall's tables, laid before Parliament—Porter's tables of statistics, issued regularly from the London Board of Trade—Porter's admirable volumes entitled "Progress of the Nation"—the Journals of the London Statistical Society, and the valuable contributions to statistics furnished by the press of Continental Europe and the United States, and it will at once be admitted that these, as laying a solid foundation to the science of Political Economy, which combines in itself the principles of government and legislation—the causes which influence and extend national wealth, happiness and virtue,—would alone give this era a vast and incalculable superiority; and yet I am satisfied the effect of these acquisitions is only beginning to be felt, and before long that they will give an entirely new impulse to the Arts, and all the elements of national prosperity. I allude here only to one result:—these statistics, the unerring knowledge derived from experience—the returns and figures which cannot falsify, have revolutionized the intelligent public mind in England in favour of free trade—have established the principle that all legitimate taxation ought to be imposed solely for the purposes of Revenue—and have united both parties in the British Parliament into a common and resolute policy in the adoption of these great principles, which, when brought into full action, will, it is expected, be as magnificent and wonderful in their results, as they are benign and generous in their intentions. The principles of free trade—to buy the product in the country where nature yields it most bountifully—to purchase the article from the Artist whose skill enables him to manufacture it at the lowest rate—is an approximation to the Christian principle of treating mankind as a general bro-

therhood, and surrounding all nations with one band of social alliance.\*

But with this detail of all that has been accomplished in the past, we have yet to enquire if the fields of knowledge have been exhausted—if there are yet no new regions to explore—no new worlds to discover. I answer these enqui-

\*The value of Political Economy and Statistics upon the sound principles of legislation, are not yet fully appreciated in our Colonial Legislatures. I recollect when Agricola, my late respected parent, entered the House of Assembly in Nova-Scotia in 1825, whenever he referred to Political Economy,—a science in which he was profoundly versed,—some of the leaders of that day invariably rewarded him with a sneer; and he was told it was a science not fitted for a young country,—in other words, that “we were not old enough to be wise.” With all our advances in knowledge, even at this time, no adequate provision is made to collect and classify returns or facts, which are the fruits of experience, and the safest guide to sound conclusions. In the reports of the debates the plainest principles of the science are daily violated and attacked, without a defender. There is a wide field for improvement in the training of Provincial Statesmen. My lamented father so often felt the want of this useful and indispensable branch of knowledge in the Assembly of Nova Scotia, that he sketched the plan of an extensive work on Political Economy, and had a mass of notes gathered preparatory to it. They are left to his family as an inheritance. Death struck him down before the work was completed, but, with all the predilections and affections of a son, perhaps too fondly bound to and proud of a parent, I often looked forward to the completion and appearance of this book as likely to produce a new era in the science. The peculiar and searching powers of mind—the clear analysis and logic which the late Agricola could bring to the investigation of the most abstruse principle, are known, and, I believe, universally acknowledged. I may be pardoned for saying here that I never met a mind equal to his in this science; besides, his powers had often been tried, and had been followed, on some occasions, by brilliant success. When Commissioner of Police in Glasgow, in 1814, during one of the excitements of the Cotton Weavers, he was induced by the Board, of which he was a member, to write a pamphlet upon wages—some thousands were sold in the course of a week, and I have been since told by his friends that it had the effect of calming the

ries by the following extract from Mr. Dick's *Improvement of Knowledge*, being the concluding passage of the section in which he illustrates that Scientific knowledge will render mechanics more skilful, and enable them to make improvements in the Arts and in the physical Sciences, with which their occupations are connected.

"We have, therefore, every reason to hope, that, were scientific knowledge universally diffused among the working classes, every department of the useful arts would proceed with a rapid progress to perfection, and new arts and inventions, hitherto unknown, be introduced on the theatre of the world, to increase the enjoyments of domestic society, and to embellish the face of nature. No possible limits can be assigned to the powers of genius, to the resources of science, to the improvement of machinery, to the aids to be derived from chymical researches, and to the industry and skill of mechanics and labourers when guided by the light which scientific discoveries have diffused around them. Almost

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excitement—of convincing even the leaders of it they were wrong, and of thus restoring the city to peace. Several of the copies of this pamphlet are in my possession.—For the statistics of the Colonies, reference may be made to the Parliamentary Tables by Mr. Porter, and published in separate volumes, entitled "Colonies;" to the "Blue Books," being annual official Returns made to the Colonial Secretary by the Provincial Secretaries of the different Colonies, and of which copies are now sent to the Assemblies—to Montgomery Martin's "British Colonies," a work chiefly devoted to statistics—to the "Colonial Library;" by the same author;—and for the statistics of our Trade, to Bliss' Pamphlets, and Young's Letters to Lord Stanley, on the "Rights of Fishery and Colonial Policy,"—Bouchette's *British Dominions in North America*,—the appendixes to Lord Durham's Report are full of Statistical information relative to the Colonies of British North America.

every new discovery in nature lays the foundation of a new art; and since the recent discoveries in chymistry lead to the conviction *that the properties and powers of material substances are only beginning to be discovered*—the resources of art must, in some measure, keep pace with our knowledge of the powers of nature. It is by seizing on these powers and employing them in subserviency to his designs, that man has been enabled to perform operations which the whole united force of mere animal strength could never have accomplished. Steam, galvanism, the atmospheric pressure, oxygen, hydrogen, and other natural agents, formerly unnoticed or unknown, have been called into action by the genius of science; and, in the form of steam-boats and carriages, Voltaic batteries, gasometers and air-balloons, have generated forces, effected decompositions, diffused the most brilliant illuminations, and produced a celerity of motion both on sea and land, which have astonished even the philosophical world, and which former generations would have been disposed to ascribe to the agencies of infernal demons."

"Nor let it be argued that the great bulk of mankind, particularly the middling and lower ranks of Society, are incapable of making any important discoveries in Science. If what we have already stated be correct, they are possessed of all the essential requisites not only for acquiring all the elementary principles of knowledge, but also for penetrating beyond the circle which marks the present boundaries of science.—They are all organised in nearly the same manner, (a few insulated individuals only excepted) and consequently have nearly an equal aptitude for the exercises of conception, judgment, and ratiocination. They have the same organs of

sensation, and the same powers of intellect, as persons in the highest ranks of society. The grand scene of the universe is equally open to peasants and mechanics, as to princes and legislators; and they have the same opportunities of making observations on the phenomena of nature, and the processes of art,—nay, in many instances, their particular situations and modes of life afford them peculiar advantages in this respect, which are not enjoyed by persons of a superior rank. In short, they have the same innate curiosity and taste for relishing such investigations, provided the path of knowledge be smoothed before them, and their attention thoroughly directed to intellectual acquisitions.

*“Nor, again, should it be objected that an attention to such objects, and an exquisite relish for mental enjoyments would unfit them for the ordinary duties of active life. Every man under a well-regulated government, enjoys a certain portion of leisure from the duties of his station, which, in too many instances, is either wasted in listless inaction, or in the pursuits of folly and dissipation. This leisure is all that is requisite for the purpose in view. It would only be requisite that during its continuance the train of thoughts should be directed into a channel which would lead to more pleasing associations, and more substantial pleasures, than the general current of human thought is calculated to produce. That those who are in the habit of exercising their faculties as rational subjects, are thereby rendered more unfit for the common duties of life, it would be absurd to suppose. He who habitually exercises his judgment on scientific subjects is gradually improving his mental powers, and must, from this very circumstance be better qualified than others for exer-*

cising them in his particular trade or profession. For the habit of exerting the intellectual faculties in any one department, must necessarily fit them for vigorous exertion on any other subject, whether mechanical, agricultural, social or domestic, to which the attention may be directed. The evils which at present derange the harmony of society, so far from arising from a vigorous exertion of intellect, are to be ascribed, for the most part, to an opposite cause. The intellectual powers, in the case of the great bulk of mankind, lie in a great measure dormant, their energies are not sufficiently exerted in any department of active life; and when occasionally aroused from their inactivity, they are too frequently exercised in the arts of deception, of mischief, and of human destruction. To direct the current of human thought, therefore, into a different channel, besides its influence on the progress of Science, would be productive of many happy effects on the social and moral condition of mankind; *and as far as my experience goes, with a very few exceptions, I have found that those who are addicted to rational pursuits, are the most industrious and respectable members of civil and Christian society.*"

These sound and cheerful views will be more fully illustrated in a subsequent part of this volume. I give them here upon this authority, because the author ranks high as a popular and philosophical writer, and because, with his sanction, I trust they will be embedded, as admitted principles, into the Colonial mind.



## LECTURE II.

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Introduction to General Literature and Science; The effects and benefit of their cultivation on individuals, and nations; Comparison between Ancient and Modern Knowledge.—(Continued.)

### CONTENTS.

Remarkable features of the Age in the diffusion of learning—state of Education—New principles in the schools—Education of circumstances—Penny Magazines—Popular Publications—Fellenberg—Brougham—Birbeck—History of W. and R. Chambers, and of Chambers' Journal, &c.—On the extent and propagation of Christianity—a Religion of Reason—Keith on the Prophecies.—Evidences of Improvement in this Age—Catholic Emancipation—Temperance—Plans to civilize Africa by Buxton—Science now the hand-maid of Religion—Buckland's defence of the Bible—The Bible not intended to teach Science.—Institutes, and their effects upon social and public principles—Dr. Chalmers and Lord Brougham on the necessity of instructing the people in Political Economy—Progress of mind cannot be resisted—Wisdom of directing it—New views on Education—It is a business of the State.

**BUT** this age is remarkable, and it is in this point of superiority, and the bearing it has upon our present argument, I now press it upon the notice of the Institute, *in the care it has extended to the education of the people.* The system pursued in Colleges has been modernized, and their ancient privileges invaded and broken down, so as to open their portals, and extend their benefits to classes before excluded. In London alone the two rival institutions of the London University and Kings' College, bid fair to dim the honors of



their elder sisters of Cambridge and Oxford. Schools have been multiplied ; and the classics and popular sciences taught to those, to whom before they were unknown and inaccessible. The Minister of education forms an important member of the cabinet, in most popular governments. A liberal quota of the public funds is placed at his disposal. France, Prussia, the Russian Autocrat, and America\*, pursue with

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\*I have now before me a Report upon Elementary Public Instruction, laid before the Legislature of Ohio in 1839, by Dr. Calvin E. Stowe, Professor of one of the Literary Institutions of that State, and giving the results of a tour then recently made by him in Europe, under the authority of the General Assembly, in order to enquire into the Educational Institutions of the Old World, and to frame a practical and efficient system of Common School Education for their own State.—It has been printed by the Legislatures of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts—copies sent to the School Districts—and has been published in Michigan, New York, and several other States. Notwithstanding this extensive supply, the demand still continues, and a new edition has been lately published in Boston. “In the progress of my tour,” says the author, “I visited England, Scotland, France, Prussia, and the different States of Germany ; and had an opportunity to see the celebrated Universities of Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paris, Berlin, Halle, Leipsic, Heidelberg, and some others ; and I was every where received with the greatest kindness, and every desirable facility was afforded me for the prosecution of my inquiries. But, knowing that a solid foundation must be laid before a durable superstructure can be reared, and being aware that, on this principle, the chief attention of our Legislature is, and for the present must be, directed to our common schools, my investigation of the universities was comparatively brief—and the most of my time was spent in visiting the best district schools I could hear of, and also the high schools intended for the business education of young men, and the institutions for the education of teachers.”—After alluding to the efforts of William Frederick the III of Prussia, and the Catholic King Louis of Bavaria, and even the Autocrat Nicholas of Russia, married to a daughter of the Prussian monarch, and who inherits much of her father’s spirit,—he thus reverts to the exertions for education making in the different kingdoms of the world :—“ Thus three sovereigns,

common zeal this noble course of national advancement. Reform has thus reached and recast the learning of the schools; but the effect of improvement, "the march of intellect" is chiefly to be traced in the *education of circumstances*, to which the popular mind is subjected. I allude to the number of

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representing the three great divisions of Christendom, the Protestant, the Romish, and the Greek, are now zealously engaged in doing, what despotic sovereigns have seldom done before—enlightening and educating their people; and that too with better plans of instruction, and a more efficient accomplishment in practice, than the world has ever before witnessed. Nor is the spirit of education confined to these nations. The kingdom of Wirtemberg, and the grand duchy of Baden are not behind Prussia or Bavaria. The smaller states of Germany, and even old Austria, are pushing forward in the same career; France is all awake; Spain and Italy are beginning to open their eyes; the government of England, which has hitherto neglected the education of the common people more than any other Protestant country of Europe—is beginning to bestir itself; and even the Sultan of Turkey, and the Pacha of Egypt, are looking around for well-qualified teachers to go among their people. *In London and Paris, I saw Turks, Arabs, and Greeks, who had been sent by their respective governments to these cities, for the express purpose of being educated for teachers in their native countries; if not for the whole people, at least for the favoured few.* At Constantinople a society has been formed for the promotion of useful knowledge, which publishes a monthly journal, edited by one of the Turks, who studied in Paris; and the Sultan now employs a French teacher in his capital, whom he especially invited from France. And here too, in our own country, in the movements of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and several other of the States, we are strongly reminded of the educational zeal of the age. In short, the whole world seems to be awake, and combining in one simultaneous effort for the spread of education; *and sad indeed will be the condition of that community which lags behind in this universal march.*"—I recommend this cheap tract, published by Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb, Boston, as giving an admirable body of facts and suggestions, relative to Common and Normal Schools, —but I will refer to it again in the chapter devoted to these subjects.

Periodicals\* and Newspapers published and circulated—the innumerable host of volumes issuing from the press, in the form of Cabinet Cyclopedias, Family Libraries, &c., under the patronage of societies for the “diffusion of useful knowledge, which are intended to bring Science and Literature within the reach and means of the middle orders; the establishment of societies for the learned, of which the British Association for the advancement of Science is one brilliant example; and of Mechanics’ Institutes for the Artizans and operative classes; and lastly, the publication of those Journals and Penny Magazines, which, in their sober sense, sagacious maxims—in their philosophy and literary execution, when contrasted with the cheapness of their price,—are such honourable trophies to the genius and Arts of the age. In France and Germany the same sort of publications appear in countless variety, and have immense circulation. And yet with these obvious improvements in society—in the advance of the sciences and the arts—in the number of publications

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\* The circumstance which most distinguishes the present era of British Literature from all others, is the general diffusion both of useful and ornamental knowledge among every rank of society, in a manner unknown to former times, and yet unknown to every other nation. With all the faults imputable to newspapers and other periodical effusions of the press, how much useful information is diffused by them to every rank of society. The author of an excellent article in the *Edinburgh Review* for October 1819, shows, that in a given time, an Englishman reads about seventy-five times as much of the newspapers of his country, as a Frenchman does of his. What a spread of information? It may be said, that the reading might be more useful and edifying: but what an exercise of the mental powers! what an excitement to better reading and further attainments! A person can seldom find himself in a mixed society in which there is not more than one person both elegantly and extensively instructed.—*Butler's Reminiscences*, p. 304.

in their triple form of volumes, periodicals, and newspapers—in the increased intelligence—in the accumulation of public and private wealth—there exist certain classes who pretend that mankind are retrograding, and that in religion and all the elements of social virtue and happiness, our destinies are less propitious now than in former ages—and this they attribute to the spread of education, and contend, that as in a primeval age, the “tree of knowledge is the root of evil.”

Among the great men who have been the instruments of effecting these comprehensive changes in the spread of popular knowledge, alluded to in a previous page, and have lent the energy and impulse of superior talents and resolute purpose to the opinions and actions of the age, there are a *few* who have erected monuments for themselves, in the respect and affections of the people, which can never be shaken down. In the first rank of these stand \*Pestalozzi; the benevolent Fellenburg, the inventor of the industrial and Normal School; Dr. Birbeck, the father of the Institutes, which first opened the portals of science to the operative classes; and Lord Brougham, who has laboured for years to reform the educational institutions of England—to expose and eradicate

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\*The name of this Philanthropist is entitled to the first place among the friends of popular education. “To him is due the praise of first presenting the grand truth, now the foundation of all the efforts making with such signal success, for the improvement of our kind—that the pleasures of science are the inheritance of the poor, as well as the patrimony of the rich.” In his establishment at Stantz, “he was led to adopt the plan of teaching by way of mutual instruction, afterwards invented by Dr. Bell at Madras, and by Joseph Lancaster in England, each apparently without any knowledge of what the other had previously done.” See Dr. Mayo’s Lectures at the Royal Institution, Albemarle street, London. Substance of the principles of Pestalozzi.—Ed. Review, vol. 47, p. 118.

the abuses in endowments, and to extend to the nation a general and enlightened system. He and his associates were the founders of the London \*Society "for the diffusion of use-

\*The history of this Society will be found in a Memorial laid before the Senate at Washington, on the 18th Feb., 1839, by a Committee sent by the "American Society for the diffusion of Useful Knowledge," founded in New-York in 1836, and incorporated by the Legislature of that State in 1837. The Memorial, "praying the attention of Congress to the important objects of that Institution," gives not only a full synopsis of their own patriotic intentions and designs, but a history of the leading societies founded in Europe for literary and religious purposes. It was prepared, I believe, by the Revd. Gorham D. Abbott—the brother of the celebrated Jacob Abbott—and gave the results of a tour made by him in Europe, and a collection of literary statistics, embracing some volumes of manuscripts. He has acquired a wide and deserved fame for his exertions in the spread of popular literature. "There are in London," says the Memorial, "no less than twenty-six associations, comprising 13,300 members, founded for the sole purpose of promoting the interests of learning and science, and for diffusing useful knowledge." It gives a history of the society for promoting Christian Knowledge—of the Saturday Magazine and Penny Magazine—and of the Public Societies in Paris for the advancement of national and similar objects. The memorial is published in octavo form, 83 pages, and is numbered [235] of the Senate papers, 25th Congress, 3d ed., and these references to it are given thus minutely, because it is a publication which I hope to see widely circulated in these provinces. The American Society numbers among its Executive officers, several of the first literary names of America—Gallatin, Hamilton, Everett, Webster, Abbott, Stowe, Colquhoun—and to give an accurate view of the useful and benevolent intentions of its founders, the following extracts are derived from the conclusion of the Memorial:—"Our object in presenting these sketches of European societies, has been to show how much talent and philanthropic enterprise are employed abroad, in associated efforts to advance the interests of literature, science, and the arts; and to diffuse among all classes of the community select publications, adapted to the popular taste, and calculated to promote the highest welfare of men. If in England such societies are found desirable, and such results have attended their labors, surely similar ones may exert a most valuable influence in a country like ours, where intelligence and virtue are acknowledged by

ful knowledge," to whom the world is indebted for the Penny Magazine. The same band of the friends of enlightened education, of which his Lordship and Mr. Horner were

common consent, to be the only pillar of all that is valuable in our institutions. The already protracted length of this pamphlet precludes any further notice of foreign societies, or the insertion of statistics relative to the progress of the press in our own and other countries. Suffice it to say, that the annual issues of the English press average about twelve hundred volumes: those of the French and German, five thousand each. In ten years to come, estimating from the increase during ten years past, there will be issued in England, France, and Germany, more than *one hundred and fifty thousand* new books. There are now more than eighty periodicals in Great Britain, devoted to all the various departments of useful human knowledge. Many of them are conducted with great ability. The number also in France and Germany is very considerable. From all these foreign resources, as well as from the increasing productions of American talent, the committee hope to bring together, and to issue in the most substantial and attractive manner, whatever may subserve the best interests of society, in its social, intellectual, and moral relations. The first great object of the society is the publication of a library for the schools of our country, designed to embrace, when completed, a few hundred volumes, written and compiled with special reference to the wants of the youth of our country. It will include in the range of its subjects works in the various departments of knowledge, most interesting and useful to the great body of the people; including history, voyages, and travels, biography, natural history, the physical, intellectual, moral, and political sciences, agriculture, manufactures, arts, commerce, the belles lettres, and the history and philosophy of education; the whole to be prepared with a view to the different ages, tastes, circumstances, and capacities of readers. *The Committee have already adopted and published under their sanction a library of fifty volumes*, selected with much care from existing publications, to meet the immediate wants of our schools, while they go on as fast as possible to complete the plan announced in their published prospectus. They present to the country the first fifty volumes, chiefly standard works of permanent interest and value, which have already received extensively the public approbation in this country and in Europe, as the commencement of the series, to be extended from time to time, until it shall comprise a well-selected and comprehensive library of

the acknowledged leaders, raised the London University.— Out of the spirit of useful rivalry which these engendered, the King's College sprung up, and the society for promoting Christian Knowledge appointed their committee for general literature and education, whose school-books and publications are so honorable to them and to the age. Baron Dupin, Cousin, and Victor Hugo are all entitled to be placed on this list for their exertions in France. But last, though not least, in this branch of honorable exertion, I refer with unqualified praise to the names of the Chambers of Edinburgh, whose journal was the precursor of the Penny Magazines. It has the honour of being the first periodical of this kind published in Europe, and the brilliant success which has attended it,—the circulation of 70,000 numbers weekly, which it has enjoyed for years,—has enabled these

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useful knowledge, worthy of a place in every school-room of our country. It will be the greatest care of the committee that the whole be pervaded and characterised by a spirit of Christian morality, calculated to refine and elevate the moral character of our nation. The committee are now making arrangements with authors in different parts of the United States, for the preparation of various works adapted to the purposes of the society. A library for mechanics, another for farmers, one for seamen, one for children, &c. &c., will engage attention so soon as they can be advantageously commenced.—Some of the proposed works it is intended to carry through the press as speedily as they can be prepared. It is expected also that the society will take measures to obtain from England and France such facilities as can be commanded there, for the efficient prosecution of the objects in view, by correspondence with authors, publishers, and publishing institutions; by importing books, stereotype casts, cuts, engravings, &c.; and availing itself of all the advantages which can be derived from that quarter, in carrying forward its designs. The executive committee respectfully invite the attention of American philanthropists to this subject, and solicit their aid and co-operation in the great work proposed."

patriotic and public spirited men to extend their enterprise to the "Educational Course" and to the "People's Edition of Standard Works"—of which the copy-right has expired. The past circulation and growing popularity of this journal is eulogy itself to the character of the age—its success may be attributed to its entire freedom from party and sectarian views,—to its salutary and engaging morality,—to its fervid tone of pure and refined christianity,—to its admirable lessons of life,—and the popular views it presents of literature, science, and the circle of the arts. With Mr. Robert Chambers I have spent many pleasant and delightful hours,—no man was ever blessed with a more benign temper, a purer philanthropy, or a more exquisite pleasure in doing what he thinks practical and substantial good. His whole conversation breathes the warmest benevolence and charity. Their establishment is one of the wonders of the modern Athens. Their past life and progress is a study which cannot fail to inspire the young with high and honorable incitements. In August, 1841, a public entertainment was given at Peebles, Scotland, in order to present them with the freedom of that Burgh—they being natives of the town. A report of this entertainment was subsequently published, in pamphlet form, for private circulation, and from some of the speeches then delivered the following instructive lessons may be drawn. Of the extent of their establishment, Mr. W. Chambers then gave the following account :—

• The very favourable manner in which all our publications have been received excites in us the most heartfelt gratitude. At present we are distributing 160,000 sheets weekly, or at the rate of 8,000,000 per annum—a large por-



(1) WORKS PUBLISHED BY THE CHAMBERS'S.

tion of which passes through the hands of a gentleman now present, Mr. Orr, of Paternoster Row, London. The establishment at Edinburgh, at which the greater part of this literary material is prepared, I may describe as a kind of mill, in which cartloads of paper go *in* blank at one end, and come *out* at the other in the form of printed and bound volumes.—All our works are printed by machinery—hand labour being to us entirely out of the question. In one room of the establishment there are five machines, which turn out 20,000 sheets every day, from one year's end to the other; and in London Mr. Orr has two machines which execute rather more than 40,000 per week of our sheets for English circulation. Altogether, seven machines are engaged upon our works, each machine doing the work of twelve men. The paper which we consume amounts to about 1500 reams in a month, or 18,000 reams in the year, and is all made on the Esk, near Penicuik. To give you a better idea of the quantity of paper consumed in a year, if it were all spread out in a line, sheet by sheet, it would extend over 3000 miles (great applause).”

Of their Education he thus speaks—what a noble reward to the parent who has laboured to implant the principles of religion and morality into the bosoms of her children—“The truth is, like every one who has been reared in the country, amidst hills and dales and sparkling rivers and rivulets, I remain a passionate admirer of every thing rural.—I consider that no boy can be said to be rightly educated who does not spend several years in the country. There he has an opportunity of going to one of the highest sources of instruction—the book of Nature, a work of which God him-

self is the author (applause). There he learns a thousand useful facts in connection with natural history. He is practically made acquainted with various tribes of animals, trees, herbs, flowers, rivers, and learns much that he could never acquire in the confined streets and alleys of a city (hear, hear, and cheers). Well, then, Gentlemen, that was a species of education which I had the happiness of enjoying amongst you, and which has been of incalculable value to me through life. But here, also, I was prepared in other respects for the business of the great world. I here first received a taste for literary and scientific pursuits from my father,\* and here did I receive the elements of instruction in the principles of religion and morals from my excellent mother (great applause). These were precious lessons. Well do I remember, as if it were but yesterday, the plain but emphatic manner in which my parents used to point out the superior value of honesty and steadiness over irregularities, even when combined with all the brilliancy of genius; contrasting the condition of individuals who followed these opposite lines of conduct, the beautiful opening verses of the Psalmist were poured into my listening ears—

“ He shall be like a tree that grows  
 Near planted by a river,  
 That in his season yields his fruit,  
 And his leaf fadeth never;  
 And all he doth shall prosper well  
 The wicked are not so;  
 But like they are unto the chaff  
 That winds drive to and fro.”

“Surely, gentlemen, it is to the mode of youthful culture that I here point out, that not only we, but hundreds of young

Scotsmen who leave the scenes of their childhood, owe much of their success in life (cheers)."

The success and character of the Journal is thus simply sketched:—"Chamber's *Edinburgh Journal* was started in February 1832. The success of this cheap periodical was altogether amazing. Of the first number 30,000 copies were sold in a few days. The circulation rose rapidly from this point, and has been for some years about 70,000 copies weekly (great applause). I wish you to understand, gentlemen, that there were cheap sheets prior to the publication of Chambers's Journal; and, therefore, the only claim of originality which we put forward, is that of imparting to that humble order of publications some degree of originality and a perfectly sound moral tone. Our design was to furnish, at the smallest charge, a weekly store of harmless amusement and really useful instruction to those classes of the people who had hitherto been in a great measure excluded from a participation in the pleasures and advantages of literature. I wish you also to remark, that, in carrying these objects into execution, we took especial care to avoid all topics of a controversial nature (hear, hear). We wrote not, and do not now write, for any sect, party, or class. These are distinctions of which, in our literary capacity, we know nothing; neither do we write for any country, or time, or season, but for mankind at large (loud applause). We would not even wound the conscientious convictions of a Mahometan—we would attempt to instruct and amuse him, and by that means dispel the mist of error in which he was involved, but never run counter to his prejudices (cheers). By thus keeping aloof from prejudices and prepossessions, and in an especial man-

ner writing in the cause of the poor and the helpless, we have gained almost a universal auditory; and I believe no man who ever wielded the same mighty engine had reason to say they had made fewer enemies. If we are doing any good, gentlemen, by adopting and following this course, I hold it to be no small matter that our success has induced many other labourers to enter the same field of exertion. We have been imitated by dozens, and all have our best wishes for their success (hear, hear). No imitation, however, has ever lessened our own circulation, which, without any extrinsic aid whatsoever, continues daily to increase (cheers). With respect to the quality of the literature embraced in the pages of our Journal, and of which you have been pleased to express so high encomiums, I feel that I only perform an act of justice in awarding incomparably the largest share of any merit it possesses to my brother (tremendous cheers and waving of handkerchiefs)—for, with a few exceptions, he has panned all those original essays on men and manners which are allowed to confer upon the work its highest value as a literary production.”

On the health of Mrs. Chambers being given—the mother of these two sons, of whom Scotland may be justly proud—Mr. W. Chambers made the following exquisite and touching reply:—“I feel this toast to be altogether overwhelming. I can stand any allusion to myself; but I am overcome by your kind notice of my mother. It is to her kindness we owe everything. Throughout years of adversity she buoyed up our youthful hopes, and taught us to look forward to the rewards of honest industry; and, in the event of our being at

last unsuccessful, she pointed out the value of a good conscience, which at all events we had it in our power to secure (cheers). It is certainly one of the most gratifying circumstances in the whole of my history, to look back upon those years when my mother was so kind and attentive to her children—to those years during which she toiled for us after my father's decease. She carried her family on by her own unaided efforts, and now, when their hopes are realised, it affords me the richest satisfaction to have it in my power—(cheers.) It affords me, I say, the richest satisfaction to have it in my power to return her, to the best of my ability, that kindness which she showered upon me so profusely (great applause). Upon hearing of the proposed occurrences of this day, she and the other members of our family expressed an extreme anxiety to be with us. We could not refuse the request, and the consequence is the whole clan Chambers are here with only one exception.\* It is a scene on which any mother and son may shed a tear, and it will be admitted peculiarly appropriate for a work of this kind.

But the improvements of the age are not only visible in the number of these popular publications, but in the superior quality and character of them. In one of the early volumes of the London Penny Magazine a history of the work is given, and a full sketch of the modern improvements effected in cutting on wood and engraving on metal. These added to the art of Lithography\* has enabled the friends of popular knowledge to illustrate and adorn their works, with all that

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\*See Babbage on the Economy of Manufactures, Cap. XI on copying, for a full history of these improvements.

is beautiful and perfect in architecture, statuary and the fine arts; and by the latter invention, copies of the great paintings, which, when first from the hands of the master would cost thousands, are afforded at a price so moderate, that they are brought within the means of the middle and industrious classes, and thus extend their influence upon the tastes of the mass. The beauties of the Grecian architecture, the cartoons of Raphael, the inimitable productions of Rubens, Claude, Hogarth, West, Reynolds, Allen, Martin, are no longer confined to those who possess the originals—they are now multiplied and reproduced—adorn not one household but thousands, the cottage as well as the castle, and have made the taste for the fine arts nearly universal.

In sketching this picture there are two other features which are entitled to especial reference. In Washington Irving's life of Columbus an attractive odour and even sanctity is given to his enthusiasm in search of a New World, because he believed it to be a land of gold and of rubies, and said that if he reached it he would bring back his gathered spoils to raise a Crusade, that he might wrest the temple of Jerusalem, and the tomb of our Saviour, from the infidel. It was a heroic and noble conception,—but it was not more praiseworthy, although it may have been more daring, than the magnificent plans we have seen formed and attempted to be carried out in the planting of colonies in the Indian Archipelago, and in the late enterprise on the Niger. True, the latter has failed—true, the climate has done its work upon the European Martyrs who went out on this 'forlorn hope' of christianity, commerce, and civilization—but this does not lessen the merit of the design, nor diminish our respect for the

philanthropists who conceived, and lent their exertions and means, and even perilled their reputation and life, to complete it:—to destroy the intestine wars of a continent by improving its agriculture—by irrigating the deserts—by bringing down from the mountains the interior streams flowing from the deep lakes they enclose—to introduce the arts and manufactures—to spread \*religion, and thus to elevate millions from slavery and gross barbarism into the peace, the hopes, and the happiness of a christian life.

The rise and progress of the principles of Temperance are alike favourable to stirring morality, and to the performance of the active and nobler duties of life. The mission of Father Matthew,† and the effect of his apostolic progresses in Ireland, in weaning millions from the seducing cup—seems to be not an event but a miracle; and as if the Deity intended to give another example of divine power, in arresting the progress of immorality and ruin.

To meet the assertion before referred to, that the tree of knowledge is the root of evil, or in other words that general education is attended with danger, I would say that it does seem to speak disparagingly both of the divine influences of religion, and the devotion of its ministers, if it suffer from the spread of intelligence, and do not impart, amid the lights of learning, a more Apostolic odour and sanctity of character to its followers. Its doctrines were never so widely dis-

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\*The Slave Trade and its Remedy, by T. F. Buxton—London, Murray, 1840. This is a very curious and interesting book. A popular abstract of it has been published, price 1s.

†See Memoir of the Rev. Theobald Matthew, by the Revd. James Bermingham, edited by P. H. Morris, M. D., with an essay on the evil effects of Intemperance. New York, 1841.

seminated, and the altar of the true God never encircled by such a crowd of worshippers as at the present time. This subject is skilfully treated by Keith, in the 2d Chapter of his work on the Prophecies, in which he describes the "propagation and extent of christianity." The following extract gives a condensed view of the general argument:—

"The prophesied success and extension of the gospel is not less obvious in the New Testament than in the Old. A single instance may suffice:—"I saw an angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwelt on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people." These are the words of a banished man, secluded on a small island from which he could not remove; a believer in a new religion every where spoken against and persecuted. They were uttered at a time when their truth could not possibly have been realized to the degree to which it actually is at present, even if all human power had been combined for extending, instead of extinguishing the gospel. The diffusion of knowledge was then extremely difficult; the art of printing was then unknown; and many countries which the gospel has now reached were then undiscovered. And multiplied as books now are, more than at any former period of the history of man,—extensive as the range of commerce is, beyond what Tyre, or Carthage, or Rome could have ever boasted,—the dissemination of the scriptures surpasses both one and the other;—they have penetrated regions unknown to any work of human genius, and untouched even by the ardour of commercial speculation, and with the prescription of more than seventeen centuries in its favour, the prophesy of the poor prisoner at Patmos



is now exemplified, and thus proved to be more than a mortal vision in the unexampled communication of the everlasting gospel unto them that dwell on the earth to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people. Christianity is professed over Europe and America. Christians are settled throughout every part of the earth. The gospel is now translated into one hundred and fifty languages and dialects, which are prevalent in countries from the one extremity of the world to the other; and what other book since the creation has ever been read or known in a tenth part of the number?\*"

The zeal of missionaries, and the equally effective aids of commerce are daily extending the sphere of its divine influence. And yet is there in fact less virtue, less charity, is the golden rule of morals, is the first and last great commandment of love to God and justice to man, more openly violated, and vice more daring and avowed in the present than in the past ages of History? I ask the proof, for it seems to me, apart from general declamation—that abstract reasoning, as well as the experience of mankind support an opposite conclusion. The voluntary appropriation of twenty millions by the British Parliament to abolish slavery throughout the Empire, stands by itself as a permanent monument to the triumph of Christian principle. The increase of Churches, the rise of institutions for the deaf and dumb, for the

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\*Out of the 180 millions of inhabitants of Europe, says Schöbler in his "Present State of Christianity," about 160 millions belong to some one of the different Christian Churches. Humboldt, who estimates the population of Europe at 198 millions, assumes, that out of this number 103 millions are Roman Catholics, 52 millions Protestants, 38 millions followers of the Greek ritual, and 5 millions Mahomedans.—3 chap. p. 29.

blind and the insane, the Reform in Prison discipline, and the concessions yielded to the Catholics afford the clearest evidence that the age is melting under the divine spirit of our holy religion. The extension of societies to promote the cause of peace, to teach charity and kindness in national intercourse, and to break down those rivalries which flashed out and burned in deadly conflict, are also trophies of our steady advance in religion and morals.

The whole tone and essence of divine faith is favourable to intelligence, and courts the spirit of unsparing enquiry. It seeks no shelter from the boldest and sternest investigation. A religion divine, and intended to be universal—to be permanent—enduring—fixed upon the rock of ages, and the same from the days of the Apostles to the end of time, never can dread the subtlest enquiries of that spirit which it is meant to address, to animate, to soften, and to control.

I extract from "Keith upon the prophecies," a book which has now reached its 25th edition, and which every scholar ought to study in order to comprehend how legibly the decrees of God have been written in the fate of kingdoms—the following paragraphs in illustration of these views:—"No subject can be of greater importance either to the unbeliever or the Christian, than an investigation of the evidence of Christianity. The former, if his mind be not fettered by the strongest prejudice, and if he be actuated in the least by a spirit of free and fair enquiry, cannot disavow his obligation to examine its claims to a divine origin. He cannot rest secure in his unbelief, to the satisfaction of his own mind without manifest danger of the most fatal error, till he has impartially weighed all the reasons that may be urged in its

behalf. The proof of a negative is acknowledged and felt to be difficult; and it can never in any case be attained, till all direct and positive evidence to the contrary be completely destroyed. And this at least must be done before it can be proved that Christianity is not true. Without this careful and candid examination, all gratuitous assumptions, and fanciful speculations, all hypothetical reasoning or analogical inferences, that seem to militate against the truth of religion, may be totally erroneous; and though they may tend to excite a transient doubt, they cannot justify a settled unbelief. Being exclusively regarded or being united to a misapprehension of the real nature of the Christian religion, the understanding may embrace them as convincing; but such conviction is neither rational nor consistent, it is only a misapplication of the name of free-thinking. For, as Christianity appeals and submits its credentials, as it courts and commands the most trying scrutiny, that scrutiny the unbeliever is bound according to his own principles to engage in. If he be fearless of wavering in his unbelief, he will not shrink from the enquiry, or if truth be his object, he will not resist the only means of its attainment, that he may either disprove what he could only doubt of before, or yield to the conviction of positive evidence, and undoubted truth. This unhesitating challenge religion gives; and that man is neither a champion of infidelity, nor a lover of wisdom or of truth, who will disown or decline it. \* \* \* \* \*

“To the sincere christian it must ever be an object of the highest interest, to search into the reason of this hope. The farther that he searches, the firmer will be his belief. Knowledge is the fruit of mental labour, the food and feast of the

mind. In the pursuit of Knowledge, the greater the excellence of the subject of inquiry, the deeper ought to be the interest, the more ardent the investigation, and the dearer to the mind the acquisition of the truth. And that knowledge which immediately affects the soul, which tends to exalt the moral nature, and to enlarge the religious capacities of man, which pertains to eternity, which leads not merely to the contemplation of the works of the great architect of the universe, but seeks also to discover an accredited revelation of his will, and a way to his favour, and which rests not in his progress till it find assurance of faith, or complete conviction, a witness without as well as a witness within, is surely "like unto a treasure which a man found hid in a field, and sold all that he had and bought it." And it is delightful to have every doubt removed by the positive proof of the truth of christianity,—to feel that conviction of its certainty, which infidelity can never impart to its votaries,—and to receive that assurance of the faith, which is as superior in the hope which it communicates, as in the certainty on which it rests, to the cheerless and disquieting doubts of the unbelieving mind. Instead of being a mere prejudice of education, which may be easily shaken, belief, thus founded on reason becomes fixed and immoveable; and all the scoffings of the scorner, and speculations of the infidel, lie as lightly on the mind, or pass as imperceptibly over, and make as little impression there, as spray upon a rock."

I cannot comprehend the doctrine of Channing, who would impart to christianity a plastic character, the power of yielding to the pressure of change and circumstance, for as it is true, truth is eternal, and the essence of morality must be the

same in every former age as in this. But is not the Bible itself a fountain of living wisdom, and of the philosophy of morals? The perfection, the benevolence, the omnipotence of the Deity, are shadowed out and dwelt upon in the wonders of the *firmament*, the beauty of the earth, and the moving of the great waters. The extent of divine power is measured by the things of the earth, "he layeth the beams of his chamber upon the water, he maketh the clouds his chariot, he walketh upon the wings of the wind."—Psalm 104. The piety of believers is inspired by a reference to the manifestation of the supreme intelligence visible in the productions of the natural world. The abuse of knowledge—the tendency of shallow thinking—prompted by an unholy and feverish ambition, may create doubt, disbelief, and the propagation of the erring creeds; but the spirit of sound philosophy, blending itself with the love of truth, brings new arguments to support that faith which is founded upon revelation.

In Buckland's *Treatise upon Geology*, an objection raised against the authenticity of the Bible, because some of the recent discoveries in science seemed inconsistent with the language of the sacred record, is thus triumphantly refuted:—"The disappointment of those who look for a detailed account of geological phenomena in the Bible, rests on a gratuitous hope of finding therein historical information, respecting all the operations of the Creator in times and places with which the human race has no concern; as reasonably might we object that the Mosaic history is imperfect, because it makes no specific mention of the satellites of Jupiter, or the rings of Saturn, as feel disappointment at not finding it in the history of geological phenomena, the details of which

may be fit matter for an encyclopedia of science, but foreign to the objects of a volume intended only to be a guide to religious belief and moral conduct. We may fairly ask of those persons who consider physical science a fit subject for revelation, what point they can imagine short of Omniscience, at which such a revelation might have stopped, without imperfections of omission, less in degree, but similar in kind, to that which they impute to the existing narrative of Moses? A revelation of so much only of astronomy as was known to Copernicus, would have seemed imperfect after the discoveries of Newton; and a revelation of the science of Newton would have appeared defective to La Place: a revelation of all the chemical discoveries of the eighteenth century would have been as deficient in comparison with the information of the present day, as what is now known in this science will probably appear before the expiration of another age; in the whole circle of sciences, there is not one to which this argument may not be extended, until we should require from revelation a full developement of all the mysterious agencies that uphold the mechanism of the material world. Such a revelation might indeed be suited to beings of a more exalted order than mankind, and the attainment of such knowledge of the works as well as the ways of God, may perhaps form some part of our happiness in a future state; but unless human nature had been constituted otherwise than it is, the above supposed communication of Omniscience would have been imparted to creatures utterly incapable of receiving it, under any past or present moral or physical condition of the human race; and would have been also at variance with all God's other disclosures of himself, the end of which has uni-

formly been, *not to impart intellectual but moral knowledge.*"

It affords one of the noblest fields for eloquence upon which the disciples of Christianity delight to expatiate, that the most profound moral philosophers—Barrow, Locke, Newton, Boyle,\* Herschel, Davy—those who have penetrated the arcana of nature—who have reached the highest pinnacles of those eternal hills of truth and science which human genius has yet ascended, and thus surveyed in its comprehensive and illimitable range—the connexion of mind and matter—the obedience, if I may so speak, of the *physical effect* to the divine *cause*—have been the most pious and humble believers. It is the proudest boast of the present age that philosophy has been made the handmaid of Religion. Let any

\*The following is the language of Boyle—see *Lives of Eminent Christians*, vol. 3, p. 329.—“But above all it must be mentioned to his honour, that he viewed every fresh discovery as a further demonstration of the greatness and glory of God, and that it was his constant aim to elevate his thoughts and to raise the minds of his acquaintances and readers, from the study of the creation to the reverence of the Creator.”—“I must needs acknowledge,” he says in his youth, “that when with bold telescopes I survey the old and newly discovered stars that adorn the upper regions of the world,—and when with excellent microscopes I discern in otherwise invisible objects, the inimitable subtilty of nature’s curious workmanship, and when, in a word, by the help of anatomical knives, and the light of chemical furnaces, I study the book of nature, and consult the glasses of Aristotle, Epicurus, Paracelsus, Harvey, Helmont, and other learned expositors of that instructive volume, I find myself oftentimes reduced to say with the Psalmist, *How manifold are thy works O Lord! in wisdom hast thou made them all!* And when I have been losing myself in admiration of what I understand not, but enough to admire and not to comprehend, I am often obliged to interrupt or break off my enquiries, by applying to the work of God’s creation, the expression used by St. Paul of those of his providence—*O the depths of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments and his ways untraceable!*”

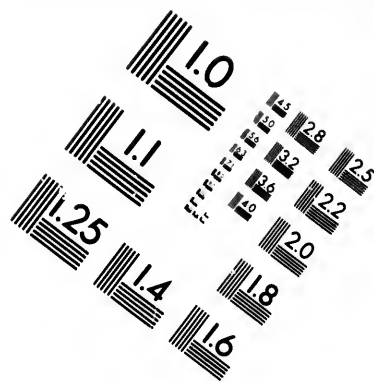
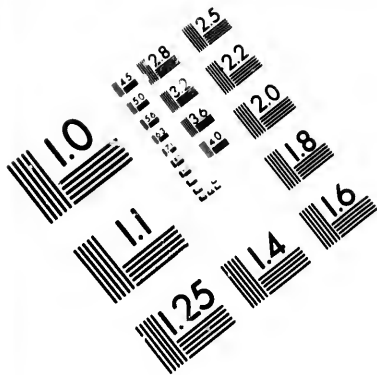
sceptic sit down to study, with a desire of attaining the truth. Paley's *Natural Philosophy*, illustrated by Lord Brougham and Bell, Dick's\* *Christian Philosopher*, Shuttleworth's *Consistency of Revelation*, *Consolations in Travel* or the last days of a dying philosopher by Davy, that splendid addition to pious learning, the *Bridgewater Treatises*, and the last chapter of Coombe on the *Constitution of Man*, on "the relation between Science and Scripture," and he will then be convinced that the cultivation of science and general knowledge is not hostile to the Christian faith.

The *Consolations in Travel*, by Davy, above quoted, is a book of miraculous powers in sketching the rise and fall of kingdoms--the fulfilment of the prophecies, and the discoveries of science--and conducts the argument so as to build faith on the broadest ground of experience, learning, and knowledge. The concluding epoch opens up a boundless view of the purposes of creation:—"I agree with you, that whenever we attempt metaphysical speculations, we must begin with a foundation of faith. And being sure, from revelation, that God is omnipotent and omnipresent, it appears to me no improper use of our faculties to trace, even in the natural universe, the acts of his power, and the results of his wisdom, and to draw parallels from the infinite to the finite mind. Remember we are taught that man was created in the image of God, and I think it cannot be doubted that, in the progress of society man has been made a great instrument by his energies and

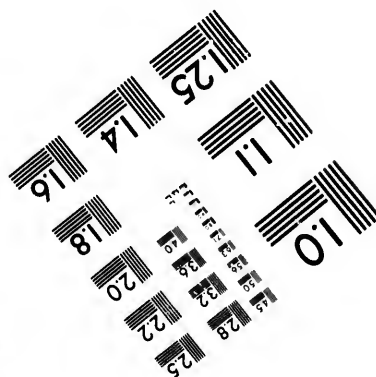
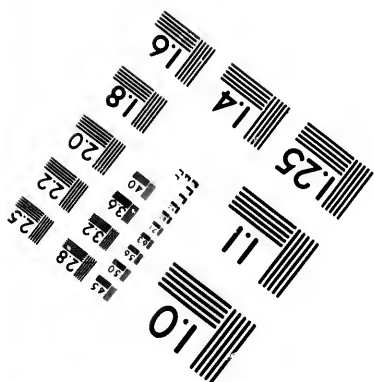
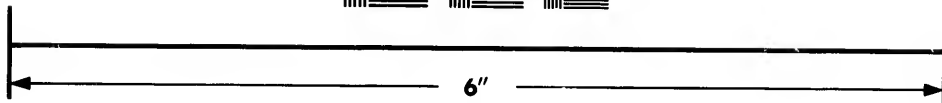
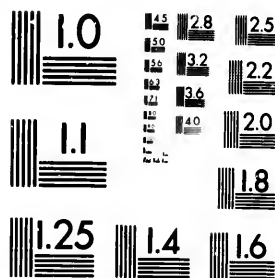
\*See the 5th Chapter of this book entitled the beneficial effects which result from connecting Science with Religion, In the introductory chapter on 'Final Causes,' of Roget's *Vegetable and Animal Physiology*, the aid which religion draws from the study of nature, is treated with exquisite skill.







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labours for improving the moral universe. Compare the Greeks and Romans with the Assyrians and Babylonians, and the ancient Greeks and Romans with the nations of modern Christendom, and it cannot, I think, be questioned that there has been a great superiority in the latter nations, and that their improvements have been subservient to a more exalted state of intellectual and religious existence. If this little globe has been so modified by its powerful and active inhabitants, I cannot help thinking that in other systems, beings of a superior nature under the influence of a divine will, may act nobler parts. We know from the sacred Writings that there are intelligences of a higher order than man, and I cannot help referring sometimes to my vision in the Coliseum, and in supposing some acts of power of those genii or seraphs similar to those I have imagined in the higher planetary systems. There is much reason to infer, from astronomical observations, that great changes take place in the system of the fixed stars; Sir William Herschel, indeed, seems to have believed that he saw nebulous or luminous matter in the process of forming suns; and there are some astronomers who believe that stars have been extinct; but it is more probable that they have disappeared from peculiar motions. It is perhaps a poetical rather than a philosophical idea—yet I cannot help forming the opinion, that genii or seraphic intelligence may inhabit these systems, and may be the ministers of the eternal mind in producing changes in them similar to those which have taken place on the earth. Time is almost a human word, and change entirely a human idea; in the system of nature we should rather say progress than change. The sun appears to sink in the ocean in darkness,

but it rises in another hemisphere; the ruins of a city fall, but they are often used to form more magnificent structures, as at Rome—but even when they are destroyed so as to produce only dust, nature asserts her empire over them, and the vegetable world rises in constant youth, and in a period of annual successions, by the labours of man, providing food, vitality and beauty, upon the wrecks of monuments which were once raised for purposes of glory, but which are now applied to objects of utility.”

Brougham in his discourse upon Natural Theology, has laboured to show that the existence of the Deity, his power, omniscience, benevolence, can be proved by inductive reasoning with the same certainty as mathematical truths. All nature indicates design—contrivance—aptitude—simple in execution, but elaborately wise and benevolent in conception. Take for example the late discoveries in Astronomy—stars have been discovered so distant in space, that the rays of light which they emit, and which fall upon the lens of the telescope, must have been 63,000 years in their passage.—Three millions of Comets are now supposed to pursue their eccentric revolutions in the universe; all those are diminishing in magnitude. Whence the law of change—what purpose do they serve in this magnificent creation of worlds? That of Enke’s is gradually approaching the sun, and must eventually either fall into it, or be dissipated by its intense heat. The relative distances of the Planets in our own system, have been found to be ranged in Geometrical proportion. What power has disturbed the series between Mars and Jupiter, and seemingly broken the intervening planet into four smaller? How boundless, how imposing is the range

of these enquiries. What conceptions of the supreme intelligence do they create—how favourable to humility and to piety—they inspire and quicken our yearnings towards heaven!

The spread of education is indeed unfavourable to superstition—to the distinctions of form, to systems which under religious pretences build up an Order and a Church, who grasp at an undue return of wealth and power; but it must ultimately advance the revival, and cherish and propagate the virtuous and charitable tendencies of that Religion whose whole essence is love and charity. Between the beginning and the end—the School and the College—the primer and the philosophy of the system of general education, there may “be sects who doubt and avow their disbelief;” but the “desert will be passed, and the promised land reached at last.” The very restlessness of disbelief induces speculation and inquiry—inquiry leads to truth. The French Revolution has advanced beyond all calculation the science of general politics. In its effects upon religion the hand of Providence is no less visible. England has been saved from the same race of butchery and crime. Philosophy has awoke from her temporary dream of Atheism. The host of volumes published by the Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge, under the title of “The Poor Man’s Friend,”—upon wages, capital, the rights of industry, and the Political sketches of Miss Martineau, and other works of the same class—have had an admirable effect upon the dispositions and opinions of the people. The effect of Education derived from Institutes and of popular publications, has reformed but not destroyed.\*

\*To the student, the philanthropist, or the Legislator, who

of its workings has been abrupt and startling; but Cobbett, and Thistlewood, and Owen, have found no mass who could be incited to the work of destruction.

Upon this subject Dr. Chalmers in his work upon the Christian and Civic economy of large towns, 3d vol., p. 304, thus gives his opinion upon the beneficial effects of instructing the Common people in Political Economy or Science:—"Still, however, we hold it desirable, that this science should be admitted with others, into our schemes of popular education; and that for the purpose of averting the very mischief which many have dreaded, and which they apprehend still

wishes to pursue this subject further, I recommend the perusal of a work, entitled the "Importance of Practical Education and Useful Knowledge," being a selection from the orations and other discourses of Edward Everett—the present Minister of the United States to the Court of St. James. It was published in Boston in 1840, and forms one of the volumes of the School Library for the State of Massachusetts.—Mr. Everett's literary fame has long been widely published; but the collection of his contributions to the cause of popular knowledge, gives him new claims to public respect. His essay in this volume "on the importance of Scientific Knowledge to Mechanics, and on the encouragements to its pursuit," presents an interesting and practical view of the question, and many of the illustrations are particularly applicable to these classes in the Colonies. Upon the same subject Mr. Gorham C. Verplank's discourse delivered before the New-York Mechanic's Institute in 1833, may be consulted with advantage. It is full of curious and exciting facts, and is well calculated to inspire the Manufacturer and Mechanic with a practical and honorable, and yet sober, ambition. See also Judge Story's discourse delivered before the Mechanics Institute at Boston, 1829, in Story's Miscellaneous Works, p. 122. On the best measures of promoting knowledge amongst the Working classes, and scientific education of the people.—Ed. Review, vol. 41, p. 96. In this article an excellent view is given of the rise and progress of Mechanics' Institutes.—Also, *Id.*, vol. 42, p. 499. Article in the Edinburgh Review on the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge—vol. 46, p. 225.—Brougham's treatise on popular Education, 32d ed.

from the introduction of it. To this they have been led by the very title of our science giving rise to a fancied alliance in their mind, with politics; and in virtue of this they would liken a lecturer upon this subject, in a school of arts, to a demagogue in the midst of his radical auditory. Now the truth is, that the economical science, which enables its disciples to assign the causes of wealth, is as distant from politics, as is the arithmetical science, which enables its disciples to compute the amount of it; and there is just as much reason to fear an approaching democracy, because the people are now taught to calculate prices, as there will be when people are taught soundly to estimate and to reason upon the fluctuation of prices. We do not happen to participate in the alarm even of those who should, above all things, deprecate, from our mechanic institutions what ought strictly and properly to be termed the science of politics, believing as we do, that all truth is innocent, and that the greatest safety lies in its widest circulation. But we confess a more especial affection for the truths and doctrines of political economy; and so far from dreading, do greatly desiderate the introduction of its lessons into all those seminaries which have been instituted for the behoof of our common people. It is utterly a mistake that it cannot be taught there, without the hazard of exciting a dangerous fermentation. Instead of this we are not aware of a likelier instrument than a judicious course of economical doctrine, for tranquilizing the popular mind, and removing from it all those delusions which are the main causes of popular disaffection and discontent. *We are fully persuaded that the understanding of the leading principles of economical science, is attainable by the great body of*



*the people ; and that when actually attained, it will prove not a stimulant, but a sedative to all sorts of turbulence and disorder, more particularly that it will soften, and at length do away with those unhappy and malignant prejudices which alienate from each other, the various orders of the community, and spread abroad this salutary conviction, that neither Government nor the higher classes of the State, have any share in those economical distresses to which every trading and manufacturing nation is exposed ; but that in fact, the high road to the secure and permanent prosperity of labourers, is through the medium of their own sobriety, and intelligence and virtue."*

There is a series of essays\* but lately completed from the powerful and fertile pen of Lord Brougham, in various subjects of political philosophy. In the preliminary discourse on the objects, pleasures, and advantages of political science, the benefit of circulating sound views among the mass of the people, is ably and eloquently discussed. In page 27 the following very original illustration is given:—"In truth a greater absurdity cannot well be imagined, than attempting to keep the bulk of mankind in ignorance of all that appertains to state affairs. State affairs are their own affairs. An absolute Prince † once exclaimed—"The State! I am the State!" But the people may most justly exclaim, "We are the State!" For them laws are made: for them governments are constituted. To secure their peace, and protect them from injury without and with-

\*Political Philosophy, price 12s., in one volume octavo, published by the London "Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge"—Knight, publisher.

†Louis XIV.

in the realm, rulers are appointed, revenues raised, police established, armies levied. To exclude them from the superintendence of their own affairs, is as if the owner of an estate were refused the inspection of his accounts by his steward. To prevent them from understanding the principles on which their affairs are administered, is as if the owner of an estate were suffered to know what his steward was doing, but debarred from all understanding of what he ought to do. To prevent them from knowing what are the institutions and what the condition of foreign nations, is as if the owner of an estate were precluded from knowing how his neighbour's property was managed, what rent he got for his lands, what salaries he paid his agent. In every country, whatever the form of its government, and however little of a popular cast, this is the amount and this the aspect of the absurdity that is propounded by those who would prohibit the political education of the people. But incomparably greater is the absurdity of keeping the people in ignorance, where the constitution of the government is of a popular kind. Here, the people are called upon to bear a share in the management of their own affairs, to attend Public Meetings, to serve in offices, to vote in the choice of law-givers. There may be some consistency in excluding them from all the knowledge that would fit them for performing these high political functions, while you also exclude them from all exercise of the functions themselves. But to make them political functionaries, and to leave them in ignorance of political subjects, is little less absurd than it would be to keep the owner of an estate ignorant of farming, and expect him to superintend the management of his farm. But if it be said there is no occasion

for all the community learning political philosophy, any more than for all a landowner's family inspecting his accounts and understanding agriculture, the answer is obvious, that all the community, and not particular classes, are the parties interested in State affairs, and that if any family can be found, in which all the members, servants included, have their several shares in the property of the estate, then, beyond all question, each member, down to the humblest member, however inconsiderable his share of the property, would be entitled to inspect the accounts—would be directly interested in superintending the management—and would be unspeakably foolish to remain in ignorance of the principles on which farms should be managed, and the condition and management of the other estates in the neighbourhood.”

The same causes of reformation, before alluded to, are at work in the Church. Her altars may be robbed of their splendour—her clergy limited in their means; but though individuals may suffer for a time, and the sympathies of society through them be wounded, the divine spirit of religion will shine forth, we trust, thrice purified from the ordeal, society be knit together by stronger bands, and government rest on more enduring pillars. Reason will become triumphant; and rulers consolidate their power by advancing the interests and securing the affections of the people.

Whatever may be our political sympathies, it is in vain to oppose the march of mind. It sweeps on, certain, pointed, irresistible! Like the waves of the sea it will advance, and cast back the command which attempts to stay its progress. All opposition is vain—but it is wise to control and direct—to meet its earlier manifestations, and to yield to its demands,

ere these become clamorous and extravagant. To educate is thus to christianize, and to propagate christianity, is to offer the noblest service which Man can offer to his Maker.

In one of Melville's late sermons, entitled "Christianity adapted to the converting and civilizing Nations," he illustrates, in his own beautiful and graphic style, the influence of revelation on morals and the arts. I give from it the following passages, because I am anxious to enforce the principle that all education, and all acquisitions in letters are worthless, unless based upon religion, and fitted to carry into practice that refined and matchless system of morals which our Saviour and the Apostles first promulgated.

"And in this is Christianity mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds. The Missionary, with no carnal weapons at his disposal, with no engine but that Gospel which the worldly-minded account foolishness, has a far greater likelihood of improving the institutions of a barbarous tribe, introducing among them the dignities and refinements of polished society, increasing the comforts of domestic life, and establishing civil government on legitimate principles, than if he were the delegate of philosophers who have made civilization their study, or of kings who could bestow all their power in its promotion. And we wish we could again, for the sake of attesting this part of our argument, travel with you through a district still subjected to the tyranny of heathenism, until you reach the missionary village rising in its peacefulness on the mountain side, or in the shaded valley. What a contrast between the scenes through which you have passed, and that you now attain! How striking the difference between the rude wanderers whom you had met in fear and suspicion,

and the cottagers who flock around you and hail you as a brother! Are they men of the same tribe? \* \* \* \*

We will ask the Missionary who is moving, as the patriarch of the village, from cottage to cottage encouraging and instructing the several families who hear him with reverence. We will ask him by what influence he withdrew them from lawlessness, and formed them into a happy and well disciplined community. Did he begin with essays on the constitution of society; on the undeveloped resources of the country; on the advantages derivable from the division of labour; or on those modes of civilization which would be thought worthy of patronage by a philosophical board? Oh, the missionary will not tell you of such modes of assaulting the degradation of centuries: he will tell you that he departed from his distant home charged with the Gospel of Christ: he will tell you that he preached Jesus to savages, and that he found as the heart melted at the tidings of redemption, the manners softened, and the customs were reformed; he will tell you that he did nothing but plant the cross in the waste, and that he had found, that beneath its shadows all that is ferocious would wither, and all that is gentle spring up and ripen."

"It may not then be an untenable supposition, that nothing worthy the name of civilization can subsist with idolatry, so that Christianity is alone the effective engine for pulling down the strong holds of barbarism. \* \* \* \*

You ask for the machinery of civilization; we hesitate not to point out to you the preached Gospel of Christ. We have a confidence in the missionary which we should not have in any lecturer on political economy, or any instructor in handicraft or husbandry. You may not, indeed, trace any connec-

tion between the religion he promulgates, and the arts which you wish to introduce. You may think it a strange method of teaching the savage the use of the plough to teach him the doctrine of the atonement. But the connection lies in this—and we hold it to be strong and well-defined—by instructing the savage in the truths of Christianity, I set before him motives such as cannot elsewhere be found, to the living soberly, industriously, and honestly: I furnish him at once with inducements, whose strength it is impossible to resist, to the practising the duties, and evading the vices, which uphold and obstruct the well-being of society.”

Of the true secret of moral regeneration, and the only and best source of human happiness, the author of \**Woman's Mission*,” thus speaks. This is a work of high and deserved fame, and has already reached a tenth edition. “That the principle of moral regeneration is not in external prosperity, we have proof in a country the political position and institutions of which allow her to make (as much as it is possible to do) ample provision for the temporal wants of the governed. The friends of instruction look upon intellectual culture as the grand panacea of all evils; and the enlightened and benevolent exhaust themselves in efforts to extend to the many the advantages once confined to the few. Good results follow, but not the results expected. *Intellectual, by no means involves moral progress*—this we see in all nations; intellectual, by no means involves moral superiority—this we see, alas, in gifted individuals. Our history, past and contemporary, holds up two most striking examples of this truth—

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\*Parker—London, 1 vol.

Bacon and Byron; those splendid intelligences who both disgraced the god-like gifts bestowed upon them; and the errors of each were of such a kind against which, if against any, intellectual superiority might be supposed to present a safeguard. Bacon's sordid avarice and Byron's grovelling sensuality, are vices not even of that kind, the daring criminality of which gives an impression almost of the sublime.—No one will imagine that their superiority of intellect is charged with having produced these faults; but we are fairly entitled to deduce that though intellect may give dignity and vigour to moral sentiments where they do exist, it has no tendency to produce them where they do not. Nay, like our unprincipled ally, it is ever ready to aid either party, and to lend energy to evil passions, as well as loftiness to good ones. It is a singular corroborating fact that the grosser passions are often found in co-existence with the higher moral sentiments; such co-existences being not only possible, but frequent in the case of intellect.

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“We see then how men may be rendered better and happier; in other words, on what principles depend the regeneration of mankind—*on the cultivation of the religious and moral portion of their nature*, which cultivation no government has yet attempted, over which in fact governments and public institutions have little or no control.”

In pursuing this argument it is not to be overlooked that we are apt to speculate upon the influence and tendency of education, as it has hitherto been conducted. Large masses of the people—entire sections or districts, even in England, have been excluded from the benefits of the present system—

a system avowedly disgraced and weakened by glaring defects and abuses. But in viewing the tendency of education and the spread of knowledge from the present time, we must regard it as an improved and progressive science—as a teaching not only of letters but of ideas—of feelings and of habits—of the scriptures and of practical morals. The poorer classes are to be taught not only to know and to think—but to act and to feel. The Normal School is to train the master, and the industrial class the Mechanic. The mind and the hand are to co-operate under one uniform system of training; and the whole establishment is to be placed under the higher intelligence of the age, and to become one of those branches of internal regulation over which every Government will exert an immediate and vigilant control. The attempt has been made, to make Education a section of the British Association for the advancement of science—it is already admitted as one. Such auspices promise much, and inspire the hope that the educational institutions of the age will be recast, begin a new career of utility, and add not only to the intelligence, but to the morality of mankind. All good men will aid in the accomplishment of a result so ennobling and desirable.



## LECTURE III.

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**Introduction to General Literature and Science—The effect and benefit of their cultivation to Individuals and Nations.—(Concluded.)**

### CONTENTS.

Charms of Literature—To improve the mind, the duty of every man—How even the busy may have time to cultivate their powers—Examples—Sir Samuel Romilly and Charles Butler's habits of study—Necessary to improve, because our faculties and knowledge may pass beyond the grave—Opinion of eminent Authors and Divines on this subject—Melville's Sermons—Mr. Dick's view of the future state—Effect of intellectual improvement on personal advancement in the Colonies—Encrease of knowledge adds "length of days"—To cultivate our "talents" a duty enjoined by Revelation—Learning and Wealth contrasted—The different dispositions of mind required for each—Effect of Literature upon happiness, the powers of conversation, and on the performance of the social duties—Respect paid to a learned old age—Resources of Authors—Works by men in confinement—the best educated nations have been the most labourious and wealthy—Effects of Education on the softer sex—Elevation and happiness to them—Their influence in Society—The field for improvement, especially in these Colonies—Mr. Dick's view of the present state of knowledge—Intelligence and virtue, the true conservative principles—Mr. Colquhoun's Lecture—Evidence of History—These results may be secured here, from the British character of our Political Institutions.

**LET** us pause and treat here the improvement of the mind and the pursuit of letters, as one of secular and of Christian duty. What, it may be asked, are the true, the legitimate objects of existence—the honorable labours of life

leading to an honourable end. Is it to be content with a faith which our reason does not comprehend—to be bound up within that circle of duties, which the single profession or pursuit we are compelled to select as the source of a livelihood, creates,—proscribed to live as if each day and year were the first and the last? This cannot be a sound view of the objects of human existence—for we are taught there are an old age and an immortality—that there is a coming season for rest—reflection—preparation for the tomb. Why not extend to learning and education then the same maxims of worldly wisdom which we apply to the acquisition of wealth; and gather present stores for future use.

The answer may be made by the professional and the busy man—where is the time? If the taste exists, the *spare* half hours of life, often wasted in worthless trifles, will be devoted to literary pursuits, and it is astonishing how much may be done, even, in the employment of these, if we are faithful to ourselves. The anecdote related by Chesterfield, in one of his letters to his son—how and where the Latin Classics had been studied, is too well known to be repeated here, and even the reference may be improper. But there are other examples—one of the most erudite chancellors of France became a profound and elegant scholar, by devoting to letters the time he was obliged, by the irregular habits of his lady, to wait for his meals. Sir Samuel Romilly kept up his knowledge of modern literature by the same attention to his half-hours, by others wasted. Franklin became a statesman by eating bread and drinking water, and devoting his time, while a journeyman printer, allowed for food, to study,—Cobbett mastered and repeated the English Gram-

mer, while he trod his post as a centinel in Halifax,—Lord Brougham has written many of his political essays and reviews, in the interludes of a trial,—and Charles Butler, the Reminiscent, whose labours in literature have been herculean, thus alludes to his habits of study—it made a deep impression on my mind years ago, and is an example which it would be wise for every young man to emulate.

“It is pleasing to him to reflect, that though few have exceeded him in the love of literature, or pursued it with greater delight, it never seduced, nor was suspected by his professional friends of seducing him, for one moment, from professional duty. M. Teissier, in his account of one of the French Jurisconsults noticed in his Eloges, mentioned that he was so absorbed in his literary pursuits, that his wife was obliged to drag him from his library to his bureau. To this necessity the loved and revered person, to whom the Reminiscent owes 37 years of happiness, was never exposed.

“Very early rising, a systematic division of his time, abstinence from all company, and from all diversions not likely to amuse him highly—from reading, writing, or even thinking on modern party politics—and above all NEVER PERMITTING A BIT OR SCRAP OF TIME TO BE UNEMPLOYED, have supplied him with an abundance of literary hours. His literary acquisitions are principally owing to the observance of four rules:—to direct his attention to one literary subject at a time; to read the best book upon it, consulting others as little as possible; when the subject was contentious, to read the best book on each side; to find out men of information, and in their society to listen not to talk.

“The produce of his literary labours has appeared in the publications which those pages, *opus seniles*, will be found to mention. It is a great satisfaction to him to reflect that none of his writings contain a line of personal hostility to any one.”

To any young man inspired with the noble and resolute desire of self-improvement and elevation, and who is anxious to know what he may accomplish by seeing what others have done before him, I recommend the Biographies of Washington and Sir W. Jones—both of these men became great from

the regularity of their habits, their steady perseverance, and the *value they set upon time*. It is this which I believe makes the essential difference between men. The first may be studied in Guizot's life of Washington, and in his life by Paulding, forming two of Harper's volumes of the "Family Library." The last is best sketched in his beautiful biography by Lord Teignmouth. The acquirements of this extraordinary man in his early years at Harrow are known,—but, to show how industrious and methodical he was, while he was performing the labourious duties of a judge in the Supreme Court at Calcutta, the following sketch is given by his biographer of his domestic life :—

"The largest portion of each year were devoted to his professional duties and studies; and all the time that could be saved from these important avocations, was dedicated to the cultivation of science and literature. While business required the daily attendance of Sir W. Jones in Calcutta, his usual residence was on the banks of the Ganges, at a distance of five miles from the Court; to this spot he returned every evening after sunset, and *in the morning rose so early as to reach his apartments in town, by walking, at the first appearance of the dawn*. The intervening period of each morning, until the opening of the Court, was regularly allotted to distinct studies. He passed the months of vacation at his retirement at Crishnagur, (a villa about fifty miles from Calcutta,) in his usual pursuits."

Look at the result of this extraordinary diligence!

"As a scholar, the circumstances of his life being considered, his acquirements were extraordinary; and in this light the most remarkable feature of his character, was his singular facility in learning languages. A list, preserved in his own hand-writing, thus classes those with which he was in any degree acquainted; they are 28 in number—eight languages studied critically—English, Latin, French, Italian, Greek, Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit; eight studied less perfectly but all intelligible with a dictionary—Spanish, Portuguese, German, Runic, Hebrew, Bengalee, Hindoo, Tur-

ish; twelve studied less perfectly, but all attainable—Thibetian, Pali, Pahlia, Deri, Russian, Syriac, Ethiopic, Coptic, Welsh, Swedish, Dutch, Chinese. Besides law, which, as his profession, was his chief business through life, his writings embrace a vast variety of subjects in the several classes of philology, botany, zoology, mythology, astronomy as applied to chronology, and history, especially that of the Asiatic nations. And the praise of “adorning every thing he touched” is singularly due to him for the elegance of his style, and his power of throwing interest over the dry and uncertain enquiries in which he took such delight. As far as England is concerned, he was her great pioneer in Eastern learning; and if later scholars, profiting in part by his labours, have found reason to dissent from his opinions, it is to be recollected, as far as our estimate of his power is concerned, that most men who have obtained eminence in this recondite department of literature, have done so by the devotion of their undivided powers; what Jones accomplished, was performed, on the contrary, *in the intervals of those official labours*, to which the best hours and energies of his life were as his first point of duty devoted.”

Among professional men who have occupied the first rank in their profession, Lord Brougham, Lord Tenterden, Chancellor Kent, and Judge Story—the three last universally acknowledged to be the first lawyers of the age, and masters of every legal principle, however abstract and recondite, to be found in the Year books up to the present time—enjoy nearly an equal reputation for their classical and literary attainments. All of them have been diligent and faithful students, careful of their hours—and even of the passing minute. Lord Brougham, for the extent of his knowledge is perhaps the wonder of our age—but Chancellor Kent is nearly an equal; and when his biography comes to be written—when his works are numbered up—his judicial decisions, opinions, commentaries, now in a 4th edition—his knowledge of the dead and modern languages—and the secrets of his private library are made known

--filled as the latter is with hundreds of choice volumes on all branches of human knowledge, and every volume read having voluminous notes and abstracts in his own hand-writing—his fame will stand upon even higher ground than it has yet reached, and his Tusculum be honoured like the Tusculum of old. Men of inferior minds cannot expect to reach these high standards, but they may study the habits of such men, and imitate or endeavour to imitate them. This task at least will both incite and improve. The two volumes entitled "Pursuits of Knowledge," forming the first of the series of the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, may be studied with advantage. Of the lives there given let the enquirer read those of Ferguson, Hunter and Watt—the eulogy on the latter, by Arago, is an exquisite piece of biography. After them peruse Cobbett's "Letters of advice to a young man," a work which is a mine of practical and curious knowledge; Cobbett's life by his son, and the life of Niebur the Historian; and, if he have the right spirit, he will rise convinced from this history of instruction, that even, amid the most pressing duties of life, and surrounded by circumstances the most adverse, it will be possible, with diligence and resolution, by the economy of time as if it were money, to make a respectable progress in literature and letters. Mr. Robert Chambers, in one of these practical essays, which are to the scholar the main charm of the Edinburgh Journal, has said, and said truly, that in cities all public improvements, and the affairs of public companies and institutions, are superintended by and under the control of the busiest men. The desire for improvement, and the pursuit of learning conducted on a sys-

tion resolutely followed, will, even in the brief space of human life, accomplish miracles.\*

It is necessary, say the sages of this world, in the morning, in the strength and energy of life, to husband our means—to economise—to lay up a competency for sickness, adversity, and old age. "In approaching age itself," says Bulwer in one of his essays in the student, "we ought to have less need of economy. Nature recoils at the miser, coining malmion with one hand, while death plucks him by the other. We should provide for our age, in order that our age may have no urgent wants of the world to absorb it from the me-

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\*To every young person attached to letters, I would further recommend the perusal of Dr. Channing's popular essay on Self-improvement. It has been widely disseminated throughout the United States, and has already passed through several editions in the mother country. It is full of profound reflection and eloquent and beautiful illustration. There is also a volume lately published by the Harpers of New-York, being No. 126 of the District School Library, containing Lord Brougham's celebrated discourse "on the objects, advantages and pleasures of Science," being the first pamphlet published by the London Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge; Professor Sedgwick's discourse "on Classical, Metaphysical, Moral, and natural studies," read before the Juniors of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1832; and other essays by Professor A. Potter, and Mr. Verplanck, upon the pleasures and advantages of Science, Literature, and general Knowledge, which is well entitled to a place in every village and private Library. The fame and ability of these productions are already universally acknowledged by literary men, and I know of no popular work where the pursuits of letters and science, and their effect upon character and happiness are advocated with a higher range of argument and eloquence. To one in search of the inspiration of the spirit of philosophy, a diligent perusal of these discourses will be as refreshing as instructive. In Dr. Dick's work on the improvement of Knowledge by the means of Education, section 5th, on the pleasures of Science, is instinct with knowledge. The "Christian Philosopher," by the same author is an admirable and engaging book for leisure hours.

ditation of the next. It is awful to see the lean hands of dotage making a coffer of the grave." Why not apply, I ask, the same reasoning to the acquisition of learning—to the fortune of new ideas, the solacing reminiscences—the glorious conceptions which it garners up. There is a period in every man's life when the active duties of the world, its pomp and busy bustle become distasteful. No one is exempt from sickness and physical debility. If struck down by the hand of Providence what resource have we then—what avail even the gifts of fortune, if we cannot derive pleasure from books, and that cheerful, pure, and enlightened companionship they afford. With these we can *then* summon to our couch, the Poets, the Philosophers, the Historians of all past time ; and, although fixed to one narrow and darkened chamber, lying perhaps incapable of motion or of speech, we yet may revel in all the treasures\* of the mind

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\*Professor Wilson at the public dinner given to Dickens in Edinburgh in 1841, delivered a beautiful speech in praise of literary pursuits and tastes. In a popular work published in Boston in 1839, entitled *Letters to School-Children*, by John C. Wines, this subject is treated with a practical and engaging wisdom. "Education," says he, "elevates the character of every one who possesses it, and is the only possession which makes a man truly independent. Remember that education, to be of the right kind, must include not merely knowledge but virtue ; not only a cultivated mind, but an upright heart and pure life. Education will greatly increase your happiness. How many more sources of enjoyment are open to an educated than an ignorant man ! The pleasures of sense, such as eating, drinking, hunting, fishing, riding, &c., are almost the only kind that the ignorant are capable of enjoying. Not so with those who, by study and reading, have laid up a store of knowledge. They have higher, purer, and better sources of enjoyments. The educated are generally fond of reading, and a taste for good books is a never-failing spring of happiness. To a person possessing this taste, history, biography, philosophy, travels, all the wonders of air, earth, and ocean,



whether they repose in the stately and solemn temples of philosophy, or are spread abroad in the walks of the Muses. If happiness lie in the mind and not in circumstance, how far superior is such a power to the mere possession—the brief and passing consequence of wealth—the “dignity of dollars,” as once tauntingly stigmatized by Canning. How often have all of us seen the gloom of the sick bed, brightened by the rays of cheerfulness, which are imparted by religious devotion,—but its pleasures are rendered purer, and the ardour which it inspires more fervid, if philosophy and learning can be brought to its aid.

Sickness is accidental, but old age, if life be spared, we cannot avoid. Without learning and without books it is a prison house, sobered and darkened by imbecility. Less potent in the world, old men become less necessary and less courted. The more dependent *then* we are upon the pleasures of society, and conversation, we find, alas, we are the more avoided and shunned. To a generous heart the impassive coldness—the icy selfishness of the world checks its better

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are so many ministers of enjoyment. And what unspeakably increases the value of education is, that it is a possession which cannot be taken away from you. If you have houses they may be burnt down; if you have lands, your titles may turn out worthless; if you have stocks, they may lose their value through the villany of others; health may be undermined by disease; office may be snatched from you by popular caprice; you may be stripped of every external possession in a thousand ways; but education, knowledge, virtue, the riches of the mind, remain ever with you. You cannot part with them even if you would. They are with you, at home and abroad; in prosperity and adversity; by sea and by land; in sickness and in health; in youth, in manhood, and in old age. How truly, then, is it declared in Holy Scripture that wisdom is the principal thing.”—p. 131. This is a book full of admirable instruction for the young.

impulses, and if too sensitive often makes them, like a subtle poison, corrode itself. The affections of children may then draw them around us—but these predilections do not extend to the circle of our *set*. We are less yielding, and less fitted for the conventional forms, the measured courtesies, and the bustling throng of fashion; we prefer the quiet and intellectual converse enjoyed with friendly and congenial minds. But how few are the hours of each day which can be thus devoted, and to what resources can we turn, if we are incapable of resorting to books, and their store of pleasant reflections. How miserable—how querulous—how painful to itself, and its connections is an ignorant old age, wasted in impotent repinings or in worthless trifles! Such is an inglorious termination to a manhood of useful activity. And yet how bright, and cheerful, and Godlike may an intelligent old age be made. None of Cicero's productions display so much the philosophy of his mind, the purity of his religion, or the loftiness of his contemplations, as his treatise, "*De Senectute*." In it he has recorded the hopes which inspired him. "*Quod si in hoc erro quod animos hominum immortales esse credam, libenter erro, nec mihi hinc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo*,"—a proof he had passed \*beyond the mythology of his era, and had penetrated like Plato be-

\*Of the "ancient doctrine of the immortality of the soul," there is a very clear abstract in Note viii, to Brougham's Discourse on Natural Theology. Extracts are there given from Plato, Socrates, Xenophon, and Cicero, and the well-known passage of the latter writer in the *Somnium Scipionis*—where celestial enjoyments are held out as the rewards to public virtue referred to. "The precision of the language," says His Lordship, "touching a future state, which marks this treatise is singularly approaching to that of the New Testament."—See *Id.* p. 82 and 83.

and that certain which the belief of the age had hung before the mystical rites of the Heathen Gods.

But I pause here to introduce a distinction which ought never to be forgotten. The hopes of the ancients were a dark, dim, mysterious uncertainty. Melville thus speaks, in his own fascinating and sublime eloquence, of the "Resurrection, which is the doctrine of the Bible."

"We are so accustomed, from our earliest infancy, to believe implicitly the doctrine of the soul's immortality—it is taught us, I might say, in our cradles—and so wound up with all the institutions of religion, and all the associations of life, that we pass into a comparative forgetfulness of its awful nature; and receiving it as a thing of course, overlook it as a truth of the most stupendous dimensions. We forget amid the multiplicity of truth which even natural religion will now profess to put forth, of a future state, that the proudest and most acute philosophy which ever arose amidst the widest of the heathen nations, wrestled with strugglings which were mighty, but which were wholly ineffectual, to throw themselves into the deep regions which lay beyond the grave, and to snatch some fragments of knowledge which might be held up to the admiration and gaze of a world lying in ignorance. *We forget that always previous to the appearance of Christ on earth, and independent of the assistance of divine communication, there certainly have been men gifted above their fellows, who pondered deeply on futurity, and grappled with the mysterious shadows of some coming destinies; yet a luminous doubt was, after all, the very summit of their attainments, and a splendid conjecture the highest result of their most laborious searchings after truth.* Even if human science had revealed with the general development of the fact, that man, frail as he seems and feeble, doth yet carry in himself a spark of celestial fire, which can no more be quenched than the Deity which is the light of the universe; still that bone should come again to bone—that the dust which is scattered to the winds of heaven shall be compounded once more into shape and symmetry, and the rude heaps of the charnel-house shall resolve themselves into living forms—that corruption shall put on incorruption, and mortal put on immortality—O there never could be philosophy which masters this; it was above it—it was beyond it; and while familiarity

with the truth takes off some of the strangeness of the marvel ; yet I pray you to remember, that you see a grave prepared, and the coffin lowered, and the tears of the mourners almost dried up, by the brilliant thought that the body of the brother or sister which they thus commit to so cold a custody shall not only moulder or waste away, but shall stir at length in its narrow home, and throw off, as with a giant's strength, the ponderous burthen of the sepulchre, and come forth with that body glorified and purified, which is now encompassed with all the dishonours of death—when, I say, you behold a spectacle like this, a spectacle which would be deemed a most unaccountable prodigy if it were not of common occurrence. O it is the soul's loftiest triumph—a triumph over the wreck of all that is material or sensible—a triumph over bone, and flesh, and sinew, dislocated, and decomposed, and shattered ;—then I pray you to give the honour alone where the honour is due, to ascribe the victory to the true and actual conqueror, and to remember that the gospel of Christ is the gospel of the resurrection ; and that until the Redeemer appropriated the character to himself, there was never a being who could have dreamt in the wildest dream of enthusiasm of uttering such words as these—“I am the resurrection and the life.”

What a charm has Cicero thrown around the occupations of venerable age, and how eloquently does he recommend for this purpose the pursuits of philosophy and the study of the Grecian letters. Cumano in his essay upon Temperance, has illustrated the same subject with a captivating, because practical eloquence. It is a subject alike instructive in this, as in the Augustan, or any previous age. To read, to learn, to lay up the treasures of knowledge, is as useful a duty with a view to the happy close of this life, as to the enjoyment of the next. The soul dies not. Some believe its powers, its capacities, its aptitude in acquiring and in contemplation, will pass with its acquisitions here to immortality. If we are to mingle in the society of superior natures, will we not enjoy in these regions of bliss and of enlarged

contemplation, when the glory of the Universe will have burst upon us in its sublimer mysteries, and the pleasures of sense are at an end, a more exquisite enjoyment according to the intellectual grasp with which we can measure, comprehend, and admire them. There are some beautiful essays by Addison in the Spectator, upon this subject, conveying an elevated train of thought. This idea is curiously illustrated in the life of Crabbe by his son:—

“He had a notion, perhaps somewhat whimsical, that we shall be gainers in a future state by the cultivation of the intellect, and always affixed a sense of this nature, also, to the more important meaning of the word ‘talents’ in the parable, and this stimulus doubtless increased his avidity for knowledge, at a period when such study was of little use besides the amusement of the present hour.”

Lord Brougham, in the spirit of the gravest philosophy, has suggested the same idea in his late work upon Natural Theology. I have space here for only one extract:—

“Yet may we conceive that hereafter such of our affections as have been the most cherished in life shall form again the delight of meeting those from whom death has severed us—that the soul may enjoy the purest delights in the exercise of its powers, alone for the investigation of truth—that it may expatiate in the discovery of whatever has hitherto been most strangely revealed or most carefully hidden from its view—that it may be gratified with the sight of the useful harvest reaped by the world from the good seed which it helped to sow.”

And in one of Melville’s sermons, entitled “Life a state of discipline for Eternity,” immortality is connected with this hope—if true, and if believed, it is the highest reward for the diligent and faithful cultivation of our talents and virtues.

“You will often meet in the perusal of Scripture with references to our present state of being as most strictly prepa-

ratory to another. The general representation of the Bible appears to be that this earth is not only a scene of probation but, that it is yet farther, a scene of moral discipline, and that by the schooling and training of which we are here made the subjects, we become fitted for the business and enjoyments of a higher sphere. And there are few points in Theology which, for practical worth, deserve more to be impressed on mens' minds than this—that, over and above the obtaining the right of admission to heaven, there must be obtained a meetness for its possession. It is quite evident that whatever the scenery and characteristics which we ascribe to the future home of the saints, we must suppose ourselves endowed with just those organs and faculties which shall be effectual for appropriating the beauty and the blessedness; otherwise (to use a common expression) the whole would be thrown away on us, and we could be nothing advantaged by the splendid things and lovely, which might girdle us around.

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“Is it not then a most fair expectation, that, for as much as our present life may be considered to bear on our future, exactly that relation which the infancy of this state of being bears to its manhood—is it not, we say, a most fair expectation, that we are placed on earth in order that we may be prepared for a higher place in creation: yea, and that if there be a frittering away of the opportunities of that which we are bold to call the childhood of our immortality, so that we pass into eternity uneducated for its lofty concerns, we shall be just in the condition of the full grown man launched upon life, without any of the teachings of instruction, or habit or experience, and thus be fitted for no other part throughout the broad ages of the immortality of our species, but that of furnishing an exhibition of moral shipwreck, and telling out to the intelligent universe, that the attempt to set aside God's ordinance of discipline would issue in nothing but everlasting ruin—perfect in one thing, but that one thing wretchedness.”

A modern author of eminence has illustrated this view of immortality by a beautiful train of reasoning, and as I cannot but regard it as a belief which leads to the practice of virtue and to honorable exertion, both in the prosecution of self-improvement and of these benevolent schemes destined

to bless and elevate mankind, I pause here to give the following passages :—

“ If then we admit that the present state is connected with the future, and that the hour of death is not the termination of our existence, it must be a matter of the utmost importance, that the mind of every candidate for immortality be tutored in those departments of knowledge which have a relation to the future world, and which will tend to qualify him for engaging in the employments, and for relishing the pleasures and enjoyments of that state. The following remarks are intended to illustrate this position :—

“ We may remark, in the first place, in general that the knowledge acquired in the present state, whatever be its nature, will be carried along with us when we wing our flight to the eternal world. In passing into that world we shall not lose any of the mental faculties we now possess, nor shall we lose our identity, or consciousness of being the same persons we now feel ourselves to be ; otherwise we behoved to be a different order of creatures, and consequently could not be the subjects either of reward or of punishment for anything done in the present state,—an extinction of our faculties, or a total change of them, or the loss of consciousness, would be equivalent to an annihilation of our existence.

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“ Scientific knowledge, as well as that which is commonly designated theological, is to be considered as having a relation to the future world. \* \* \* \* \*

There are certain applications of scientific principles, indeed, which may have a reference solely to the condition of society in the present life, such as, in the construction of cranes, diving-bells, speaking trumpets, steam carriages, and fire engines ; but the general principle on which such machines are constructed, may be applicable to thousands of objects and operations, in other worlds with which we are at present unacquainted. The views however which science has opened of the wisdom and benevolence of the Deity, of the multiplicity of ideas and conceptions which have existed in his infinite mind, of his Almighty power, and of the boundless range of his operations, will not be lost when we enter into the eternal world. They will prepare the soul for higher scenes of contemplation, for acquiring more expansive views of divine perfection, and for taking more extensive and sublime excursions through the boundless empire of omni-

nipotence. The same may be affirmed of the principles of arithmetic, algebra, geometry, conic sections, and other departments of the mathematics, which contain truths that are eternal and unchangeable, and that are applicable in every mode of existence, and to the circumstances of all worlds.—Such knowledge may form the ground work of all our future improvements in the world beyond the grave, and give to those who have acquired it, in conjunction with the cultivation of moral principle, a superiority over others in the employments and investigations peculiar to the higher sphere of existence; and consequently, a more favourable and advantageous outset into the new and unknown regions of the invisible state.”

In a personal and worldly point of view there is this marked distinction between the acquisition of wealth and the pursuits of learning. The first sharpens our worldly knowledge, the tact, the cunning and hypocrisy of our souls. We learn to deal more shrewdly with other men, to speculate with more sagacity, to sell and buy and barter upon more favourable terms. But while this sharpens, it also hardens the mind, contracts and deadens its nobler sympathies, and puts the heart under the selfish controul of a cold and calculating judgment. Men may sometimes acquire a fortune by an adventitious chance or lucky speculation—but this is the exception and not the rule. In the larger majority of cases, wealth is amassed by a rigorous attention to petty details, to little savings, to an unceasing purveying about trifles, nothings apparently in themselves, but which add insensibly to the common heap. It requires attention as unbroken as it is selfish. Money becomes the Alpha and Omega, the altar and God of the soul. There may be no abandonment of principle, no dereliction of honesty, all the gains may be fair and honourable, but there are few seasons in which the mind yields to its confiding, generous, and charitable tendencies.



In this engrossing and exclusive pursuit come the habits which accumulated it. Men cannot change their natures as they may wish. The old leaven clings to them, it cannot be cast off. Gold in such men's estimation becomes the standard of worth. They value other men, not from their dispositions, their character, their talents, but by their thousands, and capability of acquisition. And yet we must be careful not to press the argument too far. In rational and philosophical enquiry, extremes are to be avoided. There have been men who have earned an honorable competence, with unblemished name, and who have been looked up to as the first in every charitable enterprise, as kind and amiable in private life, and respected for their intellectual attainments, for their sagacity, good faith, and honour. I impeach not in unqualified language the acquisition of wealth, for unless mankind had accumulated, science and literature would lose their vivacity, and the ardor of improvement. They have seldom flourished except in or after a commercial and wealthy age, and have often grown under the leaves of the tree of luxury.

The tendency of education and the love of literature have effects directly opposite. They improve, expand, and ennoble the mind. An intelligent man may be equally industrious in acquiring wealth, but it is with a different view and for a different end. He feels he has a consequence in society, he can command and ensure respect, by his powers of conversation, by his intellectual standing, independent of his income or balance at the bank, which, if Bulwer be a sound moralist, is now "the true standard of English respectability." He has another empire than the Stock Exchange. He has not the heaps of gold, but he has that diviner

and nobler wealth of mind which though intangible, is inseparable; and which only wastes or becomes obscured with the decay of mind itself. It is beyond accident and is even supreme over the majesty and process of the law. He cannot lose it except with existence itself.

Every step in intellectual advancement, the mastery of every new branch of literature or science, while it adds to knowledge, extends the view to a wider and unknown sphere. Pope has compared the progress of knowledge to the ascent of the mountain; every step widening the prospect, and making the horizon more distant. Ignorance may shield itself with dogmatism and presumption, but the learned man is never opinionative—he is willing to listen and to be informed. Paley and Newton never attacked an adversary—Scott and Butler never answered a critique. The surest proof of advancing wisdom is the growing consciousness that we know less. The Earl of Chatham told the younger Pitt, after he had finished the course of the schools, that he had yet *everything* to learn; and that (to be wise) he would still require to read an encyclopedia. No insinuation could be more severe, and yet it was just; for it was the advice of a proud, sagacious, and affectionate father, who had gathered wisdom from experience, and who, sighing for the intellectual superiority of his son, revealed the truth that he might aspire to further exertion.

In these Colonies, however, the father who neglects to educate his son, and the young man who omits to educate himself, forgets a solemn and imperative duty both to his country and his friends. Living under the genius and spirit of British institutions, and with no privileged aristocracy,

who either from hereditary title or wealth, can claim for themselves and their descendants, like the Barons of the Old World—the favoured children of a feudal age—a settled position and influence in the Legislature,—these Colonies are in a greater transition state, and the road to political power and honours is more open than it is even in the parent state. We have less of chivalry in our modes of thinking, and less enthusiasm and reverence in our love for the aristocratic orders. In our public entertainments the toast of the “Queen” will be received with the same outbursts of devotion and loyalty as is manifested, on similar occasions, in the United Kingdom—but “*the Duke*” an Earl or a Lord, do not command here the same influence,—and the reasons are obvious;—we are not open to the influence of personal presence—to the associations this creates—and to that effect which their castles, estates, retinue of tenants, and the splendour of their public appearances, naturally produce. A coronation, the opening of parliament, and the pageantry of a public exhibition, in which the Court and Nobility are surrounded by the adornments and *prestige* of their greatness, leaves an impression on the mind which gives a tone and colour to its after reflections.

Men may acquire wealth here, although their education be humble, and their knowledge of books imperfect and limited; but suppose the wealth acquired, and the retirement it affords be at command, what substantial and effective influence can its possessor acquire, or what large benefit can he confer on his country? True he may be beloved and esteemed in his own circle—faithful in the performance of his social duties—a good father, husband and friend—charitable to the poor, and there-

fore entitled to be loved and respected: but the instant he enters public life, and opens a sphere of public duty, where his knowledge and talents can be the only limit to his usefulness, his own deficiencies press upon him—he feels the *will*, but has not the *way*; and although animated with the sincere desire of doing good, and of pushing forward public improvement, his powers untrained, like the withered hand and palsied limb, ever interfere to mar his purpose, blight his exertions, and he is ultimately compelled to retire, humbled and chagrined from a scene, where, if he had been blessed with education, his position and fortune might have enabled him to earn the enviable and living reputation of a public benefactor, and induced a monument to be erected, by public gratitude, over his grave.

Notwithstanding the prospect of these high rewards, I have heard some doubt the blessings of great talents to their possessor. It is, say they, the branches of the loftiest tree which the storm first rustles, and then, if it rises in its wrath, tosses most furiously—so the mind of gifted power and bold command, is first exposed to the assaults of human passions. The remark is true—but it ought not to lessen the honorable desire of doing good. Envy,—the little spirit of detraction,—the slander of rival passions have ever pursued and tormented the living; but when the tomb has its tenant, when the fear of a higher eminence, yet to be attained, has passed away from the rivals of the public man, which ever exists while he stands as an impediment in their path—when they can look back upon his exertions, free of all jealousy and antipathies—and view them solely in their own abstract and philosophical tendencies, even they are glad to join the general voice, and do

honour to the memory of a patriot, whose path of public usefulness they may have endeavoured to obstruct, and whose intentions they may have attempted to falsify and malign. Some men refuse to labour for the public good, because they say it only brings public odium, and is followed by public ingratitude,—but if life be viewed as a scene of ordeal—of preparation for something nobler and better—the belief that our good deeds live after us, and that they will adorn either our own memories, or the reputation of our children, and above all that they are written on the judgment-book of heaven, to decide our fate in the world of bliss to come, ought to reconcile men to public indifference, and induce them to labour—earnestly, disinterestedly, and hopefully—in the hope of these future rewards.

But it has been said, and said wisely, that he who plants a treer on the waste, or makes two blades of grass to grow where only one flourished before, is a public benefactor. If the soil be his own, he is adding unquestionably to the elements and sources of his wealth—to the power of multiplying his own comforts, and adding to those of others. There is a striking and forcible analogy between this and the cultivation of the mind. It is intellect which is the connecting link between man and heaven ;—the higher it is cultivated we are brought nearer to immortality. Between the African savage, who knows no desires and no pleasures beyond the gross and debasing pleasures of sense, and the Philosopher like Herschel—the Christian like Shuttleworth—the Poet like Milton—the Dramatist like Shakespeare,—or the Novelist like Scott ; there is an abyss as vast and impassable as that which divides these gifted men, from beings of a superior nature.

Compare the savage in one of the eastern islands who feeds on snails, has no covering save a scanty strip of fur,—whose passions are as fierce and uncontrolled as the tiger he sometimes attacks—whose knowledge is confined to the path he treads, and the view of the broad ocean which his eye can invariably run over,—to the sage who feels the influence of genuine Christianity, who has mastered all the fields of science, possesses a general and comprehensive view of the discoveries and reaches of thought effected by the choicest examples of human genius; the one is as different from the other as the diamond, when indurated by the curious chemistry of nature, is to the carbon from which it is formed in its charred, opaque and primitive state. The more ignorant we are we approximate the savage:—the more cultivated we become we are elevated to the standard of the scholar, and have our minds illuminated, and our powers brightened, by intellectual acquisitions which, whenever we please to turn to them, in a hopeful and patient spirit, not only add to our pleasures, but enable us to add to the enjoyment and social improvement of our circle or our race. We, like making the two blades, make the two ideas to flourish, where only one flourished before, and thus encrease our own and the general wealth of mind.

But, says the Proverb, get knowledge “for length of days are in her right hand.” What means this expression? that the cultivation of letters, or an encrease of wisdom, adds to that length of days which are numbered to us from our birth—no. It means that we have no measure of time except in thought, in the succession of ideas passing over the mind, and that length of life does not depend so much upon length of years,

as on the variety and extent of mental occupation with which these years are employed. Applying to life this measure—this sound principle of metaphysics—it is clear that some men live three or ten years in one year in comparison with others—that is to say—that men of extensive acquirements and lively imagination have ten times the number of ideas, hopes, sympathies, fears and joys in the same period of time, when contrasted with the ignorant and the sluggish. Let any Colonist, who has been nurtured here and disciplined in the schools, pass at the age of manhood to some of the fairest sites of the arts and civilization in the old world—to London, Paris, Vienna, Rome, or Athens, and set about the busy work of observation. In three months he will add more to his stock of knowledge than if he had lived at home for the same number of years;—not that his powers of mind would be endowed with any sudden gift—not that his *capacity* for knowledge would be enlarged; but because, by being placed in a new scene, the mind would rise to its exercise and revel in a world of fresh ideas and conceptions. They would flow in upon his mind in deep and rapid volume. By this journey, therefore, he would not only add to his length of days for the time—but gather intellectual resources, and treasure up fresh trains of thought, for the future. The mind would become a spring, which, on being touched, would ever give forth waters, lucid and refreshing. Solitude might deprive him of the communion of kindred minds, but it could never rob him of the treasures of memory, or the powers of thought—he could recall and revivify the past, let the fancy weave new creations, and in every hour thus multiply the notations of time. In place of a journey to Europe and acquiring know-

ledge by sense, "by presence *tangible*" which all have neither the means nor the opportunity to accomplish, there are none who cannot add by degrees to their knowledge of books, and thus give to every day expansion; and even confer on comparative youth the wisdom, the experience, the variety, and the years of age. To add to knowledge is thus to add to life, and a life founded upon and guided by knowledge and virtue, lends to existence its purest and most exquisite charms.

The savage sees the sun and the stars glitter in the arch above—but to him they are a mystery,—he views the broad ocean and its changing and troubled surface—but it has no voice of intelligence to him; the forest may wave with its thousand branches, and the earth be beautified by its richest verdure and its tinted and radiant flowers; but he does not comprehend the curious and divine chemistry by which these wonders are evolved—he sees, and smells, and touches, and tastes them—but that is all;—his view of the universe is confined to the island of which he and his tribe may be natives, and to the prospect from horizon to horizon which he daily scans; but the mighty creations of space, science, men, history, the monuments of the past—the workmanship, and the elevating sense of a pervading and benevolent providence,—are unknown and unfelt. The pleasures of learning are thus beautifully illustrated by a modern and popular author, who draws a powerful contrast between the man who stands upon the boundaries of the known and unknown—the "fathomed, and the depths unfathomable."

"With the help of his microscope he can enter into a world unknown to the ignorant, and altogether invisible to the un-




assisted eye. In every plant and flower which adorns the field, in every leaf of the forest, in the seeds, prickles and down of all vegetables he perceives beauties and harmonies and exquisite contrivances, of which, without this instrument, he could have formed no conception. In every scale of a haddock he perceives a beautiful piece of network, admirably contrived and arranged, and in the scale of a sole a still more diversified structure, which no art could imitate, terminated with pointed spikes and formed with admirable regularity. Where nothing but a speck of *mouldiness* appears to the naked eye, he beholds a *forest of mushrooms* with long stalks and with leaves and blossoms distinctly visible. In the eyes of a common fly when others can see only two small protuberances he perceives several thousands of beautiful transparent globes exquisitely rounded and polished, placed with the utmost regularity in rows, crossing each other like a kind of lattice-work, and forming the most admirable piece of mechanism that the eye can contemplate. The small dust that covers the wings of moths and butterflies he perceives to consist of an infinite multitude of feathers of various forms not much unlike the feathers of birds, and adorned with the most bright and vivid colours. In an animal so small that the naked eye can scarcely distinguish it as a visible point, he perceives a head, mouth, eyes, legs, joints, bristles, hair and other animal parts and functions as nicely formed and adjusted, and endowed with as much vivacity, agility and intelligence, as the larger animals. In the tail of a small fish or the foot of a frog, he can perceive the variegated branchings of the veins and arteries, and the blood circulating through them with amazing velocity. In a drop of stagnant water he perceives thousands of living beings of various shapes and sizes, beautifully formed and swimming with wanton vivacity, like fishes in the midst of the ocean. In short by this instrument he perceives that the whole earth is full of animation, and that there is not a single tree, plant or flower, and scarcely a drop of water, that is not teeming with life, and peopled with its peculiar inhabitants. He thus enters as it were into a new world invisible to other eyes, where every object in the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms presents a new and interesting aspect, and unfolds beauties, harmonies, contrasts and exquisite contrivances, altogether inconceivable by the ignorant and unreflecting mind.

“In the invisible atmosphere which surrounds him, where other minds discern nothing but an immense blank, he be-

holds an assemblage of wonders, and a striking scene of Divine wisdom and omnipotence. He views this invisible agent not only as a *material* but a *compound* substance compounded of two opposite principles, the one the source of flame and animal life, and the other destructive to both, and producing by their different combinations the most diversified and beneficent effects. He perceives it as the agent under the Almighty, which produces the germination and growth of plants and all the beauties of the vegetable creation—which preserves water in a liquid state—supports fire and flame, and produces animal heat,—which sustains the clouds and gives buoyancy to the feathered tribes—which is the cause of winds—the vehicle of smells—the medium of sounds—the source of all the pleasures we derive from the harmonies of music—the cause of that universal light and splendour which is diffused around us, and of the advantages we derive from the morning and evening twilight. In short he contemplates it as the prime mover in a variety of machines—as impelling ships across the ocean, blowing our furnaces, grinding our corn, raising water from the deepest pit, extinguishing fire, setting power looms in motion, propelling steam boats along rivers and canals, raising balloons to the region of the clouds, and performing a thousand other beneficent agencies without which our globe would cease to be a habitable world, all which views and contemplations have an evident tendency to enlarge the capacity of the mind, to stimulate its faculties, and to produce rational enjoyment.

“Again, the man of knowledge, even when shrouded in darkness and in solitude, where other minds could find no enjoyment, can entertain himself with most sublime contemplations. He can trace the huge globe on which we stand, flying through the depths of space carrying along with it its vast population at the rate of sixty thousand miles every hour, and by the inclination of its axis bringing about the alternate succession of summer and winter, spring and harvest. By the aid of his telescope he can transport himself towards the moon, and survey the circular plains, the deep caverns, the conical hills, the lofty peaks, the shadows of the hills and vales, and the rugged and romantic mountain scenery, which diversify the surface of this orb of night. By the help of the same instrument he can range through the planetary system, wing his way through the regions of space, along with the swiftest orbs, and trace many of the physical aspects and revolutions which have a relation to distant worlds. He can



transport himself to the planet of Saturn, and behold a stupendous ring 600,000 miles in circumference, revolving in majestic grandeur every ten hours around a globe 900 times larger than the earth, while seven moons larger than ours, along with an innumerable host of stars, display their radiance to adorn the firmament of that magnificent world. He can wing his flight to the still more distant regions of the universe, leaving the sun and all his planets behind him, till they appear like a scarcely discernible speck in creation, and contemplate thousands and millions of stars and starry systems beyond the range of the unassisted eye, and wander among suns and worlds dispersed throughout the boundless dimensions of space. He can fill up in imagination those blanks which astronomy has never directly explored, and conceive thousands of systems, and ten thousands of worlds, beyond all that is visible by this optic tube, stretching out to infinity on every hand—new creations incessantly starting into existence—peopled with intelligence of various orders, and all under the superintendence and government of “the King Eternal, Immortal and Invisible,” whose power is omnipotent, and the limits of his dominions past finding out.”

It is evident that a mind capable of such excursions and contemplations as I have now supposed, must experience enjoyment infinitely superior to those of the individual whose soul is enveloped in intellectual darkness. If substantial happiness is chiefly seated in the mind, if it consists in the vigorous exercise of its faculties, if it depends on the multiplicity of knowledge, which lie within the range of its contemplation, if it is augmented by the view of the scenes of beauty and sublimity, and displays of infinite intelligence, and power, if it is connected with tranquillity of mind which generally accompanies intellectual pursuits, and with the subjugation of the pleasures of sense to the dictates of reason—the enlightened mind must enjoy gratifications as far superior to those of the ignorant, as man is superior in station and capacity to the worms of the dust.

However we contemplate the influence of intelligence upon ourselves or on our country—upon our condition here and the life hereafter—the cultivation of mind, and the spread of education, must be impressed on us as a personal and social duty. The importance of intellectual occupations and pursuits can indeed be vindicated and enforced by the highest and purest sanctions. The beautiful “parable of the talents,” contained in the New Testament, has been interpreted by eminent and practical divines, to apply not to the mere gifts of fortune, but to the powers of the mind, and the affections and predispositions of the heart; and the “outer darkness” threatened there “to the unprofitable servant,”—and the “weeping and gnashing of teeth” have been represented as punishments foredoomed to those who neglect to cultivate their intellectual gifts, to sweeten the affections, and strengthen the social ties. Independent then of all personal benefit from the sources of internal happiness and of social influences which knowledge confers, the acquisition of it, and the sharpening of the mental powers, is elevated, by this practical application of a religious lesson, into obedience to an express and peremptory mandate from on high.

There is no rational being and no parent who does not deem it a sacred obligation to improve and preserve his own health and energies, and those of his offspring and dependants. Nay, there are persons who will often devote weeks and months, to secure to themselves, their children, or relatives, the benefit of exercise and free air—to recall the ruddy hue of health to the cheek, and give new tone and action to the muscular system,—who yet will be strangely and supinely blind, either to the increase of their own knowledge, or

the education of their children and the other members of the domestic circle. They thus exalt the physical over the moral agencies of our nature—forgetting that the one is of the earth, the other of heaven—that the one springs from dust, and the other is a direct emanation from, and connecting link with, the godhead.

In a late work entitled the “Handmaid,\* or the principles of Literature and Philosophy considered as subservient to the interests of morality and religion,” the contrast between the two is thus strikingly sketched:—

“It is impossible to contemplate the nature of man, as it displays itself in different individuals of the species, without observing the immense disproportion which prevails between his physical and mental energies. In bodily strength, and in the vigour of his organic structure, man is far inferior to many of the lower animals; but he possesses a hidden, a mysterious power, which raises him above the level of his corporeal nature, which triumphs over the feebleness of his material frame, and brings the unwieldy and impetuous tenants of the forest prostrate in willing subjection at his feet. When we survey some of the mightier efforts of human labour, some of the massive structures that have been reared by human hands; when we mount the summit of some lofty edifice, which commands a view of the wide panorama of domes, temples, and palaces, with which it is surrounded; when we contemplate the colossal achievements of ancient industry and art—the pyramids, the triumphal arches, the vast aqueducts, some faint vestiges of which, just sufficient to testify their stupenduous magnitude, are still to be observed on the soils of Egypt, Greece, and Rome; when we transfer our

\*I recommend this work, published by Parker, London, 1841, to the student. It is from the pen of the Revd. T. Davis, B. D., and is composed of five dissertations—1, on Bacon’s principles of induction—2, the spirit of philosophy—3, cultivation of the mind an object of primary importance—4, national character as influenced by intellectual pursuits—and 5, moral obligations connected with talent and science. It is argumentative and philosophical, and the last chapter an attractive and striking illustration of its subject.

gaze to another element, and witness one of those floating masses, which seem to afford the most vivid representation of a "world standing out of the water and in the water:" when we notice these diversified results of human power and skill, and contrast them with the physical energy of the agent, we are struck with astonishment at the apparent disparity which they display. We might imagine that some higher power had been at work—that some mightier arm must have wielded the elements which have thus combined—that some being more than human must have moulded nature to his will.

"But when we calmly and deliberately survey these objects as the mere results of well-directed human effort, and compare at our leisure the effect with the immediate agent, we turn away from the scene with a deeper and more overwhelming conviction of the superiority of mind to matter.—We perceive with wonder that, provided with how small an apparatus of bones and muscles, man can rear monuments of power, which seem to bid defiance to the ravages of time, and to partake of the permanency of creation itself. We almost cease to regard it as a sally of extravagance, when the philosopher, in the pride of conscious talent, and with a view to the application of mechanical power, exclaimed "Give me a place, where I may stand, and I will move the earth." "

If any parent were disposed to take a philosophical and moral, and yet sober, view of the importance of these two classes of duty, he has only to turn to history, and trace the influence which single minds have had upon the destiny and happiness of our species. Bacon for example struck out the inductive system, and not only changed the character of science, but evolved principles which will guide as long as letters have history. Galileo,\* Tycho Brache, and Newton founded the school of modern astronomy, and discovered those unerring

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\*For the lives of Galileo, Tycho Brache, and Keppler, see Brewster's "Martyrs' of Science," forming one of the volumes of the Library of Entertaining Knowledge. Tycho Brache's establishment at the Island of Huen, Denmark, resembles an Eastern tale more than reality. It is a book which will charm every student in Science.

laws which regulate the movements of the illimitable universe. Columbus discovered a new world, and Washington has built up a new fabric of civil liberty. Scott and Edgeworth have elevated the virtues and patriotism of their age, and have transfused their own refined and generous morality into the hearts of millions. Contrast the benign and sanitary influences of these names, with that of a Voltaire, Buonaparte, Byron—who aimed to sap the foundations of virtue, honour, and religion, and who have gathered to themselves so odious a reputation, that all good men say it would be better for the world had they never been born: and no argument could be advanced more effective to prove the obligation of parents giving to the young mind a right and vigorous direction. No one knows from what womb, or in what household, the highest order of mental endowments may break forth. Intellectual power belongs to no privileged class, and descends in no line of hereditary succession; and hence every parent, in looking upon those precious living treasures, with which God may have blessed him, should regard each as the *possible* germ of some great intellect, destined to give an impress to the age, and pursue a high destiny, whether for good or evil. To have children around us playing an honourable part in the world, gathering a harvest of fame for good deeds, giving to the family name a lustre, while they are storing up the hopes of a glorious immortality—is said to be one of the most exquisite and purest enjoyments of human life while the reverse is one of the bitterest pangs with which the human heart can be wrung. If to the parent of Bacon, or Scott, or Heber there was exstasy, and to the mother of Voltaire or Byron there was anguish, it is obvious

that the pleasures of the one, and the misery of the other, would be enhanced by the conviction, that these opposite features of character were in any degree attributable to the training they had been subjected to in their infant years.—These it is true are references to great names, but says the author of the Handmaid :—

“Nor is the privilege of exerting a plastic influence upon the character and habits of the community confined to transcendent genius. It is not the monarchs of intellect only who radiate this species of effusive and assimilating energy upon those around them. The possession of even an ordinary measure of talent and information is often sufficient to spread it over a sphere of very considerable extent. A slight degree of mental superiority seldom fails to make an individual the centre of a little circle—the oracle of the small community to which he belongs ; and to those who are comprised within that limit he imparts with ease and success his own habitudes of thought and feeling. In a reading age the power and opportunity of producing an impression, and of circulating influential principles, through the medium of a free press, are incalculably augmented, and in such a condition of things the character of a nation will always be strictly analogous to the character of its popular floating literature. From the Scotts, the Southseys, the Moores, and other leading poets, historians, and novelists of the age, to the most insignificant of the innumerable swarm of our periodical writers, there is a mighty influence going forth, which blends itself with all the habits, principles, and feelings of the people, and does much to render the nation morally and intellectually what it is.

Such considerations give to education and the desire of self-improvement, a universal and lofty influence,—and confer upon them the sanctions of a christian and social duty. And lastly, let it be remarked, that the tendency of knowledge is favourable alike to virtue and religion, and that in raising the standard of intelligence we are increasing the number of good men. The Author of the Handmaid gives the follow-



ing striking illustration of this remark, and with it I will close this branch of the argument:—

In contemplating the history of genius, philosophy, and science, in modern times, it is gratifying to observe their nobler and higher energies not seldom devoted to the objects which have been stated as defining their obligations and as forming their legitimate designs. If in the various departments of literature and science talent has been occasionally degraded from its office and high destiny, as the associate of divine revelation, to guide the knowledge and veneration of the Supreme: others have worthily sustained its character in this high relation, and in their immortal works seem to frown indignant rebuke upon those by whom it has been perverted and abused. In comparing the friends of religion and virtue among men of genius and science, with those of an opposite character—with those who were infidels in principle and profligates in conduct, we have certainly no reason to be ashamed of the contrast. If France has had its Voltaires, its Rousseaus, its D'Alemberts, and at a more recent period its La Places,—the poets of licentiousness and the philosophers of scepticism; France has also had its Pascals, its Fenelons, and its illustrious list of sacred orators, to vindicate, amidst all the depth of its superstition, the cause of religion and truth. If Britain has produced its acute but atheistic Hobbs, its subtle Hume, its brilliant but insidious Gibbon, its fervid but frequently coarse Dryden, its glowing but dissipated Burns, its intensely feeling, but wayward and unprincipled Byron; it has also produced a phalanx of intellectual worthies more than equal to these grievous abusers of the noblest gifts of heaven. It has produced its original and universal Bacon, its unrivalled Newton, its profound Locke, its deep-searching Boyle, its ethereal Milton, its sublime Young, its pure and highly-gifted Cowper, to say nothing of the varied genius and attainment of the present age, men, whose transcendent powers, bowing in meek submission to the authority of divine revelation, and associated with undeviating habits of morality and virtue, might well put shallow scepticism and reckless impiety to the blush: men, the whole weight of whose character and the whole force of whose talents were thrown into the scale of general Christianity. Let us then follow, at whatever distance, this bright cloud of witnesses to the truth of our religion and to the purity of its morality.— Thus, while our philosophy will become more profound and

our knowledge more extensive, our faith will suffer no decay and our virtue no diminution.

There is this further distinction between money and learning, that we cannot impart the first to others without lessening our stock, but we may give freely of the last, and that which remains will be undiminished and even purified.—Communion polishes intelligent minds. Without books society becomes a continuation of business—a conversation upon the transactions of the day, or it descends to the fortunes and the foibles of our friends.—Then comes satire and the ready censure, the uncharitable construction of conduct. We cannot speak praise at all times. The flesh will war against the spirit, and gain the mastery. If we talk continually about other men, the tongue, from the very love of variety will dip itself in the bitter waters of scandal, and the mind catch the darkening hues of sarcasm. Philosophy and the temper and disposition it creates, shrinks from such topics, and returns to its own fancy and ideal world. A knowledge of books gives to character a new amiability, to society a fresher and racier charm. Exceptions there are, but this is the rule. No man therefore who regards his own happiness—the part he is to play in the world's stage, the charms of domestic life—his standing in the social circle—his capability of receiving or imparting enjoyment to others, ought to despise the graces of learning and of philosophy, for without them he is barren of the most affluent sources of social enjoyment, and with them he is independent of fortune and circumstance.

D'Israeli has written a curious chapter upon the literary labours of authors, while placed in confinement. Charles the

first composed the 'Icon Basilike' during his imprisonment at Holmsby;—Sir Walter Raleigh never discovered, or, at least, displayed, the force or impress of his own genius, until Queen Elizabeth had consigned him to the Tower; his elaborate History of the World was there designed and perfected;—The Henriade of Voltaire, and the Pilgrim's Progress of Bunyan, were both composed under similar circumstances—Don Quixote was written by Cervantes, to brighten a period of captivity. When Horne Zooke was threatened with imprisonment for his political offences, he said "give me light, books, and my pen, and I care not how soon you close the doors of the dungeon upon me." Wakefield who has published the modern edition of the Wealth of Nations, and has acquired so wide a fame for his discovery of the new theory of colonization, wrote his "England and America" in Newgate, and Cobbett produced there also his admirable Essays of Paper against Gold. Beranger was delighting France with his National Songs, while the inmate of a cell under the mandate of Louis Philippe. Thus does the mind rise superior to situation by the fertility of its own revelations, and bring the "landscapes of thought," bright and illimitable as they are, to give variety and enjoyment to solitude.

But let it not be supposed that I wish to cast any undeserved odium upon the disposition of mind and habits, which tend to accumulation. All I wish to illustrate is the fallacy and fruitlessness of a *too* exclusive pursuit of it, of making the acquisition of money a sordid and exclusive occupation. Fortune to a certain extent is essential, and it ought to be the ambition of every man to acquire at least enough to pre-

vent old age from sinking to penury and want; but let not the means be made the end, so as to sacrifice, in its attainment, those more rational acquisitions which give to their possessor dignity and enjoyment. I wish not to place the spirit of accumulation and the love of books as opposite or conflicting aptitudes or principles,—for I come now to this proposition, that the best educated and most intelligent nations have been in all past ages, the most industrious and the most wealthy.

In the age of Alexander the arts and sciences had reached their zenith in Athens, and at that time the Pierius was crowded with a vast and busy commercial marine. Never before or since did the *Ægean* sea or Archipelago exhibit a scene of such active and prosperous commerce. The Romans were never an industrious or commercial people, and hence they furnish no analogy for the present argument. In the Augustan and golden age, they prosecuted trade, but Rome was only a depot for the productions of the provinces, and was itself the *situs* of exchange. The Italian Republics in the middle ages, when literature and eloquence were ripe amongst them, were the storehouses of Europe; and many of the practical arts and manufactures were carried to a high perfection. In silks and in steel they were unrivalled. The Genoese blade in the age of Chivalry was famed for the battle-field and the tournament. In Venice, where Tasso dwelt and Dante sang, a Bank was first established. The Lombards invented the *bill of exchange*. The inhabitants of the Low countries, when famed for their fairs and manufactories, and the extent of their commerce with the East, had the reputation of being a shrewd, sagacious, and highly in-

telligent nation. The struggles and heroism they displayed under William the Orange, in the reigns of the Phillips, evince their order of mind, by the just appreciation in which they held their constitutional liberties and the sacrifices they offered for their religion. England and France have enjoyed a pre-eminence in science and literature. In no other age, from the transition from the dark ages to the present time, have the arts and commerce been more perseveringly and successfully prosecuted than in the present. Those nations now famed for the best systems of education, enjoy a reputation equally high for perseverance in the accumulation of national wealth. Scotland, inhabited by the most intelligent and industrious people in the kingdom, perhaps in the world, were until the time of the union, and the introduction of Parochial schools, brave, it is true, but idle and superstitious, "Their lands waste, their peasantry poor, and their cities neither distinguished for their architecture, taste, nor embellishments. Their Athens then had not reached the pre-eminence it has now acquired." Prussia, where the best system of popular education on the Continent is now organised, is taking the lead in the career of national manufactures. The Swiss Cantons, known for their intelligence, are alike distinguished for their advancement in practical agriculture and manufactures. The New England States, the best educated in the Union, are beehives of commercial speculation, and persevering industry; and I pass from this branch of the argument without further reference or illustration, as I regard these views as only embodying an admitted axiom in the science of general politics.

The last paragraph as standing in contrast with the one

which preceded it, has been introduced for that reason only, out of its natural order. I intended to dilate further upon the effects of learning in mellowing the heart and manners—in giving to life an enthusiasm and poetic embellishment—in lending, in the words of Irving, “to the stars life, to the flowers enchantment, and to all nature eloquence,”—but I refrain, and pass to graver and more practical illustration.—I draw to a conclusion in tracing the effects of this spread of learning upon the position and destinies of the softer sex.

Of all classes of Society none have so deep an interest in the spread of learning and civilization as females. In rude states of Society they are the slaves, rather than the companions of their lords. Amongst the Indians of North America the wife is reduced to the most laborious and menial offices. Amongst the French in Canada and Cape Breton, and the Dutch in Lunenburg, they are subjected to labour requiring the severest muscular exertion. In the fishing settlements of these Provinces they are the cultivators of the soil, they plant, reap, and hoe, bear the barrow, and raise the fish pile—all labours useful and necessary in themselves, but scarce fitted for the slighter frame and delicacy of woman.—In these she neither occupies her proper station, nor exercises her proper influence upon society. As education and civilization advance, her position in the social scale is elevated. She is then confined to the duties of domestic life, and becomes the Queen of her household; in place of being the slave or servant of an ungracious master, she is elevated to be his friend and companion. She shares his good and evil fortune—brightens success, and softens adversity. It becomes her, then, above others, to be the patroness and friend

of education. It elevates her consequence and extends her dominion, and history shows she has never failed amply to repay the privileges and dignity thus conferred. How much of the national virtue is dependant upon the gentler sex.—They mould the tone of general manners, and render man virtuous, or otherwise, at their will. They exercise a secret, but resistless influence. No system or individual can stand against their ban. Many domestic kingdoms are ruled by a Catherine De Medicis, whose agency is never seen—but it is fortunate, that for one Catherine there are ten Portias and ten Cornelias.—In general it is their aim to soften, purify, exalt,—they infuse a charity and mildness into the intercourse of society, and come to controul and heal those conflicts of the evil passions, in which men, however prudent, if forced into the tide of the world, are involved. But the influence of the sex is chiefly felt in their capacity as mothers. To them belongs the early development of the mind—the formation of character and habits. They have the modelling of the wax, while it is ductile and freely inclined—they may inspire to virtue and patriotism, or degrade to selfishness,—make religion an element of character, or a thing to be scoffed at,—implant virtue or the seeds of vice,—compel industry, or suffer idleness and inattention. The household under their dominion is either a heaven or a hell. But experience teaches that the higher their elevation is set in the social scale, and the more kindly they are treated, their influences are inspired with better inducements; and hence, if education exalts them, and they from the position to which they are raised, shed down more benign and kindly auspi-

ces, it is equally their interest and the interest of society, to spread the gifts of intellectual improvement.

I am disposed, if time permitted, to have illustrated the subject with some additional views; but I have already appropriated sufficient space to subjects which are introductory. I trust, however, I have said enough to place the position I sought to establish, beyond all controversy, and that even those whose sympathies were before engaged in favour of learning and education, will feel the previous convictions confirmed and fortified—as resting in fact upon the basis of solid and invincible argument. If this end be gained their gratitude will be more warm and sincere to those men who have earned distinction in the age, by their devotion to the cause of national education, and the spread of popular knowledge. The fame of Fellenburg in Switzerland, Lord Brougham in Britain, the Baron Dupin in France, is more permanently established by their zeal and fidelity in this path of exertion, than others who have rendered more brilliant services to mankind in politics and letters. Much however as has been done in the past, there remains more to be achieved in the future. No general system of national education has yet been organised in England, or in any part of the Colonies of British North America. In Scotland, and in some of the Swiss Cantons, England is surpassed in this feature of their government. I refer, upon this point, to James's letters on the state of education in some of the German states, and to Simpson's late work upon the imperative necessity which exists for legislation on this subject.\*—

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\*The two chapters in his work upon the great Metropolis, recently published by Grant, descriptive of the morals of the



Institutes should be benefitted by legislation, and new life inspired, and a more permanent existence secured to them, by the patronage of the state. Rewards and pensions to those who employ their genius and time in the pursuits of science and literature—whose labours thus bless mankind, and elevate the reputation of their country—ought to be as certain as to those who win a triumph in the field of battle or in the strife of politics. All the honours of society, and even of noble blood, ought to cover in England, as in France and other foreign states, those to whom nature has thus given the most precious gifts of divinity. In illustration of this subject I solicit attention to a chapter in Bulwer's work of "England and the English," drawing a contrast in this feature between the two countries, in striking colours, and which would almost seem to justify that ingenious argument of the superior condition enjoyed by the labouring classes in a Catholic age in comparison with the present, advanced by Cobbett in his *History of the Reformation*—but upon each of these topics I will treat subsequently at greater length.

In Mr. Dick's work on the *Improvement of Society*, before quoted, where a contrast is drawn between the state of knowledge in former ages and the present, he presents the following view of the intellectual advancement of mankind:

"Striking, however, as the contrast is, between the state of knowledge in present and in former ages, much still remains to be accomplished, till the great body of mankind be stimulated to the prosecution of intellectual acquirements.—Though a considerable portion of rational information has of

higher and lower classes, calls loudly for a speedy reformation. The Report of the Committee of the House of Commons upon the Poor Laws, is a sad commentary on the practical morality of the English peasantry.

late years been disseminated among a variety of individuals in different classes of society, yet among the great majority of the population of every country, a degree of ignorance still prevails, degrading to the rank of intellectual nations.—With respect to the great mass of the inhabitants of the world, it may still be said with propriety, that “darkness covers the earth and gross darkness the people.” The greater part of the continent of America, the extensive plains of Africa, the vast regions of Siberia, Tartary, Thibet, and the Turkish empire—the immense territories of New Holland, Sumatra, Borneo, and the Burman empire, the numerous islands which are scattered throughout the Indian and Pacific oceans, with many other extensive regions inhabited by human beings, still lie within the confines of mental darkness.

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There is perhaps no country in the world where the body of the people are better educated and more intelligent than in North Britain, yet we need not go far, either in the city or in the country to be convinced that the most absurd and superstitious notions, and the grossest ignorance respecting many important subjects, intimately connected with human happiness, still prevail among the great majority of the population. Of two millions of inhabitants, which constitute the population of the northern part of our island, there are not perhaps 20,000, or the hundredth part of the whole where knowledge extends to any subject of importance beyond the range of their daily avocations. With respect to the remaining 1,980,000 it may perhaps be said with propriety, that of the figure and magnitude of the world they live in, of the seas and rivers, continents and islands, which diversify its surface, and of the various tribes of men and animals by which it is inhabited, of the nature and properties of the atmosphere which surrounds them,—of the discoveries which have been made in light, heat, electricity, and magnetism—of the general laws which regulate the economy of nature—of the various combinations and effects of chymical and mechanical powers—of the motions and magnitude of the planetary and the starry orbs—of the principles of legitimate reasoning—of the just conceptions of the attributes and moral government of the supreme being—of many other things interesting to rational and immortal beings—they are almost as entirely ignorant as the wandering Tartar or untutored Indian.

“Of eight hundred millions of human beings which people the globe we inhabit, there are not perhaps two millions whose

minds are truly enlightened as they ought to be—who prosecute rational study for their own sake, and from a pure love of science independently of the knowledge requisite for their respective professions and employments. For we must exclude from the rank of rational enquirers after knowledge all those who have acquired a smattering of learning, with no other view than to gain a subsistence, or to appear fashionable and polite. And if this rule be admitted, I am afraid a goodly number even of lawyers, physicians, clergymen, teachers, nay even some authors and professors in universities and academies, would be struck off from the list of lovers of science and rational enquirers after truth. Admitting this statement, it will follow that there is not one individual out of four hundred of the human race, that passes his life as a rational and intelligent being, employing his faculties in those trains of thought and active exercises which are worthy of an intellectual nature! For in so far as the attention of mankind is absorbed merely in making provision for animal subsistence, and in gratifying the sensual appetites of their nature, they can be considered as little superior in dignity to the lower orders of animated existence.”

To educate and elevate these to an intellectual standing are, so far as the mass of our colonial population is concerned, the labours which are yet to be achieved. Their accomplishment is in our own power. According to the ancient fables “the Gods inclined a gracious ear,” and dealt their gifts most liberally to those who were faithful to themselves—who were “not slothful in business, fervent in spirit.” The surest way of winning fortune is to deserve it. Let us then continue our exertions in the acquirement of knowledge. Educate our children—support Institutes—found and adorn museums—establish and support libraries of useful knowledge. The love of, and appetite for science and literature, grow with their enjoyment. Public opinion which is the moving power, and the reforming principle of our Colonial Governments, will grow stronger in their favour,

until its influence becomes active and irresistible. This is the triumph of reason—peaceful and dignified in its progress—auspicious and majestic in its results. While you add by this course to your own tranquility and happiness, you at the same time raise useful citizens to the state, improve the love of public morals, and deepen the channels of public prosperity. I can conceive of no human exertions inspired by nobler motives, or bearing the promise of more sanctifying rewards. May Providence bless them, and accelerate their progress and usefulness.

The happy results which will spring from this increase of education founded on religion and intelligence, or from general literature prosecuted in subservience to morals, are established by the evidences of past history; and the following condensed view of this testimony is given in an introductory Lecture, entitled the "Moral character of Britain—the cause of its political pre-eminence," delivered by John C. Colquhoun, Esq., of Killermont, at the opening of the Institute in Glasgow, in 1832; the author is now a member of the House of Commons, and has taken a conspicuous part in that great question relative to patronage, which has ranged the Members of the Kirk into two active and powerful parties.

*"The truth which I propose to present to you is, that the political prosperity of a nation depends on the moral character of its people, and that if our constitution is possessed of peculiar qualities, we owe them to the peculiar features of our national character. In other countries, whether in ancient or modern times, you will remark with me this singular feature, that as each attained the height of its prosperity it hastened to decline, as if its painful ascent was always to be followed by a headlong progress to decay. Thus Athens, after attaining its height in the age of Pericles, sunk with rapid steps*

into ruin, and Rome, after laying deep the foundations of her imperial power, fell and scattered her ruins over Europe—and France, having drawn her separate governments into a settled monarchy in the Age of Louis XIV., declined in the reign of his successors—and Austria having accomplished the slow consolidation of her power up to the reign of Charles V, then beheld its gradual relaxation—and Spain when she had stretched her colossal arms over Europe in the reign of Philip II. shrunk into decrepitude and exhaustion. What shall we collect from these examples? what shall we gather from this general coincidence of history? shall we say that the experience of nations is like that of a man, a toilsome growth to manhood and then a rapid decline. This explanation cannot be received, as no just analogy exists between them. But you will remark (and this gives us an insight into the causes) that though the circumstances of these nations are various, the moral characteristics of the people were the same—vice, ignorance, and superstition marked them all.—Athens was celebrated for its profligacy and idleness, Rome for its corrupt luxury, Austria heretofore, as now, for an illiterate peasantry and a vicious capital; Spain for a degraded and demoralized population; while France only abandoned the splendid vices of the Age of Louis XIV, to adopt the grosser immoralities of the succeeding reigns.

“These causes tainted the whole of society, and vitiated the sources of their prosperity, and it was these which infused feebleness into the frame work of their institutions, so that whether these were republican as in Rome or Greece, or despotic as in Spain, France and Austria, they equally fell and decayed under this influence. It was a similar cause that proved fatal to the Republics that rose in Italy in the middle Ages, and threw a gleam of bright splendour over the dark annals of those times. The vice and ignorance of the people undermined the strength of Florence—sapped the foundations of Genoa—cast in the dust the glory of Milan—darkened the more peaceful lustre of Bologna—quenched the light of learning at Padua—poured decay upon the deserted streets of Ferrara—broke the stern independence of Pisa, and drew down the strength of Sienna from the fastness of her gloomy hills. All these States, though free in their government, entirely popular in their institutions, fell, undermined and shattered by the vices of their citizens. The republican form of their government cannot account for this; for Venice, which was bound in the chain of the sternest

oligarchy, fell in like manner dissolved in the vices of her subjects; and Arragon whose government was balanced like our own, saw her light go down at mid-day. *All these histories plainly indicate the truth, that the morals of a people are more essential to the nation than the forms of its political government.* But this truth will receive a more complete illustration from the history of our own country. Alone, of all the nations of Europe, our constitution has advanced with firm progress, gaining strength, instead of feebleness with the advance of years. To what is this to be attributed? not certainly to natural advantages, for the Romans found us in a state of savage destitution.—Not to their improvements, for they left us as they found us,—not to the institutions of our Saxon Conquerors, for they had no effect upon us; and when the notice of Rome was again attracted to us in the 7th century, we were immersed as before in a state of the deepest barbarism.

“The first great step of our progress was effected by the introduction of Christianity;” and the author then proceeds to trace a history of our institutions, and to show how admirably they are adapted to sustain the institutions of religion, and to promote National virtue. These Institutions have come to us as Colonists by inheritance, and it will be to our own disgrace if we do not work out, to permanent and general good, the inestimable privileges they confer.

## LECTURE IV.

**National Systems of Education in the Old and New World.—On the means and principles of supporting them.**

### CONTENTS.

Advantages of Education—Three views of a personal nature—1st, Duty to cultivate our powers, 2ndly, Effect on Morals, 3rdly, Superior endowments may pass with the soul to immortality—Three views of a national character,—1st, Manual skill, an *element* of national wealth—Rev. Mr. Crawley's letters on Education, entitled "The People's Interest"—2ndly, Necessary to preserve an equality in National Competition—Sam Slick a shrewd lecturer on Education, his satires on Colonial manners; the Yankees and New Englanders contrasted, to induce the *former* to copy the example and habits of the *latter*;—and 3rdly, the indirect preventive of crime.—Progress of Manufactures—Effects of Education on British and Continental workmen—A general system calls out the finest minds and talents from every class—Education a business of the State. No people well educated, where education has not been conducted on a general and National system—Feeling in Scotland in favour of Education—Sacrifices made there by parents to educate their children—Parish Schools in Scotland—Extract from the report of the Committee on Education to the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia in 1836. State of Education in Prussia, funds and taxes—Sums expended in Prussia for Education—Mr. Wyse's description of the ordinances in Prussia for the regulation of Common Schools—New England Schools, how supported—Hon. John A. Dix's exertions to improve the education of New York—The Hon. Horace Mann's eminent services for the education of Massachusetts.—*The absolute necessity of supporting schools by assessment* considered, by shewing that no national and successful system has been supported without it.

I DO not intend to open this Lecture with any elaborate disquisition upon the advantages of education. The highest

powers of eloquence and the subtlest logic of the schools would add little to the effect of those great maxims or postulates upon which its expediency are freely admitted. I shall therefore content myself by stating them, with an unfeigned regard to briefness and simplicity.

1st.—As Providence has invested man with intellectual powers, which admit of miraculous development and improvement, in cultivating these—in forming and strengthening intellectual habits,—in adding to and refining his stock of ideas or knowledge,—is to fulfil one of the most obvious and noble ends of his creation. To improve that which is improveable is only acting in obedience to that great and general law of change and development—of an incomplete beginning and mature end—which distinguishes the divine policy both in the moral and physical world. If capable of improvement they are designed to be improved—the Deity never designs nor acts in vain!

2nd.—It has been found by experience, that the higher these powers are cultivated—and the more intimately we can penetrate and comprehend the laws and arcana which controul, and are made visible in the operations of matter and mind, we form nobler and purer conceptions of the attributes of God. Education or knowledge, the more extensive it is, adds to that fervour and piety inspired by the Religion of Nature. But science comes now to support the truths of Revelation. Education, therefore rightly conducted and based on religious principle, will make Man more pious and more devoted—he will be more moral—and consequently more tranquil and happy,—a better man and a purer Christian.

3rd.—It is a growing opinion that the powers and capaci-



ties we acquire in this life may pass\* with the soul to immortality. The eloquence we cultivate—the knowledge of science we acquire—the habits and virtues we practice may rise with us beyond the grave.—The wiser and better we are here we shall rise, if blessed by the influences of grace and faith, better able to comprehend those more enlarged and sublime views of the Universe which will open upon us—better fitted to be the companions of angels. Can any inducement be higher or more exciting than this? We submit to labour and to sacrifice—to reap a refined and an enduring, because an eternal reward. These three postulates are personal. I come now to illustrate those which make education the business and duty of the state. No Executive performs its obligations to the body politic, whose energies are not devoted to the instruction and amelioration of the mass.

Ist.—National wealth, it is true, is represented by matter—by products which are tangible—but these are produced by the operation of mind upon matter. Wealth is composed of matter, into which the skill and the labour of man has been incorporated. The improvement of the mind adds to the skill and manipulation of the hand, and thus enlarges its powers of production. The science and skill of the mechanic are a part of his annual income—of his powers of production—and clearly a part of his wealth, and of course of the wealth of the state. If the hand of one man can be formed and trained to do the labour of ten, the food he consumes gives a ten-fold value to the products of its industry. The cultivation of the mind increases skill, multiplies inventions,

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\*Vide ante page 101.

and gives new power and facility to the mechanic. The intellect of a nation becomes thus its richest mine of \*Gold.— It is ever ready, energetic, commandable ; and therefore it is as imperative upon the government to cultivate and improve it, as it would be to call a new element of national wealth into existence, or to encourage one if discovered.— Some politicians now argue with some show and force of reasoning, that national wealth cannot be estimated, because there is no exact standard or measure by which we can value the combined energy, skill, and productive powers of the people—these are elements ever capable of being improved and stimulated, and thus encreasing their returns by hundred-folds. The steam power of Great Britain, entirely the effect of mechanical skill, is equal to the labour of 200 millions—the annual products of the population has thus been increased ten-fold, in addition to all the brilliant results the engine is yet to accomplish. Another Watt, or Black, or Fulton, may yet spring from the form of a Parish or Industrial School, and give to practical Science a new scope, and break up new, deep, and ever increasing fountains of national wealth.

Upon the subject of education the Rev. Mr. Crawley published, in the Halifax Nova-Scotian for 1840, a series of letters entitled “the People’s Interest.” Although compelled to differ from the able Professor in some of his sectarian views, the earnest zeal these letters exhibit in favour of

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\*See Horace Mann’s Report to the Legislature of Massachusetts, Boston, 1st January 1842, p. 101, for a collection of facts as to the productive powers of the educated and uneducated, in letters from practical men. See this report, p. 112, for several extracts from popular and scientific works, in proof of the maxim that “Knowledge is power.”

a general and practical system of education, founded on assessment, and the blending of religious and secular instructions—the two pillars on which an effective and useful system can alone be reared,—entitle him to respect, and I gladly avail myself here, as I intend to do in subsequent times, of some of his illustrations:—

“The mental field is surely as precious and as productive as any of the rich districts of our beautiful country, which the owners would grieve to throw into the hands of ignorant and miserable pretenders to husbandry, who should suffer them to become overrun with weeds, or spoiled for want of proper tillage. It is the mental field which the friends of education are called on to cultivate. The enlightened among them fail not to see in it a noble and invaluable object. Forth from that field with correct and judicious cultivation, they see proceeding their country's best and dearest hopes—increased energy, enterprise and talent—greater elevation of mind—greater refinement of manners—greater commercial, social, and political prosperity. Thence come the men who shall not be ashamed to take their rank with the wise, the learned, the ingenious, the distinguished, of other nations, the intellectual ornaments of the country, the able Statesmen, the practical men of science, and men of enlightened minds, blending science with art—in every department of modern avocation, which, modern improvement, with rapid strides, is so constantly multiplying.”

2d.—The Government enact laws to control and subjugate the passions and vices of the people, by the influence of penalties and punishments. This is the direct—the imperative check upon crime. It is enforced by the whip, the pillory, the gaol—by punishments leading to fear and degradation. Is it not bound by higher responsibilities to apply the moral\*—the indirect check—To prevent rather than to cure

\*Mr. Crawley, on this subject, says again:—“Moreover ought you not to reflect that assessments are already imposed, and no one sees any thing in them hostile to freedom. You sustain your poor, you uphold your Court Houses and prose-

or to punish? Sound education has this effect,—it softens the angry passions of our nature—it improves our virtuous tendencies. By education the Government will make the people more industrious, more moral, more cheerful and contented. If it be the duty of rulers to build gaols and workhouses, it is surely not less their duty to build schools, and open institutes and museums, to prevent the former from being filled. The spirit and policy of Prison discipline, is to discharge the convict with a loathing detestation of his crime—of the punishments and confinement it produced—teach\* him this when

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cute your criminals, and do many other things of this public nature by means of assessments for, poor and county rates you know are raised in this way. Do you satisfy those assessments by the public nature and necessity of the thing, and still withhold your consent for an educational assessment, because education, as an important advantage, is less necessary and less public in the benefit it confers? Will this bear examination? Is it less important that a population should be well educated than that the poor should be maintained and the criminals brought to justice? In answer to this I ask what would be the condition of that people who should be left wholly uneducated? Does any one in the present age doubt that pauperism and crime would rapidly increase? and that with their increase the amounts assessed on these accounts would proportionably advance? that, in a word, civilization would decay, improvement cease, and tyranny and barbarism speedily follow."

\*I well know the consequences of the present system of punishment, and, in truth, nothing can be worse. There are in London thousands of juvenile offenders, as they are termed, and not incorrectly, for they are eight, nine, ten, and eleven years of age, and they have offended; but they are as yet beginners in villainy; they are not adult criminals; they are not inured and hardened in vice; they have accidentally, occasionally, as it were, violated the law; but enclosed for a week or two in Newgate, or some other school of crime, some receptacle for accomplished villains, the immature rogues perform their noviciate among the most finished adepts in the art, and return thoroughbred, irreclaimable profligates to that society which they had left raw and tender delinquents. Vice

a boy—inspire him with these feelings *not after*, but *before* he commits the crime, and undergoes its disgrace and punishment. Let him be improved so as to avoid the work-house—in place of delaying his instruction until he has fallen, and he cannot return to society, with the virtues of a later training, without the blemish and the load of his former transgressions ever resting, like a shadow on his forehead, disturbing his peace of mind, and depressing his notions of self-respect, by the stings of a loaded and guilty conscience. To awaken him to a sense of his former errors, and to send him back to society a reformed man, is ever attended with painful and withering reflections. How much wiser would it be to save him from all these, by giving him a distaste for crime when a child.

3rd.—But as Colonists of Great Britain we must now recollect that we can no longer look upon this as a broad question, to be decided upon abstract and philosophical principles. † The subjects of the British empire stand in that position that they must feel, and be pressed forward, by the influence of others. To acquire and maintain a pre-eminence in intelligence—in morals—in the arts and manufactures we must turn to the policy of other and rival states, and examine the progress of their exertions. The nations of the continent of Europe are now prosecuting a noble rivalry, in the moral improvement of the people, and in the spread of the arts,

would be then prevented—nipped in the bud, instead of being fostered and trained up to maturity,—and more would be done to eradicate crimes, than the gallows, the convict-ship, the Penitentiary, the treadmill, can accomplish, even if the prison discipline were so amended, as no longer to be the nursery of vice.—*Lord Brougham's Speech on the Education of the People, delivered in the House of Lords, May 23, 1835.*

tending equally to increase their national resources, and the sum of human happiness.\* In France, Prussia, Germany and in this New World, in the United States of America, education has been established as a national system. They have Ministers and Boards of education, and they are now held up, not as foils, but mirrors,—as examples to follow. In this branch of state policy the mother country and ourselves are behind—not before our sister nations. Lord Brougham, Mr. Wyse, Mr. Hill, James, Simpson, Combe, all the legislators and authors, who take the lead in promoting general education, dilate upon these examples, and urge the necessity which exists, that this stain upon the national character should be blotted out—a Board of Education established, and the education of the people reduced to a general and uniform system. The wisdom of and necessity for it is obvious.—During the close of the last, and the early part of this century, the different nations of the continent were convulsed, and the peaceful arts and social relations disturbed and broken up by general war. The mass of their population, their strength and manual labour were entirely withdrawn from the arts and manufactures—and Great Britain, protected from invasion, by insular position, and the spirit of her people, prosecuted her career in the practical arts, and added to the sources and amount of national wealth, free of rivalry and competition. Circumstances have now altered. In France, Prussia, and Germany, the attention of the people and of the governments, are now directed to the spread and improvement of the arts and manufactures. In many they

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\*See Euler's evidence in Dr. Kay's Report, to the Council of Education, on the training of paupers' children, p. 4, 5, 6.

have already reached a superior skill. In some the supply not only meets the domestic demand, but affords a surplus to supply other nations. The domestic demand is guarded by a tariff and system of protective duties. They now compete with our mother land, in the markets\* of America, India, Asia Minor, and the Mediterranean. The United States have of late years made rapid progress and effected vast improvements in Manufactures; and in those of cotton, and several other of coarser fabric they supply not only their own people and the markets of South America, but even Greece and Asia Minor. The best improvements in Cotton Machinery have been the invention of American artists. Their tariff is sufficiently heavy to keep the domestic demand, exclusively, in many branches, to the domestic manufacturer. In the appliances, in skill, in invention, in the wide circle of the fine and useful arts, Great Britain, if she wishes to retain her supremacy and pre-eminence, must begin at the foundation, and, by introducing a system of national education, push skill and invention to the highest attainable limits. By making the system *general*, so as to embrace all, every mind and every

\*Upon the extent and progress of Foreign Manufactures, see "Porter's progress of the nation," vol. 2, p. 198, in Saxony, &c. "The Commercial and Financial Legislation of Europe," by J. McGregor, V. P. Board of Trade, March, 1841, a book full of facts and profound views, and the Report of the Committee on Trade and Manufactures, laid before the House of Commons, March 1841. The evidence given before this Committee, on these questions, are most curious and startling. See Report and Appendix, p. 64. Capital and labour are both quitting the United Kingdom, to be engaged in the Manufactures of the Continent. Most of the Cotton Factories in Venice, Rouen, Belgium, Holland, Leige, are superintended by English and Scotch foremen. Appendix, p. 83. I earnestly recommend the study of Mr. McGregor's book, and this Report, to those inimical to the doctrines of Free Trade.

talent is more likely to be developed, and the national powers of production to be of course increased. The application of this reasoning is clear and obvious. In these Colonies we are placed in direct competition with the resources and skill, and in the products of our labour, with those of the New England States. We are bound not only to equal them in our systems of education, but, if we can, to surpass them; and thus to retain and secure that superiority which the forms, and the spirit of our political institutions, confer upon us, and which a broad and general system of Colonial education can alone render firm and enduring.

I have ever read and valued the Conversations of Sam Slick not for their humour, exquisite and racy as it is, in many of the Chapters,—but for the deep and instructive moral—the sound lessons of practical education they convey to the country. There is not a provincial custom, opinion nor prejudice, opposed to steady and persevering industry, and of course to the progress of individual and general prosperity, which is not exposed and treated with consummate tact and ridicule. The self-sufficiency of Sam Slick—his *larfs* at the Blucnoses and the Englishers—his continual *puffing* of the New Englanders, and the pictures he draws of the superior *cuteness*, industry, and craft of the latter, are no doubt intended to teach the Colonist, that it is in vain to expect that he will ever succeed, in the race of national rivalry, till he learns and practices the same habits. The natural advantages of this country, Nova Scotia, are drawn in glowing colours—but these are ever set off with jokes upon indolence and want of energy and speculation, too highly coloured perhaps, but still done with sufficient skill “to point the moral.”



I quote a few extracts to justify these reflections and to elevate our old friend Slick, from the character of a humorist, to that of a lecturer upon habits and the true economy of human life. The knowledge of letters and of books, be it ever recollected, is only a means to an end. The State diffuses education or intelligence to render the population more diligent, virtuous and saving—so that they may become better purveyors to their own fortunes and to the general treasury ; and a moralist or humorist like Sam Slick who satirizes personal faults and habits, and induces change and amendment, by exhibiting a contrast of a happier state of things, is entitled to the public gratitude—even tho' some will think the sketches may be too strongly drawn, or quarrel with the political tendencies which some of his lectures exhibit,—still the greater virtues ought to excuse the minor offence. The following brief extracts are given to illustrate this view of the author's intentions :—

“The house of every substantial farmer had three substantial armaments, a wooden clock, a tin reflector, and a polyglot bible. How is it that an American can sell his wares, at whatever price he pleases, where a Bluenose would fail to make a sale at all? I will enquire of the clock maker the secret of his success. What a pity it is Mr. Slick (for such was his name) what a pity it is said I, that you, who are so successful in teaching those people the value of clocks, *could not also teach them* THE VALUE OF TIME. I guess, said he, they have got that ring to grow on their horns yet, which every four years has in our country ; we reckon hours and minutes to be dollars and cents. They do nothing in those parts, but eat, drink, smoke, sleep, ride about, lounge at taverns, make speeches at temperance meetings, and talk about House of Assembly. If a man don't hoe his corn and he don't get a crop, he says it is all owing to the Bank : and if he runs into debt and is sued, why he says the lawyers are a curse to the country. They are a most idle set of folke I tell you.

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“I never seed or heard tell of a country that had so many natural privileges as this. Why there are twice as many harbors and water powers here, as we have all the way from Eastport to New Orleans. They have all they can ax,—and more than they deserve. They have iron, coal, slate, grindstone, firestone, gypsum, freestone, and a list as long an auctioneer’s catalogue. But they are either asleep, or stone blind to them. Their shores are crowded with fish, and their lands covered with wood. A government that lays as light on them as a down counterpin, and no taxes. Then look at their dykes. The Lord seems to have made them on purpose for such lazy folks. If you were to tell the citizens of our country, that these dykes had been cropped for a hundred years without manure, they’d say they guessed you had seen Col. Crockett, the greatest hand at a *flam* in our country.— You have heard tell of a man who couldn’t see London for the houses; I tell you if we had this country, you couldn’t see the harbors for the shipping. There’d be a rush of folks to it, as there is in our inns, to the dinner table, when they sometimes get jammed together in the door way, and a man has to take a running leap over their heads, afore he can get in. A little nigger boy in New York, found a diamond worth 2,000 dollars; well, he sold it to a watchmaker for 50 cents—the little critter didn’t know no better; your people are just like the little nigger boy, *they dont know the value of their diamond.*

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“Do you know the reason the monkeys are no good? because they chatter all day long—so do the niggers—and so do the bluenoses of Nova Scotia—it’s all talk and no work; now, with us it’s all work and no talk in our shipyards, our factories, our mills, and even our vessels there’s no talk—a man can’t work and talk too. I guess if you were at the factories at Lowell we’d show you a wonder—five hundred galls at work together all in silence. I don’t think our great country has such a real natural curiosity as that—I expect the world don’t contain the beat of that; for a woman’s tongue goes so slick of itself, without water power or steam, and moves so easy on its hinges, that it’s no easy matter to put a spring stop on it, I tell you—it comes as natural as drinking mint julip.

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“Now the folks of Halifax take it all out in talking—they

talk of steamboats, whalers and railroads—but they all end where they begin, in talk. I don't think I'd be out of my latitude, if I was to say they beat the womenkind at that.— One feller says I talk of going to England—another says I talk of going to the country—while a third says—I talk of going to sleep. If we happen to speak of such things we say, I'm right down East, or I'm away off down South, and away we go jist like a streak of lightning.

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“When we resumed our conversation the Clockmaker said, “I guess we are the greatest nation on the face of the airth, and the most enlightened too.” This was rather too arrogant to pass unnoticed, and I was about replying, that whatever doubts there might be on that subject, there could be none whatever that they were the most modest; when he continued “we go ahead” the Nova Scotians go “astern.” Our ships go ahead of the ships of other people, our steam boats beat the British in speed, and so do our stage coaches; and I reckon a real right down New York trotter might stump the universe for going “ahead.” But since we introduced the Rail Roads if we don't go “ahead” its a pity. We never fairly knew what going the whole hog was till then: we actilly went ahead of ourselves, and that's no easy matter I tell you.

“If they only had education here, they might learn to do so too, but they didn't know nothing. You undervalue them said I, they have their College and Academies, their Grammar Schools and Primary Institutions, and I believe there are few among them who cannot read and write.

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“Do you see that are flock of colts, said he (as we passed one of those beautiful prairies that render the vallies of Nova Scotia so verdant and so beautiful,) well I guess they keep too much of that are stock. I heerd an Indian one day ax a tavern keeper for some rum; why Joe Spawdeeck said he, I guess you have too much already. Too much of anything, said Joe is not good, but too much rum is jist enough. I guess these Bluenoses think so bout their horses, they are fairly eat up by them, out of house and home, and they are no good neither. They beant good saddle horses, and they beant good draft horses—they are jist neither one thing nor tother. They are like the drink of our Connecticut folks. At mowing time they use molasses and water, nasty stuff, only fit to catch flies, it spiles good water and makes bad

beer. No wonder the folks are poor. Look at them: are great dykes well they all go to feed horses: and look at their grain lands on the uplands; well they are all sowed with oats to feed horses, and they buy their bread from us: so we feed the asses and they feed the horses. If I had them critters on that are marsh on a location of mine, I'd jist take my rifle and shoot every one of them; the nasty yo-necked' cat-hammed, heavy-headed, flat-eared, crook-shanked, long-legged, narrow-chested, good-for-nothin brutes; they aint worth their keep in winter. If they'd keep less horses and more sheep, they'd have food, and clothing, too, instead of buying both, I vow I've larfed afore now till I've fairly wet myself a crying, to see one of these folks catch a horse: may be he has'nt to go two or three miles of an arrand. Well down he goes on the dyke, with a bridle in one hand, and an old tin pan in another, full of oats to catch his beast.—First he goes to one flock of horses, then to another, to see if he can find his critter. At last he gets sight on him and goes softly up to him shakin of his oats, and a coaxin him, and jist as he goes to put his hand upon him, away he starts all head and tail, and the rest with him: that starts another flock, and they set off a third, and at last every troop on em goes as if Old Nick was ater them, till they mount two or three hundred in a drove. Well, he chases them clear across the Tantramar Marsh, seven miles good, over ditches, creeks, mire holes, and flag ponds, and then they turn, and take a fair chase back again for it, seven miles more. By this time, I presume, they are all pretty considerably tired, and Blue Nose, he goes and gets up all the men folks in the neighbourhood, and catches his beast as they do a moose after he is fairly run down, *so he runs fourteen miles, to ride two, because he's in a tarnation hurry.* Its e'en a most equal to eat in soup with a fork, when you are short of time."

Having thus presented a summary of the arguments in favour of a state education, and a reference to the authorities where they may be more elaborately examined, I come now to the main questions—1st, on what principle a National system ought to be supported—what objects it ought to embrace—and in what form, and by what funds, it ought to be sustained.

It has ever appeared to me, in perusing the vexed controversies which have agitated the literary and political world upon this question, that it has never been tried in an abstract and Catholic point of view. It has been blended with other considerations, which, if not opposed to, are unfavourable to the progress of free enquiry and of truth. The friends of establishments and of the dissenters—Whig and Tory—the Radical and Conservative—have treated the question and advocated a system, adapted in their opinion, to strengthen their different creeds, or advance their own political tendencies. Some again have opposed a general system, from an apprehension that it might endanger some existing institution or endowment, to which their interests or their prejudices were attached; and I regard it as an advantage, that, being free of all party or local influences—free from the dominion of any church or sect—and unpledged to any constituency,—I can meet the question as it ought to be treated, with a due regard to the real position in which these colonies are situated, and with the lights of experience, drawn, not from the history of one, but of several nations.

Far be it from me, however, to reflect with acrimony on the zeal and piety of those who labour in this vineyard to advance the limits of their own church or denomination. To all of them I would say humbly, God speed your benevolent and Christian labours. But they will bear with me in recollecting, that I propose to submit the outlines of a Provincial system,—to extend aid and encouragement to all sects; and at the outset, I contend, that the system to be perfect, must confer not only literary and physical, *but religious education upon all*. In young countries like these, the system

ought to hold the balance, and adjust a compromise, between conflicting sects and parties, avoid every possible extreme, soften every militant prejudice, and raise a broad and vigorous structure resting upon neutral ground.

First.—As to the mode by which this system is to be supported, the voluntary or involuntary—by taxation or free contribution,—I advocate the opinion that no system can be introduced—to have a uniform operation and to be permanent—unless it be founded under the authority and sanction of the law.

Some parents are neglectful and will not educate their children. Tax them for the support of schools, and they have the most powerful inducements which operate on selfish men, to take care that they derive an advantage equal to the sum they contribute. The very imposition of the Tax gives the people an interest in the subject,—they enquire into its expenditure—they examine the schools—they discuss different systems of instruction—they are gradually inspired with a love for letters—and thus one of the most signal benefits of the plan has been gained:—while the selfish, who now oppose education, become, when taxed, from the ordinary principles of human nature, the most careful guardians of the system.

No question has been more warmly discussed than the one above referred to. It has been contended by some, that, in a free monarchy like ours, to exercise such a power is a violation of the natural and inherent rights of the subject, and of the Constitution itself. Some have gone so far as to maintain, that, if made compulsory in England, it would be an

act so arbitrary and repulsive, that it would justify even physical resistance.

I unhesitatingly condemn this doctrine as unsound and unconstitutional. It is a question clearly within the province and legitimate influence of Parliament; and so far from considering legislation upon this subject to be an excessive and unjustifiable exercise of power,—I regard it to be one of the responsible and imperative duties of the Legislative branches, to take the question under their own care and to introduce a general and effective system. It is a gratifying proof of the spread of intelligence among the people of these provinces that the prejudices against assessment, which formerly existed, is now dissipating, if not yet entirely eradicated; and that several members have come back in recent elections throughout the Lower Provinces, pledged by their constituencies to support it.

In turning to other countries where education is most widely diffused,—where its effects have been most general and brilliant,—and the love of it admitted to be active and universal,—it will be found that the system has never been consigned to the whims and caprices of the people,—to those unsteady attachments by which masses are ever but too apt to be led. In them they have been introduced and supported by the authority of the state. In Scotland, where the desire of educating children lies at the depth of every parent's heart, the Government might perhaps leave the system to the generous and settled convictions and affections, or rather the habits, of the people. In Chamber's Book of Scotland, p. 370, the depth and extent of this attachment is thus described,

and in reviewing this question, it is well to ponder upon the distinctions which are there illustrated:—

“To those who are not intimate with the character of the Scottish people in their own country, it would be difficult to convey an adequate idea of that burning desire which almost every parent has, to see his children educated, superinduced as above stated by the protrusion of schools into their vicinities. It is not confined to persons in easy circumstances, it descends to the meanest of the peasantry, and will be found mingling with the every-day feelings of the poorest family in the land. To accomplish the object of such a passionate desire, families will strip themselves of what they may be pleased to suppose supererogatory luxuries; but which others would reckon as the essentials of existence. Widows in the humble ranks of society, “left” with a family of sons and daughters, and only her own hands to aid in the support of her offspring, will find means to devote a portion of her hard-won earnings, to give them the elements of a plain education, fitting to their prospects in life. She will toil in the summer, harvest and winter, for this laudatory purpose, never ceasing till she has accomplished what she has invariably considered her duty as a christian mother.”

In the states of New England and in the Cantons of Switzerland, the same attachment prevails, and similar results have followed—for while their subjects are distinguished as the most intelligent, they are equally celebrated for their national virtues and prosperity, but in none of these is the system voluntary. The means of supporting it in all of them are raised by the supreme authority of the State.

Shortly after the union of England and \*Scotland, an act was passed in the reign of King William, ordaining the appointment of a school in every parish in Scotland, and com-

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\*For an admirable view of the Scottish system of Education, see Mr. Wyse's paper upon “Education in the United Kingdom.” First publication of the London Central Society for Education, p. 31 to 35.



elling the salaries of the masters, and other expences, to be liquidated by the Heritors.

In the Report of the Select Committee appointed by the Assembly of Nova Scotia in 1836, to enquire into the statistics, and to suggest a new system of Common School education, and of which my late respected parent was Chairman, the triumphs of the principle of assessment, and the Scottish system, is very fully and ably reviewed. From that Report contained in the Journals for 1836, appendix p. 87, I extract the two following paragraphs:—

“The Committee have not been inattentive to the systems which other countries have established for diffusing the blessings of education; and they have met with examples which fully justify, from their tried success, the principles of assessment. The North American States have both their Common and Grammar Schools supported by this method, and it is found in perfect accordance with the feelings of that active and intelligent people. The immense benefits extended to the whole community, of having permanent institutions to train the rising generation in the elementary branches of writing, reading and arithmetic, outweigh a hundred fold a petty inconvenience of a small portion of every man's means being taken and appropriated to so deserving a purpose; and this plan is now so thoroughly wrought into the very frame of society, as to incur little risk of ever being abandoned. Scotland also is another memorable instance of a happy perseverance since the era of the reformation, in supporting schools, by legal and compulsory rates; and the experience now of three Centuries has only tended to strengthen and fortify all the arguments which were at first urged at the founding of Parochial Schools, by their sanguine and zealous supporters; and to this national Institution, resisted at the beginning with a plausible vehemence and energy, has been ascribed the rapid progress of the people, notwithstanding the natural poverty and barrenness of the country, in all the arts which minister to civilization.

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“The plan of these schools is easily sketched and detailed, in every parish one of them must of necessity be found-

ed; and besides the house or apartment for teaching, a suitable dwelling, under the same roof, or a distinct dwelling, must be provided for the master, no part of his income is derived from the public funds, but the Freeholders in every Parish are bound to furnish him with an annual sum called the salary, and to keep the school and his dwelling house in ordinary repair; the salary varies considerably according to the size and wealth of the Parish, being in some as low as £20, and in others rising above this, by various gradations according as land holders are desirous of attracting men of the first talents to the instruction of their youth; but, the salary alone is the sum which the law compels the inhabitants to provide, and the other emoluments, growing out of fees or wages, are paid by the parents who send their children thither for instruction. The Parish then merely gives a partial contribution to the support of the Teacher to enable him to accept a lower rate of wages from all without distinction; and also to extend his care gratis to such children and orphans as could not otherwise be educated. The Freeholders, many of whom never had families, or have families grown up and settled, are not burdened with the whole cost of maintaining these schools, but only with a certain portion of it, so as to lower the rate of tuition, and to make learning more accessible to the middle and poorer classes, and accordingly whenever their own sons and daughters are placed under the superintendance of the Master, they have to pay him the customary fees exacted from the rest of the Community. Whenever a vacancy occurs in a Parochial School, Candidates, by public advertisements are invited to offer themselves, and a day of public examination is fixed, when such as appear undergo a comparative scrutiny, touching their qualifications and proficiency, and the Teacher best qualified is forthwith installed into the situation, not liable to be dismissed afterwards, except for misconduct. For half a century past none have been allowed to enter into competition: who were not able of teaching the higher branches; and a thorough knowledge of the latter tongue, with a moderate share of the Greek, is regarded as indispensable.— In Towns or Villages which rise within the bounds of a Parish, either from the introduction of manufactures, or the natural growth of population, Schools of all kinds, and many of them taught by females, spring up, which all are left to their own fate, having no support, other than the fees of tuition: with these the law in no way interferes, but con-

fines its requisitions to one Public School, with a Master of suitable attainments, in some central part of the Parish."

"In New England," says Chancellor Kent, in his admirable Commentaries, "it has been a steady and growing principle, from the very foundation of the Colonies, that it is the right and duty of the Government to provide *by means of fair and just taxation*, for the instruction of all the youth in the elements of learning, morals, and religion. Each of the New England towns and parishes *are obliged by law\** to maintain an English School a considerable portion of the year, and the school is under the superintence of the public authority, and the poorest children in the country, have access to these schools."

In Switzerland again, "Education," says Chambers in his 40th Number of Information for the People, "is partly supported and superintended by the various local governments, and in several Cantons there are public institutions for the training of teachers. The Schools in the Protestant Cantons have long been under the direction of a Censoral of Education<sup>†</sup> appointed by the Government.†

The following extract from an admirable essay on the present state of education in Prussia, contained in the third publication of the London Central Society of education, and from the pen of the Hon. Thos. Wyse, M. P., late Vice President of the Board of Trade, gives a graphic sketch of the schools in Prussia, and of the penal consequences which follow if a parent neglects there the education of his children.

Prussia directed her attention very early, though somewhat irregularly, to education—especially elementary. As early as 1736 she had declared it to be a duty imposed upon the State. The "principia regulativa" of the 30th of June, of that year imposes the building and maintenance of School Houses on the patrons and communes, applies the incomes of the Church to the payment of teachers, deter-

\*Simpson on National Education, p. 137.

†For a view of the state of Education in the different Cantons in Switzerland, see pamphlet by Ridgway, London, 1839, on the "Recent measures for the promotion of Education in England" —p. 25 to 27.

mines their duties, rights, or appointments, whether in Garden, House, or Salary, establishes the relations of patron, pastor, and commune, and appropriates a fund of 50,000 rixthalers for the extraordinary support of the Schools.— (Neighb-sect.) By more recent ordinances these provisions are extended, especially by the General School regulation for County Schools, and by the regulation for the Catholic schools of Silesia, of the 3d November, 1765, two of the most beneficial laws of Frederick the Great.\* It is curious to find in these edicts a statement of the very same evils of which we complain, and that the Schools and Education generally of the youth of the country had fallen into the most lamentable state of neglect, owing principally to the incompetency of the great majority of the Parish Clerks and Schoolmasters, that the Children in the Villages had grown up in ignorance and barbarism; and that it had become of imperative necessity, for the well being of the kingdom, that a good basis should be laid by means of sound intellectual instruction as well as christian training of youth, for the diffusion of the true fear of God, and the acquisition of manual and other arts most useful in social life. The obligation of attending Schools was then for the first time formally imposed on all children from five to fourteen years of age, in order that they might continue there "until they had acquired not only the knowledge of the most necessary doctrines of christianity, and could read and write with facility, but were also enabled to answer the questions proposed to them from the class or text books, ordered and approved by the consistory." The same regulation fixes the school fee at *grescher* or four *kreutzers* per week, for which were to be taught reading, writing, and accounts, the poorer children not to be exempted from payment. It was contributed from the property of the Church, the commune or some local charitable institution, in order "as the law states," that Teachers should not be deprived of their means of support, and that thereby the poorer as well as richer children might be taught with equal fidelity and attention." In aid of these funds an annual "School sermon" was to be established, and at the close of service, the Parish Minister was earnestly to recommend from the altar, donations, especially for the purpose of providing the

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\* For a graphic and lively sketch of the Schools established by Frederick the Great, see Adams' (late President of the United States) Letters on Silesia, p. 361—372.

necessary Books in Village Schools for the poorer children: parents and guardians who impeded the attendance of their children or pupils at School were punishable by fine, and still further to insure diligence in the pupil, and to maintain in rigour the assiduity of the Teacher, it was required that a complete list should be made out from the Parish Registry, and sent to the proper authorities, of all children in the Parish of an age to attend school. To the name of each Child were attached the names and residence of the parents, the date of his reception in the school, the hours he had attended, and in another list were preserved the testimonials of diligence, progress, conduct, final examination and period of departure; these lists or rolls properly ruled for every day of the month, after a uniform approved formula, were intended to give a general view of the proceedings of the school.— They were open to the visitors and ordered to be placed before the School Inspector at his yearly visitation. The Inspector, on his side, was required to report them with remarks from his own observation to the government of the circle. In the office of the government of the circle they were arranged and compared, and the collection of these tables formed the basis of the School statistics of the nation.

Great attention was required to be paid by this ordinance, not only to the competency but still more to the conduct and character, to the morals and piety of the Teachers.

Previous to admission an examination was to be held by the school inspectors, and in some of the Provinces it was moreover required, that no one should be appointed to the place of schoolmaster who had not passed a certain period in the teachers' seminary of the Province. To the clergymen of the place was confided the immediate inspection of the schools. It was by this law his province and duty to visit the school twice a week, and to remind the Master or suggest whatever improvements might be required. By a later regulation inspectors are not required to be superintendents, but they are still chosen, in many cases, from the body of the clergy.

Such is the oldest of the many edicts which collectively form the actual education code of the country. The "Catholic school regulation for the Province of Silesia," is in some measure its complement, and presents a number of similar arrangements for the Catholic Schools of that province, and by subsequent extension of the whole Prussian monarchy. A number of eminent Schools are raised by this ordi-

nance to the rank of teachers' seminaries. The school of the Cathedral of Breslau is placed at their head—in this institution Candidates are to be educated. It is governed by a director, who superintends its progress and income, and reports on the capacity of the pupils at the time of their departure. All clergymen are obliged to learn in this Seminary the duties of Inspectors. For the erection of appropriate school rooms, for the maintenance of teachers from the funds furnished by endowments, and land sold, every care is taken. In very small places, the teacher, for the bettering of his condition, is permitted, in conjunction with his school duties, to exercise a trade, but not in the school house, or at school hours. Those of Innkeeper, of musicians at parties, marriages, &c., are forbidden. On the other hand, if he be of the clerical profession, he is exempted from clerical duty, and allowed to apply himself exclusively to the discharge of his functions as teacher. In larger places where there are three teachers in a school, the third is required to possess the rudiments of the Latin and French languages, as well as of general and special History, Geography, &c. In order to furnish the pupil with some preliminary instruction, in subjects, the knowledge of which is necessary for the social progress of every country, a short and simple Text Book was proposed to be composed, comprising elementary notices relative to the leading facts in physics, in political, agricultural, and domestic economy, in trades, arts, manufactures, produce, &c., especially of the district where the school happened to be situated. The age for attending was determined, as in the case of Protestant children, from five to fourteen. Similar care was taken to provide for the payment for the poorer children, for School visits, for the proper keeping of the School Rolls, and further regulations, modelled also on those of the Protestant Schools relative to religious instruction. This School regulation for Catholic Schools was confirmed and considerably enlarged by a more recent one of the present King in 1801.—The improvements were numerous.—*The situation of the Teacher was greatly raised, his maintenance better provided for and more thoroughly secured, his salary regulated on a higher scale, and paid from more certain funds, (the income of the suppressed Latin Schools and Gymnasias.)* The Teachers Seminaries were rendered more effective, *amongst populations where the religious persuasions are intermingled; where without too great a diminution of the emoluments of the Teacher, a second cannot*

*be appointed*; the same Teacher instructs *all* the children, in *all* branches of knowledge, which do not appertain to religion,—but during the time of religious instruction the children of the less numerous communions stay away, *in order to receive from their own Clergymen, or his Curate in the School House, the necessary instruction in their own religious faith, for at least three hours per week.*"

The expence of supporting the Common Schools in Prussia is estimated for the population of 13 Millions at £600,000 or 6s. a head for each pupil. The entire cost of the educational institutions of the State is estimated at £1,200,000 or 12s. per head, of this sum the Government contributes £50,000, the rest is paid by the parents of the children, or by a rate, levied in the form of a property tax on the inhabitants of every school district.

The States\* of Maine, Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Jenessee, and Alabama, have made the maintenance of public schools, an article in their Constitution. It was a fundamental article in the Ordinance of Congress of 13th July 1787, for the Government of the Territory of the United States west of the River Ohio, that schools and the means of education should forever be encouraged, and in all of these States ample funds are provided, either from public lands set apart for the purpose, or by local taxation, to support a general and effective system.

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\*For further information on this subject, and especially as to the provision made for the support of Common Schools in the United States, and full details of the existing system in each State, reference may be made to the appendix to Mr. Crawford's Report on the Penitentiaries of the United States, published in London in 1835, by order of the Government.—Chancellor Kent pronounces this to be the best summary he has seen.

In the third publication of the Central Society of Education, there is a paper full of statistics, and drawn up with great perspicuity and force, on the common schools in the States of New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. p. 235. To give some idea of the means and funds for, and extent of the state of education in the princely State of New York, I extract the following details. In 1837 it had 5 colleges and 372 students—76 public academies, and in 74 of these there were 6391 pupils. In 1836 a Report was made by the superintendant to the Legislature, and from this document the following extracts are made:—

“In each School district there are annually chosen three Trustees, whose duty it is to call special meetings of the inhabitants whenever they deem it necessary to make out all tax lists, when taxes are voted by the inhabitants of the district to build or repair the School House; to provide fuel or to purchase a lot for a School House; to make out all rate bills (tuition bills) from the lists kept by the teachers; to exempt indigent persons from the payment of their proportion of such rate bills; to have the custody of the district school house; to contract with and employ all Teachers, and to provide for the payment of their wages”—p. 37. This is done in the following manner, the sum of 100,000 dollars is annually distributed to the school districts from the former school fund, and is appropriated to the compensation of Teachers who have been inspected by the proper authority, and received a certificate of qualification. The Board of Supervisors in each County, are required to cause to be levied, by tax on each Town, a sum equal to that which such Town receives from the Common School Fund as its quota of the annual income. The sum thus levied is also appropriated to the payment of the wages of Teachers qualified according to law. The inhabitants of each Town have also authority to vote at their annual Town Meeting, an additional sum, not exceeding the amount directed to be raised therein by the supervisors; or in other words, not exceeding its quota of the income of the Common School Fund. Thus each Town is annually taxed to an amount equal to the sum it receives from the Common School Fund, and it may by its



own voluntary act, be taxed "twice that amount." The whole expense of purchasing a lot, building a School House and furnishing it with a few indispensable articles, is paid by the taxable property of each school district, according to a vote of the inhabitants; and if a tax for fuel is not voted, it is furnished by those sending children to school, in proportion to the number of days of attendance, p. 26, except in case of indigence,—the necessary School Books must be provided by those who send the child to school. The amount of public money expended by the Trustees of school districts in the year 1836, in payment of the wages of teachers was \$335,895, of which amount the sum of \$100,000 was received from the Common School Fund of the State, \$216,562 were levied by tax on the property of the inhabitants of the Towns and Cities, and \$19,332 were derived from the local funds of particular Towns. The amount paid for Teachers' wages during the year 1836, in addition to the above mentioned sums of public money, was \$436,346, which exceeds by the sum of \$10,702 the amount so paid in the year 1835, which (with the exception of about \$46,000 expended on School Houses, furniture, &c., in the City of New York) was \$772,242, exceeding by the sum of \$33,221 the amount so paid in 1834.\* p. 9.

The whole amount of the expenditure for the support

\*This report is the production of the Hon. John A. Dix, now a member of the Senate, and then Secretary of State, with which office that of Superintendent of Common Schools is combined. While in Albany in July last, I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Dix, and of becoming acquainted with the valuable services he had rendered, in advancing the Common school education of that State. He is a highly intelligent man, and I was informed would, at the next vacancy, be elected Governor. The Report for 1836 gives a thorough view of the state of education in New York—the funds—organization and practical working of the system—and I recommend to the notice of the reader the 4th head, entitled "the organization of Common Schools." He and his friends Beck, Hanley, Dean, Potter, have founded in Albany a cheap, popular journal, published monthly, at the low price of \$1 a year, devoted to free discussion, and to the diffusion of Useful knowledge and miscellaneous literature. I have read some numbers of it—it is a talented, practical, and, like Chambers' Journal in Scotland, must exercise a beneficial influence upon the intelligence and moral tone of the country. It is entitled "The Northern Light."

of the Common School system in New York, cannot fall short of \$14,000,000, or nearly Three Millions Sterling—of this amount the Common School Fund pays one-fourteenth, taxable property and local funds pay about five-fourteenths, and the remaining eight-fourteenths are contributed by those who send children to school:—as in the year 1830, the population of the State amounted to 1,918,600, and may now probably be taken at 2,300,000, this will give an average payment of \$5 64 cents, or £1 4s. from each individual for the purposes of public education,—besides what is derived from the Common School Fund and from local funds.

The extent to which the people avail themselves of these facilities may be judged of from the fact, that in the year 1836, in the district from which reports were received, the number of children instructed in the Common Schools was 524,188, while the whole number of children between five and sixteen years of age, residing in the same district was 536,882.\*

\*I have now before me the Annual Report of the superintendent of Common Schools, Mr. Samuel S. Randall, laid before the Assembly for the past year, on the 5th January 1842. I give from this document a few curious facts. In July 1841, the number of school districts was 10,866,—of children, between 5 and 16, exclusive of the city of New York, on 31st Decr. 1840, the number was 582,347,—all excepting 8000 in attendance regular in the public and private schools; \$1,043,000 was expended in 1840 for teachers, \$560,000 of this public money, \$413,000 contributed by parents in rate bills; 23 institutions for the training of teachers; 10,000 students were in attendance at the Academics, and 630,125 volumes had been placed in the District Libraries, being an increase of 200,000 volumes, or about one-third, during the course of one year. The desire for education there is universal. It is the business, not of the State only, but of every citizen—for, says Mr. Randall, and this is there the sentiment of all intelligent men, "If there be one subject, which

I have not space here to give the details of the system of common school education in the State of Massachusetts. It is there reduced to a thorough and almost perfect system. A Board of education has been formed, under the sanction of the Legislature, and of this the Hon. Horace Mann, formerly Secretary of the State, is now the Secretary. He is a man of very high talents, and enthusiastic in the cause of popular education and literaturo. When lately in Boston I obtained

beyond all others may be regarded as of vital interest to the welfare and perpetuity of a free government, it is that of the EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE. Upon the intelligence and moral culture of the masses depends, under Providence, the ultimate and triumphant solution of the great problem of the age—the capacity of man for self government. \* \* \* \*

Important as are the agencies which our higher institutions of learning are enabled to fulfil, in the accomplishment of this high undertaking, it is to our Common Schools that we must chiefly look for the broad foundations of that civil and social superstructure which, as a people, we are engaged in erecting. It is here that those indelible impressions are stamped upon the youthful mind which determine the future character of the man and the citizen; here that the earliest and most vivid conceptions of the objects, ends and aims of social and moral discipline are imbibed; here that the habits and the disposition are moulded; and the intellect stored with those elementary principles of knowledge which are to form the basis of all subsequent advancement in the great work of education. It is here, too, that the practical operation of our republican institutions receives its most attractive and valuable illustration, in the mingling together, upon terms of perfect equality, of those to whom the guardianship and administration of these institutions are soon to be committed. \* \* \* \*

If we would accomplish the noble destiny involved in the successful experiment of self government, every citizen of our vast Republic must be taught to regard himself as a component and efficient part of a system designed for the general welfare, and deriving its sole support from the prevalence and diffusion of enlightened knowledge and public and private virtue." In the appendix to the Report there is a curious memorial on the state of education in the city of New York. I give from it only one sentence, p. 144. "In that city less than one-tenth of the population are receiving the benefit of

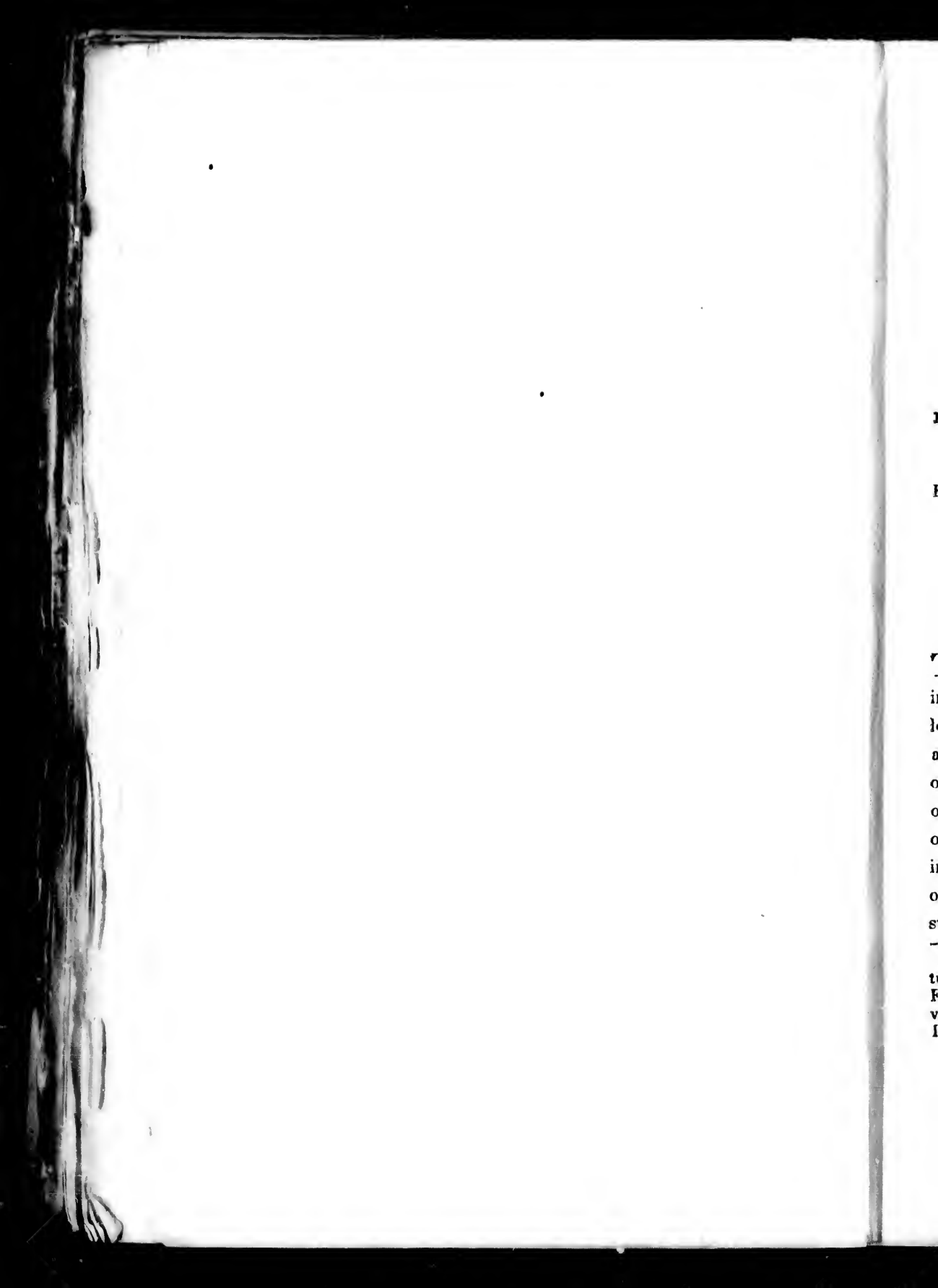
a set of the five Annual Reports, submitted by the Board and the Secretary, Mr. Mann, to the Legislature of the State, on the subject of Schools and Academies; and to the latter I would refer for admirable and sound views upon the modern principles of improved education. In this State there are Normal and Model Schools, and District Libraries—the volumes comprising the latter are said to be the best in the Union. In referring to the education of this State, it would be unjust not to offer an encomium to the valuable services of Mr. Mann, the Hon. Thomas Rantoul, Jr., and Mr. Thomas Webb, of Boston, who, in addition to their labours in the cause of popular education, are the authors of some excellent practical treatises. I have a valuable essay by Mr. Rantoul, on the subject of a “School Library,” and a very elaborate paper entitled “Remarks on Education” from his pen, will be found in the North American Review. It has been since published in the form of a pamphlet. The extent of Mr. Mann’s services to the state is fully treated in an article in the Edinburgh Review, for July 1841, entitled “Education in America,” and I refer the reader to it for an elaborate and lucid sketch of the condition of the Common Schools, and the Statistics of Education in New England.

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any instruction, while in the interior, more than *one-fourth* of the whole population are returned as being in the common schools. This document offers some curious and novel views upon the religious differences prevailing in the city, and the difficulty of introducing there a system of religious instruction.

Frederick Hill in his work on “*National Education, London, 1836*,” has a chapter in the 2nd volume, devoted to a description of the state of education in the United States. It contains an abstract of the facts given by Mr. Crawford in his report upon Penitentiaries,—see p. 23, for a statement of the public provision made for *Education in America*.

In all these systems it is considered as a principle that the Government have a right to impose taxes for the support of an effective system of general education—in Scotland, Switzerland and Prussia, taxes are imposed for this national object—in several of the United States a school fund is raised by taxation; and, in all of the latter, before any quota can be obtained from the revenues of the State devoted to this service, it is made obligatory that the people in every school district should raise a similar or greater sum to be appropriated to the support of Schools. Amongst a shrewd people this may be regarded as tantamount to a compulsory tax; but in these Colonies there is not yet the same feeling in favour of, nor the same necessity felt for, the spread of education. It is a general impression in New England that the intelligence of the people is the *safety* of the State,—that the purity, progress, and permanence of their Institutions depend on it; and hence there are inducements there tending to the support of schools which do not extend to us. We must look therefore to other examples, where the desire of education is not blended with the hope of political existence, and base our system on a permanent and compulsory law. The Colonial mind, and those active and saving habits which are ever associated with general intelligence, will never bear comparison here with those of other states, until our Assemblies adopt this as a settled principle of legislation.



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## LECTURE V.

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**National Systems of Education in the Old and New World.—On the means and principles of supporting them.—(Concluded.)**

### CONTENTS.

Ruinous effect of the voluntary system—Abstract of systems and Legislation, by Chancellor Kent—Systems adopted in Hesse Cassel—Germany, Norway, Sweden.—A Colonial System must be based on assessment.—James' view of an "Intellectual Conscription"—Boards of education for the three kingdoms—Statistics of education among different nations.—Defective state of Education in England—Lord Brougham's Speech to the House of Lords—Voluntary system dangerous—Dr. Chalmers' Lecture.

**T**HE various quotations given in the last lecture, prove incontestably, that, even in those countries where the love of learning is most ardent and generally diffused, the operation of the system is not left to the fluctuations of public opinion, or the brittle affections of the people, but is founded on the sanctions of the law; and that the very existence of that settled attachment by which they are now supported in these different spheres, may be ascribed to the influences of an establishment, compelled upon the public, in the first instance, by the strong arm of authority.\*

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\*The Parish schools of Scotland have endured for two centuries past, because they do not depend on voluntary support. For the permanence of the establishments now supported by voluntary contributions, their best friends are full of fears.—It is well known they are occasionally dropping, like lights

To strengthen these positions, I proceed to illustrate the features of some other national systems.

For a review of the attention paid by ancient and modern Legislators, to public instruction, I call attention to the following graphic sketch, given by Chancellor Kent, in his excellent chapter upon the duties of parents:—

“A parent who sends his son into the world uneducated, without skill in any art or science, does a great injury to mankind, as well as to his own family, for he defrauds the community of a useful citizen, and bequeaths to it a nuisance. This parental duty is strongly and persuasively inculcated by the writers on natural law. Solon was so deeply impressed with the force of the obligation, that he even excused the children of Athens from maintaining their parents if they had neglected to train them up to some art or profession. Several of the states of antiquity were too solicitous to form their youth for the various duties of civil life, even to entrust their education solely to the parent. Public institutions were formed in Persia, Crete, and Lacedemon—to regulate and promote the education of children in things calculated to render them useful citizens, and to adapt their minds and manners to the genius of the government. Distinguished exertions have been made in various parts of modern Europe, for the introduction of elementary instruction, accessible to the young of all classes, and this has been the case particularly in Denmark, Prussia, and some parts of Germany and Switzerland. But in this branch of political economy, Scotland attained to early and very honorable pre-eminence”—and the learned Chancellor then proceeds to give a general outline of the systems pursued in Scotland and Prussia—but their leading features have been already fully illustrated in the preceding lecture. In these Commentaries a summary both of the statutes and ordinances of these two national systems are given.

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extinguished in the deep obscure.—*Simpson on National Education, chap. 7, p. 159.* This chapter is worthy of being studied. “It could easily be shown that the voluntary system of education, with no central power to guide, aid, or controul, has not only *not* worked well, but nearly as ill as any system well could.” *Wyse on Education in the United Kingdom, p. 61.*



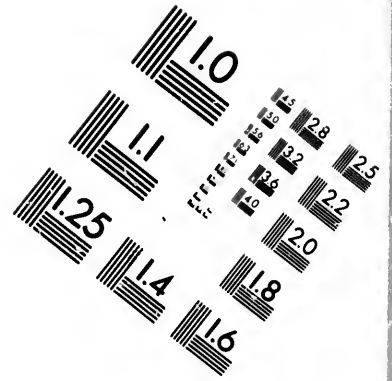
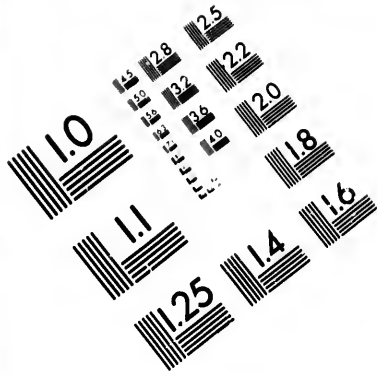
Many other States besides Prussia, such as Bavaria, Saxony, Hesse Cassel, Saxe Weimar, and Nassau, have adopted the Prussian plan of education; and by the exertions of Mon. Cousin, the distinguished French Professor, the system as digested by the law of 1819, and especially the founding of Primary Normal Schools for educating Masters, has been adopted and introduced in all its leading features into France since 1833. Mon. Cousin was deputed by the French Government to proceed to Prussia in order to examine the national system of education, and to inquire into its fitness for France. His report made to the Minister of public instruction in 1831, followed by a supplementary report made in 1833, has since become a leading treatise on the subject of public instruction. It has been translated by Mrs. Austen, and has passed thro' several editions both in England and the United States. In France every commune is obliged to have a School, and it is stated that there are now 28,196 Communes which are provided with School Houses, and only 8,991 which have not. \*Parents, however, are not compelled in France, as in Germany, to send their children to School; and, it is said, *the Inhabitants of the rural districts generally neglect it.* Until the year 1833 the education of France was not conducted on any general system.

"National Schools," says Mr. Loudon, a learned and experienced traveller, in his account of the state of education in Germany "have been introduced into Wirtemberg, Bavaria, Baden, and generally in all those States, included in

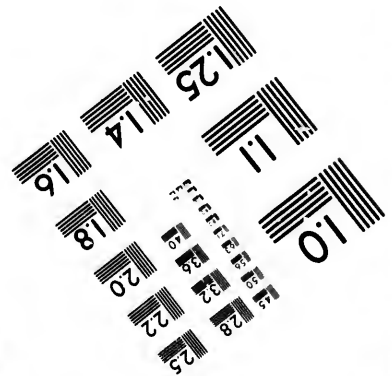
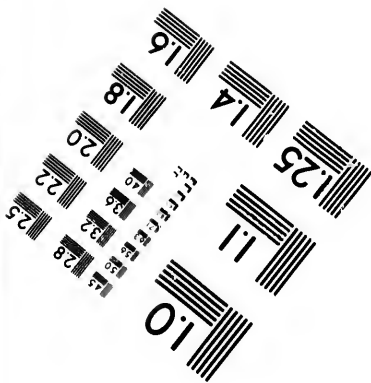
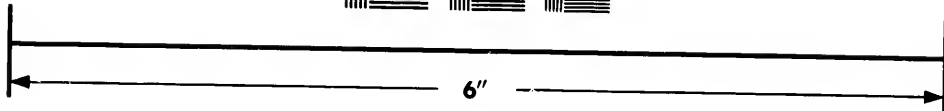
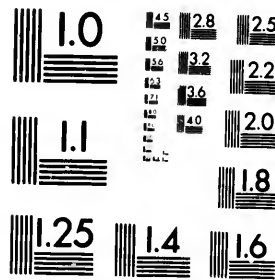
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\* See Kent's Com. vol. 2, p. 194, 3d edition, from which some of these facts are derived.





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what was formerly denominated the Confederation of the Rhine."

In Wirtemberg indeed, the inhabitants have been pretty well provided with the means of instruction for nearly a century past, but during the last 30 years the system has been greatly extended and improved. At present not only in Wirtemberg, but in Baden, Hesse &c., a public school is established in every Parish, and in some instances in every Hamlet. The Master receives, as in Scotland, a fixed salary from the Parish, exclusive of a small fee from the pupils, varying according to their age and the subjects in which they are instructed. The fees are fixed by Government, and are every where the same. In Bavaria every one is obliged to send his children from 6 to 14 years of age. The schools are regularly inspected and reports made upon their condition by properly qualified officers appointed, for that purpose, by the Government. There is a particular department in the Ministry of the interior, for the supervision of the different kinds of Schools.\*

In Denmark a general code of regulations for Schools has existed since 1817. There are there 4,600 Schools educating 278,500 children, the population is 2 millions, and as 3,00,000 children are in attendance, it may be said, that the entire population of Denmark are receiving instruction.

A parochial system of primary instruction is established in Norway, resembling that of Scotland, but partaking of the primitive character of the institutions of the country. The funds for the support of Schools are derived from endow-

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\* Quarterly Journal of Education, vol. 1, p. 29; and Brougham's Speeches, vol. 3, p. 249.

ments, from local taxes, subscriptions, &c. Manufacturers employing more than 30 workmen are obliged by law to provide schools for their children, and to pay the teachers.—Several training schools for teachers exist, and it is the intention of Government to extend and improve them.

With these numerous and striking examples of the practice of other nations, of the defects of the English system, and of the superiority of those maintained by Prussia and the Germanic states, the enquiry is now to be made—can the system of education be left in these Colonies to the free action and voluntary contributions of the people? Are they sufficiently wise, and sufficiently willing to support a general system without legislative coercion and aid?—for these are to be answered before we can settle the important question—whether the compulsory system ought, or ought not, to be introduced here.

James, in his excellent letters upon the modern “system of Education in Germany,” addressed to Lord Brougham and Lord Althorpe, while they were at the head of the Whig Cabinet in 1835, denounces this system of taxation in severe and unmeasured terms :—

“God forbid,” says he, “that I should advocate anything like a compulsory system of Education—which I look upon as a most unjustifiable infraction of the best and dearest rights committed to us by God himself, when he wills us to be parents. Nay, the very language in which Mon. Cousin recommends it to the French, is the strongest condemnation to the ears of an Englishman. He calls it an “*intellectual conscription*,” and Heaven keep us from a conscription of any kind, in the only Land where civil liberty is rightly understood.”

I refer to this opinion now, that, if this argument be attack-

ed, it will be seen that the objections which have been already raised against it were fairly stated.

These appeals, however eloquent they may be in themselves, or ingeniously addressed to the prejudices of the mob, and however grateful to the ears of those selfish Fathers, who would desire to have their sons educated at the public expence—are opposed to experience, and the cogent and irresistible force of truth. The perusal of Mr. James's book is the best refutation of his own argument. He describes there, with all the enthusiasm of an admirer, the different systems of education introduced into the Germanic States—(their means of support being chiefly drawn *from local taxation*)—the fostering and paternal care extended to them by the government,—and concludes by recommending that the British Parliament should form in London a “Board of Education” similar to the Board of Trade, over which a Cabinet Minister should preside, and the seats of the Board preserved as rewards to men of science and letters;—and to secure its permanent and continued operation he recommends the Presidency to be removed from those political changes to which the Government is exposed. I admit the force of that parental obligation so fully inculcated by Paley, and the most distinguished writers upon natural law. But if parents are apt to neglect it, and the want of education is a loss to the State, it becomes imperative upon the state to see the duty performed. “Among the things incredible in Christendom,” to use the forcible expression of a German writer, “is the fact that England pursues no general system of elementary education.” The want of such a National Establish-

ment is one of the defects of our national polity, which James deeply laments.

"A Board\* of Education for England," says Mr. Wyse,† "another for Scotland, and a third for Ireland, all acting under the Minister of Public Instruction, with large powers over new and old endowments, and with adequate funds, composed fairly, and acting under constant Parliamentary and Government inspection; but above all, under the universal public eye; a wise share of co-operation granted and required from the people, in parishes, towns, counties and provinces, through the public bodies most appropriate in each, this I commend to be the first preliminary to all real reform of a general nature in our national education; the only reform, indeed, which can give it a national character, or leave us the hope that our posterity will enjoy a sound, universal, and permanent system."

Mark the results of the past system! In 1818 there were in England 4,167 endowed schools, 14,282 unendowed

\* The following is an abstract of the Education Bill, introduced by Lord Brougham into the House of Lords, 29th June, 1838:—"AN EDUCATION DEPARTMENT is to be established by forming a Board, to consist of seven Commissioners, three of them great Officers of State, (President of the Council, Privy Seal, and Chancellor of the Duchy,) the Speaker of the House of Commons, and three paid Commissioners for life, and not removable unless by an address of both Houses of Parliament. (The above Ministers are selected as having little or no business in their own departments; and one of them will become the head of this department, as the Minister of Public Instruction is in other countries. The Speaker is chosen as being independent of the Crown. The three irremovable Commissioners are placed upon the footing of Judges, in order to prevent undue influence from the Government, and to preserve a uniformity of system in the administration of the department.) This Board is to have the general superintendence of Education, as far as it is right or safe that there should be any interference of the Public Authorities with the Instruction of the community. The duties of the Board will therefore relate to three subjects:—I. The better application of Funds already existing for Education. II. The application of additional Funds, general *and local*. III. The improvement of the system of Education."

† Central Society for Education, 1st Publication, p. 63.



schools, and 5,062 Sunday Schools, educating 644,000, or one-sixteenth of the entire population, instead of one-sixth\*—which Prussia has shewn to be the proper amount of school attendance. Thus England was shown to enjoy little more than a third part of the proper amount of education, even supposing the amount of education she did enjoy, to be good. Of the 11,000 parishes, 3,500 were in 1820 without a school, so that nearly one and a half millions of the children capable of being educated were rising in ignorance of the simplest elementary branches.

Lord Brougham in his elaborate speech delivered before the House of Lords, 29th June 1837, on the Education Bill, thus speaks of the deficiency and character of Education in England at that time:—

“It cannot be doubted that some legislative effort must at length be made to remove from this country the opprobrium of having done less for the Education of the people than any one of the more civilized nations of the world. I need hardly repeat the propositions which I demonstrated to you two years ago; certainly I shall not go through the proofs by which I established them, at great length certainly, but not at unnecessary length, considering the supreme importance of the subject—when I showed you from undisputed facts, from the returns before Parliament, that great and praiseworthy as the voluntary exertions of individuals in the community had been, numerous as were the Schools which they had established, and the pupils attending these Schools, yet

\*The following table is given from a pamphlet published in 1839, under the title “Recent measures for the promotion of education in England:”—Zurich, Switzerland, (1832) 1 pupil in 5 inhabitants; Wurtemberg, 1 in 6; Prusia, (1838) 1 in 6; Baden, (1830) 1 in 6; Drenthe, Province of, Holland, (1835) 1 in 6; Saxony, 1 in 6; Norway, (1834) 1 in 7; Denmark, (1834) 1 in 7; Scotland, (1834) 1 in 10.4; Belgium, 1 in 11.5; England, 1 in 11.5; France, 1 in 17.6; Ireland, 1 in 18; Roman States, 1 in 50; Portugal, 1 in 88; Russia, 1 in 367.—*Ridgway, London.*

even in its amount the Education of the country was still exceedingly defective—the means of instruction still altogether inadequate to the demands of the community; while the kind of Education afforded was far more lamentably defective than its amount. There are somewhere about 40,000 Day-Schools of all kinds, endowed and unendowed—Dame Schools, Infant Schools, and ordinary Schools—in England and Wales; of these about 4,000 are endowed. The whole number of children taught, or supposed to be taught, exceeds 1,400,000, of which about 155,000 attend the endowed Schools; but the population is about fourteen millions.—Look now to the means of instruction provided in other countries. I will not resort to France for a comparison: the exertions made of late years by that illustrious nation reflect immortal honour upon the Government and the people. But I prefer taking the example of countries whose Institutions are less free, countries upon which we are apt to look down as less favoured than ourselves, and as far behind us in the progress of improvement, Look to Prussia and Saxony.—With a population of somewhat above thirteen millions, Prussia has regularly established Schools, at which above 2,000,000 of children are actually educated, being between a *sixth* and a *seventh* of the population, or all children from seven to fourteen years of age. Saxony, with a population of about 1,560,000, has Schools for 280,000 or between a *fifth* and *sixth* of the population, that is all children from six to fourteen. England, with a population of 14,000,000, has Schools for 1,400,000, or a *tenth only* of the population.—That we should have as ample means of education as the Saxons, we must have Schools for above a million more.—That is to say, if, after all we have already done, we increase our efforts in the proportion of nearly 5 to 3, we shall still be barely equal to Saxony; and then only in the number of our schools, without saying any thing of the kind of instruction which they communicate to their pupils.

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“But the deficiency to which I have referred is by very much the least part of our want and of our inferiority. It would be well indeed if we had 40,000 schools and 1,400,000 scholars that deserved the name. The education which these seminaries dispense, can only by a most false and flattering courtesy, be suffered to pass by that name. It is for the most part any thing rather than education. The schools are lamentably defective, both in discipline and accommo-

dation, and in sound and useful learning. In a vast number of them there is little professed to be taught that is worth learning, and that little is ill taught, so as never to be thoroughly apprehended, and generally to be soon forgotten.—In very few indeed are the elements of a useful education fully given; in none, perhaps, or next to none, is the instruction such as not to admit of great improvement. It would be good if they taught reading, writing, and accounts, and taught these elementary branches well. Many thousands of their pupils are but scantily imbued with those simple arts. But if they were all made proficient in them, how unspeakably defective would the system still be compared with what is wanting to form the man and the citizen of a polished community; nay, even compared with what is actually taught, and well taught, in the French and some of the German schools, how scanty! There the children learn geography, history, several branches of natural science, drawing and music; nor can there be the least reason why in the seven or eight years devoted to education, all children, of all classes, should not be instructed in those articles of useful knowledge, instead of being only taught to read, and merely made masters of the instruments by which knowledge may be acquired.\*

Before closing this review, which I have thus conducted to establish that no effective and permanent Colonial system can be founded, which does not rest *upon local assessment*—I would revert to one leading view of the question which ought not to be overlooked. The advocates of the voluntary system, both in education and religion, proceed upon the broad principle in political economy, that the demand will cre-

\* "As far as any approach to truth can be made on the subject, I believe that England, at this moment, in point of general education, is far behind Germany, far behind Switzerland, I am almost inclined to believe, (but of that I am less certain,) it is behind France; but especially and certainly it is far behind Holland."—*Speech of the Marquis of Lansdowne in the House of Lords, 5th July 1838, see Mirror of Parliament.*

For a view of the defects of the English system of education, see a curious article in the 117th No. of the *Edinburgh Review*, upon National Education—p. 7, 8.

ate the supply; and that these, without any legislative interference, will naturally adjust themselves to each other. But it has been forcibly and happily stated by Dr. Chalmers, in his Lectures delivered in London in 1838, upon Church Establishments, that this grand and obvious principle is entirely overlooked,—that the masses who require the influences of religion and education, do not feel the want of them, and that ignorance\* and vice create an inaptitude and dislike both to christianity and learning. I give the author's forcible illustrations below :

“But instead of looking to the distant part of which the History is far from perfect, the same lesson might be drawn from the observation of present or modern times; certain it is, that the introduction of christianity into any new land, proceeds by a very different method from the introduction thereto of any of the goods of ordinary merchandize. The commercial adventurers look for the remuneration of their expenses, to the price or equivalent given by the natives themselves. The missionary adventurers are upheld in their expenses, not by a price but generally in whole, and almost always in part, by a bounty—the bounty of those who employ and send them forth in full equipment for their high enterprise of charity. In this process, that law of equal and reciprocal barter between them who bestow, and them who receive, the benefit, which the advocates of a free trade contend for, is altogether unknown. Rather than want the teas of China, the families of Britain do, in effect, send for them along half the circumference of the globe, and defray the whole cost of the expensive and distant voyage by which they are brought to our shores. But who paid for the outfit and all the other charges of that first missionary vessel, which first waded the Gospel to the remote Island of Otaheite? Not the natives themselves, who should have wanted the blessings of Christianity for ever, had we waited for their effective demand; or not moved but in the expectation of a safe and profitable return from their hands, for the cost of this great undertaking. The undertaking originated with

\*Simpson on Education, 2d ed., p. 180.

us ; and was defrayed to the last farthing, out of a missionary fund raised from the benevolent of our own land. It is generally thus that all missionary work is upholden—paid and provided for, not by the receivers of Christianity, but by its dispensers, or rather by those who maintain the dispensers. So that, at last in the extension of Christianity, we do not sell the gospel, but offer it : we do not calculate on a price, as in the operations of commerce, but have recourse to a bounty, that dread and deprecation of all the economists—without which, whatever the effect might be on the continuance of Christianity in old countries, the propagation of it at least in new countries, were altogether hopeless. Some may contend, that, on the principles of free trade, Christianity could be perpetuated wherever it is already planted ; but few will have the hardihood to affirm, that on these principles, its first settlement could have been effected in any land.”

The demand is equally applicable to the spread of Common Schools, the true object of establishments in religion and for education is not to meet the demand—but to create the demand *itself* ; and therefore to leave society—the great mass of mankind,—the labouring and lower classes,—whose time, and energies, and means, are required to sustain physical existence, to support at their pleasure schools for their children, is to perpetuate irreligion, ignorance, and vice. To remove these—to diffuse the divine blessings of the christian doctrines, and the influence of popular education upon religious faith, morals, and the inculcation of industrious arts and habits,—require, in the first instance, the leaven of a legislative system, and the imperative force of law.

## LECTURE VI.

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### Colonial Education—Education in the Canadas—Schools, Academics, and Colleges.

#### CONTENTS.

**LOWER CANADA.**—Judge C. Mondelet's sketch of education in Lower Canada—Colleges—Convents—Quebec Seminary—Ursuline Convent—Education, expense, funds &c.,—McGill's College at Montreal—High School—Abstract of Act passed for making provision for the Common Schools by the United Legislature, 4 & 5 Vict., c. 18—Funds, regulations, books—History of Common School Education—Mr. Andrew Stuart's pamphlet—Report of the Commissioners appointed by Lord Durham—Arthur Buller, Chief Commissioner—Appendix D. to Lord Durham's Report—Want of Education among the *Paysans*—French women the best educated—Working of the New Act—Inspectors appointed for Canada East and West—Friends of popular Education in Canada.

**UPPER CANADA.**—Common School Education in—defects of—Commission of Enquiry appointed by Sir George Arthur—Report of the Rev. Dr. Caul, principal U. C. College, and Mr. Secretary Harrison—Recommendation as to Normal and Model Schools—School Libraries—Defective state of Education—One child in 18 only in attendance on the Schools—51,000 children in Canada West growing up without Education—Education in Toronto—Academics or District Schools—Collegiate Institutions in Canada West—King's College—Upper Canada College—funds, courses, expense—Queen's College, at Queenston, in connection with the Kirk of Scotland, funds—Victoria College, at Coburgh, in connection with the Methodist Conference—Rev. Mr. Ryerson, President.

**WHILE** we thus contemplate and mourn over the insufficient, and almost disgraceful state of education in England,

and its inferiority to the systems adopted by Continental powers, let us now turn to the *statistics* of education in these Colonies, and see if we have reached any higher maximum in this first branch of internal polity and future improvement. I have given minute details of the Common Schools, and extent of education in the New England States, that their condition, and our own, may stand in direct contrast; and that the country may be able to judge, whether we are able to compete with our republican neighbours, in the race of national rivalry, so far as success depends upon the intelligence and refinement of the public mind. Now that the Boundary question has been settled, and that the navigation of the River St. John has been secured to them—that they are made competitors in the timber trade, as well as in the fisheries—that the West India ports are opened to the admission of their fish and lumber, at a moderate protecting duty—that our domestic manufactures have a protection against theirs to the extent only of 7 per cent—we may rely upon it, that, unless the education of the colonies is raised to a standard equal to that of New England, the lines of demarkation, so strongly, and almost offensively, marked by Lord Durham will be deepened, and the satires of Sam Slick be more clearly vindicated by the truth.

I open this Review with the following outline of the present state of Education in Canada, kindly furnished for the work by the Honble. Judge Charles Mondelet.

“A concise statement of the origin and progress of the leading Educational Institutions, will, it is thought, be conducive to the better understanding of the subject. Lower Canada is indebted for all its early scholastic endowments,

to the liberality and zeal of the Catholic Church. The Jesuits' estates, the benevolence of that distinguished order, the same feeling which prompted the Seminaries of Quebec and Montreal, and of various Nunneries and their missions, laid the foundation, and gradually seconded the impulses which had been given. Had not the Jesuits' estates been diverted from their original destination, and their proceeds misapplied, the cause of education might have been much more advanced in this country than it has unfortunately been. It was a great mistake in 1801, to found and organize in the way it was done, the "Royal Institution" by an Act of the Legislature "for the establishment of Free Schools, and the advancement of learning in the Province,"—had it been established on a liberal, instead of an exclusive, principle, the progress of popular education, would not have been impeded.—From 1824 to 1836, various laws were passed by the Provincial Legislature, the enactments whereof, were modified yearly, until the Bill sent up by the Assembly in 1836, was lost in the Legislative Council. Each of those bodies asserted, as a matter of course, that they had sufficient grounds, the one for sending up, and the other for rejecting the Bill as framed. *Lower Canada has, until the last Session of the United Legislature, been left without any Legislative provision for popular education.* The Law now in force, a copy of which accompanies this statement, will show what the present system is.

"The following will suffice to give an *aperçu* of the history of the various educational institutions. The **JESUIT COLLEGE** was founded at Quebec, as early as the year 1635, through the exertions of a son of the Marquis de Ga-



mache, who had joined that order. Until its suppression, the College was ably and successfully conducted by that distinguished Society. The URSULINE CONVENT, a Seminary for the instruction of young Ladies, in Quebec, was founded four years later, by Madame de la Peltire."

From a gentleman intimately acquainted with the course of instruction and the funds of that Institution, I obtained this summer the following facts. "The establishment is under the direction of 33 professed Sisters, who teach the English and French Languages, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Composition, Geography, the use of the Maps and Globes, Sacred and Profane History, both Ancient and Modern, Chronology, Mythology, Rhetoric, the elements of Astronomy, the elements of Natural Philosophy, of Botany, of Chemistry, with a variety of amusing experiments; music on the Harp, Piano-Forte and Guitar, Vocal Music, Drawing, Painting in Oil and Water colours, Painting on Velvet, Satin, elements of Concoctology, Plain and Ornamental Needle-Work, Tapisstry, &c. The number of pupils who attend the above course, vary from 110 to 150,—one half are boarders, the other half half-boarders. There are at present 25 Protestant boarders. Premiums are awarded at the end of the year, when a public examination takes place, generally held for two days, and on which the pupils perform a moral Drama and Sacred Tragedy, the one in English and the other in the French language.

"TERMS.—Boarders, (board & tuition) £22 10s currency; half-boarders, about £10; the latter are admitted at 7 o'clock in the morning and are permitted to return home at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Extra charges.—Music, 1s. 3d. per lesson, 3 lessons per week; Drawing, about £2 per annum; Stationary; Books. No charges for the use of the Library or Musical Instruments.

"Besides the above Academy, the Ursuline Ladies have, in a separate part of the Establishment, a large Free School, which, at the last census in April, contained 306 pupils. In this section, Reading, Writing, Grammar, Arithmetic, Plain Needle-work, and the English and French languages are taught. Terms.—Each pupil, *if able*, pays 2s. 6d. per annum for fuel; Books and Stationary are furnished gratis to the poorer pupils.

"Besides the extensive Buildings, Chapel, &c., belonging

to the Institution, it draws a fund of about £900 a year from the rents of Real Estate. It has two Seignories yielding each about £75 in cash and 650 bushels of wheat,—the erection lately of three houses on the ground of the Convent at Quebec have raised its annual income to the sum above stated. Several of the Nuns are of the first families in Canada, and are highly instructed and accomplished. By some of the Protestant inhabitants of Quebec the course of education was admitted to be most excellent.

“In 1663 the SEMINAIRE DE QUEBEC was founded by Bishop de Laval de Montmorency. When the Order of the Jesuits was suppressed by Clement XIV. this college assumed the education of youth with complete success. Its present condition is very flourishing.\*

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\* Of this Institution Mr. Buller in his report, p. 14, says “the Seminary of Quebec is an admirably conducted establishment—the zeal of its members unremitting, and their arrangements in every way most judicious.” “I had an opportunity last summer of examining this Institution under very favourable auspices. The buildings are extensive and commodious—the chambers airy and clean—food substantial and comfortable,—it has a valuable library—an host of Professors and Masters; and it secures to the student an extensive course of education. It combines both the Day School and College, for, in addition to the resident boarders, a large number of the boys of the City are taught there. I have before me the programmes for several past years. This course includes the English, French, Latin and Greek languages, Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, Ancient and Modern History, Rhetoric, Logic, Moral and Natural Philosophy, Algebra, Mathematics, Astronomy, Chemistry, Music and the Art of Design. I spent some hours in the experimental Lecture Room of the eminent Professor Mon. Casault, and think that I saw there the best and most extensive set of philosophical apparatus, which is yet to be found in the Colonies of B. N. America. It is in daily use, and in a high state of preservation. The terms are moderate—the whole expence of a boarder not exceeding £25 to £30 per annum. Protestants and Catholics are admitted indiscriminately; and it is but due to the Catholic body who manage it, to state that no attempts are made at Conversion. I was promised a statement of the statistics and funds of this Institution before leaving Quebec, but it has not yet come to

"The COLLEGE OF MONTREAL was in 1806, placed, and has ever since, remained under the exclusive direction of the Seminary of St. Sulpice. The number of boarders yearly exceeds 100, and that of day scholars, is near 200. The COLLEGE OF ST. HYACINTHE was commenced in 1811. The course is liberal and very successful, the number of students who board in the college, generally exceed 150. The COLLEGE OF CHAMBLY, was opened in 1826, the Revd. Mr. Mignault is the founder. The course of studies is practical, and classical also. The COLLEGE OF L'ASSOMPTION, 24 miles north east of Montreal, is in a most flourishing condition. The system is peculiarly adapted to the proper management of youths; the Professors are men of distinguished talent, and the degree of sound liberty enjoyed by the students, has the desired effect. Mr. Labelle, the curé of L'Assomption, one of the founders, has directed his best energies to the promotion of liberal and useful education. There are about 140 students.

"*At Ste Theresa*, about 21 miles west of Montreal, stands another College founded by the talented and active Parish Priest Mr. Ducharme.—It contains about 60 boarders and 80 day scholars. This excellent institution is rising every day, in public estimation. *Nicolet*, in the District of Three Rivers, is indebted for its College, to the late Revd. Mr. Brassard, its founder, and the patronage of the late Bishop Plessis. The Institution is highly respectable, the present building is

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hand, and I am therefore unable to give a detail, as full and accurate as I should have wished. I have given this view of these two leading Institutions, that an idea may be formed of the education provided for the Catholics of Lower Canada.

on a very large scale, and the number of students always considerable. In the District of Quebec, in one of the most lovely situations on the banks of the St. Lawrence, rises the *College of St. Anne*, founded in 1827, by the late lamented Revd. Mr. Cainehaud. In each of those Institutions, religious, classical and useful education is obtained; they are accessible to all, and offer guarantees which are seldom met with elsewhere.

“ Besides these Colleges for the male part of the population, there are regularly organised high schools for young ladies, in the Ursuline Nunnery at Quebec, founded in 1639; that of Three Rivers, founded in 1697; and the Congregation Nunnery at Montreal, founded in 1653. The latter has since established fourteen similar institutions in different places throughout the Province, in which not only the elements of a common school education are taught, but also the higher branches of science and literature. There are several other religious orders of Nuns, such as the Grey-Sisters of Montreal, the Hospitalieres of Quebec, and the Sisters of Charity, who besides the care of Orphan Asylums and Hospitals, take charge also of general schools under their direction, for the gratuitous education of youth. The Brothers of the Christian Doctrine (*Les Freres de la Doctrine Chrestienne*,) have, in Montreal, under their care, over 1000 boys, to whom they impart the blessings of the most useful education.— Their virtue, intelligence, and successful labours, are above all praise.

“ The means afforded to the English part of the community, for classical and scientific education are smaller, that is,

they have fewer institutions, although they are at liberty to send their children to the Catholic ones."

Upon this subject, Mr. Baller, in his Report to Lord Durham, hereinafter referred to, says:—

"With regard to the means of higher education, persons of British origin have hardly any, while those of French origin have them in too great abundance. It is impossible for an English gentleman to give his son a finished education in the province. If he wishes him to be instructed in the higher branches of mathematics, natural and moral philosophy, &c., he must either send him to Europe or the United States, or avail himself of the more imperfect opportunities afforded in the Catholic establishments of the colony. Political and religious animosities render them very averse to the latter alternative. Some fear what they consider the contamination of republican principles in the States, and all shrink from the expense and separation attending education in Europe. Under these circumstances, they cherish with great fondness the hope of seeing the establishment of a Colonial University, on a broad and comprehensive scale. The better class of tradesmen, and the lower grade of merchants, are also without the opportunities of a good commercial education. It is true that there are some private establishments of the requisite description; but neither as regards number or quality are they adequate to the necessity."

"McGill's College, at Montreal, is now rising, and promises to become as distinguished as it is needed. Its beneficent founder, the late Hon. James McGill, has conferred on the community a boon, the benefits whereof will be daily more and more seen and felt."

The Report above quoted thus speaks of the state of this institution:—

"The only Protestant endowment in this province [1838] is that of McGill's College. The history of this institution, the original bequest, the protracted litigation, and, at length, the final decision, are matters as familiar to persons in this country acquainted with Canadian affairs as in Canada itself.—The college is not yet open; indeed, the building not yet

erected. Its annual income, derivable from houses in Montreal, and money at interest, is about £641. It is obvious that this endowment alone, is insufficient for the purposes of a University, to which rank it is the wish of many to elevate this college; and it is doubtful whether the trustees of the Royal Institution, under whose direction it was placed by the will of the testator, would acquiesce in the terms on which legislative assistance ought hereafter to be granted."

It cannot therefore be said that this Institution is yet in effective operation. Means have been taken to engraft upon it a medical department of study,—conducted at present by seven medical men of the city of Montreal, Drs. Bouneau, Hall, Holmes, McCulloch, Campbell, Sewell, and Dick, who read lectures on the several branches of the profession. I was assured at Montreal last summer, that a superior course of medical education could be obtained here, and that some of the Professors were able and diligent teachers. The Special Council have aided this department by an annual grant of £500— and Sir Charles Bagot has promised at the present session of the Legislature, to recommend a permanent vote of £1000. In April last a project was published by some of the leading citizens of British origin and descent, for the establishment of an Academy to be called the "High School of Montreal." The following gentlemen were appointed to afford information, and to receive subscriptions:—Alex. Buchanan, Esq., Advocate, B. Holmes, Esq., Dr. McCulloch, Wm. Lunn, Esq., J. G. McKenzie, Esq., D. Fisher, Esq., Advocate, and James Ferrier, Esq. In the Prospectus it is said:

"The great aim of the originators of the project for the establishment of a Seminary to be called "The High School of Montreal," is to provide a system of Education for our youth, who are destined for the liberal professions or the higher

walks of life and business, upon a more comprehensive scale, and with greater efficiency in the practical conduct and administration, than can possibly be attained in private Schools and Academies however respectable. With this view they have been induced, after mature and impartial consultation to give a decided preference to the general model of the best schools in Scotland, as being in their judgement, and without any disparagement to other Schools and systems, best adapted both in their plan and working to the present condition of society in Canada.

"This will be readily admitted by all who are acquainted with the characteristic merits of the Scottish system of Education.

"In the first place *it is eminently practical*, and fitted to qualify those who go through its complete discipline and training for all the offices and duties of active life. In the second place, *it is comprehensive and complete* in the range of the studies which it embraces. It gives no undue preference or disproportionate attention to Classical, over Mathematical and Scientific learning. It gives to each of the great branches of a liberal education its due place and just proportion of time and culture. Another consideration that had some weight in deciding this preference, is the greater facility of obtaining eminent scholars, and able, faithful, and labourious teachers, upon terms more economical from Scotland than from any other of the sister Kingdoms."

Of the extent of education designed to be given at this School the following extract will give some idea:—

"It is respectfully suggested by the authors of this Prospectus that the institution shall be under the management of a limited number of gentlemen, to be chosen by and out of the body of those who are most liberal and steady in its support, and that a certain amount of annual contribution or of donation shall constitute eligibility to this important office. It is also suggested that the Rector or President of the institution shall be a scholar of reputation, eminently qualified, not only to fulfil the high trust of superintending and regulating the whole course of instruction, but also to shed a lustre over the institution by his talents and learning. His salary ought not to be less than £500 currency per annum. The other three masters should also be accomplished scholars and experienced teachers, and their salaries ought not to be less than £300 or £250 per annum."

In Montreal and Quebec, there are many private schools where a classical for young men, and a suitable education for young ladies, are obtained. Some of those schools are very highly spoken of.

The law passed last Session, by the United Legislature for the establishment and maintenance of Common Schools throughout the Province," *has opened a new era in Canada.* This law may, and shall have to be modified and improved, but it has laid the foundation of a solid, popular and practical education.

The Act above referred to 4 & 5 Victoria c. 18, Sept. 18th, 1841, provides *funds* from the following sources:—  
1st,—It directs that all lands hereafter granted by the Legislature, or other competent authority, should be created into a permanent fund for the support of Common Schools,—the proceeds of sales, rents, &c., to be invested in profitable securities. 2nd,—A grant from the Legislature of £50,000 per annum to be apportioned among the municipal districts in the ratio of the number of children from 5 to 16 years of age,—the district Councils are authorized to assess the inhabitants to the extent of £50 for a School House, and each scholar is required to pay 1s 3d monthly as additional wages to the Teacher—equal to 15s per annum; the Commissioners having the power to exempt 10 poor children in each School District from the payment of this sum. By the 4th section of the Act the Governor is directed to appoint a superintendent of education for Canada, at a salary of £750 per annum, whose duty it is to apportion the funds,—to visit annually the Municipal Districts and examine the condition of the Common Schools,—to prepare suitable forms for reports,



&c., to address such suggestions as may introduce uniformity into the system, and to submit an annual report before the 31st day of December in every year, to the Governor General, of the actual state and condition of the Common Schools. By the 5th section it is provided that the district Council of each district shall be a Board of Education therein, and the duties imposed on them are minutely detailed. They are directed to divide the different Townships and Parishes into School Districts, to apportion the district share of the school funds among them, to assess for the building of a School House, to apportion to each Township or Parish a sum not exceeding £10 a year for the purchase of books, and to send an annual report to the superintendent. If any district Council refuse to comply with these requisitions, they are not entitled to receive any share of the public funds. In districts, entitled to elect one Councillor, 5, and in those entitled to elect 2, 7 commissioners, called Common School Commissioners, are elected for each Township and Parish, for the purpose of carrying on the local machinery of the Act. Their duties are to select a site for the Common School House, estimate the expense of building, appoint one of their number to send a quarterly report to the superintendent, and to agree with and appoint from time to time teachers in the said Common Schools, and to remove such teachers when they shall find just cause for so doing: provided always, that no person except he be one of the persons known as "*Les Freres de la Doctrine Chrestienne*," shall be appointed a teacher in any of the said schools, unless he be a subject of Her Majesty by birth or naturalization, of good moral

character, and shall have been examined before the said commissioners, as to learning and ability.

“Fourthly: To regulate for each school, respectively, the course of study to be followed in such school, and the books to be used therein, and to establish general rules for the conduct of the schools, and to communicate them in writing to the respective teachers.

“Sixthly: To appoint two or more of their number to visit each Common School in the Township or Parish, once at least in each month, and to report the state of each School, whether the rules and regulations established by the Commissioners are duly observed, the number and proficiency of the Scholars, the character and ability of the Teachers, the conduct of the managing Commissioner, and all other matters connected with the management and well-being of such School.

“Tenthly: To report all their proceedings, and all matters connected with the several Common Schools in the Township or Parish, to the District Council, annually, on or before the third Monday of November, such report being in the form to be furnished by the superintendent of Education.”

The Commissioners are elected annually, and vacancies by death are filled up by the other commissioners. The following clause is introduced in deference to the religious scruples of different sects:—

“Provided that whenever the inhabitants of any township or parish, professing any religious faith, different from that of the majority of the inhabitants, shall dissent from the regulations, arrangements, or proceedings of the Common School commissioners, with reference to any common school, it shall be lawful for the inhabitants so dissenting, to signify such dissent in writing to the Clerk of the District Council, with the names of persons elected by them as Trustees, for the purposes of the act;” upon the Clerk furnishing a copy to the district Treasurer, such dissenting inhabitants are allowed by such Trustees, who, for that purpose, hold and exercise all the powers, and are subject to the liabilities imposed upon Common School Commissioners, to establish and maintain Schools, subject to the visitation and rules provided by the act with reference to other Common Schools, and to receive their due proportion of the monies appropriated by

law, and raised by assessment for the support of Common Schools, in the school districts in which they reside."

Several restrictions and penal conditions are contained in the statute, in order to enforce compliance with its regulations. Cities and Towns corporate are invested with the same powers, rights, and duties, as district councils with respect to Common Schools—but for their management the following provision is made :

"That it shall be lawful for the Governor to appoint from time to time, in each of the cities or towns corporate, not less than six nor more than fourteen persons (one half of whom shall in all cases be Roman Catholics, and the other half Protestants,) to be a board of examiners for each of them; of which board the Mayor shall be Chairman, but shall have no vote other than a casting vote, and the said Board shall be divided into two departments, one of which shall consist of Roman Catholics, and shall exercise the duties assigned to the Board of Examiners, over the Common Schools attended by Roman Catholic children only, and shall in such case appoint their Chairman;—and the other department shall consist of Protestants, and shall exercise their said duties in and over the Common Schools attended by Protestant children only, and shall in such case appoint their chairman, and in all cases in which the said Common Schools are attended by Roman Catholic children and Protestant children together, the said duties shall be exercised in and over the same by the whole Board of Examiners, and the duties of the said board and of the said department thereof, in the several cases above mentioned, in and for the said Cities and Towns Corporate respectively, shall be to examine the persons recommended as Teachers by the Corporation, and reject them if unqualified on the ground of character or ability, and to regulate for each school separately, the course of study to be followed in such school, and the books to be used therein, and to establish general rules for the conduct of the schools."

"The above abstract is sufficient to give a general idea of the scope, purview and tolerant spirit of the Act. It fails however in one important particular, it contains no provision for the religious instruction of the scholars,

To give a history of the Common School education of Lower Canada, and the rejection of the Acts passed by the Assembly in 1836, by the Legislative Council, would require a volume of itself, and touch political differences which have either passed, or will soon pass, into oblivion. I refer in the note below to the \*Works where the leading features of this history will be found, and leave the reader to peruse it in them. Among the other labourious tasks superintended by the late Lord Durham and his attachès, while in Canada, was a Commission appointed by his Lordship to enquire into the state of education in the Lower Province. Arthur Bul-ler, Esq., was at the head of it. While lately in Quebec

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\*See Report of the Special Committee of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, appointed to enquire into the actual state of Education in that Province,—ordered to be printed 2d February, 1834. And also a pamphlet published in London, June 13th, 1838, entitled "An account of the endowments for education in Lower Canada, and of the Legislative and other public Acts for the advancement thereof, from the cession of the country in 1763 to the present time." The latter is from the pen of the late Andrew Stuart, Esq., Solicitor General of Lower Canada, and the brother of the present Chief Justice Sir James Stuart. It gives an able summary of the Acts passed by the House—their political bias and tendency, and contains a defence of the Legislative Council, in the rejection of the system proposed by the Lower House in 1836. The talents, influence, and high public character of Mr. Stuart are well known in Canada, and the impress of his mind has been deeply written in the public policy and history of the Lower Province. His powers were graphic and commanding. This work on Education, and a work published by him on the sound principles of a Colonial Government, entitled "A Review of the proceedings of the Legislature of Lower Canada in 1831," indicate a classical and profound mind. He died amid the universal regret of his brother members of the bar and of his friends—his grave is yet uncovered, but it is still expected that his memory will be honoured and enshrined by some public monument. By rewards of this kind the patriotic dead impart an inspiring and useful influence to the living.

George Footvoye, Esq., the Clerk of the City Council, and whose knowledge and services in this branch of the public service are admitted to be most valuable, presented me with a set of the tabular enquiries then issued to the Clergy, schoolmasters, and local authorities in that Province. They are minute, searching, and philosophical. The labours of the Commission were not completed before Lord Durham left his command; but the \*Report was subsequently completed, and has been since published in Appendix D to the Report of Lord Durham, laid before the Imperial Parliament. It is full of facts, and draws a frightful picture of the state of education, and of the tone of public feeling prevalent anterior to the late outbreak. Of the division of races, and the remedy suggested, this document presents the following view:

“The great parent evil of Lower Canada is the hostile division of races. Every act of modern legislation bears the faithful impress of this hereditary deformity, and has imparted it with aggravated intensity to every institution or interest with which it has had to deal. Hence the imperfections and one-sidedness of all such institutions. In private life, the intense hatred of the two races does not often show itself in violent collisions, but rather in a rigid non-intercourse. From the moment they are born to the hour that they die, they are, to all intents and purposes, two separate nations. But, until these divisions are healed and the people united, until Canada is nationalized and Anglified, it is idle for England to be devising schemes for her improvement. In this great work of nationalization, education is at once the most convenient and powerful instrument. It is a hopeless task to attempt to reconcile the existing generation of antagonists. Their

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\*In the Appendix B to the Report, all the Acts passed by the Legislature of Lower Canada—the Fabrique Act passed in 1823—the Act to found Normal Schools, and the bill of 1836 for Common School Education, are given at length.

whole life has been one of civil warfare. But, for those that are yet unborn, a more auspicious future may be prepared.

"In Canada, the child of French extraction is brought up out of the sight and hearing of the child of British parents. They never meet under the same roof; they are sent to separate schools; and they are told that the reason of this separation is, that the children of the rival school are heretics, or belong to another nation. They have no common hopes or fears, or pleasures or dangers—none of those kindly associations so easily born out of the familiarities of comradeship, and so faithfully retained throughout the vicissitudes of life. In short, upon entering into the world, they find no tie to bind them together, and all things around them inviting to hatred and hostility. But how different would be their feelings towards each other, were they brought up at the same schools; were they to play together, and receive the same punishment! They would then form friendships which would soften, if not altogether subdue, the rivalries of after life. A scheme by which the children of these antagonistic races should be brought together, were it only for purposes of play, would be preferable to one by which they received a good education apart; but one, by which both union and instruction were assured to them, would be the first and most important step towards the regeneration of Canada. The first difficulty in the way of such a scheme is, to divest it altogether of political and sectarian tendencies."

It gives the following view of the state of education among the common people:—

"In short, the moment they found that their educational provisions could be turned to political account, from that moment those provisions were framed with a view to promote party rather than education. This was their essential fault; this it was that pervaded and contaminated the whole system, and paralysed all the good that was otherwise in it.— This it was that mainly contributed to reduce the province to the deplorable state in which it is at present found. Were a stranger to travel through it, unacquainted with its history, or any part of the voluminous details which I have barely sketched to your Excellency; were he to converse every where with the poorer class of its inhabitants, I am confident that he would return with the impression that no attempt had ever been made in it towards the establishment of any ele-

mentary system of education ; but, to one who has studied its history, and waded through the mass of laws concerning education, it is at first inexplicable how so many attempts can have been made without producing some sort of result. *Go where you will, nevertheless, you will scarcely find a trace of education among the peasantry.* While the school-system was in force, there was a very inadequate provision of houses, and, of those that once had existence, some are now in complete ruins, and others the subject of fierce litigation among the neighbouring inhabitants. The sight of these ruins of the tale of these disputes is all that remains to the present of the past.

"I consulted several lawyers as to their experience in this matter, and they invariably told the same story. They agreed that there is hardly ever a prisoner or a witness, or a petty jurymen who knows how to write ; indeed, I have seen noticed in a Montreal paper a presentment by a grand jury in which six out of the 13 signatures were marks. I consulted one of the heads of the militia department, and he told me, with a play on the word, that the officers under him were generally very experienced *marksmen*. I saw several petitions from parishes, praying for the erection of small cause courts ; I hardly ever saw more than the petitioners crosses to them ; and it should be born in mind that these petitions must be signed by at least 100 heads of families in the parish. It may be said that all these jurors and militia officers and petitioners are of necessity grown-up men, and that few could have reaped the benefit of the schools which were only established to any extent in 1829, at which time they were beyond the age of admission. I made, however, particular inquiries on all sides as to whether the rising generation were better instructed, but rarely was any distinction made in their favour. In the very few country places which I visited, I made a point of asking all the children I met whether they could write ; the great majority could not write at all, and of those who said they could, most, I found, on pressing, to admit that they could only write their names.

"Withal, this is a people eminently qualified to reap advantage from education ; they are shrewd and intelligent, very moral, most amiable in their domestic relations, and most graceful in their manners ; but they lack all enterprise ; they have no notion of improvement, and no desire for it.— Their wants are few and easily satisfied. They have not advanced one step in civilization beyond the old Bretons who

first set foot on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and they are quite content to be stationary. Their utter ignorance of the theory and improved practice of agriculture is painfully witnessed in their cultivation of the rich banks of that noble river. If, instead of learning at their schools to make crosses with pens, they had been taught the most approved principles of clearing, draining, &c., in a word, of farming; instead of starving cattle and minute subdivisions of ill-cultivated plots, no disadvantages of climate would have prevented our seeing by this time thriving gardens, productive crops and healthy herds. But I have hitherto been only speaking of the male population. The difference in the character of the two sexes is remarkable. The women are really the men of Lower Canada. They are the active, bustling, business portion of the *habitans*; and this results from the much better education which they get, gratuitously, or at a very cheap rate, at the nunneries which are dispersed over the province."

To comprehend the state of education in Canada, and the question of the Clergy Reserves, and Jesuit estates, it is necessary to consult the Report itself, and to those who feel an interest in the subject, it and the appendixes annexed will amply repay a diligent perusal. In a subsequent chapter I intend to give at length the remarks of the Commissioners upon the necessity of blending secular and religious education, and the compromise recommended there for the introduction of a new and general system.

The new bill has been adopted in Upper Canada, and with some modifications it is believed will work well. In Lower Canada it is yet inoperative, because the French have declined to organise the District Councils. They are averse, it is said, to the Municipal system—but two superintendents have been appointed by the Government—the Rev. Robert Murray for Canada West, and Dr. Meilleur, a Canadian by birth, for Canada East. The latter has issued a Circular recommending



harmony and combined action, and urging the French to accept the encouragement offered by the Act; and I have his personal assurance, that when the Act is modified at the next meeting of the Legislature, ~~he felt assured~~ that the system would spread, and ultimately go into general operation. Its success will depend entirely upon the co-operation of the clergy—for in a Catholic country the education of the people is dependent upon their pleasure; and in these provinces it is fortunate that they are following the enlightened example of the good King Louis of Bavaria, and employing the influence of the \*Church to found Schools and Colleges, and to instruct their people in religious principles.

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\*I have referred in another place to Judge C. Mondelet's excellent letters on the education of Canada. It is but just to give here some other names, who have made themselves eminent for their labours on this public question. The aged Abbe De Chain, now 66 years old, and who has devoted his life to the training of youth, published a general system for the Lower Province, as far back as 1821. Dr. Meilleur is also the author of some elementary books, and of a series of letters on public education, which appeared in the Montreal "L' Aurore des Canadas" in 1841. He was a member of the Assembly, and the Author of the Act for Model Schools, introduced in 1836. Mr. Perrault, of Quebec, the late Dr. Francis Blanchet, Dr. Jacques Latire, John Nelson, Esq., Hector Huot, and J. Q. Girard, Esqrs.—the latter the framer of the Bill for Normal Schools—have all been mentioned as men who have taken a lead in this question—but I have not the information at hand to give an accurate estimate of the extent and value of their services. A part of this information is obtained by a private letter from Mr. Mondelet, in which he expresses an anxiety to do justice to those who have laboured with himself in the pursuit of Colonial Education. Among the British inhabitants of Canada the name of Dr. Wilkie, the Principal of an excellent Seminary at Quebec, stands amongst the first for his valuable services and essays upon Colonial Literature and Education.

## UPPER CANADA, NOW CANADA WEST.

In enquiring into the past history of Common School Education in this Province, the labours of investigation have been lightened by a very able report, prepared by a Committee appointed by His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, Sir George Arthur, and submitted to the Assembly in 1840. In 1839 His Excellency laid before the House the results of a very full investigation into the offices of the Provincial and Private Secretary; and they were so satisfactory that the Speaker was directed to send to the Governor a letter of thanks; and to beg that Committees should be appointed to pursue similar investigations into the other Public Departments. His Excellency readily adopted the suggestion of the Assembly, and organized one upon Education, among several others, consisting of the Rev. Dr. McCaul, the Principal of the Upper Canada College—an admirable institution at Toronto—the Rev. H. S. Grasett, and S. B. Harrison, Esq., now the Provincial Secretary for Canada West. The Report prepared by these gentlemen—all men of high talent and practical good sense—furnishes a history of the various Acts passed upon the subject of Education—the defects of the then existing system—the statistics of Education—several letters from practical men in different parts of Upper Canada—and among others one from the Rev. Dr. Murray, the present superintendent for Canada West—a plan for an entire new system for that Province, recommending Normal and Model Schools—School houses, and houses and grounds for masters—an encrease in their qualifications and salary, fixing the average at £50 per annum—a uniform scale of fees—a set of school books for general use—School Libraries—a

Central Board and Inspector of Schools, with powers of general supervision. From the Report I take the following abstract :—

“In the year 1819 the act for the establishment of Public Schools again engaged the attention of the Legislature. It was then deemed expedient to make further provisions for the efficiency of these schools. It was directed that an annual examination should be held, at which the teachers or a majority of them should assist ; that annual reports should be rendered by the trustees ; that free education should be given in each school to ten children of the poorer inhabitants, elected by ballot ; that teachers, hereafter, should not receive more than £50 a year, unless the average number of scholars exceed ten. It was further directed that certificates should be given at a public meeting of the trustees, upon due notice given for that purpose.

“In the year 1820 the clause of the act regarding common schools granting £6000 for their establishment, was repealed, and it was enacted that the sum of £2500 be paid annually, dividing the grant equally amongst the ten Districts, and fixing the maximum allowance of the teacher at £12 10s per annum ; permission was also given to the Board of Education to appoint a clerk who might be paid £5 per annum.

“The necessity of making some provision for books to be used in the schools, produced an act of the Legislature in 1824. £150 per annum was granted, to be at the disposal of the General Board of Education, to be laid out in the purchase of books, tracts, &c., which were to be distributed by the General Board amongst the several District Boards of Education, to be by them distributed at their discretion. It was also enacted that every teacher of a common school must be examined by the Board of Education in the district which he shall have taught, or obtain a certificate from at least one member of such Board, certifying his ability, before receiving any public money.

“In the year 1833 an act was passed increasing the grant for common schools and improving the distribution of it amongst the districts. £5650 was now granted in addition to the sums before appropriated by law for the years 1833 and 1834. It was further enacted that each District should allow to the Clerks of their respective Boards the further

sum of £5 annually, in addition to the sum they are already authorized by law to receive.

"Since the passing of this act no further improvement has been effected, although there appears to have been a general persuasion (which your committee have reason to believe is at present very generally entertained) of the *inadequacy of the system adopted.*"

"As to the state of education at that time, it was admitted to be most defective. There was no general system.—The masters were inferior and ill paid. The schools were not supported by Assessment; and no prayers, and no religious instruction were obligatory by law. Mr. Murray says—"I do not consider the present provision for Education in this Province, at all adequate to its wants. I consider it to be deficient *in toto.*" There are several other letters to the same effect, and one from Mr. Burwell, M. P. P., accompanying a draft of a Bill for Common Schools, full of instruction, and giving some excellent suggestions. Upon the statistics of Education, the Report thus speaks:—

"Your Committee annex an analysis of some of the reports of the District and Common Schools for the year 1838, from which an estimate may be formed of the present state of Education in the Province; they regret that this branch of statistics is in so imperfect a state that they have not been able to obtain as exact information on the subject, as the importance of it would require.

"From these reports, however, it appears that the number of pupils in 13 District Schools is little more than three hundred; that the number of Common Schools may be assumed to be more than 800, and that the number of children receiving instruction in them may be estimated at about 24,000, *i. e.* taking the population of Upper Canada to be 450,000, the average of Education by public funds is about 1 in 18."

The statistics of a well educated country show, \*as before stated, one-fifth or one-sixth of the whole population in at-

\*Vide Ante Note p. 174.

tendance at the Common Schools—the lower estimate of one-sixth gives 75,000 who ought to have been in attendance—deducting from these the 24,000, who were said to be in attendance, it leaves two-thirds or 51,000 children who in this noble Province were then growing up (1840) destitute of the means of instruction. I have before me a number of the “Church” a religious newspaper published at Toronto, Aug. 7, 1841. Upon the \*extent of education it has the following paragraph:—

“Even in 1838, after the troubles of the preceding winter, there were no more than 21,000 children receiving education in schools, supported by the public funds. Since that time there has been a steady increase both in the number of schools and pupils—and we shall probably not be far wrong in estimating the present number of the former at about 1000, and of the latter at more than 30,000. In proof of this we would refer to the increase in our own District, exclusive of the city. In 1838 the number of schools was 92—of scholars 2557—in January 1841 the numbers were 123, and 3567—and in the last six months there has been an addition of twelve schools and more than 650 scholars. Now it must be borne in mind, that we have hitherto taken into account only those schools which receive grants of public money.—The number of private establishments for elementary instruction is much greater than is generally supposed, and we are not without both public and private institutions, which afford the advantages of a more extensive and liberal education.”

Of Education in the capital of Toronto the same paper gives the following sketch, and I quote it because it comes to me from very high authority:—

“We have been favoured with the particulars of an enqui-

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\*For full details as to the education of this Province, I refer to the report above noticed; to the “Papers” laid before the British Parliament, 3d April 1840, part I and II, being Correspondence and Extracts from the Journals of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, relative to the “Clergy

ry, which has been recently made into the number receiving education within the limits of the city of Toronto, and we feel no little gratification in laying before the public the highly satisfactory result. It appears that in three establishments, supported by endowments or grants, (Upper Canada College, the Home District \*Grammar School, and the Central School,) there are 584 pupils; of these about 150 are in the College, enjoying the advantages of an education, which, we would almost say, is unsurpassed by that afforded in any

Reserves." These documents contain a full history of the funds arising from the munificent disposition of public grants for public purposes, and of the struggle made by the different churches and sects, to share in them:—and to a Despatch from Sir George Arthur, K. C. B., to the Marquis of Normanby, dated 8th June 1839. I quote the following paragraphs from that despatch, to give some idea of the amount of Funds in that Province available for the promotion of education. The despatch will be found in Part III of the Correspondence relative to the affairs of Canada, laid before Parliament in 1840. p. 50—94. This paper gives in fact the legislative history of Education in Canada West, and is well entitled to a diligent perusal:—

"In compliance with the prayer of a joint address from the provincial legislature, presented in 1797, the King was pleased to direct that a portion of the waste lands of the Crown in Upper Canada should be set apart for the endowment of grammar schools, and, in process of time, also of a university; under which authority the local government assigned, for these purposes, in the year following, 12 townships, comprising, after the necessary deductions for Crown and clergy reserves, about 549,217 acres.

"From what has preceded, it will be seen that, of the original grant of 549,217 acres, set apart for the advancement of education, there have been,—

Resumed by the Crown, in lieu of scattered reserves assigned to the university . . . . .	ACRES. 225,944
Resumed by the Crown, in lieu of assignment to Upper Canada College . . . . .	66,000
Apparently left disposable for the purposes of schools . . . . .	257,273

Total . . . . . 549,217

"From the printed statement, it will be further seen, that of the lands constituting the university and the college endowments, there have been sold the respective quantities of

similar institution in Europe, and is certainly unequalled on this continent. There are 54 receiving the benefit of a sound liberal education at the District Grammar Schools, and 380 are instructed in the Central School in the branches of elementary knowledge. In addition to these there are more than 40 private establishments,—the pupils of which, (boys and girls,) amount to about 1300. The greater number of these are attended by the children of the humbler classes.—

93,737 $\frac{3}{4}$ , and 17,388 acres, leaving, in the one case, a residue of 132,206 $\frac{1}{4}$ , and in the other, of 48,612 acres.

"I have no present means of judging how the school lands have been dealt with, beyond the evidence afforded by Sir John Colborne's correspondence with the Secretary of State, that about 17,273 acres of them were appropriated to surveyors for surveying, (that is, in lieu of a money-payment for their labour and disbursements for provisions and wages of chain-bearers, &c.); and about 12,000 acres sold by the General Board of Education; which aggregate would reduce the actual quantity available, to 228,000 acres.

"There can be no doubt that the proceeds of the quantity sold by the Board were applied to their legitimate object, but I have no particulars of the appropriation.

"The printed abstract of accounts would show the state of the university endowment fund to be as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Aggregate amount of actual sales of lands	100,809	18	6
Gross amount received on account thereof	53,224	14	7
Amount remaining to be realized . . .	47,585	3	11
Amount of debt due by Upper Canada			
College . . . . .	33,944	9	0
Value of debentures, stock, &c. . . . .	15,237	10	0
Cash balance, 31st Dec. 1838 . . . . .	8,368	2	4
	57,550	1	4
Outstanding balance . . . . .	47,585	3	11
Aggregate fund . . . . .	£105,135	5	3

See also the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada for 1841, under the head "Education and Schools," and the Appendix K. K., for an account of the state of the School Lands in Canada West

Amongst those of a superior character, are some well-conducted seminaries for young ladies."

As I have given in a previous page, although inconsistent with the general order of the work, a view of the High Schools and Colleges of Lower Canada, I deem it better to complete here a sketch of the Collegiate education of the Upper Province. In addition to the provision made for the support of Common Schools, there were 13 District Schools in operation in 1839, each receiving £100 per annum from the provincial funds—310 boys were then in attendance, being instructed in all of them in the higher branches of English education, and in some in the Classics, Euclid, the Globes and Natural Philosophy. In this Province there is one University including King's College and Upper Canada College—the Rev. Archdeacon Strachan being the Principal of the one, and the Rev. John McCaul, L. L. D., the principal of the other. Both are situated at Toronto—but King's College is not yet in operation—the buildings being only in the progress of erection. This University is magnificently endowed. On the 30th November 1839, the total value of the assets belonging to it were £319,262—of this £246,845 belonged to King's College, and £72,417 to that of Upper Canada College—the estimate of the annual income of the University for 1839 was £8,550—of this Upper Canada College enjoys £4277. Both are under the controul of the Established Church. The College of Upper Canada is an admirable and effective institution. It is situate in the North suburbs of the city, the buildings are elegant and unique, and the grounds beautifully and tastefully laid out and kept in the highest state of preservation. The Principal, Dr. McCaul;

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has the reputation of being qualified, in a very eminent degree, for the duties of his situation. I have before me the College Register of 1840. Besides the Principal, who exercises a general superintendence and controul over all the classes, there are four Professors for the Mathematics and Classics, and six masters for the preparatory school, for French and for Geometrical and Ornamental Drawing. The course of education is thus detailed:—

“Greek, Latin, French; Mathematics, (Geometry, Algebra, Trigonometry, Logarithms, Conic Sections, &c.) Elements of Natural Philosophy, Logic; History, Geography, Use of the Globes, Arithmetic, Mensuration, Book-keeping, Geometrical Drawing, Surveying, and Perspective, in addition to the ordinary branches of English; with Composition in English and French, and in Greek and Latin prose and verse.

“The Pupils are distributed into seven Forms, a Partial Class, and a Preparatory School. Pupils are examined, on admission, and placed according to their qualifications.—Those in the College Forms, as they progressively advance, receive instructions in every department of the course; those who are admitted into the Partial Class, are exempted from Classical Studies.”

The dues for day pupils at the preparatory school are £6 per annum—at the College £9 per annum—boarders pay in all £30 per annum. Ornamental Drawing is an optional branch, and for which there is an extra charge of £1 per quarter. The system of education is founded on the Model of the English Universities, and is said to be excellent and thorough. I had the opportunity of attending the examination of one class, upon the chronology of ancient literature and history, and was highly gratified at the accuracy and extent of knowledge exhibited by the students. There are 160 pupils now in attendance—of these 136 pay at the rate of

£9, and the remaining 24 £6 per annum. The rules and regulations are printed, and the most rigid attention is paid to the morals and habits of the students. On Sundays they are allowed to go to their respective places of worship.

A Royal Charter was obtained in 1841 for the establishment of Queen's College, at Kingston, "in connection with the Church of Scotland, for the education of youth in the principles of the Christian Religion, and for their instruction in the various branches of Science and Literature." The funds for the support of the institution are as follows:—

Subscriptions in Canada, . . . . .	£15,000
do. in Britain, . . . . .	1,500
Donations in Wild Lands, . . . . .	1,200
To be provided by the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland towards the payment of the Principal's salary, . . . . .	5,000
	£22,750

Besides the above there is the claim of the University on the funds of King's College for £1,000 per annum; and it is expected that the Legislature of Canada, from which nothing has been yet desired, will aid it by a liberal grant or endowment.

The buildings designed will require an outlay of £15,000. The system of education is to be conducted, as nearly as possible, after the model of the Scottish Universities, so as to suit the circumstances of the country. It will be superintended by five Professors—at present there are only two—the Principal Professor Liddell, and Professor Campbell—the former is now in Britain, on the business of the College, and is authorised by the Trustees to provide a Professor of Mathematics, and of Natural Philosophy, and a competent

Master to conduct a High or preparatory school, in connection with the Establishment. The first session for 1840 was conducted by the two Professors above named—the Principal taught Theology, Church History and Hebrew, Mr. Campbell the Humanity Classes, and Mathematics. The matriculation fee is £1, and the fees £2 for each of the classes.— It is intended that the students should board out, although some of the Professors will receive of those from a distance under their roof, until a regular system has been organised.— Most of the eminent Ministers and many of the influential and respectable members in the Kirk, in the two Canadas, are named in the Royal Charter; and it is expected, that, before long, an effective and even improved system of Collegiate education will be open to the descendants of Scotsmen in this hemisphere. It is a provision in the Charter that the Principal, who is also to be Professor of Divinity, and the first Professor of Morals, shall be nominated by the Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

The Fourth and last Collegiate Institution is that of Victoria College, founded at Cobourg, Lake Ontario, and in connection with the Wesleyan Methodist Conference. At the opening of the College in October 1841, the Rev. Mr. Ryerson, who is the Principal, in his address made the following statement:

“I cannot conclude these remarks without adverting to the new and elevated character with which this Institution has been invested by the Parliament of United Canada. His late most Gracious Majesty William the Fourth, of precious memory, first invested this Institution, in 1836, with a corporate character, as an Academy—the first Institution of the kind established by Royal Charter, unconnected with the Church of England, throughout the British Colonies, And

it is a cause of renewed satisfaction and congratulation, that, after five years' operation as an Academy, it has been incorporated as a College, and financially assisted, by the unanimous votes of both branches of the Provincial Legislature,—sanctioned by more than an official cordiality in Her Majesty's Name, by the late lamented Lord Sydenham, one of whose last Messages to the Legislative Assembly was, a recommendation to grant £500 as an aid to the Victoria College—an aid which we trust will be increased and continued annually. We have buoyant hopes for our country when our Rulers and Legislators direct their earliest and most liberal attention to its Literary Institutions and educational interests. A foundation for a Common School system in this Province has been laid by the Legislature, which, I believe, will, at no distant day, exceed in efficiency any yet established on the American Continent; and I have reason to believe that the attention of Government is earnestly directed to make permanent provision for the support of Colleges also, that they may be rendered efficient in their operations, and accessible to as large a number of the enterprising youth of our country as possible."

From a pamphlet published at Toronto in 1841, entitled "Course of Studies at Victoria College," it appears that there are now five professors at this Institution, and that it includes a Preparatory School, as well as a College. There are taught there, the elementary branches, the Classics, French, Algebra, Mathematics, Conic Sections, Rhetoric, Natural History, Natural Theology, and courses of Lectures delivered on Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, Classical and Biblical Literature. Lectures, either publicly or in connection with the recitations, will also be delivered on all the studies embraced in the foregoing course. The Institution is furnished with a Chemical, Philosophical, and Astronomical Apparatus, containing a Plate Electrical Machine Telescope, Air-pump, &c.

"The Commercial Department is intended for boys and

young men who have made some progress in elementary studies, but who are not to take the Classical course. To such pupils will be given as thorough a preparation as, through the English Language, can be imparted for the active business of life, either as Merchants, Engineers, or Mechanics. The outlines of the course of study in this Department are the following:—1. English Grammar and Composition. 2. Geography and History. 3. Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, and Geometrical Drawing. 4. Penmanship and Book-Keeping. 5. Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Astronomy.

“TERMS AND EXPENSES.—Board, including Room, Furniture, Washing, Candles, &c. per annum, £22 0s 0d, or per term of eleven weeks, £5 10s 0d. N. B. Students are charged 5s per term, during the Winter Session, for sawing wood, and carrying it to their hall. Each Student is required to furnish two sheets, two pillow-cases, and two towels. Students will be charged for unnecessary damages done to the furniture, rooms, &c. Tuition. Regular Division, per term of 11 weeks, £2 0s 0d; Junior Division, do. do. £1 10s 0d; Commercial Department, do. do. £1 5s 0d; Preparatory School, do. do. £1 0s 0d.”

In this pamphlet there is an excellent code of Remarks entitled “on the method of instruction,” suggesting the conduct of an effective and thorough system of Education.

NOTE.—Since going to press with the first part of this Lecture, on the education of Canada East, I am happy to perceive that the Governors of McGill's College have advertised for proposals from persons desirous of the following offices in that institution—Professor of Classical Literature, Lecturer on Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Lecturer on Logic and Rhetoric, a Latin Tutorship and a Greek Tutorship. As these, with the testimonials of qualification, are required to be returned before the 18th of October next, (1842,) it is clear that the Governors are now prepared to put the College in operation, and to follow out the views of its liberal and patriotic founder.

## LECTURE VII.

Colonial Education—State of Common School Education in the Lower Provinces.

### CONTENTS.

NOVA-SCOTIA.—Table of Returns from 1834 to 1841 inclusive—15,000 children now growing up destitute of Common School Education—Abstract of the Acts—Defects of the System—Report of the Central Board laid before the House last session—Rules and Regulations issued by them—Principle of Assessment—Lord Falkland's Speech on—State of Education in the city of Halifax—Public Grants for 1841-2—Expense of a thorough and effective system.

NEW-BRUNSWICK.—Abstract of the Acts—Tabular view of the Parish Schools for 1841—15,000 children destitute of Education—Circular issued by Sir William Colebrooke—His Excellency's recommendation of the Normal and Industrial Schools—Returns submitted to the House last session—Mr. Rende's observations thereon—School-Books—Religious Instruction—Report of the Committee of the House concerning the Principle of Assessment.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—Act passed in 1836 for the support of Common Schools—District Boards of Education—Bye Laws and Regulations—Religious Warfare conducted there—Controversy relative to these bye-laws—Bible excluded from some of the Schools—Books printed by the National Board in Ireland—Act passed by the Assembly in 1838—Books used by the National Board in Ireland ordered to be imported—Protestant Schools—Newfoundland School Society—Church Society—Charge of Archdeacon Spencer in favour of Education.

PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND.—Abstract of the Acts—Defects of the system—Mr. McNeil's Report for 1841—5,000 children uneducated—Public Grants for Education in 1841.

IN pursuing the history of Colonial Education, I come now to the systems introduced into the Lower Provinces, and will sketch them here in the order of their importance. Nova Scotia is unquestionably entitled to the lead, from the

date of her settlement, the extent of her educational institutions, and the intelligence of her people. The following table presents a view of what has been done in the past, and of what remains to be done in the future. It will be a consolatory reflection in after life, if this enquiry should lead to combined legislative action in this branch of the public service, and hasten the introduction of those modern principles, which are among the brightest ornaments of its schools and of the age.

## STATE OF EDUCATION IN NOVA-SCOTIA.

(Compiled from the Journals of the Assembly.)

Yrs.	No. Schools Combined & Common.	Scholars pd. for by Parents.	Gratis	Total No. of Scholars	Funds rais- ed by the People.	Paid from the Treasury.
1834	444	11,385	1188	12,573	£9867 1 8	£4466 3 4
						11,385 Scholars: cost £13,333 5s=£1 3s 5d per head.
1835	530	15,292	1158	16,450	12,453 6 8	4466 2 4
						15,292 Scholars; cost £17,919 9s=£1 3s 7d per head.
1839	575	18,562	1627	19,189	13,495 11 4	5464 0 1
						18,562 Scholars; cost £18,859 11s 5d=£1 0s 5d per head.

## COMMON SCHOOLS.

1840	587	20,485	1649	22,134	13,531 6 4	4610 11 10
						20,485 Scholars; cost £18,191 19s 2d=£0 17s 9d per head.

## COMBINED GRAMMAR\* AND COMMON SCHOOLS.

	31	1,396	71	1,467	1,954 15 0	954 11 3
						1396 Scholars; cost £2909 6s 3d=£2 1s 8d per head†

## COMMON SCHOOLS.

1841	626	17,904	1856	20,910	17,165 9 0	6004 5 10
						20,910 Scholars: cost £22,499 4s 8 1-2d=

Average income of Teacher, £36 16s 6d.

## COMBINED COMMON AND GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

	33	1,716	169	1,885	2,599 12 0	1357 18 11
						1888 Scholars, cost £3087 10s 11d=£2 1s 2d for each Scholar.

Average income of Teacher, £105 5s 3d.

\*In 1840 the Legislature contributed one-half of the whole sum expended in support of the Grammar Schools, and less than one-third of the sum raised by the people in aid of the Common Schools—this is unquestionably supporting the rich at the expense of the poor, and providing luxuries before the requisite necessities are supplied.

†Report of Central Board of Education, Appendix No. 27 to the Journals of Assembly for 1842.

COMMON SCHOOLS AND COMBINED SCHOOLS, FOR 1841

No. of schools	SCHOLARS.			People. £ s.	INCOME FROM		Total. £ s. d.
	Paid.	free.	Total		Treasury	Total.	
					£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
650	17623	2025	22798	19564 1	7362 4 9½	26186 6 7½	

In 1840 the entire number of children attending school was in round numbers 22,000—many of these too not attending regularly; but occasionally and for a short time, when the season did not permit the continuance of out-door and field occupations. In Prussia one sixth of the entire population—in some other and better educated countries one-fifth have been in attendance at School:—one-sixth of the population of Nova Scotia 200,000 is equal to 35,000—*showing that about 12,000; and if one-fifth ought to be educated 12,000 Children in this Province are rising without any education whatever.*

In presenting this sketch of the state of Education in Nova Scotia, it will be unnecessary to give more than a brief abstract of the Acts passed for the regulation of Common Schools, because they have been already very clearly digested by Mr. Murdoch as Secretary of the Central Board of Education, and widely disseminated in pamphlet form. For the information of readers in the other Colonies it may be stated that the Common School Education of the Province is now placed under the controul and management of a Central Board constituted at Halifax, and composed of five members with the power of appointing a Clerk. The duties of this Board are thus defined:—

“To establish forms of returns of schools, affidavits and certificates, required; to make Rules and Regulations for the



guidance and government of the several Boards of Commissioners in every county ; and to prepare and transmit to these Boards, Instructions for the conduct of Teachers of Schools, so that greater uniformity in the system to be pursued by the respective Boards may be promoted, and the provisions of the act rendered more effective."

The whole expenditure of the Board is limited to the sum £150 per annum.

To give the system centralization every Board of Commissioners are required to make and return to the Central Board, in prescribed form, before the 31st day of December, in every year, a copy of their proceedings and a statement of expenditure duly certified by a quorum to be correct ; that they have distributed the Provincial allowance impartially ; and these reports digested in an abstract the Central Board are directed to send annually to the Secretary of the Province for the use of His Excellency and the Legislature. This feature of the system was introduced in April, 1841, and the first annual report of the Board was laid before the Legislature at its last session. The facts contained in this document prove clearly the deplorable and inefficient state of the present system, and the ample field there is for improvement. There are unquestionably many districts in the Province well and extensively educated—Schools and Masters who would be a credit to any country—Boards of Commissioners and Trustees active, liberal, and intelligent—to these all praise is deservedly due ; but they form unfortunately the exception, not the rule.

Of the general provisions of the Acts, and the machinery of the system it may be stated that by the Amending Act of 1841, the Legislature set apart the sum of £6000 annually

for the period of 4 years for the support of Common Schools—this sum being apportioned among the different counties upon as equitable a principle as the Assembly could be induced to adopt. The law provides for no religious instruction *what* ever,—not even the reading of the Bible. There is no regulation in existence as to the choice of School Books, “for” say the Central Board in their Report “the next subject of importance which pressed itself upon attention, was the deplorable state of the Common Schools as to the description of Books used in them, which was believed to be very defective in general, and as to the inadequate supply of such Books and the variety and imperfections of the editions in use.”—The fact I believe is avowed that many of the School Books used are printed in the United States, and that the political tendencies and principles taught in them are not suited to the subjects of a monarchy.

The Governor and Council are authorized to appoint five or more Commissioners of Schools for each County, who have the management and controul of all Schools, established under this law, in their County or Districts. This Board are required to lay off the County into School Districts. By the 4th section of the School Act of 1832 it is provided—p. 6.

“Whenever any number of individuals, in a school district in any county or district shall make application in writing, to the Board of Commissioners for such county or district, engaging to hire a teacher for one year, (or for any time not less than three calendar months, Sec. 9, 1841,) and to build, or provide a School House, and keep the same in repair, and therein cause to be taught for the said period of one year, (or for any time not less than three calendar months, Sec. 9, 1841,) *at least thirty scholars, in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic,*—or shall therein engage to hire a teacher, and to provide, or build and keep in repair a *school house*, and

cause to be taught therein for the period above stated, *at least fifteen scholars*, and shall apply to the Board for a participation in the public grant, the said Board shall enter upon *a list of schools*, such school for a participation in the public money, and shall appoint *one, two or three trustees*, as they shall deem requisite for such school, who shall have power and authority to enter into all necessary *contracts* with the persons applying for such school and the *teacher* or teachers thereof, which said contracts and agreements shall be good and valid. The Trustee or Trustees are further entrusted with *power to sue and be sued* in their own names, for and concerning all matters relative to such school, and also to make regulations as to the *hours of attendance* of the scholars, the allowance and duration of holidays and vacations, and for the general regulation and government of the school, Sec. 8, Act 1841."

By the 7th and 11th Sections it is enacted that no teacher shall receive any part of the provincial allowance unless licensed by the Commissioners, and the latter are enjoined before granting such license to be satisfied of his good moral character and suitable qualifications. The Trustees are bound to render every six months to the Commissioners a full report of the Schools—the names of Scholars, their progress, the expenditure and salary of the master and how recompensed, and to attest before a Magistrate that the salary is fairly and bona fide paid, and that the engagement is not entered into collusively to obtain the Provisional allowance.

The 11th Section runs thus:—

"And be it further enacted, that the said sum of money to be granted to each county and district, shall be apportioned by the said board as soon as the said accounts of the said trustee or trustees have been received, in manner following, that is to say:—the sum of *Seventy Pounds* to be applied by the Board, among such of the inhabitants of the county or district, as may be *unable* to keep up a school with fifteen scholars, to enable them to employ a Teacher or Teachers for the whole or some portion of the year, to be paid in such proportions as the Board shall appoint. *Five Pounds* to be

applied by the Board in the purchase of *School Books, Pens, Paper, Pencils, Slates and Ink, for the use of poor children*, whose parents are unable to purchase the same, and *the remainder* of the gross sum of money, granted for such county or district, together with any surplus of the sum of seventy pounds that may remain over what may be required to be applied as aforesaid, shall then be distributed and paid by the Board, among such schools, entered on such lists as aforesaid, as to it shall seem fit objects for the provincial aid; *Provided, That no school of thirty scholars and upwards, shall receive more than the sum of thirty pounds, and no school of fifteen scholars and under thirty scholars shall receive more than fifteen pounds; and also, that there shall be taught in every such school, as many poor scholars free of expense, as shall be directed by the Board.*"

This allowance is not to be made to populous districts able to support a school—although the Board may allow to them Twenty shillings for each poor scholar, provided the district does not receive over £10.

To insure a moderate competency to the teacher, the Act provides, Section 12:

"That no school wherein *thirty scholars and upwards* are taught, shall be entitled to and receive any portion of the public money, *unless* it shall be satisfactorily made to appear to the Board of Commissioners for the county or district wherein such school is kept, by the trustees, that *the teacher* did actually and bona fide receive, at least, the *full sum of forty pounds per annum, exclusive of Boarding, Washing, and Lodging.*"

To meet the wants of our mixed population, it is provided that any school in which the course of education may be conducted in the French and German languages, is to be entitled to participation in the public money,—the same as where the English Language only is used. The Commissioners are authorised to appropriate a part of the above sum of £70, to aid any school for instructing the people of colour in the Common branches of education. They are directed

also to appoint a Clerk, and to require security from him for the faithful appropriation of the public monies passing into his hands—to annul any contract entered into with a teacher,—and they are made personally responsible for the due and faithful application of the School money drawn from the treasury for their county.

By the Act of 1841 provision is made for the introduction of Itinerating Schools. Power is given to the Commissioners for this object, and they are allowed to devote a part of the legislative grant to their support. They are further empowered in the 10th section to extend public aid to any school taught by a female, where she can be more advantageously employed than a male teacher, and in every School District, in addition to the one male teacher, which they are limited to licence, to licence two female teachers, where they deem it expedient.

In addition to the Academics established in Nova Scotia, the Legislature have introduced what is called in the Act a system of combined Grammar and Common Schools. The number of these is limited to three in any one County or District, and these are to be established in such Towns, Villages and Settlements as the Commissioners may direct.—The section providing for them reads thus ;

“Whenever the inhabitants of any school district in which a common school shall be established under these acts, shall apply in writing to the Board of Commissioners for the County or District, engaging that in addition to the branches of learning required to be taught in such common school, to cause to be instructed there, from eight to fifteen scholars in the Classics, the practical branches of the Mathematics, Geography, Algebra, English Grammar, or such of them as may be required ; or in such application engaging for the instruction in the school of fifteen scholars and upwards, in the

higher branches of education before mentioned,—in either case the Board of Commissioners shall appoint two or more trustees for the school and enter it as a combined Grammar and Common School.”

Besides the sum granted for Common Schools, the Act authorises the appropriation of an additional grant of £25 per annum to each combined school where 8 to 15 scholars are taught in the higher branches, and £35 per annum to any one in which 15 or more scholars are so instructed; but before this allowance is made the Commissioners are to be satisfied, in the first case, that the salary actually paid to the Master is £100 per annum, and in the other £120 per annum. Instruction in the Classics may be dispensed with, in case a teacher qualified in this respect cannot be obtained, provided he is competent to teach the other branches detailed in the Act.

In July 1841 the Board issued a formula of Rules and Regulations for the guidance of the several Boards of Commissioners. In these they were required to divide their Counties into Districts, and to have a Map prepared, having these districts defined, of which a copy is to be sent to the Central Board,—Instructions are given as to the granting of licences to teachers,—for the selection of trustees,—“and whose knowledge and learning are recommendations of the highest order,”—the building of School Houses with suitable seats, tables, and desks, and a proper supply of light, fuel, air, and warmth, in winter,—the employment of a female teacher,—the appointment of Clerks,—and the frequent inspection of the Schools both by the Trustees and Commissioners. Their attention is directed also, in close settlements, to the erection of a Dwelling House for the Teacher,

in order that he may be there permanently established, and acquire local attachments. Public examinations are recommended, and the distribution of honorary tokens of approbation. "Such rewards, whether to meritorious teachers, or to pupils of remarkable ability and good behaviour, cannot fail to produce a beneficial effect." Prizes are also given for returns, and the Commissioners are requested to transmit these to the Central Board on or before the 20th December in every year.

Upon the principle of assessment our Legislature has tried two experiments. Upon the Act of 1836 the Rev. Mr. Crawley, in his letters on Education, thus refers to the first of them :

"A law was enacted entitling an assessment to be raised wherever it should be resolved on by two thirds of the rateable inhabitants. I believe, however, this law has seldom, if ever been found to operate advantageously. The reason of this failure I conceive is not difficult to detect. A close attention to human nature will, I apprehend enable us to perceive that a regulation of this sort contains for the most part, in effect, its own death warrant. Most men have naturally so strong a dislike to imposing burdens on themselves, especially when they come in the form of legal coercion, that a *voluntary* assessment will rarely be successful. It *might* occasionally be carried into effect, but the principle is altogether too feeble to form the foundation of a general Common School system ; and even where a sufficient amount of persons might be found willing to concur in such a measure, so far as regards their own readiness to be taxed, still a kindly regard for the feelings and prejudices of their friends and neighbours to whom the system of taxation might be very odious, would often deter them from acting on their own convictions."

By the 19th section of the Act of 1841, the Trustees of any School District are authorised to call a public meeting of the rateable inhabitants—of which meeting at least 20

days notice in five or more public places is to be given. If a majority of the inhabitants at such meeting agree to raise funds for the support of the Schools in the district by assessment, the Trustees are to certify their proceedings at the next ensuing Sessions of the Peace, and the sums so agreed to be raised will then be assessed upon each inhabitant, in rateable proportions, according to his ability; and by a subsequent section the amount of these assessments are limited to the sum of £15 in aid of a Common School of from 15 to 30 scholars—£20 in aid of a school of 30 scholars and upwards; and £25 in aid of a Combined Grammar and Common School containing from 8 to 15 scholars, who are taught the higher branches. In the rules and regulations issued by the Central Board, the principle of assessment is thus alluded to:—

“As there are many advantages to the public in the system of annual assessment for the support of schools, it is recommended to the Commissioners to give every reasonable encouragement to this plan; more especially in school districts where the general feeling of the rate payers is decidedly favourable to its adoption; and to endeavour to lead their communities to the consideration and adoption of the principle of assessment, *which the Central Board believe to be essential to the success of any plan of general education.*”

At the opening of the Legislature in the Session of 1841, His Excellency the Right Honorable Lord Falkland, with that fervent and creditable zeal he has ever manifested in the promotion of public improvements, introduced the subject of education to the notice of the country, and after very ably pointing out its advantages—the defects which existed in the present system,—and the obstacles which existed to their removal, from the conflict of religious sects, concluded



thus:—"In\* recommending to your regard a subject of such momentous interest, I consider it my duty not to withhold the expression of my belief, that any Legislative Act with reference to it, to be satisfactory in its operation, must be based on the principle of general assessment: while I beg to assure you of my zealous concurrence in any attempt you may make to ameliorate a state of things which I sincerely deplore."

I do not touch further upon this principle here, because it has been already fully discussed; and I make these references merely to show the past *†*action of our Legislature relating to it.

The amount of *†*Public Money paid from the Treasury of

\*Journals of Assembly for 1841, p. 11.

† See Ante p. 153.

The education of the City of Halifax has already reached a very high standing, and considerable advances have been made in the adoption of the modern principles. There are schools for the teaching of the Classics—the Halifax Grammar School, conducted upon the model of the English schools, under Dr. Twining,—the new School about to be re-opened by the Rev. Mr. Romans, to be regulated on the principles of the High Schools of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and to give a preparatory training to the students of Dalhousie College,—and the classes taught at St. Mary's College—an institution in a very effective and creditable condition. In all of these the elements of an excellent English and classical Education may be obtained. For elementary instruction, and for the poorer classes, there is the National School, founded in connection with the Episcopal Church—the Royal Acadian School, conducted by Mr. A. S. Reid—the Normal School, under the management of Mr. H. Munro—the Catholic School for the teaching of the elementary branches—and the African School for the education of colored people. It is said that all of them are in a very effective condition, and two of them, Mr. Reid's and Mr. Munro's, both of these gentlemen having been trained in some of the best Normal Institutions in Scotland, are conducted on the Normal system. There are two schools, an Infant and Day School, founded in Dutch

this Province, in 1841, for Educational Institutions, was:—

Common Schools, . . . . .	£5979	0	0
Combined Common and Grammar Schools . . . . .	1357	0	0
Halifax Schools—Acadian, National, and St. Mary's, £100 each, . . . . .	£300		
Methodist School, the Rev. Mr. Uniacke's School, and School for Coloured people, £100 each, . . . . .	300		
Infant School, . . . . .	50		
Poor House School, . . . . .	25—675	0	0
Academies, . . . . .	180	0	0
Halifax Grammar Schools, . . . . .	150	0	0
Pictou Academy, . . . . .	200	0	0
King's College, . . . . .	441	0	0
St. Mary's College, . . . . .	300	0	0
Institution at Horton, £300, special grant £200	500	0	0
Dalhousie College. . . . .	200	0	0
	£10,785	0	0

Equal to 1s. 0½d per head of the entire population—and to 5s. 4¼d. per head, of the *one-fifth* capable of being in attendance on the Schools.

Town, under the Superintendance of the Rector and Church Warden's of St. George's Church, and much praise is due to the Rev. Mr. Uniacke for his attention to these two very superior establishments. There are also several private schools in good repute, and two for the education of young ladies, of very fair character—so that the means of education in the city is in a forward and advancing state. The course of education, the internal polity, funds and statistics of several of the public schools, are described in the appendix to the last Report of the Central Board—but no general view of our state of education has ever yet been prepared; and I trust it will not be long before a Committee is appointed by the Common Council to enquire into the subject—to ascertain the number of poor children who are *not* in attendance on the schools, and if any, and what, measures can be adopted to supply the existing deficiency. There are also 10 Sunday Schools in operation, in connection with the different churches in Halifax—many of them in a high state of effectiveness, but the details of these will be found in the Report above referred to

The public grants for the Educational Establishments of the Province, for 1842, may be stated as follows:

## COLLEGES.

King's, under a permanent grant, receiving annually, . . . . .	£444	0	0
Dalhousie, Queen's, and St. Mary's by a vote for three years, are to draw annually each £444, 1332		0	0
Dalhousie College had a loan of £5,000 in 1823, payable on demand, but without interest.			

## ACADEMIES.

Each of the 17 Counties is entitled to one, drawing £100 a year, £1700. All the Counties however have not yet availed themselves of this privilege, and the actual outlay will probably be . . . . .

	1400	0	0
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## GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

Each County is entitled to three, drawing £25 or £35 each, according to its size. Those Counties which do not require them are entitled to add the amount to their Common School fund. The whole outlay therefore is . . . . .

	1785	0	0
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## COMMON SCHOOLS.

The grant now in force is . . . . .	6000	0	0
The Halifax Schools are allowed as above . . . . .	825	0	0
The Central Board is allowed . . . . .	150	0	0
Other occasional grants may be stated at . . . . .	64	0	0

Making the entire cost . . . . £12,000 0 0

Equal to 1s 2d 2-5 each among the entire population of 300,000 souls. If *one-fifth* or 40,000 are capable of being instructed, the grants from the Treasury are equal to 6s per head.

Notwithstanding these liberal grants, they are totally inadequate to the wants of the country. Mr. Crawley, in his letters on Education, has estimated that the Common School education of this Province would require an expenditure an

nually of at least £50,000.\* Mr. Howe, in a speech delivered before the House of Assembly, upon the expediency of assessment, in the session of 1841, has estimated it, in round numbers, at £60,000.† By the Returns for last year for the Common and Combined Schools, as submitted to the Legislature, to educate 22,978 children, required an expenditure of £26,186 16s 7½d, about £1 4s 9½d average charge for each scholar, and £41 0s 5d, the average salary for teachers. But it is admitted that the present system is defective, that a large expenditure is required for books and the machinery of schools, and that higher salaries must be provided to ensure the supply of more competent teachers. The average number of scholars in each school at present is 35. Now if there be 35,000 children to educate, it would require 1000 schools, and if we estimate the annual expense of each at £60, which is a very moderate provision, it would raise the annual expenditure to £60,000—if there are *one-fifth* or 40,000 to educate, the annual cost, at the same rate, would be increased to about £69,000.

## NEW BRUNSWICK.

The Act regulating the system of Common School Education in the Province of New Brunswick was passed in 1836, 7 W. 4, c. 8, and is different in many respects from the regulations existing in the other Provinces. It prescribes no course of instruction, no particular set of School Books, no teaching of religious principles, and does not enforce the support of the Schools by assessment. It regulates the

\*See *Novascotian*, Nov. 12, 1840.

†See Debate reported in the *Novascotian*, April 1841

outward machinery, not the internal discipline of the school. The Justices in session are empowered to appoint annually, three trustees for the several towns and parishes in their different counties, who are sworn to the due and faithful performance of their duties. It is the province of the latter to divide these parishes into such school districts as may be convenient or necessary, and when the inhabitants of any such district have erected a School House and agreed with a School Master or Mistress, duly licensed under the Royal Instructions, to teach for six months or one year, they become entitled to part of the Provincial allowance. The Trustees are required to visit the school once every three months, and to enquire into the order and morals, and direct the discipline and regulation of such school;—but as to such discipline and regulation the Act leaves them entirely unfettered.—They have the power to remove any teacher who refuses to comply with the regulations they impose, or who is guilty of misconduct, intemperance or immorality,—being however controlled in so far in the exercise of this discretion that they are required to report such removal, and the cause of their proceeding to the Board of Education of the County or District, composed of three or more persons appointed by the Lieutenant Governor, by and with the advice of Her Majesty's Council. It is the duty of this Board to enquire into the character and qualifications, by personal examination, of persons applying for school licenses, and the trustees are authorised to admit into each school established in their respective parishes not more than five free scholars, being the children of indigent persons. They are further required to certify to the Sessions, every school found-

ed and kept for the space of six months or one year to the satisfaction of such trustees, and for which the inhabitants have subscribed and paid towards its support £10 for every half year during which the same has been kept, or shall have furnished the Teacher with boarding, washing and lodging for the same period of time. The Sessions are then required to return a schedule of such certificates every year to the Secretary of the Province, upon which schedule there is paid from the Treasury the sum of £20 to every School Master or School Mistress included therein, who shall have kept a school for a year, or £10 if kept for six months—of these Female Schools every Parish is confined to three. And lastly, each Teacher is required to furnish semi-annual returns, of the number of male and female scholars, taught by them respectively.

Immediately after the arrival of Sir William Colebrooke, the present Lieutenant Governor of that Province, the subject of Common School Education, and the introduction of the modern principles, seems to have engaged his Excellency's earnest attention. A series of circular letters was addressed to the different Clerks of the Peace and Boards of Education in the Counties. By the 1st of these, June 1840, the Clerks of the Peace were directed to call upon the Trustees to send in a general return of the number of scholars—of the efficiency, character and qualifications of the Teachers, and the system and extent of instruction, religious and general, which was afforded. In the second, dated 19th August, the Boards were directed in all future Petitions for licences to teach a Parish School, that the Minister of the Congregation, to which the Teacher had belonged for the last 12 months,

should give a certificate of his religious and moral character, and that the applicants should enumerate their acquirements—and also that the Board would state whether bibles were provided for the schools, and also what other books were used for the instruction of children, and whether they were subjected to any, and what, examinations. The third dated the 14th Sept. last, I give entire:

*“ Secretary’s Office, Fredericton, 14th Sept., 1841.*

“GENTLEMEN,—His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor having it in contemplation to promote the formation of a Training and Model School at Fredericton, where Teachers of Parish Schools may be trained on an improved system, their qualifications tested and ascertained, and a material improvement be thus effected in the Parochial Schools throughout the Province, has directed me to call the attention of the Board of Education to the subject, with a view to ascertain if they can recommend any better mode of local remuneration to the Teachers than the existing one of board, lodging and washing.

“If a habitation for the Master and a few acres of Land could be attached to the School House, it would afford the means of introducing the system of the Agricultural Schools of England, in which the Boys are instructed in improved Husbandry for a certain part of the day, and the ground is made to contribute to the maintenance of the Teacher of the School. The details of this plan can be furnished in case the Land to the amount of about ten acres can be obtained, and a part of it cleared and well cultivated. Upon these points also I have to request that the Board will favor me with such information and suggestions as may be in their power, to be submitted for His Excellency’s consideration.

I have the honor, &c.

(Signed)

WM. F. ODELL.

To the Board of Education for the County of —.”

A fourth circular was issued, dated 5th Oct., in which the Boards, after being referred to the practice lately adopted in the Country Parishes of England, of employing females in the charge of Schools where both sexes are instructed, are

required to inform his Excellency if respectable women, married or unmarried, between the ages of 25 and 40, could be found, that would undertake the charge of Parish Schools.

The various replies to these enquiries were submitted to the Legislature at its last Session, and have been printed and circulated in pamphlet form, for the information of the Province.

After the various returns were made, his Excellency directed the Provincial Secretary, Mr. Odell, to prepare a general circular, dated the 11th Nov. last, and as a proof of the earnest zeal with which his Excellency has applied himself to this important feature of Colonial advancement, I give the following extracts from this document :

“His Excellency is deeply impressed with the necessity of early measures being introduced for the amelioration of the present defective system, and he is decidedly of opinion that the Public money cannot be better expended than in the formation and support of good Schools, nor be more completely thrown away than in the upholding of those which are conducted on a bad system, or established on improper principles.

“A well digested and uniform system of teaching, and a proper set of School Books, *among which Bibles and Testaments are indispensable*, appear to His Excellency to be the great desiderata; and when the large sum expended by the Legislature under the present Parish School Law is taken into consideration, the introduction of a system by which a much greater amount of good must result, appears to be loudly called for.

“The difficulty of introducing any uniform or efficient system of teaching in common or Parochial Schools, has been so fully experienced elsewhere, that it has necessarily led to the introduction of the Normal or Training School for Teachers. This system is in full operation in England, and has been most successfully introduced in the West Indies, where such Schools have been established with the most beneficial results, nor is it to be doubted the same consequences would follow in this Province, if the establishment were fostered by



the Legislature, with the same liberality it has hitherto shown for all Seminaries for Education.

“With this view His Excellency has proposed the establishment of a Central Training School, by getting well trained Teachers from England,—a man and his wife,—and forming such a School at Fredericton; and the only expense devolving on the Candidates would be their board for the short period while under training, which might easily be defrayed for them. This School being once established and in full operation, an arrangement might then be made by which the whole of the Provincial Schools would in a comparatively short space of time be put on a uniform and efficient footing. This would be mainly effected by requiring the Training School Master to make circuits through the Province in the exercise of his calling, and providing a defined set of School Books, and a manual drawn up for the general guidance and use of the Teachers. His Excellency is aware that there are many Schools now in operation which are creditably conducted, notwithstanding all the defects of the present system, and would wish it to be understood that the change would be gradual, and such as would prove favourable to those which at present meet with approbation. One important benefit that would flow from the introduction of the monitorial mode of teaching for the older children, and of the Infant school system for the younger, is that a greater number of children might be instructed by one person.

“With respect to the Teachers, His Excellency is of opinion that Schools for children of both sexes of from two to nine years of age, admitting older girls, would be most beneficially conducted by unmarried or married Females, properly trained, and it is hoped a sufficient number of respectable candidates would offer. For Schools in which boys above nine or ten years of age are instructed, Male Teachers appear to be the best adapted; and when the advantage of having a Grammar School in each County for instruction in the higher branches is taken into consideration, it appears to His Excellency that the means of acquiring a good education would be as much within the reach of all classes of the people, as the resources of the Province would admit or prudence dictate.

“The difficulty of finding competent persons to conduct Agricultural Schools has been experienced in England, and hence the system has not been generally introduced, but His Excellency is of opinion that by establishing a Central

School on this principle, others might gradually be introduced where practicable, and a separate school for boys in each county might be formed, in connection with the agricultural societies.

“Meanwhile His Excellency remarks, that he considers the suggestion that Land should be attached to the Parish Schools and cultivated by the Parishioners for the use of the Teachers, an improvement on the present system, although the payment of a regular stipend and the additional accommodation of an apartment for the Teacher, adjoining the School Room, appears to be necessary to ensure the permanent services of competent and respectable teachers. It is not improbable that eligible Candidates would offer, who have residences in the neighbourhood, in which case the additional accommodation might be dispensed with.”

The concluding sentence reads thus :

“On these and such other points connected with this important subject as may suggest themselves, His Excellency invites the Board of Education to communicate their views, His Excellency being most anxious to co-operate with them in effecting such an improvement as will assure to the rising generation the benefits of a sound system of religious and general instruction, at once adapted to the circumstances of the country, and acceptable to all denominations of christians.”

The returns annexed from the different counties give full details of the funds, number of scholars, salaries of the masters, and the branches taught; and to those there is added a series of observations by A. Reade, Esquire, the Private Secretary of His Excellency, conveying a variety of excellent hints and suggestions, for the improvement of the present system, and the introduction of modern plans and principles. Upon the want of religious instruction Mr Reade writes thus judiciously :—

“In the preceding observations, I have, I believe, touched on most of the points comprised in the Circular Instructions to the Boards of Education, to which I have thought it right to confine myself. But there is one subject to which the at-

tion of the Boards of Education and the Trustees is especially called, in one of these Circulars, that I cannot feel satisfied in altogether passing over, and which cannot fail to strike every one perusing the abstracts, viz: *the absence of all religious instruction in many of the schools.* This has been the consequence of the difference of the religious belief of the Parents of the Scholars, which has made it a matter of extreme difficulty, if not of impossibility, for the Teachers to introduce any regular religious instruction.

“A serious and startling question is here presented to us, viz: Ought we to suffer the minds of children, at a period when most easily impressed, to grow up without any serious impressions, resulting from the inculcation of the great doctrines of religious belief? If we would instruct children in the duties they *now* owe, as sons and daughters, as brothers and sisters, as schoolfellows and associates, and in the duties they *will soon* owe when emerging from parental restraint, and called upon to perform and fulfil their obligations as citizens, where can we lay the foundation of such instruction, save in the sure word of Almighty God? If the money of the State is devoted to the education of its people, it may fairly require that that education shall be conducted on principles which have a sure and sound basis; and a provision for the daily perusal of the Scriptures, would perhaps be the means of inculcating its doctrines, not only in the children, but also in the old, through the instrumentality of the young.”

Upon the present system and the choice of School Books, Mr. Reade offers the following remarks:

“Another great drawback to any efficient and uniform system, is the variety and nature of books generally in use throughout the Province. Each School it appears has its own set of books, which at the change of each master are liable to be objected to, and others substituted, if the master has sufficient influence with the parents to effect this.

“But what is still worse, in many Schools, each scholar brings his own books, which are selected by the parent, so that there is no possibility of forming classes, and but too frequently the books thus selected are either of an inferior character, or, in some instances, of a nature, for which, to say the least, better substitutes might be found. Another serious evil is the period for which a school is kept open.— This seldom exceeds six months; and in many cases the

masters or mistresses are only retained for this period. It must be obvious that where this is the case the greatest possible stimulus to the Teacher is at once lost, and the great secret of advance in the pupils partially, if not wholly destroyed."

In consequence of the spirit thus displayed by His Excellency, and the information contained in these reports, the question of Education underwent a full review at the last session of the Legislature, and a special committee was appointed by the House of Assembly, to report upon the subject. The Committee consisted of six members—Mr. L. A. Wilmot being Chairman—and the others comprising some of the leading men in the House and in the Province. In the report submitted to the House they condemn the voluntary system and boldly recommend the principles of assessment :

"While income and property are justly taxed for other County and Parish purposes, such as the support of the Poor—the local administration of Justice—the erection of Public Buildings, and other objects, so do we conceive should the income and property of every Parish *be taxed for the support of Education.*

"He who has property, and no children, should be compelled to contribute towards the education of the children of those who may have no property.

"We sincerely hope that this subject will be well considered during the recess, by all those who feel an interest in the advancement of Education."

They further state that the appointment of a general visitor of Parish Schools, to inspect the Parish Schools—examine the scholars and report to the Legislature every year the efficiency of each separate school had been recommended to their consideration, but although sensible of the benefit which might result from such an appointment—they hesitate

to recommend its adoption. Upon the Normal School they say :

“ Another point considered by us is, as to the necessity of establishing a Provincial Normal School for the education of Teachers, Male and Female. We would forbear at present expressing a decided opinion on this point, but we would submit, that as the several Grammar Schools in the Province are required to take at least five free Scholars, those privileges might, under the direction of the Trustees, be conferred on young men desirous of being qualified as Parish School Teachers.”

By this movement and legislative action it is clear that the Executive and Legislature of this Province are awakened to the importance of this branch of the public service ; and that the first advance has been made to the introduction of a sound and improved system by this bold declaration in favour of the principle of assessment. His Excellency Sir Wm. Colebroke is clearly determined to distinguish his administration by basing the provincial system of education upon religion, and by founding the Normal and Industrial Schools :—to this benevolent and noble scheme of Colonial enterprize every Philanthropist must breathe an ardent and sincere prayer for success.

The following gives a view of the statistics of education :—Abstract of Parish Schools in the Province of New Brunswick for 1841—as returned to the Secretary’s office :—88 Parishes, 541 Schools, 435 male and 106 female Teachers Total 541, 8418 male, and 6570 female Scholars, Total 14,988. Each School is endowed by a grant of £20 per annum, on condition that the people of the districts raise £20 in addition, and board, wash and lodge the Teacher.

The lowest estimate of the population of New Brunswick

is 150,000—if the proportion of *one-fifth* ought to be educated, it will give a total of 30,000—15,000 children are therefore rising in the neighbouring Province, entirely destitute of education.

### NEWFOUNDLAND.

In the year 1836 the Legislature of Newfoundland passed an act for the encouragement of Education, and appropriated the sum of £2,100 sterling for the object. It was appropriated for the following purposes—for the Schools established by the Newfoundland and British North American School Society, £300—Orphan Asylum School at St. John's, £100—St. Patrick's Free School at Harbour Grace £100—and the remainder to be applied and expended under the superintendence of Boards of Education to be appointed in the several Electoral Districts, in sums of £200, £125, and £100 each. The Act then directed the Governor to appoint a Board of Education for each District, consisting of 13 persons, and in them the senior or superior Clergyman of each of the several Religious denominations actually resident within the District, was to be included. It further gave these Boards the power of making bye-laws, rules, and regulations, for the establishment and management of the schools,—directed annual meetings to be held, and reports to be transmitted to the Governor for the information of the Legislature. After the Act was passed the Boards of Education were assembled—but in the framing of the bye-laws, the religious warfare, which unhappily exists in that island, broke out, and by the contest added new fuel to the existing flames. I have before me the returns of the different boards,

their bye-laws, and the Correspondence which ensued between them and the Executive. The following are some of the rules selected from these codes indiscriminately :

“That all Ministers of Religion shall have power to visit the Schools under the control of this Board, and from time to time to withdraw the Pupils of their respective Communion for the purpose of imparting to them Religious Instruction, for which every facility shall be afforded by the Teachers; but no Minister shall be permitted to impart any such instruction in the School.

“That the authorised version of the Holy Scriptures (without note or comment) be added to the Books already proposed and adopted by this Board, and that an hour (either before or after the regular School hours) be appropriated for the reading of such by the children of the parents who desire it; and that after such time the Scriptures shall be removed from the School Room.

“That whenever a Protestant School-master is appointed, no Books shall be made use of in School of a Sectarian tendency; that no preference shall be shown to any Scholar on account of his belonging to any particular class of professing Christians; and that no religious instruction shall be given, excepting what is contained in the Holy Scriptures without note or comment.

“That Protestant School Masters shall be employed at every place where the number of Protestants shall exceed that of the Roman Catholics, and *vice versa*; and that no invidious distinction shall be made between Churchmen, and what are generally called Dissenters.

“That as regards Protestants, there is nothing Sectarian in introducing the authorized version of the Holy Scriptures as elementary Books—all our Protestants constantly appealing to them as the standard of their Faith, and the rule of their conduct; and that as regards Roman Catholics, to keep those sacred deposits of truth and knowledge out of sight in twelve Schools, because a few Roman Catholic Children may attend them, is surely too great a concession for the Board to make.—Such a concession, to say the least of it, would be a sacrifice of principle—a sacrifice which no Protestant would require a Roman Catholic to make under a change of circumstances; and which, therefore, no Protestant is bound to concede to a Roman Catholic.

“That nothing of a Sectarian tendency shall be taught in

the Schools, nor any religious instruction given in School hours.

“That no Books shall be used in any School to be established by this Board, except such as shall be approved of by the Board, whose aim it shall be to select works which cannot give any reasonable offence to members of any religious denomination.”

To show the anxiety of the Governor to insure the harmony of Sects in the prosecution of a general system of education, I take the following extract from the reply made by his Secretary when some of these bye-laws were submitted for his approval :

“In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 11th inst., transmitting the Bye-Laws of the Board of Education for the Electoral District of Conception Bay, I am directed by the Governor to observe, that as the 11th Rule [the second above quoted] prescribes that the authorized version of the Scriptures is alone to be used, the benefit of it must be confined to Protestant Children.

“As all the Catholic Members of the Board object to this Rule, His Excellency wishes it to be re-considered, hoping that in place thereof some regulation may be adopted by which religious instruction shall be secured to the Children of every sect, *without shocking the principles or opinions of any.*”

In another he says :

“I am directed to say that the Governor is perfectly aware of the importance of religious instruction, and as far as his own feelings are concerned would be well pleased that the authorized version of the Scriptures should be read in all our Schools.—But as our Community consists of various sects, and the intentions of the Legislature undoubtedly were that the benefits of Education should be equally extended to all, His Excellency cannot sanction any rule which may operate as an exclusion to the Children of the Roman Catholic persuasion.”

In answer to one of these letters the Board of Bonavista thus addressed His Excellency :

“That this meeting exceedingly regrets that His Excel-



lency should object to the authorized version of the Scriptures in the Schools of this Bay, the population of which is more than three-fourths Protestant—more especially as in all the Schools in the Bay the Scriptures have always been used as a School book; and no objection has been made by Roman Catholics generally, to send their children to such Schools—they, on the contrary, having always readily and thankfully embraced the opportunity of education afforded by such Schools.

“That this Board would not insist on the Bible being put into the hands of the Roman Catholic Children that might be in any of the Schools—(tho' in three of the Schools contemplated by the Board there would not probably be any children of that persuasion)—but they might otherwise employ themselves (in a separate part of the room if necessary) in learning their tasks, &c. for the half-hour each day in which the others might be reading the Bible. They would leave the matter entirely optional with the Roman Catholics whether or not their children should read the Bible with the others.

“That if His Excellency will not allow the Scriptures to be used, this Board must respectfully but firmly state it to be their conscientious determination not to lend themselves to a system of education which would exclude the pure word of God; as they would thereby fail in their duty to themselves and their fellow subjects in surrendering their unalienable right—a right derived from God himself—to search the Scriptures.”

In consequence of this controversy relative to the introduction of the Bible, and the positive refusal of some of the Boards to adopt the Books published by the National Board in Ireland, several of the districts were deprived of the benefit of the Act.

In the Session of 1838 the Act of 1836 above quoted, was amended, and by it it was enacted:

“That all Ministers of Religion shall have power to visit the Schools under the controul of the Boards of Education: Provided nevertheless, that no Minister shall be permitted to impart any religious instruction in the School, or in any way to interfere in the proceedings or management thereof; that

no Books should be introduced into any School, unless chosen and selected by the Board; that no Board should on any pretence choose or select, for the use of such School or Schools, any Book or Books of a character or having a tendency to teach or inculcate the Doctrines or peculiar tenets of any particular or exclusive Church or Religious Society whatsoever."

By a subsequent clause the sum of £150 was voted, to be expended by His Excellency in the purchase of several enumerated books, as used in the National Schools in Ireland:— a system introduced and managed under the auspices of the British Government, so as to conduct a national system of education, in which Protestants and Catholics could unite, and now in extensive operation in the Emerald Isle.— To this Act the Protestants of Newfoundland have ever maintained a steady opposition; and have made it a charge against the late House of Assembly that they have fostered a system of Schools, in which the use of the Bible was expressly forbidden. I put the controversy before the reader and leave him to decide on its merits.

Of the Protestant Schools I have been favoured with the following facts:

"The number of Schools in connection with the Church of England in Newfoundland, as stated by the best authority, is 46—and in these Schools there are 3205 pupils *scripturally* instructed, according to the tenets of the Established Church. The Teachers are maintained by the excellent institution of the Newfoundland School Society; which has placed its Schools under the visitation of the Bishop of the Diocese. The two great Church Societies, P. G. F. and P. C. K., and the Diocesan Church Society, has given occasional aid to the advancement of Scriptural education in Newfoundland, by grants of money for the erection of School-houses, and by supplying books."

The able and eloquent Archdeacon Spencer, who is now

placed at the head of that Bishopric in his last charge to his clergy, thus addressed them on the subject of education:—

“The great question of the religious education of the people, which has been so generally discussed, and in my opinion so unwisely treated in this colony, must occupy much of our consideration. During the short period of my residence in this part of my diocese, there has been either a total absence of any legislative provision for the education of the poor, or the money granted by the Legislature has been accompanied with conditions, which no Churchman, and few Protestants could accept.

“It is my duty to speak to you most unequivocally on this subject. It is my duty to tell you that no conscientious Clergyman, and I speak more emphatically with reference to the position in which the missionaries in this country are placed, can devote any portion of his time, and energies, and influence, to foster institutions for the instruction of the poor, from which both Bible and Prayer Book are banished, and religious tuition of any kind is expressly repudiated. But while as Ministers of the Gospel, whose whole time and abilities are pledged to “feed the Church of God which he purchased with His blood,” you withhold or detach yourselves from those “now constituted seminaries,” in which education has no religious basis to rest upon, you will prove that you are the true friends of General Education, by the encouragement which you will give to schools of a better character, in which Christian principles shall be blended with the elements of useful knowledge, and in which the pupils may be taught the arts of this life, and the learning which maketh wise unto salvation. A very large debt of gratitude is due to the Newfoundland School Society for its great exertions in the establishment and conduct of schools, where this happy combination of religious and secular instruction has been preserved. To a felicitous selection of Teachers, the Society appears to me to have added such prudent and well-principled regulations, as could scarcely fail of success. I must commend these schools, whenever they exist in your several districts, to your especial regard. You will not forget that as the appointed Pastors and Teachers of the flock, committed to you, you have a deep interest in the prosperity of an institution which contributes so largely to a material portion of your charge. You will council and assist the Teachers who are employed in this work of chari-

ty; you will be frequent in your visit to the schools, and to the cottages from which the schools receive their scholars—and you will solicit the prayers and pecuniary aid of your people in their behalf. It is my earnest desire to elevate the character and raise the standard of education in many other schools, which, under circumstances of great depression, have been organised as temporary expedients for the instruction of the poor.”

His Lordship then proceeds to recommend the institution of Sabbath Schools, where the endowment of Day Schools are impracticable—states, that, by the bounty of the Church Society at home, he had been able to contribute to the erection of Chapel School Houses, where public worship was conducted by Readers, under Episcopal licence, exhorts the clergy to be zealous in the field of piety, and thus concludes:—

“The conscientious Clergy are the best friends to the cause of enlightenment and knowledge among all classes of the people. God forbid that we should oppose, directly or indirectly, the progress of knowledge. Education of some kind or other must go forward. The voice of the times unequivocally demands it. We cannot stand still while all the world are advancing. Be it ours then to influence and direct the instruction. Be it ours to see that the Gospel is preached to men, to the poor especially, from their very infancy, that they shall early learn “whatsoever things Christ hath commanded them,” that they shall “be christianly and virtuously brought up” as heirs of God and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven.”\*

#### PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND.

In Prince Edward's Island the education of the country is

**NOTE.**—\*I had hoped until this Lecture went to press, to be able to give the statistics of education, provided by the Catholics of Newfoundland—but although promised it from two quarters, they have not yet come to hand, and I will be obliged to give them in an appendix.

under the superintendance of a Board of five Commissioners and a Secretary,—the Board are paid £4 each, and the salary of the Secretary is £15. It is their duty to examine the qualifications of Schoolmasters and to grant certificates. The whole of the district schools are under the charge of a Visitor, who is compelled by law to visit them three times a year, to return a report annually to the Legislature, and to publish it in the newspapers. Each master receives from the Treasury a bonus of £10. The funds are entirely voluntary, except in so far that the Trustees of a District can assess for a School House, and for repairs, &c., and if two-thirds of the inhabitants of a district send 20 scholars to a School, the Trustees have the power to assess the other third for their share or proportion. In the last report, Jan. 1842, the Visitor, Mr. McNeil, who is a very able and faithful guardian of the public interests, and writes with vigour and practical good sense, the following account is given of the effect of the voluntary system, and the state of education in Prince Edward's Island. It is far more deficient than our own:—

“ The total number of children of both sexes, then, receiving daily school instruction is 4356, giving an increase over the preceding year of 781. Notwithstanding this progression, about one half of the youth of the Island may still be considered as being left without education. The number of youth under the age of Sixteen on the Island is 22,766; deducting from this amount those under Six and over Fourteen years of age, the proportion of which to the whole number may be fairly estimated at near a half, we shall have in round numbers 10,000 children within the juvenile educational age fit for attending schools. Cutting off from this last sum, the number of children receiving private instruction, and who cannot exceed 500, *there will still remain 9,500 children to supply with instruction, of whom more than one half, as is ob-*

*vious from the preceding summation, will appear to be left in a condition of complete ignorance.* It is however fair to remember that many of those within the educational age, although not at present in actual attendance, have been at school some part of their lives. In a great many instances, parents can afford only to send their children to school alternate years or quarters. A degree of instruction, however, so limited, so meagre, is nearly equivalent to none whatever. The number of children who frequent Sunday-schools too is not taken into account in the above computation; for these schools, eminently useful as they are in imparting religious knowledge, cannot be ranked in the list of educational establishments, taking this phrase in its proper meaning; and it would be more incorrect still to comprise their pupils in the total number of children receiving instruction on the Island, seeing that the majority of these pupils are also attendants in daily schools, and would thus be twice enumerated in the same table."

In 1841 the funds granted by the Legislature for the support of education in Prince Edward's Island were:

District Schools, . . . . .	£1,040
Central Academy, . . . . .	300
St. Andrew's College, . . . . .	75
Visitor of Schools, . . . . .	100
National School, . . . . .	25
Sundries, . . . . .	40
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	£1,580

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## LECTURE VIII.

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**On the elements of a perfect system of Colonial Education.—Infant Schools,—Training of Morals and Habits, Pictures.**

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**H**AVING endeavoured to establish in the preceding lecture, the necessity of Education being conducted under the superintendence of the Government—being regulated by Law, and supported by legislative funds or local taxation—funds thus made permanent, certain, and compulsive,—



before suggesting a general system for these Colonies, I will proceed to enquire into the system of education which ought to be adopted;—the branches, objects, and training it should embrace;—and the extent of religious instruction it ought to confer.

A perfect and modern system of education are,—1st, Infant Schools for the *training* of Children; 2d,—Normal Schools for the education of Teachers; 3rd,—Common Schools; 4th,—Academics; 5th,—Institutes or Useful Knowledge Institutions; 6th,—Itinerating Libraries; and 7th,—Colleges for the higher branches of Learning and Science. No general system should now be framed without either the immediate introduction of each of those, or if all cannot now be introduced, such an initiatory scheme of encouragement as will lead to their introduction, as soon as the circumstances of each County and District require them. To give this system permanence, uniformity and energy of action, the whole should be placed under the superintendance of some Central Board or Committee in each Colony, clothed with all necessary powers and authority, to give its measures action and weight, and the Committee itself rendered responsible, for the faithful and diligent performance of its duties, to the Executive and Legislature.

The recent improvements in the conduct and principles of modern education, render it infinitely superior to the systems of any former age. So far as regards the developement of the mind little instruction can be derived from classic Authors. The people then were untaught. No books, no letters open to the mass—no Schools—except for feats of physical exercise and prowess, fitted to give the soldier more ath-

letic and vigorous powers, and to train and prepare him for daring and reckless action in the field. But in looking at education as a system, from the time the art of printing was discovered up to a very recent period, the features of change and advancement are marked and visible. Education now is no longer regarded as the mere teaching of letters and words. It has a higher aim. With the words themselves their meaning is conveyed. The young mind is taught to look at the analogies and associations to which they lead. They are made to convey to him,—he is made to comprehend the first and easy lessons of religion, morality, history, and science, and in addition to the mere instruction of what virtue and morality is, the Model School is conducted so as to compel the scholars to practice the golden rules of morality in the little world, and amid the social relations, by which he is surrounded. He is taught to know, to respect, and to observe the truth; to practise forbearance; to forgive an injury; to love order; to observe cleanliness; and if the rules are violated, he is punished, not by the strong arm, by the whip or ferule, and the infliction of brutal and bodily pain,—but by disgrace, an exclusion from his ordinary pleasures, or by losing that sunshine of the master's eye which quickens so effectually the young and sensitive mind, whose conscience and notions of self-respect have been awakened by a moral, sound, and religious training. In the Common School too the habits are now instructed and formed; and the Industrial School, the Agricultural College, the \**Real Arnstaltdt*, the system of the benevolent Fel-

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\*James's Letters, p. 92.

lenburg at Howyfl, have been introduced to teach the practice of the practical arts to the school boy ; and to send into the world, before youth has reached manhood, masses of trained Artists, whose habits and principles, already formed and tried, fit them to be useful citizens and virtuous men.

To illustrate these views I give two extracts—the first from Stow, and the last from George Combe :—

“ As a precursor to the exercise of training, developement must be three-fold—Corporeal, Intellectual, and Moral. Under the *first* head, we have the modes of sitting, standing, walking, and running—the holding of a book or slate—distinct articulation—the modulation of the voice in reading or speaking, &c. Under the *second* head we have the developement of the mental powers, of whatever kind—calculation—reasoning—illustration—imagination—particular modes of thinking. All must be developed, ere the mind can be cultivated or directed ; in other words, ere it can be trained. Under the *third* head, or moral affections, it has been wisely remarked, that children should be taught most carefully, those things that will be longest and most constantly useful to them, and that the education of the heart should always take precedence of the head. The developments of moral character and habits are exceedingly varied and extensive ; a very few only need be mentioned :—regularity—speaking truth—doing justice—showing kindness and courtesy—foregoing injuries—fidelity to promises—submission to parents and teachers—and, we may add, personal cleanliness and neatness. The negative to all these requires training, and the palpable exhibition of any of these can be turned by the shrewd superintendant or parent, into a powerful incentive in the way of *example* ; and the accumulation of such instances of moral rectitude, on the part of the children, will just produce that *sympathy* and fine moral atmosphere which every enlightened and pious parent would desire his children should breath.

“ This naturally leads us to the next position, namely, *sympathy* and *example*. For although development, in every department, must precede the exercise of training, and this process may be applied to a single child, or two or three in any family, yet training will want much, nay most, of its power, unless we add to it *the sympathy of numbers*—num-

bers of the same, or about the same age; example and sympathy thus become conjoined. The example of a parent or superior is powerful; but when to example is added the sympathy of companionship, such a union is found greatly more influential. The buoyancy of youth sympathises not with the staidness of age, however powerfully the example of the latter may operate upon the former. Yet nothing is more important, in moral training, than for a parent or superintendent of a school establishment, to make himself on such terms with his children or pupils, as that they can without fear make him their confidant—unburden their minds, and tell him any little story or mischievous occurrence. If parents, teachers, or other elderly persons, wish to gain the confidence of the young, they must themselves, as it were, become children—they must bend and engage in their plays and little amusements—for without such condescension neither parent nor teacher can acquire a thorough knowledge of the real character and dispositions of those under their charge. From the foregoing observations we perceive that the sympathy of the children of several families united under an enlightened superintendence, develops a greater variety of dispositions, and affords a better and more favourable opportunity of training to virtuous habits than possibly can be accomplished singly and alone. Example and sympathy therefore operate powerfully in producing evil or good—evil if children are permitted to take their own way without any controul—good, great good, under suitable management and superintendence; “Evil communications corrupt good manners,” says St. Paul, and we believe half a dozen Boys or Girls were met on the street at their usual sports, without *example* and *sympathy* operating as a contaminating influence on one or more of their number, nay, perhaps on all in one point or other, either as regards mind or manners. This forms a powerful argument for infant and juvenile schools for moral training. Perhaps the most powerful means, in the system of moral training between master and pupil, for a cordial sympathy is not always attainable, but the masters keeping up a certain spirit, and establishing certain moral habits among his scholars, thus when a child is added to their number, he instantly finds himself in a new region, and free from his old temptations—he catches the moral atmosphere of the place—and by the influence of sympathy, gradually, and imperceptibly to himself, imitates their example. People of every stage in life are influenced more or less by

sympathy and example ; and the younger the more easily influenced. Hence the superiority and importance of early and moral training ; and this cannot be accomplished under any system of education, *without a spacious enclosed playground*. If therefore we desire a system of moral training we must have an *actual development* of all the faculties and principles of human nature.

“ Without training, the child is not fitted for the duties of more advanced life. He must acquire habits of obedience and docility—habits of Justice, truth and kindness—habits of attention, perseverance, and self controul. His selfishness, pride, or obstinacy, must be checked and overcome. Habits are of slow growth, but when formed often impossible to shake off or get rid of, especially if formed in early life. How important therefore, that mind and body be early subjected to a moral training ! Moral ends must be brought about by moral means, and while we hesitate not to recommend every means of training which can improve the intellect and outward habits, yet unless means are also taken to affect the heart, by virtue of thorough Bible education—unless its biographical sketches, its plainest precepts, and, in particular, unless the varied announcements of God’s love to mankind, contained in his word, be made to bear upon the children, with a blessing from above, no exercise of the mind on human knowledge alone can produce a moral people.—*Stow’s Training System, p. 21.*”

“ I conclude this subject by remarking that there is a vast difference between instruction and training, and that education should embrace both. Instruction means communicating knowledge : while Training implies the repetition of certain modes of action in the mind and body until they have become habits. It is a Law of our Constitution that any organ, when accustomed to repeat frequently its action, acquires additional strength and facility in doing so, and the force and advantages of habit arise from this law. If we merely tell a pupil how to point his toes, and place his feet, and what series of movements to execute, this is instructing him in dancing : but it is not training him to the practice of the art. To accomplish the latter object, we must teach him actively to dance, and the more frequently we cause him to repeat certain movements short of occasioning him fatigue, the more expert will he become in performing them. In like manner mere information concerning natural objects, their agencies and relations is instruction ; while accustoming

children to observe, to discriminate, to arrange, to operate, and to reason for themselves, is training their understandings. Teaching a Child to repeat the precepts and doctrines of the New Testament is instructing him in religion and morality; but he is not trained to religion and morality until he shall have been accustomed to practice these precepts in his daily conduct. The Scripture says *train* up a child in the way in which he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it, but it does not promise the same result from merely instructing him; in this respect scripture and nature completely agree.—*Combe on Popular Education.*"

In recommending the introduction of Infant Schools into a general system of Colonial Education, I do not pretend to say that the same necessity exists for them here, as in older countries, where there are large manufacturing districts, in which the wives of the mechanics are compelled to leave their homes and children, and to submit daily to the drudgery of manual labour.

It is well known that the Infant School was first designed, not for the education of the children of the rich, but for those of the poor. Their history and rise are thus briefly described in the Treatise on "*Infant Education, from two to six years,*" being the first of Chambers' Educational \*Course:

"The systematic training and instruction of infants, had an origin not much removed from the character of accidental, in some circumstances connected with the celebrated manufactory at New Lanark in Scotland, at the time under

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\*In Hill on Education, vol. 1, p. 169 to 196, there is an excellent abstract of the history and utility of Infant Schools.—There will be found there the evidence of several eminent men in their favour, and among others that of an excellent Dignitary of the Church—the present Bishop of London. In the second publication of the London Central Society, Mrs. Porter—the Lady of Geo. R. Porter, Esq., of the Board of Trade, London—has furnished a valuable paper, (she is a Lady distinguished for her sound practical sense and active benevolence,) showing their utility to the children of the wealthier classes.

the management of Mr. Robert Owen. It was found that when the married women employed in this establishment had young children, their attendance was very irregular, and that consequently much annoyance, and even loss was experienced. After every other effort to remedy the inconvenience had failed, Mr. Owen projected a plan for concentrating the labour of attending to all the infants of a certain age, by bringing them during work hours into one apartment, where a single woman watched them at play, while the rest pursued their daily avocations. In a little time it was found necessary to furnish some general means of amusement to this juvenile congregation, and pictures were hung upon the walls, toys distributed, and eventually a fiddle brought into play for the purpose of setting the children dancing. Still farther, to fill up the time, the superintendent began to teach the alphabet, when it was discovered there was much less difference of aptitude in learning the letters, in children of different ages, than had been previously supposed. A little, and yet a little more, was taught with the like success, till it was thought worth while to put the whole under the charge of a male teacher, assisted by the original nurse. Mr. Buchanan, an individual combining many excellent qualifications for the purpose, received this appointment, and accordingly was the first to practice a profession which seems destined to confer the greatest benefits upon mankind. Under his care the system rapidly advanced, much real as well as verbal knowledge was imparted; exercise, both within and without doors, was duly attended to; and the children seemed at once to increase in mental as well as bodily health. For moral training little was yet systematically done; kindness, truth, and honesty, in the intercourse of the young people, were inculcated, and as far as practicable, enforced; but the moral system, which has since been brought into a practical form, was then but imperfectly realised."

The Marquis of Landsdowne and Lord Brougham, and others, paid a visit to Lanark in 1816. They inspected there the Infant School, and struck with the novelty of the system, became impressed with the idea that its usefulness could be extended to a wider sphere. Shortly after their return to England a Society was founded for the promotion of Infant education, and a model school established in Todhill-fields,

London. Mr. Buchanan was induced to assume its management. Mr. Wilderspin, a name distinguished in the history of these institutions, was persuaded by him to engage in the enterprise; and thus the system gained footing, and has extended, year by year, until it has reached its present importance and magnificence. Mr. Wilderspin himself aided in founding 300 of these institutions in the United Kingdom, and saw them grow up—the fruits of his own enthusiasm—in Continental Europe, America, and the Colonies of the British Empire.

In 1834, while in Scotland, I paid a visit to New Lanark for the treble purpose of seeing the Falls of the Clyde, the Picture Gallery at Hamilton place, and the Infant School at the Factory. I saw at the latter, for the first time, the models, pictures, and play-ground, for the training of the Infant mind: and I am free to confess, that, of the three celebrated curiosities I went there to inspect, none afforded me such exquisite enjoyment at the time, or left such deep and vivid impressions for the future, as the Infant School, where I spent three hours one forenoon, to see the children, taught by the rolls of pictures, of animals, plants, and other natural objects unfolded before them; dance in graceful measure to the music of the fiddle; and then sport in the play-ground under the eye of the Mistress, who was there to praise the kind, check the rude, or incite the modest and retiring—and all the while coming down to their *tone*, and taking part in their youthful merriment.

In these Colonies we have no masses of this kind, and except in the agricultural districts, our women do not need to labour. In the towns and villages they are confined almost



exclusively to the performance of domestic duties, and can thus exercise that necessary care and vigilance over their children, which Infant Schools were first introduced to supply. Still they ought to form part of our system, and the principles on which they are conducted, form admirable lessons and auxiliaries to that *Education at home*, which Mrs. Barbauld, and all other writers on Infant Education, estimate as being of such transcendent value, because it is the first and therefore the best.

"It is astonishing," says Combe, how soon a child begins to gather impressions, to reason, and to have his own notions of what is right and what is wrong.\*. In one of Lord Brougham's speeches on National Education, he thus speaks of the capacity and the knowledge acquired by Infants :—

"The child when he first comes into the world, may care very little for what is passing around him, although he is of necessity always learning something, even at the first, although after a certain period, he is in a rapid progress of instruction; his curiosity becomes irrepressible; the thirst for knowledge is predominating in his mind, and it is as universal as it is insatiable. During the period between the ages of eighteen months or two years, and six—I will even say five—he learns much more of the material world—of his own powers—of the nature of other bodies—even of his mind and of other minds—than he ever after acquires during all the years of boyhood, youth, and manhood. Every child, even of the most ordinary capacity, learns more, gains a greater mass of knowledge, and of a more useful kind, at this tender age, than the greatest Philosopher is enabled to build upon it, during the longest life of the most searching investigation—even were he to live to eighty years of age, and

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\*I recommend to every parent the perusal of the 15th chapter of Dr. Andrew Combe's last work "On Infancy," headed "on the moral management of infants." It is full of instruction, and that practical good sense for which Dr. Combe is so deservedly distinguished.

pursue the splendid career of Newton or LaPlace. The knowledge which the infant stores up—the ideas which are generated in his mind—are so important, that if we could suppose them to be afterwards obliterated, all the learning of a senior wrangler at Cambridge, or a first-class man at Oxford, would be as nothing to it, and would literally not enable its victim to prolong his existence for a week. This being altogether undeniable how is it that so much is learnt at this tender age? Not certainly by teaching, nor any pains taken to help the newly arrived guest of this world. It is almost all accomplished by his own exertions—by the irrepressible curiosity—the thirst for knowledge only to be appeased by learning—or by the lassitude and the sleep which it superinduces. It is all effected by the instructive spirit of enquiry which brings his mind into a perpetual course of induction—engaging him in a series of experiments, which begins when he awakens in the morning, and only ends when he falls asleep. All that he learns during those years, he learns not only without pain, but with an intense delight—a relish keener than any appetite known at our jaded and listless age—and learns in one-tenth of the time which in after life would be required for its acquisition.”

To begin the compulsory instruction too soon—to bind the Infant mind too early to books—to seduce fine talents to brilliant precocity, is forcing the powers of nature, rearing the hot-house plant, and leads, but too often, to an early grave—to bodily decrepitude or to mental insanity. The work of Dr. Bridgman “On the influence of Mental Cultivation and Excitement on Health,” where this subject is treated with masterly skill, and the principles illustrated by facts and examples drawn from melancholy experience, ought to be read by every parent who is sensible of the responsibilities which God and nature have imposed upon him.

Upon this subject he gives the following mass of facts, —they are impressive and alarming :

“ M. Ratier in an essay on the physical education of Children, which was crowned by the Royal Society of Bordeaux,

in 1821, thus speaks of early mental instruction:—"The labour of the mind to which some parents subject their children, not only too soon, but in a wrong direction, is often the cause of their bad health, and causes nearly all those who are distinguished by precocity of the intellectual faculties to perish prematurely; so that we seldom see a *perfect man*! that is, one who exhibits an equilibrium of the physical, mental and moral faculties." M. Julien, late editor of the *Revue Encyclopedique*, in his large and valuable work on Physical, Moral and Intellectual Education, remarks—"All the pages of this Work repel the double reproach of wishing to hasten the progress of the intellect, and obtain premature success, or retard to the physical development of children, by neglecting the means necessary to preserve their health. We have constantly followed the principles of Tissot, who wished that Infancy might be consecrated to those exercises which fortify the body rather than to mental application—which enfeebles and destroys it." Again he observes, "The course to be adopted with Children for the first ten years of life is neither to press nor torment them, but by plays, exercise of the body, entire liberty wisely regulated, and good nourishment to effect the salutary and progressive development of the physical, moral and intellectual faculties, and by continual amusement and freedom from chagrin (which injures the temper of children) they will arrive at the tenth year without suspecting that they have been made to learn anything: they have not distinguished between study and recreation; all they know they have learned freely, voluntarily and always in play. The advantages obtained by this course are, good health, grace, agility, gaiety and happiness, a character frank and generous, a memory properly exercised, a sound judgement and a cultivated mind.

"In a late work which holds a deservedly high rank in France, entitled *Medical Gymnastics*, by Charles Soride, similar views are inculcated, and the true physiological reasons assigned;—that the moral and intellectual man depend upon certain organs, and the exercise of those organs develops them in accordance to a general law,—that the more an organ is exercised, the more it is developed, and is able to execute its functions with more facility. Thus habit, education, and other like causes do not change the moral and intellectual character, without acting on the physical man; by changing the action of organs, repulsing some and increasing others."

Professor Broussais, a man of great learning and genius, and one of the most distinguished physicians of the present age, thus alludes to this subject, "Intellectual labours give rise in early life to effects corresponding with the actual state of the individual constitution. Thus the brain, the growth of which is not complete, acquires by the exercise of thought an extraordinary energy and volume. The moral faculties become truly prodigious; but this advantage is sadly counterbalanced by central inflammations which give rise to hydrocephalus, and by a languor in the rest of the body, the development of which remains imperfect."

"It is easy to conceive what a number of evils must result from a kind of life so little in harmony with the wants of youth, hence we rarely see all those prodigies of premature intellectual education prospering. If encephalitis does not carry them off, they infallibly perish with gastules or scrofula; most generally all these evils oppress them at once, and if they do not sink under them in infancy they carry along with them in mature age an irritability which does not allow of their resisting the mortific influences—in the midst of which man is necessarily forced to live; they are seen to decay and die in the prime of life, if they are not destroyed, in spite of all the efforts of the arts by the first violent inflammation that attacks them, \*Similar opinions have been inculcated in England by some of the most distinguished medical men of that country, and particularly by the celebrated Dr. James Johnson in several of his valuable and interesting works. I ought however to remark that the Treatise of Locke on Education has had in England great influence, and undoubtedly has done much injury by teaching the importance of "reasoning with children at a very early age." The practice has no doubt been carried much beyond what he intended: and its injurious effects are of late often alluded to. Writers on mental alienation state that early and frequent attempts to *reason* with children, increase if they do not create a predisposition to insanity, and their inability has been satisfactorily and abundantly shewn by several writers,

\* Treatise on Physiology applied to Pathology

and particularly by Rousseau, in his *Emile or Treatise on Education*, a work exceedingly defective and absurd in some respects, but abounding with many important and practical truths upon education. The work has had a great and beneficial influence in Europe, but appears to be but little known in this country.

"The evil effects of the course recommended by Locke, have been noticed, as I have said by the medical men of England. A late writer on Dropsy of the Head, observes—"the present plan of education in which the intellectual powers are prematurely exercised, may be considered as one of the causes of the more frequent occurrence of this disease—p. 83."

But still it must be recollected the young mind will be busy of itself—the senses are active—its curiosity keen—and the little man has his feelings and passions. He is not then to be schooled by books; but he may be taught by his senses and by example; and it is here the sovereign and kindly influence of the mother is felt, and the mother's impress is stamped upon the boy. He may be taught by toys, by pictures, by sights, by scenery. It is astonishing how much real and valuable knowledge a child will acquire, even before he learns the alphabet, by placing before his eyes, and letting him go to them *at pleasure*, the pictures and models now published and prepared for Infant Schools,—the beautiful illustrations contained in the Penny Magazine,—the Pictorial editions of the Bible, and other Standard Works. And as to the training of the passions and the feelings, "let us not deceive ourselves," says \*Combe, "but ever bear in mind, that what we desire our children to become, we must

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\*Combe on Infancy, p. 356—Mr Stow's work on Moral Training—and on the Training System, *Calkins and McPhun, Glasgow, 1834, 1836*—ought to be read and studied by every mother who feels an anxiety to rear her children as Christians and useful men.

ourselves endeavour to be before them. If we wish them to grow up mild, gentle, affectionate, upright, and true, we must *habitually* exhibit the same qualities as regulating principles in our conduct, because these qualities act as so many stimulants to the respective faculties in the child. If we cannot restrain our own passions, but at one time overwhelm the young with kindness, and at another surprise and confound them by a caprice or deceit, we may with as much reason expect to gather grapes from thistles, or figs from thorns, as to develop moral purity and simplicity of character in them. It is in vain to argue that because the infant intellect is feeble, it cannot detect the inconsistency which we practise."

Exhibit to the child then no practice which is not favourable to morality and upright conduct. Subdue every errant passion; exercise the kindly affections; be firm, but just, before and to them; expose them to no scene of vice or of violence; let no oath or vicious sentiment strike their ear; and the best basis will be laid for building up the future christian and the man, to virtue, integrity, and intellectual resolution. The danger again of allowing nursery tales to be told conveying images of terror; and of enkindling the fears, and agitating the nervous system of the child, "by ghostly tales and spectres grim,"—by prints of battles and murders—has been argued against since the days of the Spectator. One striking example of its dangerous consequences has been lately unfolded to the world. The late Sir S. Romilly—a great and good man,—who reached the highest honors of the Bar and of the Senate—whose public life and exertions were regulated by the purest principles of philanthropy—who has built himself a

monument of fame by his improvement of the code of English Criminal Law—who was kind, amiable, and honorable, in all the relations of social life—was a perfect martyr to superstitious terrors, and had often his happiness destroyed by nervous irritability. His friends, and he himself, attributed this to the frightful tales, with which his nurse was wont to amuse his infant hours. They often haunted him in after life. He lost his wife when forty-nine years of age, and while in the full blush of his fame—committed suicide, and rushed before the face of an offended Maker. Let Mothers pause upon, and be warned by, this instructive example, and guide the nurse in the conversation to be held with their children.

The following extract is from an auto-biography contained in his life lately published and edited by his sons:—

“In my earliest infancy, my imagination was alarmed, and my fears awakened by stories of devils, witches and apparitions, and they had a much greater effect on me than is even usual with Children; at least I judge so from their effect being of more than usual duration. The images of terror with which those tales abound infested my imagination long after I had lost all belief in the tales themselves, and in the notions in which they are built; and even now! (in his fortieth year) altho’ I have been accustomed for many years to pass my evenings and nights in solitude and without even a servant sleeping in my chamber, I must with some shame, confess that they are sometimes very unwelcome intruders upon my thoughts.”—Vol. 1, p. 10, 11.

Again: -

“A dreadful impression was made on me by relations of murders and acts of cruelty. The prints which I found in the lives of the Martyrs and the Newgate Callendar have cost me many sleepless nights. My dreams too were disturbed by the hideous images which haunted my imagination by day. I thought myself present at executions, murders and scenes of blood; and I have often laid in bed agitated by my terrors equally afraid of remaining awake in the dark,

and of falling asleep to encounter the horrors of my dreams. Often have I in my evening prayers to God, besought him, with the utmost fervour, to suffer me to pass the night undisturbed by horrid dreams.—Page 12.”

Need anything more be added to prove not the inexpediency, but the positive criminality, of suffering such tales to be repeated, and such pictures to be exposed to the infant ear and eye. A nice and sensitive discrimination is required to select the pictures fit for infant training; for I have seen illustrations drawn both from the Old Testament, and from Ancient History, which I would unhesitatingly condemn as conveying impressions totally at variance with a sound and judicious education. \*A passion or a vice may be taught or rendered familiar, and the sensitiveness of the mind be blunted to the enormity of crime, by a picture as well as by contact—the Infant may be made mentally, if not physically, acquainted with scenes, which, otherwise, he never would have witnessed or known till his principles were settled, and he would involuntarily turn from them with loathing and disgust. It would be supererogatory to reflect with severity upon that system of education, not yet very ancient, in which the parent to enforce the child's obedience, and to punish for any committed fault, was in the habit of inflicting chastisement by giving a harder task at school, or a

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\*In the “Schoolmaster,” a work of 2 volumes, published under the patronage of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, vol. 2, p. 24, there is an excellent essay upon the subject “of teaching by pictures, by Geo. Long.” It illustrates these views with great force and felicity, and will afford practical instruction to every parent who desires to educate their children while infants—and while the eye is the main source of knowledge—upon principles of sound and Christian philanthropy.



longer lesson in the Bible—this system is now happily exploded, and it is admitted, by universal consent, that nothing could be so adroitly contrived to create a distaste for instruction, or for the sublime and beautiful truths of religion.

The system of Infant Training fitted for these Colonies can yet be derived only from books—it is unknown to those classes for the benefit of whose offspring it has been mainly introduced. I do not hesitate to recommend that in the principal Cities, and in every Village with a population sufficiently numerous congregated in one spot, an Infant School, conducted on the most improved principles,—with its pictures, models, playground and *training* of morality and virtue—should be placed, in order that the Children of the Poor should be taught, and the *home* education in the rich man's house be carried, to its highest point of practical perfection. To go into the details further would require a volume; and I content myself therefore by referring to the works contained in the Note\* beneath, as guides to the introduction of a general system.

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\*List of Books on the Infant System of Education—Wilderspin's "Infant System"—Wilderspin's "Early Discipline"—Scripture lessons for Schools on the British System—Croyden's Manual—Billing's "Infant School Assistant"—Stow's "Infant Training"—"The Child's Magazine, or Infant School Repository"—The Glasgow Infant School Magazine—The Glasgow Infant School Visitor—Infant Teacher's Assistant—Hints for the formation of Infant Schools—Milne's Infant School Rhymes—The Book of Trades—The little Philosopher—Footstep to Natural History—Mother's Assistant, or Questions in Arithmetic—Daily Record of Duties, Organic, Moral, Religious and Intellectual—Dr. Mayo's Lessons on Objects—Abbott's "Teacher"—Orvil Taylor's "District School" (New York)—Simpson's "Necessity of Popular Education as a National Object"—Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Drunkenness, printed in a cheap form.

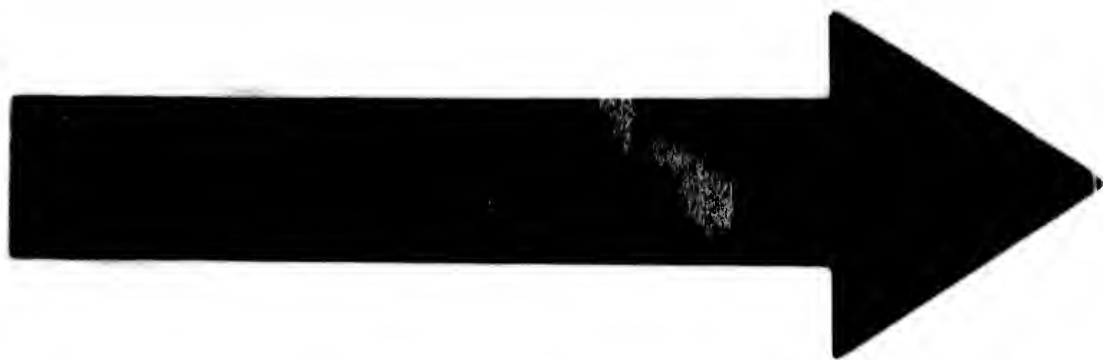
## LECTURE IX.

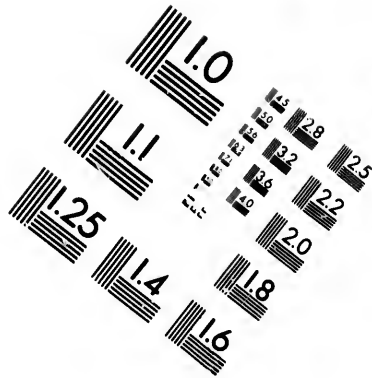
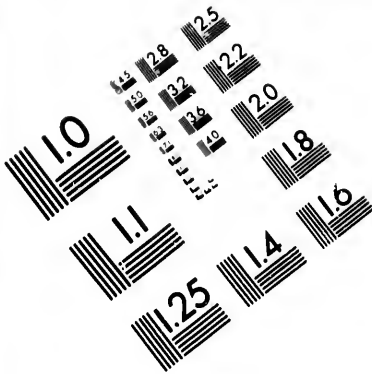
**On the Public Speaking of Ancient and Modern Times—  
Their distinctive characteristics and uses—Labour and  
Study essential to excellence in Oratory.**

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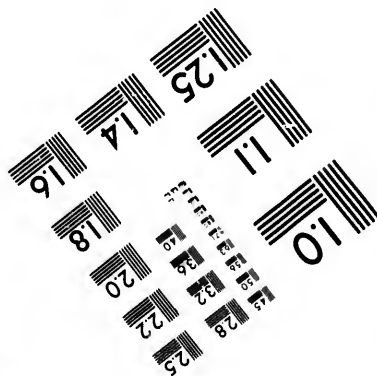
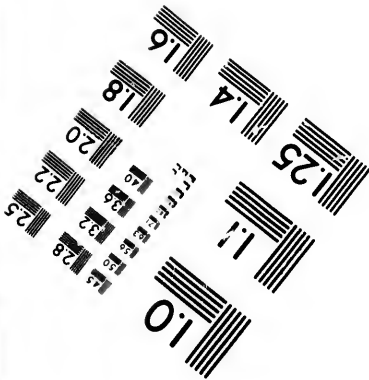
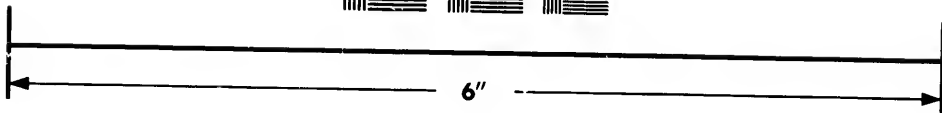
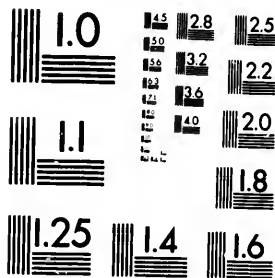
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**THIS** subject has been selected with a due appreciation of  
the responsibility it entails. It is one of peril and difficulty  
to any Lecturer—for in referring to the golden ages of the  
mind, and to the noblest and polished passages of the great  
masters of eloquence in ancient and modern times, his lan-





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guage and force of illustration must suffer from contrast.—“The brilliant lights in the hemisphere above will reflect on the dark world below.” But personal considerations of this kind ought not to weigh with us here. We bring our offerings to a blessed altar. It is our duty, however moderate or even inadequate our powers may be to the task, to communicate knowledge upon those subjects, whether of science, or philosophy, or letters, upon which we have spent the vigils of a past life—over which we can shed the “lights” of observation and experience,—or to which we can bring the fruits of a long, if not successful, study. This enquiry is one which has long been familiar to me; and in bringing before you the conclusions to which I and others have come, and the evidence upon which they are founded, I trust I shall be able to correct some general and erroneous impressions, and prove the importance, in a novel and important light, of the discussion of such subjects. In this utilitarian age we all subscribe to the principle that theory and speculation are entitled to little respect, unless they have a practical and useful end.

The powers of language—of transferring ideas by the means of abstract sounds—(how mysterious this re-action of mind upon matter!)—of making the music of the voice convey abroad and to those around us—the world of thoughts which crowd upon the human mind,—is that peculiar and god-like gift which distinguishes man above the lower animals. The latter, it is true, have their own symbols of utterance for their appetites and passions. The lion has its roar, the horse its neigh, the dog its bark, and the bird its song; they can communicate thus to each other their wants

and sympathies ; but to this limit their intercourse is confined the experience and knowledge acquired by one, which at best is little superior to their range of instinct, is confined to, and dies with, the individual ; while man, gifted with higher powers, and lifted nearer to that " Divine Essence," of which the mind is an emanation, can instruct, please, and animate his kindred ; transmit his experience and acquirements to after ages by the slender and fading thread of tradition ; and now, by the invention of letters and the press, which give a visible form and perpetuity to language, the discoveries of every great intellect—the ideas it creates, and the language in which they are clothed—become the property, the enjoyment, and the inheritance of mankind. The products of mind, so blended with matter, is made communicative. Science adds to science, knowledge to knowledge ; man is ever progressive, pressing forward to some higher and imagined excellence ; elevating here, in short, his own divine nature ; and preparing himself better for that immortality, and that wider and nobler range of contemplation, which, in an after state of existence, is expected to burst upon him.

We speak of the pleasures of society, and of the exquisite enjoyments which are derived from the exercise of the social affections. What is the charm which gathers us here ? We come voluntarily, we are a multitude—and yet we are bound together by a kinder and mutual tie. Hand may be pressed to hand—eye may turn to eye—glances may be exchanged which animate and thrill—the deaf and the dumb even may be sensible to these impressions and respond to them ; but how little do these compare with the thousand other exquisite sensations, which can be conveyed by the tongue giv-

ing audible, and if I can use the expression, tangible, but certainly intelligent existence and form,—social creation and communicative force—to the knowledge, the imaginings and judgments of a single mind. The researches and productions of one come thus—in an instant and as if by miracle—to be extended and transferred to a thousand; the speaker, in fact, for a time lives within each of you; and thus the sober and solitary labours of the student, the facts gleaned in exhausting study, the ideas nursed in cold and cheerless abstraction, and the thoughts collated and refined by the curious chemistry of the mind, come to vivify, improve, and fascinate, not a circle,\* but a world. Homer awakened song in Greece, and has taught every subsequent age to admire the chastened majesty of the epic—Demosthenes, in arousing Athens, has left his specimens of oratory as examples for future times,—Galileo gave to the range of the telescope order and extension, and has opened a pathway which has since led to a thousand brilliant discoveries,—Bacon, Shakespeare, and Scott, were each the wonder of their age; and in

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\*Since writing this passage, I found the same idea thus beautifully expanded:—"A superior and commanding human intellect, a truly great man, where heaven vouchsafes so rare a gift, is not a temporary flame, bright for a time and then expiring, giving place to retiring darkness. It is rather a spark of fervent heat, as well as radiant light, with power to enkindle the common mass of human mind; so that when it glimmers, in its own decay, and finally goes out in death, we might follow—but it leaves the world all light, all on fire, from the potent contact of its own spirit. Bacon died; but the human understanding roused by the touch of his miraculous wand, to a perception of the true philosophy, and the just mode of acquiring it, has kept on its course successfully and gloriously. Newton died; yet the courses of the spheres are still known, and they yet move on in the orbits which he saw and discovered for them in the infinity of space."—*Webster's Speeches*, vol. 1, p. 72.



their different spheres have left invaluable inheritances to literature. None of these have lived only for themselves or for their country. Their knowledge and productions have been left to adorn and vivify the great and catholic history of letters,—and hence it may be said that a gifted mind in literature, like a lustrous star, renders brilliant to itself not only the narrow orbit in which it moves, but freed from the laws of the physical world—can move, as it were, out of its own body, traverse illimitable space, survey the universe with its systems of worlds,—people each of them with millions—pierce, with presumptuous gaze, the throne and sanctuary of the Most High;—and then come back to the fireside, the forum, or the Institute, reveal in words its own bright course and revelations to others, or by the use of the pen and the press, record them upon a physical, tangible, and enduring tablet. Are not these mighty achievements? Is not the improvement of a spirit such as this worthy of us all?—Have you, as the members of one general system, no power over the destinies of the Colonial mind? It will be my object, in following out this inquiry, to show you the influence you possess, and ought to exercise, in advancing the general intelligence.

Passing from these observations, for what purpose it may be *first* enquired, was this power of utterance and of language conferred upon man; and *second*, in what does eloquence consist? Let me answer these enquiries succinctly.

To the *first*—Language was no doubt intended to be the vehicle of thought; and to be the means of binding the great human family into one social connexion.

To the *second*—There may be eloquence at the domestic

hearth, as well as in the Senate—in the simple lessons of piety and virtue delivered by the parent to his children, as in the elaborate and finished speech of the Advocate—in the sermons of the Christian pastor to his flock, as well as in the orations of the Statesman, who speaks to an assembled nation.\* In every phase of our intercourse with each other, eloquence may be employed. Its office is to transfer thought by vivid pictures,—to teach well,—to persuade effectually, —to animate to action. Some possess one of its attributes—not all. There are men who are powerful to convey facts and general principles—to transfer their own impressions to others,—this is the eloquence of the school men and professors. Another class are eloquent to convince,—they are the Logicians. They think clearly; and can deliver their thoughts in logical order, and in appropriate and luminous language. They speak only to the understanding—to this their dominion is confined—they have not reached the heart or touched the feelings. Neither of these however exhibit oratory or eloquence, in its highest and sublimest sense.†—The perfect orator is he who *can teach* and *can persuade*, and unites to these the rare and mighty power of exciting—animating and leading on! He addresses himself to the judg-

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\*He who speaks or writes in such a manner as to adapt all his words most effectually to the end he has in view, is the most eloquent man. Whatever then the subject be, there is room for eloquence; in history, and even in philosophy, as well as in orations.—Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric, vol. 1, p. 460.

†Blair in his Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres divides eloquence into three kinds or degrees. See vol. 1, p. 462. See the distinction between the great or sublime, the common or the simple, and the mediate or ornate, in Bell's edition of Rollins' Arts and Sciences, page 364.

ment and to the heart—he enforces conviction and then enkindles the passions, and thus controuls and impels the mind of his audience by a magical and mysterious influence.—Every sound is hushed—breath even seems suspended, and nothing is heard save the varied and *telling* intonations of his voice. Extraneous thoughts are suspended by the rush, the grandeur, and moral force of his own, as he marshals them forth and illustrates them; and for a time he occupies the proud situation of being the “centre point,” of which the general intelligence acknowledges the supremacy, and to the power of which it is subservient. The finest description of eloquence I have ever read is to be found in the eulogy written by Mr. Webster, on the death of the late President Adams. It is a master-piece of English composition:

“The eloquence of Mr. Adams resembled his general character, and formed, indeed, a part of it. It was bold, manly, and energetic; and such the crisis required. When public bodies are to be addressed on momentous occasions, when great interests are at stake, and strong passions excited, nothing is valuable in speech, further than it is connected with high intellectual and moral endowments. Clearness, force and earnestness are the qualities which produce conviction. True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from afar. Labour and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way, but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject and in the occasion.—Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire after after it—they cannot reach it. It comes, if it comes at all, like the outbreacking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fire, with spontaneous, original, native force. The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments, the studied contrivances of speech, shock and disgust men, when their own lives, and the fate of their wives, and children, and their country, hang on the decision of the hour. Then words have lost their power, rhetoric is vain, and all elaborate oratory contempt-

ible. Even genius itself then feels rebuked, and subdued, as in the presence of higher qualities. Then patriotism is eloquent; then self-devotion is eloquent. The clear conception, out-running the deductions of Logic, the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit, speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature, and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object—this, *this* is eloquence, or, rather, it is something greater and higher than all eloquence—it is action, noble, sublime, god-like action.”

It is not within the scope of this lecture to describe, with the precision of an elocutionist, the different styles of public speaking, and the characteristics which distinguish them.—These may form an appropriate subject for some subsequent occasion; but in drawing those broad lines of distinction which are known by students to exist between the ancient and modern schools of Oratory, it is of importance to settle this principle—that both the audience and the subject—the occasion and the prize—the crisis and the mighty events it embraces—are admitted to exercise a wonderful, and almost mysterious influence upon human powers. This is founded unquestionably upon the strength and action of the social relations—upon the ambition which is wisely implanted in the human heart, of earning the admiration or seeking the love of our species,—of playing a prominent part on the active theatre of life,—of exercising a useful influence upon the freedom or destinies, not of our own circle only, but of a nation; and hence it will be found that the reputation of all great orators has been won in those stirring times when some great public emergency had occurred, and the mind, with that boundless elasticity which seems inherent to its nature, rises as if inspired, shakes off the langour which before had restrained it, casts away the coil of every-day life, and

exhibits a force and genius often till then unknown even to its possessor. Providence, it is said, tempers the wind to the shorn lamb; "as the day, so shall their strength be;" and in the mysteries of its decrees, the mind, when called upon—when involved in the battle of desperate and clashing events—may be endowed with fresher gifts, and acquire fitter adaptations, to work out the mighty work for which it has been designed. The battle for civil and religious rights has often developed, and even fortified a mind, which in calmer times would have perished in obscurity, and left no reliques of its power.

Mr. Edward Everett, whose fame, as before stated, as a classic and an author, stands so deservedly high, thus speaks of the influence of great events in hastening the development of high powers:

"Our country, (America) is practical; but this is the element for intellectual action, No strongly marked and high-toned literature, poetry, ELOQUENCE, or ethics, ever appeared but in the pressure, the din, the crowd of great interests, great enterprises, and perilous risks, and rewards. Statesmen and warriors, and poets, and ORATORS, and Artists, stand up under one and the same excitement. They are all branches of the same stock. They form, and cheer, and stimulate; and what is worth all the rest, understand each other; and it is as truly the sentiment of the student in the recesses of his cell, as of the soldier in the ranks, which breathes in the exclamation;

"To all the sons of sense proclaim,  
One glorious hour of *crowded life*  
Is worth an age without a name."

But apart from all speculation of a doubtful character, I refer to the experience of every man who is in the habit of addressing an audience, and of that audience who hears

bim, that there are times and seasons and subjects in and on which the same individual can speak with greater perspicuity, force and animation, than at others. Every man, skilled in the art, will practise it best who, forgetting himself, the worthless and ignoble vanity of display—casts his thoughts into the hearts and upon the feelings of his auditory,—and endeavors to make every word, argument, and metaphor, tell upon them. He looks to the end, and goes onward! A dignitary of the church, when addressing the Bench of Bishops, would pursue a very different order of speaking than when he spoke only to a vestry. A politician would assume a rougher and bolder style of eloquence at the Hustings, than if he trembled under the austere and polished judgment of the House of Commons;—and an Advocate, it is known, has one style of tactics for a Jury, and another when he speaks to the Bench in the sober and chastened \*oratory fitted for a legal argument. All these are examples which prove the existence of the social sympathies, and the respect which is paid to them.—There are some rare examples, like Brougham and C'Connell, who have the power of indulging in several styles, with the same mastery and effect; but it is clear that even they would violate the admitted rules of ratiocination and oratorical effect if they did not, on every successive occasion, adapt themselves both to their auditory and to their subjects. If skill in oratory then be the application of means to ends,—if the human mind have the plastic and expansive power of moulding itself—of rising with virgin vigour—to meet the

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\*Blair's Lectures, 2d vol., p. 29, "on the eloquence of the bar," is full of admirable instruction to any professional man, and deserves frequent perusal,

and master the exigencies by which it is surrounded—it would seem to follow, as a necessary corollary, that the greatest orators will be found among a people best fitted to appreciate their efforts, and at a period too, when the events and circumstances in which they were placed, were best adapted to inspire and brace every latent gift and talent of the mind.

A reference to these principles is of essential importance in illustrating the opposite characteristics of the ancient and modern schools of oratory; and if we carry them with us, they will relieve our research of much obscurity and doubt. They are the ground work on which theory is built—or rather the causes to which the different characteristics of the two schools must be attributed.

I do not intend to enter here into the history of eloquence—to trace it to its origin,—or to describe the excellence it has reached even among savage tribes.\* History has the records of some specimens of this kind, which, for force, pathos, and dignity, are equal to the purest productions of the schools—I will quote but one brief example, and then pass at once into the sources of classic history, and to the two golden ages of letters by which its tablets are adorned. The following is from Caleb Atwater's History of the Indians, p. 301. It is a beautiful specimen of natural and high-wrought eloquence, delivered by Hoowanken in Council, at *Prairie du Chien*, in July 1829. His gestures are reported to have been graceful, and in those parts of his speech where

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\*See Blair's Lectures, 1st vol., on Rhetoric, p. 468.

he felt deeply, his gesticulation was vehement, and his whole soul was agitated with the highest impulses of inspiration :

“ The first white man we knew, was a Frenchman—he lived among us, as we did ; he painted himself, he smoked his pipe with us, sung and danced with us, and married one of our squaws, but he wanted to buy no land of us ! The “ red coat ” came next ; he gave us fine coats, knives and guns, traps, blankets, and jewels ; he seated our chiefs and warriors at his table, with himself ; fixed epaulets on their shoulders, put commissions in their pockets, and suspended medals on their breasts, but never asked us to sell our country to him ? Next came the “ blue coat,” and no sooner had he seen a small portion of our country, than he wished to see a map of THE WHOLE of it, and, having seen it, he wished us to sell it ALL to him. Governor Cass, last year, at Green bay, urged us to sell ALL our country to him, and now you, fathers, repeat the request. Why do you wish to add our small country to yours, already so large ? When I went to Washington to see our great father, I saw great houses all along the road, and Washington and Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, are great and splendid cities. So large and beautiful was the President’s house, the carpets, the tables, the mirrors, the chairs, and every article in it were so beautiful, that when I entered it, I thought I was in heaven, and the old man there, I thought was the Great Spirit ; until he had shaken us by the hand, and kissed our squaws, I found him to be like yourselves, nothing but a man ! You ask us to sell our country, and wander off into the boundless regions of the west. We do not own that country ; and the deer, the elk, the beaver, the buffalo, and the otter now there, belong not to us, and we have no right to kill them. Our wives and our children are seated behind us, are dear to us, and so is our country, where rest in peace the bones of our ancestors. Fathers ! pity a people, few in number, who are poor and helpless. Do you want our country ? yours is larger than ours. Do you want our wigwams ? you live in palaces. Do you want our horses ? yours are larger and better than ours. Do you want our women ? yours, now sitting behind you, (pointing to Mrs. Rolette and her beautiful daughters, and the ladies belonging to the officers of the garrison,) are handsomer and dressed better than ours. Look at them, yonder ! Why, Fathers, what can be your motive ?”



In the age of Demosthenes it is admitted that the people of Athens had reached a high degree of intellectual improvement. They were acute, subtle, ingenious—trained amid the most perfect models of the arts, and with a form of Government which rendered them curious and recondite in public affairs. All the circumstances by which they were surrounded were favourable to sagacity and even refinement of mind. Their statues, their temples, their olympiads, their public assemblies, subjected them daily to an education of an intellectual and refining kind. But there were other causes which operated upon the speakers of that age.

“The orator of old was the Parliamentary \* debater, the

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\* These extracts are drawn from Lord Brougham's “Dissertation on the eloquence of the Ancients,”—a work in which the whole subject is elaborately reviewed. Lord Brougham's speeches, vol. 4, p. 379. For the general characteristics of the Greek orators, see Bell's edition of Rollin's Arts and Sciences, p. 362. Hume's Essays, vol. 1, p. 100. Blair's Lectures on Grecian Eloquence, vol. 1, p. 459, from which the following passage is drawn:—“Of these Grecian republics, the most noted, by far, for eloquence, and indeed for arts of every kind, was that of Athens; the Athenians were an ingenious, quick, sprightly people; practised in business, and sharpened by frequent and sudden revolutions, which happened in their Governments. The genius of their Government was altogether democratical; their legislature consisted of the whole body of the people. They had, indeed, a Senate of five hundred, but in the general convention of the citizens was placed the last resort; and affairs were conducted there, entirely, by reasoning, speaking, and a skilful application to the passions and interests of a popular assembly. Their laws were made, peace and war decreed, and thence the magistrates were chosen. For the highest honors of the State were alike open to all; nor was the meanest tradesman excluded from a seat in their supreme courts. In such a state eloquence, it is obvious, would be much studied, as the surest means of rising to influence and power, and what sort of eloquence? not that which was brilliant merely and showy, but that which was found upon trial, to be most effectual for con-

speaker at public meetings, the preacher, the newspaper, the published sermon, the pamphlet, the volume, all in one. When he was to speak, Greece flocked to Athens, and his address was the object of anxious expectation for months before, and the subject of warm comment for months after the display of his powers." \* \* \* \* \*

"Nor is it enough to say that the rostrum of old monopolized in itself all the functions of the press, the senate, the school, and the pulpit also in our days. It was a rival to the stage also. The people, fond as they were of theatrical exhibitions, from having no other intellectual entertainment, were really as much interested in oratorical displays as sources of recreation. They regarded them not merely with the interest of citizens hearing State affairs discussed, in which they took a deep concern, and on which they were called to give an opinion; but as auditors and spectators at a dramatic performance, by which they were to be moved and pleased, and on which they were to exercise their critical faculties, ripened by experience, and sharpened by the frequent contemplation of the purest models."

That the orators of Greece felt the sharpness of the ordeal through which they were to pass, and prepared for a public oration with all the study and care necessary to produce \*dra-

vincing, interesting, and persuading the hearers. For there, public speaking was not a mere competition for empty applause, but a serious contention for that public leading, which was the great object both of the men of ambition, and the men of virtue."

\*In forming our estimate of some specimens of ancient eloquence, the following distinction is to be attended to:—In the cause of Milo, Cicero spoke to 51 *Judices selecti*, and so had the advantage of addressing his whole pleading not to one or a few learned judges of the law, as is the case with us, but to an assembly of Roman citizens. Hence all those arts of popular eloquence, which we find the Roman orator so frequently employing, and probably with much success. Hence tears and commiseration are so often made use of, as the instruments of gaining a cause. Hence certain practices which would be thought theatrical among us, were common at the Roman bar; such as introducing not only the accused person dressed in deep mourning, but presenting to the judge his family and his young children, endeavouring to move him by their cries and tears."

matic effect, cannot be doubted from the evidence which has come down to us. They had schools in the first place solely for the training of public orators. Action and intonation were each practised as an art. The patience with which Demosthenes\* himself laboured, to cure his natural defects—the pebbles he placed in his mouth while he addressed the waves in the Ægean Gulf, and the sword hung over his shoulder, are recorded as proofs of his zeal to improve, and his determination to excel. The principal actors of Greece taught their art to others—for Socrates, Iæseus, and Demosthenes himself acted as teachers to those who wished to cultivate forensic talent.

In the preparation of their orations they expended a degree of labour, not equalled by the public speakers of modern times. To improve his style, Demosthenes, it is said, copied with his own hands the history of Thucydides no less than eight times. Cicero transcribed with equal care the best authors who had preceded him. Independent of the training to which he had subjected himself while a young

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\*See Blair's Lectures, vol. 1, p. 476. The following is the passage referred to:—"I shall not spend any time upon the circumstances of Demosthenes's life; they are well known. The strong ambition which he discovered to excel in the art of speaking—the unsuccessfulness of his first attempts—his unwearied perseverance in surmounting all the disadvantages that arose from his person and address—his shutting himself up in a cave that he might study with less distraction—his declaiming by the sea shore, that he might accustom himself to the noise of a tumultuous assembly, and with pebbles in his mouth that he might correct a defect in his speech—his practising at home with a naked sword hung over his shoulder, that he might check an ungraceful motion, to which he was subject—all those circumstances which we learn from Plutarch are very encouraging to such as study eloquence, as they shew how far art and application may avail, for acquiring an excellence which nature seemed unwilling to grant us." See also Brougham's Dissertation on the eloquence of the Ancients, vol. 4, p. 421.

man, he went at an advanced age to the school of Moio, a Greek orator, who had visited Rome: he visited Greece itself expressly to study its divine masters; and while in full practice at the bar, he continued in the habit of declaiming upon supposed questions, and it is known he studied delivery under Roscius and Æsopus—two actors, the former in comedy, the latter in tragedy.”

Again, nothing can surpass the exquisite style and the polish of these orations. “The structure of the sentences, the balanced period, the apt and perfect antithesis, the neat and epigrammatic turn, the finished collocation, all indicate,” says a modern author, “an extreme elaboration, which could hardly have been the suggestion of the moment.” Some of these orations are known to have cost months of previous preparation. Passages have been re-written, so as to reconstruct, polish, and improve. Their metaphors, style, and even single expressions were reformed; and speeches, both of the Grecian and Roman orators, have descended to us ready to be delivered, but which were never spoken—with allusions to the scene and audience,—proving, beyond all doubt, that they were in the habit of arranging their thoughts, and even clothing them in language, before they subjected them to that critical audience by whom their merits were to be scanned and decided upon.

If we add to this diligence of preparation their loftiness of motive—the state of Greece when Demosthenes occupied the rostrum,—Philip threatening to destroy the liberties of these ancient Republics; and the events which agitated the Roman empire when Cicero spoke to the senate and to the people\*—Cataline’s conspiracy, Cæsar and Pompey struggling

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\*For the character of the Roman people, and a graphic sketch of the comparative merits of these two extraordinary

for power;—the grandeur of the subjects which inspired them, and the rich prizes which followed success—a reputation and influence founded upon national esteem, and won by the triumphs of the intellect—it is less subject of wonder that oratory should then have reached her loftiest flight: and conferred upon two of her disciples an eloquence which is said to have equalled that of the Gods—for these *causes* were well fitted to produce magnificent *effects!*

In investigating the causes which led, in ancient times, to this excellency in public speaking, it must ever be pre-eminently kept in view, that it was the only mode, and the only gift, which could then confer popular distinction upon literary men—there was no press, no newspaper, no magazine, to send abroad the products of the mind—to let them work their own silent influence—and bring back the golden and inestimable fruits of public esteem and personal influence. The poem, however beautifully woven,—the treatise

men. [See Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, vol. 1, p. 480 and 486.] Their excellence in oratory is beautifully drawn by Rollin in his treatise on the Arts and Sciences—Bell's edition, p. 376—a book of extensive information, and invaluable for reference. “The Romans were a more grave and magnificent, but a less acute and sprightly people. They had neither the vivacity nor the sensibility of the Greeks, their passions were not so easily moved, nor their conceptions so lively:—in comparison of them, they were a phlegmatic nation. Their language resembled their character, it was regular, firm, and stately, but wanted that simple and expressive naïveté, and in particular, that flexibility to suit every different mode and species of composition, for which the Greek tongue is distinguished above that of every other country. \* \* \* \* \*

“As the Roman Government, during the Republic, was of a popular kind, there is no doubt, but that in the hands of the leading men, public speaking became early an engine of Government, and was employed for gaining distinction and power.”

on philosophy, however profoundly reasoned—the speech, however elaborated in the closet, would have been dead-born, had not the art of oral communication been cultivated, so that in the delivery every latent grace, and beauty of composition should be brought out. Letters then stood like revelation, upon the same footing, and the author like the Apostle—like Paul to Agrippa—had to beseech his audience “to hear him patiently.” Buckingham, in his address published at New York, on landing in the United States, Dec. 25, 1837, thus vindicates the enterprise he had then pledged himself to execute, and gives the following beautiful description of the practice and effect of oral communication in the ages of antiquity :

“ In scriptural ages, the oral mode of communication was almost the only one in use, from the days of Abraham, who, according to the testimony of Josephus, thus taught the Chaldean science of Astronomy to the Egyptians—down to the time of Solomon, who discoursed so eloquently of the productions of nature in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and from whose lips the profoundest maxims of wisdom were poured into charmed ears, and from thence again to the days of Paul, who stood before Festus Felix and Agrippa, at Cesarea, and who, clothed in all the majesty of truth, addressed assembled thousands at Antioch, at Corinth, and at Rome. In classical countries the custom was universal, and there are many who conceive, with the great Lord Bacon, that one of the causes of the superior intellect of the Greeks, was the method in use among them of communicating knowledge by oral discourses, rather than by written books, when the pupils or disciples of Socrates, of Plato, and of Epicurus, received their information from these great masters, in the gardens or porticos of Athens, or when the hearers of Demosthenes, of Eschyles, of Sophocles, or Euripides, hung with rapture on their glowing sentences, as pronounced in the Areopagus—the theatre—the gymnasium—or the grove.

“ Of classical authorities, the memorable instance of Herodotus, will occur to every mind. This venerable father of History, as he is often called, having been first banished

from his native country, Halicarnassus, under the Tyranny of Lygdamis, travelled during his exile, through Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and to the borders of Media and Persia, in which he was engaged for several years; on his return from his travels he was instrumental in uprooting and destroying that very tyranny under which his banishment took place, but this patriotic deed, instead of gaining for him the esteem and admiration of the populace, who had so largely benefitted by his labours, excited their envy and their ill-will, so that he a second time left his native land, and then visited Greece. It was there at the great festival of the Olympic Games, about 500 years before the Christian era, being then in the fortieth year of his age, that he stood up among the assembled myriads of the most intellectual auditors of the ancient world, to narrate, in oral discourses, drawn from the recollection of his personal travels, the subject-matter of his interesting history, and description of the countries of the East; and such was its effect upon the generous hearts and brilliant intellects of his accomplished hearers, that while the celebrated Thucydides, then among them as a boy, shed tears at the recital of the events of the Persian War, and his young bosom was perhaps then first fired with the ambition which made him afterwards one of the most accomplished historians of Greece, the people received Herodotus with such universal applause, that as an honour of the highest kind, the names of the nine muses were conferred upon his nine books or subdivisions of his interesting narrative, which they continue to bear to the present hour, in every language into which they have been translated.

"Pythagoras, of Lomas, is another striking instance of a similar career: disgusted with the tyranny of Polycrates, he retired from his native island, and having previously travelled extensively in Chaldea and Egypt, and probably India, he also appeared at the Olympic Games of Greece, and travelled through Italy and Magna Græcia, delivering in the several towns that he visited, oral discourses on the history, religion, manners, and philosophy of the countries of the East; and their general effect was not less happy than that produced by the narrations of Herodotus, for it is said that "these animated harangues were attended with rapid success, and a reformation soon took place in the life and morals of the people." "

In expatiating upon the splendour and beauty of the an-

cient orations, and the absolute necessity of skilful preparation to produce a finished example, Lord Brougham gives the following instructive lessons, in his inaugural discourse to the students of Glasgow College, when installed as Lord Rector :

“ I am now requiring not merely great preparation while the Speaker is learning his art, but after he has accomplished his education. The most splendid efforts of the most mature orator will be always finer for being previously elaborated with much care. There is, no doubt, a charm in extemporaneous elocution,—derived from the appearance of artless unpremeditated effusion, called forth by the occasion, and so adapting itself to its exigencies, which may compensate the manifold defects incident to this kind of composition; that which is inspired by the unforeseen circumstances in the choice of topics, and pitched in the tone of the feelings upon which it is to operate. These are great virtues: it is another to avoid the besetting vice of modern oratory—the overdoing everything—the exhaustive method which an off-hand speaker has no time to fall into, and he accordingly will take only the grand and effective views; nevertheless, in oratorical merits, such effusions must needs be very inferior; much of the pleasure they produce depends upon the hearers surprise that in such circumstances anything can be delivered at all, rather than upon his deliberate judgment, that he has heard anything excellent in itself. *We may rest assured that the highest reaches of the art, and without any necessary sacrifice of natural effect, can only be attained by him who well considers, and maturely prepares, and oftentimes sedulously corrects and refines his oration.* Such preparation is quite consistent with the introduction of passages prompted by the occasion; nor will the transition from the one to the other be perceptible in the execution of a practised master. I have known attentive and skilful hearers completely deceived in this matter, and “taken for extemporaneous passages, those which previously existed in manuscript, and were pronounced without the variation of a particle or pause.”

The liberty of Greece passed away, and Rome lost her virtue—her arts and her greatness. These fine and intellectual regions of the south were invaded by the northern



hordes who trampled down and desecrated all the temples and structures which a refined and exquisite taste in literature and the arts had erected. Then followed the sleep of letters for some centuries, and with the desolation of the ancient world, the human mind itself seemed to have lost for a season the mighty powers which before it had displayed. In this period there were no professors, and no style of eloquence, which are known.

Before passing, however, from the eloquence of antiquity to that of latter times, we ought not to forget that we have a record of eloquence more sublime and perfect than the purest specimens of Greece or Rome. Charles Butler in his *Reminiscents*, has said that there is no eloquence extant equal to the prophecies of Isaiah, or the figurative imagery of the Psalms of David. A host of eminent authors could be adduced who have pronounced the same opinion, but without multiplying authority, and before we speak of the ancient fathers, who flourished in the middle ages, I take the following beautiful eulogy and contrast from Fenelon's treatise "on Pulpit Eloquence." It is consolatory to the Christian to think that in the same volume in which the morality and the hopes of heaven are taught, and the promises of immortality with all its attendant splendours are contained—the language and ideas furnish such continued evidence of its inspiration—to speak of heavenly things the Prophets and Apostles were gifted with a power of language, glowing, comprehensive, and divine!

"In order to perceive it, nothing is more useful than to have a just taste of the ancient simplicity, and this may best be obtained by reading the most ancient Greek authors, I say the most ancient, for those Greeks whom the Romans so

justly despised, and called *Graculi*, were then entirely degenerate: as I told you before, you ought to be perfectly acquainted with Homer, Plato, Xenophon, and the other earliest writers; after that you will be no more surprised at the plainness of the Scripture styles, for in them you will find almost the same kind of customs, the same artless variations, the same images of great things, and the same movements; the difference betwixt them, upon comparison, is much to the honour of the Scripture, it surpasses them vastly in native simplicity, liveliness, and grandeur. Homer himself never reached the sublimity of Moses's song; especially the last, which all the Israelitish children were to learn by heart; never did any ode, either Greek or Latin, come up to the loftiness of the Psalms, particularly that which begins thus—"The Almighty God, even the Lord, hath spoken." It surpasses the utmost stretch of human invention. Neither Homer nor any other poet ever equalled Isaiah describing the Majesty of God, in whose sight the nations of the earth are as the small dust; yea, less than nothing and vanity; seeing it is he that stretcheth out the Heavens like a curtain, and spreadeth them out like a tent to dwell in,—sometimes this prophet has all the sweetness of an eclogue, in the smiling images he gives us of peace; and sometimes he soars so high as to leave everything below him. What is there in antiquity which can be compared to the lamentation of Jeremiah, when he tenderly deplores the miseries of his country? or to the prophecy of Nahum when he foresees in spirit the proud Ninevah fall under the rage of an invincible army. We fancy that we see the army, and hear the noise of arms and chariots; every thing is painted in such a lively manner as strikes the imagination, the prophet far out-does Homer; read likewise Daniel denouncing to Belshazzar the divine vengeance ready to overwhelm him, and try if you can find anything in the most sublime originals of antiquity that can be compared to those passages of sacred writ; as for the rest of scripture every portion of it is uniform and consistent, every part bears the peculiar character that becomes it; the history, the peculiar details of laws, the descriptions, the vehement and pathetic characters, the mysteries and prophecies, and moral discourses—in all these there appears a natural and beautiful variety; in short, there is as great a difference betwixt the heathen poets and the prophets, as there is betwixt a false enthusiasm and the true; the sacred writers, being duly inspired, do in a sensible manner express something di-

vine, while the others, striving to soar above themselves, always shew human weakness in their loftiest flights—the second book of Macabees, the book of wisdom, especially at the end; and Ecclesiasticus, in the beginning, discover the gaudy, swelling style that the degenerate Greeks had spread over the east, where their language was established with their dominion, but it would be in vain to enlarge upon all these particulars: it is by reading that you must discover the truth of them.”

## LECTURE X.

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**On the Public Speaking of Ancient and Modern Times—  
Eloquence of the Dark Ages—American and French  
Revolutions.—(Continued.)**

### CONTENTS.

No records of eloquence in the dark ages—Peter the Hermit—Wickliffe, Luther, Knox—Style of this age as sketched by Blair—Coke and Raleigh.—Age of Louis the Great and Queen Anne—Improvement in English style—Shakespeare—Dryden—Milton—No finished orators before the age of Walpole.—American and French Revolutions, Effect on eloquence—Fathers of the French Church—Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, Burke—their care in preparation—Speakers in the National convention of France—American orators at the time of the revolution—Adams, Henry, &c.—Orators of Ireland—National character of the Irish favourable to eloquence—Modern style of Eloquence—This is an age of action and of business—The office of a Speaker now is mainly to persuade—Opinions of Brougham, and Moore in his life of Sheridan, in Dublin Review, and of Grant in the Bench and Bar, of modern eloquence.—Decline of—Eloquence of the Pulpit—Quarterly Review on the British Pulpit—Elements or attributes of Eloquence—Cambray and Bishop Burnet on the eloquence of the Pulpit—Blair's Lectures.

**THIS** eclipse above referred to wore away. Literature and the Arts\* and Sciences first returned to Europe in the young Republics of Italy, where the spirit of commerce, with the generous protection she ever extends to human improvement, first founded and fostered the institutions of social liberty.—

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\*For a sketch of the Literature of the middle ages, see Hallam's State of Europe, vol. 2, Paris ed., p. 300.

The fine arts found again, under their sanction, a kindred home and vineyard. They produced painters and poets—Titian and Angelo—Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso; and their history bears records of the lives of many distinguished men, gifted with transcendant powers of eloquence; but still they founded no school, and have left no examples by which we can now judge of their skill.

In the dark ages we would look in vain for any orations which would be precious in our times, or which could stand comparison with the efforts of those great masters who have lived in former and latter ages. Learning then was not scattered abroad among the mass. It was cultivated by the few, in order to hold the many in abject and ignoble thralldom. It consisted in compilation more than in invention; and although in these there unquestionably existed men, who like Peter the Hermit, \*Wickliffe, Luther, Calvin, Erasmus, Knox, had from nature all those elements of mind—quickness of perception, brilliance of fancy, force and clearness of judgment, and deep and impassioned feeling, fitted for the highest efforts,—we cannot say they produced them. They, no doubt, exercised their own rough and effective eloquence, adapted to persuade and actuate. Men who were fitted to lead the Crusaders could not but be gifted—Christians who could raise these Gothic temples which adorn the fairest plains of the old world, could not be cold and lifeless at the splendid altars where they worshipped—the knights at Runnymede, who framed our Magna Charta, did not lay the corner stone of our constitution in silence,—the adherents

\*Some of these men lived in the dawn which separated the dark ages from the brighter eras which succeeded them.

of the House of York and Lancaster who fought under the banners of the white and red rose, could not have conducted their strifes without impassioned appeals to their followers. There must, then, have been eloquent leaders, and fathers, and patriots, who, in happier times, would have left to posterity records of their oratory, which would have enrolled them among the "illustrious dead." They have left their works, deeds, and their fields, but not their words; and we can now only judge of their eloquence by the mighty effects it achieved.

Of this cycle Blair has given the following brief sketch. It alludes to a style, which every young orator, who possesses a copious and fruitful imagination, is but too apt to admire and to imitate. To chasten flushed thoughts down to sublimity and vigour, and to strip ornate language of gaudy embellishment, is often a painful effort—but it is indispensable to intellectual pro-eminent, and to the enjoyment of that influence, which pure and effective oratory can confer.

"In the decline of the Roman Empire, the introduction of christianity gave rise to a new species of eloquence, in the apologies, sermons, and pastoral writings of the fathers of the Church. Among the Latin fathers, Lactantius and Minutus Felix are the most remarkable for purity of style; and, in a later age, the famous St. Augustine—possesses a considerable share of sprightliness and strength. But none of the fathers afford any just models of eloquence. Their language, as soon as we descend to the third or fourth century, becomes harsh; and they are in general infected with the taste of that age, a love of swollen and strained thought, and of the play of words, among the Greek Fathers, the most distinguished by far, for his oratorical merit, is St. Chrysostome. His language is pure; his strength highly figured. He is copious, smooth, and sometimes pathetic. But he retains, at the same time, much of that character which has been always attributed to the Asiatic eloquence, diffuse and redundant to a great degree, and often overwrought and tumid."

In pursuing this general review we now come to the golden age of Louis the Great, and our own Queen Anne.—The reputation of it is founded upon that of the great men whom it produced. It had poets, philosophers, historians, and statesmen; and under their guardianship, literature, science, and politics, rose before the world under brighter aspects, and seemed to be refreshed with new vigour and strength. It would be unnecessary to dwell here upon all the benefits gained in future times by the labours and devotion of these gifted minds—but in tracing the causes which led to the excellence which oratory has since acquired, it is essential to point to the improvements effected by the writers of that age upon the structure, force, and euphony of the English style. In Shakspeare there is a well of the pure old English—a mellowed strength and ripeness of expression, which every scholar admires the more deeply it is studied; and Dryden, Milton, Addison, introduced a classic elegance into English literature, that led to that richness and variety for which the national style has since been distinguished.—They thus prepared an essential and primary element for the rise of the new and modern school of oratory.

Previous to the era of the American and French revolutions, it cannot be said that Europe produced any orators of surpassing excellence. \*Coke, Raleigh, Cromwell,† Hale, Bolingbroke, Selden, Walpole,‡ however high they may rank

\*Coke and Raleigh's style of public speaking may be judged of by the specimens which are given in the trial of the latter.

†His dark and mystical periods are extant in history, and present an extraordinary picture of his mind.—‡In the number of the Edinburgh Review for April 1840, there is an article headed "Walpole and his cotemporaries," in which a spirited

as literary men, have left no splendid orations as ornaments to our literature. That those men spoke well—that they could argue and persuade—that some of them were gifted with powers of public speaking of a peculiar and even lofty kind, cannot be questioned; but of fine orations, they have left none extant; and it remained for the elder Pitt, gifted with the noblest talents, inspired by his sympathies for the freedom and destinies of the New World—by his just indignation at the employment of the Indians, against those who were struggling for the great battle of human rights—to give to the world specimens of oratory, equal to the productions of ancient times, and which opened that splendid age of parliamentary eloquence, with which St. Stephen's has since been adorned.

Let it not be supposed that in speaking thus lightly of the oratory which is known from the age of Henry VIII. up to the reign of George III., I intend to say that public speaking of a high order did not exist. The eloquence of the Puritans in England—of the Covenanters in Scotland—of several speakers in Parliament, are spoken of as impassioned, and even dramatic by the historians of their own time. In drawing these distinctions, I wish it to be understood that they refer only to perfect and exquisite efforts. We cannot speak of the intrinsic merits of *all* the orations of that period—for the press has not handed them down to us for study.

Before the age of Chatham, it cannot be doubted that the Protestant and Catholic fathers of the French Church had ex-

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sketch is given of the eloquence of Walpole, Pulteny, and Henry St. John,—the three leading men in the events of their age.



hibited a force of eloquence of the very purest school. The sermons of Saurin, Bourdaloue, Fenelon, Bousset\*; and Masselon, produced those electric and moving effects upon their audience, which can be inspired only by the loftiest powers of the human mind. Blair in his lectures upon the pulpit, has described these with great felicity†; and such instances prove beyond doubt, that, even in these later times, the gifts of oratory have been exquisitely prized, and that the hearts of the people are ever ready to yield to the thrilling sympathies which the orator, and he only, can produce.

There can be doubt that the partition of Poland in the Old World, and the revolt of the American Colonies in the New, gave rise to that war of opinions and principles with which the intelligent portion of mankind has since been agitated. In the British Parliament—the most exciting, the most chaste, and the noblest field of eloquence which the modern world has ever yet seen—these events, and those which followed them, called for the highest efforts of the intellect, and that iron resolution of soul which is fitted to struggle with, and to master, mighty issues. The revolution in America was followed by the revolution in France—the fiercest struggle which had ever arisen between the aristocratic and the popular powers. It enkindled genius, and inspired the talents and the passions of the most collected and philosophical. The war which desolated Europe, and threatened to

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\*See Reminiscent of Charles Butler, 2d vol., p. 9, for some specimens of the pulpit oratory of this eminent divine.

†Blair's Lectures, 2d vol., p. 69. In an article contained in the Edinburgh Review, 35th vol., p. 169, entitled "comparative state of literature in England and France," there is a reference to the style of these fathers.

destroy the older dynasties,—built upon the prejudices of a former age, and which had crushed freedom of action and the generous expansion of the mind—was then begun, and induced Great Britain to employ her influence to uphold the balance of power. Then came the impeachment of Warren Hastings—the Union with Ireland—the question of Parliamentary reform. This continued succession of great events gave that impulse to the public mind, and created that broad national sympathy, which rendered the English Parliament, for the last fifty years, a scene of masterly and splendid eloquence. In this period there were the elder and younger Chatham, Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Grattan, Canning, Curran, Erskine—all statesmen or lawyers, who were the master spirits of their time, and have left reputations for eloquence inferior only to the ancient masters, because they lived in, and spoke to another age, and to an audience of a far different character, from the subtle and ingenious Athenians, or the Roman Senate or *Comitia*.

In the July number of the Quarterly Review, (1840) in the article “on the life of Chatham” the following curious description is given of his power as an orator.

“That the most *powerful* orator that ever illustrated and ruled the Senate of the Empire—that for nearly half a century, he was not merely the arbiter of the destinies of his own country, but the foremost man in all the world,—that he had an unparalleled grandeur and affluence of intellectual powers, softened and brightened by all the minor accomplishments—that his ambition was noble—his views instinctively elevated—his patriotism all but excessive—that in all the domestic relations of life he was exemplary and amiable—a fine scholar, a finished gentleman, a sincere Christian—one whom his private friends and servants loved as a good man, and all the world as a great one—these are praises which his

cotemporaries awarded, and which posterity has, with little diminution, confirmed. \* \* \* \* \*

“The sun of all seems to us to be, that the qualities of the orator were more transcendent than those of the statesman, and that his public character, when calmly considered, excites rather admiration than applause. The generality of his sentiments did not always guide his practice; and the majestic stream of his declamations for the rights and liberties of mankind, was always accompanied by eddies and under currents of personal interest. He was too fine a genius for the lower, and too selfish a politician for the higher duties of a minister.

“Graced as he was with all the power of words—his talents were neither for conducting an office nor managing a party—he was neither *the sun to rule the day*, nor *the moon to rule the night*—but a meteor which astonished and alarmed mankind by its supernatural splendour, but left the world, when it expired, in deeper darkness than before.”

To give the different styles of these speakers—to quote their finer passages and reflect upon them—is a labour which, if any of us here are competent to such a task, would be supererogatory. That they nearly approached to a classic standard, and copied closely the finest examples of ancient times—in the use of metaphor—in freedom and amplitude of illustration—in an embellishment, amounting almost to ornate poetic figure—in an appeal to the passions and the finer feelings of the heart,—cannot be questioned. Let any student study the best speeches of the last Pitt, Fox, \*She-

\*In the last volume of Charles Butler's *Reminiscent*, from p. 120 to 193, there will be found a series of beautiful and interesting sketches of the Pulpit and Parliamentary speakers of the last age, including most of the great names who then figured in the Courts and in the House of Lords and Commons. The character, merits, and even the best specimens of the best speakers are there collected and set off with that felicitous power of graphic and lively description, for which Butler is so deservedly, and so pre-eminently distinguished. I know of no chapters in literature where the student or man of letters will acquire more solid and entertaining information

ridan, or even Erskine, and he will see at once that they indulge in a classic freedom and play of imagination, which would not suit the grave and more chastened taste of a modern audience. Some of these, it is known, prepared their speeches with elaborate and exquisite care. Fox was a diligent student of the classics, during the whole period of his public life. Sheridan wrote passages, and had them committed to memory, ready to be spoken in their proper place. Burke, too, wrote out and "*committed*" many of his most celebrated speeches; and Curran's have come down to us corrected by his own hand. These men brought to the inspiration of the hour, the thoughts and tropes elaborated by previous study; and hence it is that many of their efforts have the appearance of disquisitions—refined thoughts dressed in apt and chastened language—passages of polished and exquisite skill—political philosophy woven into gorgeous language,—and the passions deified and addressed;—all widely different from the resolute but practical talent—the epigrammatic point and the lively illustration,—best fitted now for warm and eager debate.

The opinion of Councillor Phillips, who is no mean authority in a question of this kind, considering the eminence he has acquired *in his own style* of oratory at the English bar, is thus recorded in his recollections of Curran, page 170:—

"It is a very foolish, but a very favourite opinion of some, that the merits of a speech is much diminished by the circumstance of its preparation. But it appears just as probable to produce a law argument on the spur of the occasion,

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on the eloquence of the fifth golden age, than in these two brief and admirable chapters. I have read them again and again with ever increasing delight.

replete with intuitive learning, and fortified with inspired authorities, as any of those sublime orations to which mankind have decreed the palm of eloquence. The greatest orators of antiquity were not ashamed to confess the industry of the closet. Demosthenes gloried in the *smell of the lump*; and it is recorded of Cicero, that he had so labouriously prepared his speeches, and even so minutely studied the effect of their delivery, that, on one occasion, when he had to oppose Hortensius, the reiterated rehearsals of the night before, so diminished his strength, as almost to incapacitate him in the morning. Lord Erskine corrected his very eloquent orations, and Mr. Burke literally worried his printer into a complaint against the fatigue of his continued corrections. Indeed, it is said, that such was the fastidiousness of his industry, that the proof sheet exhibited a complete erasure of the original manuscript. Such is the labour of those who write for immortality."

In the biographies of these statesmen and orators of the last age, their mode of preparation is described, and such is the change of taste arising from the spread of letters and general intelligence, that if any speaker were to confess now that he subjected his mind to such careful training, it would be injurious to his public reputation, and would induce others to think he was unfitted to wrestle in the tournament of a modern popular assembly. The tone of eloquence—the characteristics of public speaking—have since changed.

In the era of the Revolution in France the National Assembly had a band of orators superiorly gifted. Robespierre, Danton, Mirabeau, were all adepts in the art; but this is a scene to which none ought to turn, except to execrate. In America the Revolution called out some master minds. Patrick Henry, Hamilton, Jefferson, Adams, were men who could address a popular assembly, with decided and powerful effect; and no doubt felt the inspiration of that bold destiny they were doomed to occupy in the history of

human freedom. In the London Quarterly Review for December 1840, there is a splendid article on the character and style of the orators who have flourished in the United States. They are divided into two classes—those who figured before and since the Revolution—the last list including Hamilton, Ames, Quincy Adams, Randolph, Clay, Webster, Everett, and others. The article gives a sketch of their history and style, and quotes many of their finest specimens of eloquence. Some of these are of the first order. Henry's tracts are beautiful and electric—but I do not require to quote from a work of this kind. Let the reader go to the article himself, and he will be at once gratified and improved, by seeing how several, by the influence of free institutions, have reached there an enviable superiority and even perfection in this divine art.

But the parliamentary debates in Ireland during the Rebellion of 1798, and when the Union with England was debated, brought out a galaxy of talent and displays of eloquence which have scarcely been surpassed in any former age. The public mind was then agitated with an ominous catastrophe. "Coming events cast their shadows before."—The great mass of the Irish population—long suffering under religious persecution, and living in the hope,—which, although long deferred, so far from being extinct, burned day by day with the freshness of a new life—that their emancipation would yet be achieved by the influence and action of their own domestic Parliament,—saw in the Union a death-blow to political and religious freedom, and the perpetuity of a yoke which had then galled till it festered on the national flesh. In the national characteristics of Irishmen, all the

elements of genuine oratory are combined—deep feeling and passion—warm imaginative powers—ready and fluent utterance; and it is freely admitted that at this period the splendid talent of the nation even surpassed itself, and produced \*specimens of oratory, which, for boldness of conception, depth of pathos, and ardent patriotism, rank among the very first in the standard of modern times. In Sir Josiah Barington's sketches the history of some of these great men will be found.

I have already said the character of public speaking has undergone a decided change. With some of the names before referred to, the classic lights have been extinguished.—The same style is no longer attempted. We have become a business and more prosaic age. The mystic learning of the schools, and the brilliant embellishments of rhetoric, have lost their charms. This is an age of action—not of fancy and speculative contemplation—or of “bold ideas decked in gaudy words.” There is less ornate plumage adorning the flights of the mind. All intellectual efforts are weighed by their utility, and by their adaptation to the every-day business of life. The amplifications of philosophy—brilliant figures of speech—the personification of passion,—are either not indulged in, or, if attempted, are chastened into soberness and quiet reality. Feelings are touched with less intensity. *It is the business of a speaker not to astonish or awe—but to persuade.* He addresses cultivated and thinking minds. He has to draw conclusions from facts—not to amuse with elabo-

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\*For a very graphic description of the peculiar characteristics of Irish eloquence, see article in the Edinburgh Review, entitled “Speeches of Curran,” 2d edition.—13th vol., p. 130.

rate theories, or seek to terrify by bold and brilliant figures ; and these causes combined, give to the public speaking of the present day a practical scope and character widely different from the eloquence of the ancients, and force the speaker to draw upon the memory and the judgment,\* rather than upon the imagination and passions ;—he has to pursue logical and close deduction, rather than to throw off those figures which are the indications of not only a refined, but *brilliant*, genius.

Let it not be supposed that I am here resting upon a distinction entirely of my own. It has been adverted to and illustrated by several authors of high reputation, and it is well to pause here and read the record of their opinions.—Lord Brougham thus draws the distinction between ancient and modern orators, in his speeches, vol. 4, p. 428 :

“It is impossible to deny that ancient orators fall nearly

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\*Hume in his *Essay upon Eloquence*, (vol. 1, p. 109) thus expresses himself:—“Now, to judge by the rule, ancient eloquence, that is, the sublime and passionate, is of a much greater taste than the modern, or the argumentative and rational : and if properly executed will always have more command and authority over mankind. We are satisfied with our mediocrity, because we have had no experience of any thing better ; but, the ancients had experience of both, and, upon comparison, gave the preference to that kind of which they have left us such applauded models. For, if I mistake not, our modern eloquence is of the same style or species with that which ancient critics denominated *attic eloquence*, that is, calm, elegant, and subtle, *which instructed the reason more than affected the passions*, and never raised its tone above argument or common discourse.” This opinion has been assailed, and in justice to the historian, it may be said, that if he had lived to the present day, he would probably have been found to entertain views in some respects modified. These remarks of Hume are attacked and reviewed by Butler, in the 1st volume of the *Reminiscent*, in his Chapter 13, p. 196, entitled “Miscellaneous reflections on Debates in the English Parliament,”



as far short of the modern, in the substance, as they surpass them in their composition. Not only were they far less enlarged, which was the necessary consequence of their more confined knowledge, but they gave much less information to the audience in point of facts, and they applied themselves less strenuously to argument. *The assemblies of moderate times are eminently places of business*; the hearers are met to consider of certain practical questions, and not to have their fancy charmed with choice figures, or their taste gratified with exquisite diction, or their ear tickled with harmonious numbers. They must therefore be convinced; their reason must be addressed by statements which shall prove that the thing propounded is just or expedient, or that it is iniquitous and impolitic. No far-fetched illusions, or vague talk, or pretty conceits, will supply the place of the one thing needful,—argument and information. Whatever is beside the question, how gracefully soever it may be said, will only weary the hearer and provoke his impatience; may if it be very fine and very far-fetched, will excite his merriment and cover the speaker with ridicule. Ornament of every kind, all manner of embellishment will be kept within subordinate bounds, and made subservient merely to the main business. It is certain that no perfection of execution, no beauty of workmanship, can make up for the cardinal defects of the material being out of its place, that is, indifferent to the question; and one of the most exquisitely composed of Cicero's orations, the one for Archias, could clearly never have been delivered in any English Court of Justice. \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* In fact, not above one-sixth of the speech has any bearing whatever upon the subject, which was the construction of a particular law."

The same distinction is brought clearly out in Moore's Life of Sheridan, and I quote the passage entire:

"In politics, too, he (Sheridan) had the advantage of entering on his career at a time, *when habits of business, and a knowledge of details were less looked for in public men than they are at present*; and when the House of Commons was, for various reasons, a more open play-ground for eloquence and wit. The great increase of public business since then has necessarily made a considerable change in this respect. Not only has the time of the Legislature become too precious to be wasted upon the mere gymnastics of rhetoric, but even those graces, with which true oratory surrounds her state-

ments, are but impatiently borne, where the statement itself is the primary and pressing object of the hearer. Burke, we know, was even too much addicted to what a Falconer would call *raking*, or flying wide of his game; but there was hardly one of his great cotemporaries, who, if beginning his career at present, would not find it in some degree necessary to conform his style to the taste for business and matter-of-fact that is prevalent. Mr. Pitt would be obliged to curtail the march of his sentences—Mr. Fox would have to repeat himself less frequently—nor would Sheridan venture to enliven a question of evidence by a long and pathetic appeal to filial piety.

“In addition to the change in the character and taste of the House of Commons, which, while it has lowered the value of some of the qualifications possessed by Sheridan, has created a demand for others of a more useful and less splendid kind, which his education and habits of life would have rendered less easily attainable by him, *we must take into account the prodigious difference produced by the general movement of the whole civilized world towards knowledge*—a movement, which no public man, however great his natural talents, could now lag behind with impunity, and which requires nothing less than the versatile and *encyclopaedic* powers of a Brougham to keep pace with.”—vol. 1, p. 464, *London Edition*.

In an article upon the orators in the Reformed Parliament, contained in the Dublin Review for October, 1838—a work of genuine talent, and conducted with all the spirit of a leading periodical—there is the following view of the declension of Parliamentary eloquence, p. 435.

“There is no longer in either House a Burke, with lively and impassioned images, with profound knowledge, and in a tone as philosophical as captivating, to enchain the attention, and to inculcate, in the most flowing periods, and the most measured but alluring sentences, the favourite doctrines of the statesman; the energy of a Fox; the ever-ready, ever-biting retort of a Pitt; the keen wit, the pointed satire, the brilliant imagination, the overpowering eloquence of a Canning, are yet wanting; and there exists not one legislator, who, with an almost inexhaustible flow of words the best chosen, and of flowers of rhetoric the most carefully culled, —who, with a quickness of fancy, and with an acute sense

of the ridiculous, can alike amuse and convince a reluctant audience,—in a word, who can supply the place of a Sheridan?

“Part of this retrogression may, perhaps, be attributed to a cause which, although somewhat startling, is nevertheless true, this oratory is inconsistent with a very high degree of civilization, and, for the same reason, that the drama, however great may be the excellence of the writings or the actors, cannot again flourish in England to any thing like its former extent. When the great mass of the people think for themselves, and whenever the middle classes are very far advanced in general knowledge and acquirements, they have naturally a dislike to every thing which depends for its effect upon delusion. \* \* \* \* \*

“The present deficiency may, however, be partially ascribed to another cause, ‘that vice of much speaking, which is the fashion of the present day.’ Every man representing a popular constituency is expected to say something. On the Hustings, in his own town, ‘the admired of all admirers,’ possibly the most wealthy, frequently the most personally beloved man in his neighbourhood, holding political sentiments in accordance with the majority of those whom he addresses, every successful candidate is a triton among minnows.”

“The favourable audience to which he has been in the habit of addressing himself, charmed with his ready command of words, remember not the old and trite, but at the same, perfectly just remark, that it is not every ready or even eloquent speaker who is an orator. They applaud him to the very echo, he fancies that he has succeeded,—he takes but little farther pains,—he, upon almost every occasion, pours out in his place in Parliament his empty verbiage, or his common place observations,—he is delighted at seeing himself at due length in the reports of the following morning,—a few more clap-traps, or well-pointed personal remarks, have procured from his party some hearty cheers; and for these loquacious babblings, this accomplished person and applauded speaker is proclaimed to the world as an orator. But of oratory, in its pure sense—of that lucid arrangement of facts—of that convincing method of selecting details—of that ready flow of the best chosen words, placed in the most appropriate situations—of that keenness of perception which detects the weakest points in an adversary’s statements, and either puts old arguments in a new light, or discovers yet an unexhausted fund—of that fertile imagination, which can, at

the same time, win the attention, move the passions, and enlist the sympathy of the hearer,—*but above all, of the extensive, the copious, the nervous, the majestic orator, there exists at the present day but few examples.*”

In another modern publication entitled the Bench and Bar, Mr. James Grant, the author of the Great Metropolis, gives the following sketch of the present state of eloquence at the Bar and in the Senate. True it is he does not attempt to account for the cause of an absence at the present time of the elements and spirit of excited and genuine eloquence—he draws the contrast only between the past and the present, and laments the deficiency of the day:—

“I cannot conclude these volumes without adverting to the fact, that true eloquence has, of late years, most grievously declined at the English Bar. I am not sure whether there be not now a greater number of sound lawyers in Westminster Hall, than at any former period; but surely, no one who knows any thing of the subject will pretend that, in point of genuine eloquence, the Bar of the present day can admit of a moment's comparison with that of a former period. At present I know of no master spirit in Westminster Hall. We look in vain for an Erskine or a Brougham, we look in vain in our Courts of Law even for such men as lately conferred a lustre on Scotland and Ireland, by the brilliancy of their forensic displays in either country. We cannot boast either of a Jeffery or of an O'Connell. Whence is this? What is the cause of this decline in the true eloquence of the English Bar? I have heard various reasons assigned for it, but I cannot concur in any one which has yet been mentioned to me. The most common hypothesis is, that there is now a greater number of cases before our Courts, and that consequently those barristers who possess the greatest abilities are retained in so many cases, that they are, to a certain extent, obliged to make their forensic exhibitions a matter of mere business, which, it is said, precludes that attention to their matter and style which is indispensable to the loftiest order of eloquence.

\* \* \* “It is worthy of observation, that there is at the present time, and has been for a number of years, the same dearth of genuine eloquence or oratory—for in this case I

regard the terms as synonymous—in the Legislature as at the Bar. We have no Fox among the present members of the House of Commons—none that can for a moment be compared with the Burkes, or Sheridans, or Pitts, or Cannings, who night after night were formerly in the habit of entrancing that Body by the splendour of their eloquence.”—Vol. 2, p. 208.

The review I have conducted would be incomplete if I did not pause here to enquire into the eloquence of the pulpit. Nothing is calculated to excite so much unfeigned surpris, as that so few splendid specimens of eloquence—so small a list of the masters of the art, should be found in the temples of religion. Considering the sanctity of the place—the extent and deep impressiveness of the truths of revelation—the boundless field of subject and illustration—the time allowed for preparation—the entire freedom enjoyed from the dread of criticism, it is astonishing to find how few there are who adorn and dignify the pulpit with touching and animating appeals. True, the age is scarce inferior in choice and exquisite specimens to any which has preceded it—in the Church there is Melville, Blunt, Baptist Noel, Boone, Benson—in the Kirk, Chalmers, Thomson, Dick, Brown—and others might be added to the list; but, when these great men are numbered, we are then obliged to descend to thousands who never felt the inspiration of the spirit, and content themselves with cold and lifeless lectures or dissertations. I will not follow out the enquiry further, but I am happy to perceive, that the subject has of late been brought up for discussion; and that frequent attempts have been made to improve the eloquence, and add to the just and useful influence, of the Ministry.

In an article in the Quarterly Review for October 1840,

on "The British Pulpit," there is the following beautiful sketch of the main element or attributes of eloquence :

"We have long been convinced that the insufficiency that so generally distinguishes pulpit discourses, is in a great measure owing to the two following causes: *first*, that the Clergy do not sufficiently cultivate a part of their professional education or systematic acquaintance with the principles on which all effective eloquence must be founded, with the limitations under which their topics must be chosen, and the mode in which they must be exhibited, in order to produce popular impressions; and *secondly*, that they do not, after they have assumed their sacred functions, give sufficient time or labour to the preparation of their discourses.

"Many and splendid exceptions to these statements no doubt there are. We only fear that some, for whom the consolation of this waiving clause was not intended, will, nevertheless take the benefit of it. We shall offer some observations on both of these causes of failure above specified, at the close of the present article.

"*The appropriateness of any address, whether written or spoken, is easily deduced from its object.* If that object be to instruct, convince, or persuade, or all these at the same time, we naturally expect that it should be throughout one of forcible and earnest character; indicating a mind absorbed in the avowed object, and solicitous only about what may subserve it. We expect that this singleness of purpose should be seen on the topics discussed, in the arguments selected to enforce them, in the modes of illustration, and even in the peculiarities of style and expression. We expect that nothing shall be introduced merely for the purpose of inspiring an interest, either in the thoughts or in the language, apart from their pertinacity to the object; or of exciting an emotion of delight for its own sake, as in poetry—although it is quite true that the most vivid pleasure will necessarily result from perceiving an exact adaptation of the means to the end. We cannot readily pardon mere beauties or elegancies, striking thoughts or graceful imagery, if they are marked by this irrevelancy; since they serve only to impede the vehement current of argument or feeling. In a word, we expect nothing but what, under the circumstances of the speaker, is prompted by *nature*;—nature, not as opposed to a deliberate effort to adapt the means to the ends, and to do what is to be done as well as possible, for this, though in one sense art, is also

the truest nature ; but nature as opposed to whatever is inconsistent with the idea, that the man is under the dominion of genuine feeling, and bent upon taking the directest paths to the accomplishment of his object. True eloquence is not like some painted window, which not only transmits the light of day variegated and tinged with a thousand hues, but calls away the attention from its proper use to the pomp and splendour of the artist's doings. It is a perfect transparent medium ; transmitting without suggesting a thought about the medium itself. Adaptation to one single object is every thing."

To the student of pulpit oratory there are several works of acknowledged excellence,—Fenelon's "Dialogue upon eloquence," Bishop Burnet's "Discourse on the Pastoral care," and Blair's *Lecture upon the eloquence of the Pulpit*. I will not attempt here to digest the rules ; but will refer to the works upon that debated question—whether sermons read or sermons delivered, the measured and more polished sentences of closet preparation, or the bolder figures and more exciting, though rougher, language of him who speaks as nature and the occasion prompt, are the best. Fenelon thus argues the case :

"(a) The most lively and moving way of preaching is therefore the best.

"(b) True, what do you conclude from that ?

"(a) Which of two orators will have the most powerful and affecting manner, he who learns his discourse by heart, or he who speaks without reciting word for word what he has studied ?

"(b) He, I think, who has got his discourse by heart.

"(a) Have patience, and let us state the question right ; on the one hand I suppose a man who prepares his discourse exactly, and learns it by heart to the least syllable ; on the other hand, I suppose another person who fills his mind with the subject he is to talk of ; who speaks with great ease (for you would not have any body attempt to speak in public who has not a proper talent for it,) in short, a man who has attentively considered all the principles and parts of the subject he

is to handle, and has a comprehensive view of them in all their extent, who has reduced his thoughts into a proper method, and prepared the strongest expressions to explain and enforce them in a sensible manner, who ranges all his arguments, and has a sufficient number of affecting figures—such a man certainly knows every thing that he ought to say; and the order in which the whole should be placed: to succeed therefore in his delivery he wants nothing, but those common expressions that must make the bulk of his discourse, but do you believe now that such a person would have any difficulty in finding easy similar expressions.

“(b) He could not find such just and handsome ones as he might have hit on, if he had sought them leisurely in his closet. I own that, but according to you he would lose only a few ornaments, and you know how to rate that loss according to the principles we laid down before; on the other side, what advantage must he not have in the freedom and force of his action; which is the main thing, supposing that he has employed himself much to composing (as Cicero requires of an orator;) that he has read all the best models; and has a natural or acquired easiness of style and speech, that he has abundance of solid knowledge and learning; that he understands his subject perfectly well, and has ranged all the parts and proofs of it in his head, in such a case we must conclude that he will speak with force, and order, and readiness, his periods perhaps will not sooth the ear so much as the others; and for that reason he must be the better orator.”

And Bishop Burnet thus lays down the rules for preparation in order to attain the habit:

“He then that would prepare himself to be a preacher in this method, must accustom himself to talk freely to himself, to let his thoughts flow from him, especially when he feels an edge and heat upon his mind, for then happy expressions will come in his mouth—he must also be writing essays upon all sorts of subjects, for in writing he will bring himself to a correctness both in thinking and in speaking, and thus by a hard practice for two or three years, a man may render himself such a master in his way, that he can never be surprised, nor will new thoughts ever dry up upon him; he must talk over to himself the whole body of divinity, and accustom himself to explain and prove, to clear objections; and to apply every part of it to some practical use—and if in



these his meditations, happy thoughts, and noble tender expressions, do at any time offer themselves, he must not lose them, but write them down—by a very few years practice of two or three soliloquies a day—chiefly in the morning, when the head is clearest, and the spirits are liveliest, a man may contract a great easiness both in thinking and speaking.”

And even Blair inclines to the opinion, that to write and to commit to memory, is the better mode. There can be little question that religion would gain if its morals and hopes were oftener taught in the unrestrained, fervid, and exciting eloquence of a well digested discourse, suggested and inspired by the inspiration of the hour, rather than by the cold and abstract disquisition, and the calm and chastened style produced by previous solitary and even elaborate preparation.

In the article in the Edinburgh Review for October 1840, before alluded to, on “The British Pulpit,” there is a very able and beautiful sketch of the best Pulpit orators, who have dignified and adorned the cause of Christianity—Latimer, South, Baxter and Whitfield; and their excellences are referred to in order to illustrate the defects apparent in the style of preaching of the present day—the absence now of all previous thought and elaboration—and the species of discipline to which a minister ought to be subjected in order to make him an eloquent and powerful public instructor. In answering the objections made to the rules of art, which are brought to assist nature, the argument is concluded with the following significant paragraph. It ably supports the chief motive which I have had in the preparation of this lecture—to teach the student that effective and impressive public speaking is the result of solitary and resolute labour, and that he who wishes to speak well must lay the foundation of his eminence in

the earnest improvement of his own style—and in the careful study of the great masters of the art who have preceded him.

“ Lastly, it is urged that such instructions are of very little benefit, because, do what we will, we cannot *make* great speakers; that nature has the exclusive patent for the manufacture; and like the true poet, the true orator is born, not made—facts which we fully admit, but deny to be relevant. The argument contains a twofold fallacy. *First*, it is not true that even those to whom nature has imparted this heaven-born genius, can do themselves justice without assiduous cultivation; or afford to dispense with early instruction. Certain it is, that none of them have ever thought it wise to venture on such a display of independence. *Secondly*, if it were ever so true that such men could do without instruction, the cases are so few, that they would in nowise affect the general question. The highest oratorical genius is of the very rarest occurrence—it is as rare as the dramatic or epic, if not more so—there being but two or three tolerably perfect specimens to be found in the whole cabinet of history. The great question is, how to improve to the utmost the talents of those who must be public speakers, but who yet have no pretension to the inspiration of genius; on whom in truth no one ever suspects that the mantle either of Demosthenes or of Cicero has descended. Nor should it ever be forgotten (for it powerfully confirms the correctness of the views now insisted upon) that though the constitution of mind which is necessary for the highest eloquence, is very seldom to be met with, there is no faculty whatever which admits of such indefinite growth and development, or in which pains taking and diligence will do so much, as that of public speaking.”

## LECTURE XI.

**On the Public Speaking of Ancient and Modern Times—  
Modern Eloquence.—(Continued.)**

### CONTENTS.

Public Speaking of this Age of a very high order—Why different from ancient eloquence—Judge Story's description of the Eloquence of the Bar—The speaker has to deal with facts and reason more closely—No deficiency of talent—If eloquence has declined it is the effect of circumstances—Eloquence does not bring the same reward—No question now decided by the oratorical display of a single master mind—Effect of the Press and of Education on Public Speakers—O'Connell's opinion on the taste of the English for Metaphor and brilliant passages—No one can prepare too sedulously, even to speak to a popular Assembly—Three scenes from the displays of popular eloquence—House of Commons, Chamber of Deputies, and House of Representatives,—Style of speaking different in each—Defects of the first—Speaking in Congress—Many harangues intended for a Constituency—Critiques of Travellers in the United States—Effect and character of the Northern and Southern mind—Press and Literature of the United States—American authors equal to British.—British House of Commons—Mode of conducting Debates—Checks on the Speaker.—Orators in England—In Parliament, Pulpit, and at the Bar—Scene in the House of Commons—Debates—Mr. O'Connell, James, Lords Sandon and Stanley—Daniel Whytall Harvey—Lord Brougham and Lord Glenelg.

**IT** is not to be inferred from the extracts before given, that public speaking at the present time does not possess some of its best attributes. These writers draw the contrast between the present style of eloquence, compared with its palmy times

in Athens and Rome, and in the age of Chatham, Fox, and Burke. They do not deny to the speakers of the present day excellencies, even of a refined and exquisite order. It would be indefensible to say that eloquence has lost all her powers of inspiration, while Lynchurst, Brougham, Stanley, and Harvey are members of the "British Senate"—while Benson, Melville,† and Chalmers charm their audiences with the sublime illustrations of the Christian doctrine—while Follet,‡ Wilde, Talfourd, and Phillips are the leaders

“The Conservatives assert that the Reform Bill, by destroying the Borough system, has given a fatal death-blow to the progress of National Eloquence. The opinion they express is worthy of being recorded, that we may look back to it at some distant time. I extract the following note from the London Quarterly Review of July last, which appeared in the article on the Life of Chatham.—*American edition*, p. 103.

“*If every tree be known by his fruits*, it would seem that the Reform Bill has ‘hewn down and cast into the fire’ the stocks that have produced the most illustrious members of the British Senate. The Walpoles—the Pitts—the Foxes—the Yorkes—the Granvilles—the Scotts; Murray—Pulteney—Pelham—Burke—Barré—Thurlow—Dunning—Erskine—Sheridan—Canning—to say nothing of the most eminent of living statesmen—all we believe were introduced into public life by the means of *nominatum Boroughs*. When will *Gateshead* or *Salford* add a name to this list?”

†My opinion of Melville and Chalmers may be too high—but I have heard both frequently, and have been enraptured with their eloquence. I know of no Sermons superior to Chalmers' Astronomical discourses for sublime and brilliant description; and no sermons equal to those of Henry Melville for chastity and vigour, and engaging views of Christianity. There is a reach and philosophy in his views of revelation which relieves it of much obscurity, and tends to make a religion of faith, a religion of reason.

‡In the Bench and Bar by Grant, and in Lord Brougham's late sketches of public characters, there are fine critiques given of the orators of the last century and of this—but they are not comparable to the life-pictures of the Reminiscent before quoted. The latter are exquisite and masterly delineations for the student of oratory.

of the English Bar—while Clay and Webster rule by the influence of the mind, the destinies of the great Republic—and the French and Irish Bars have each of them a host of men, fitted by their persuasive powers, to perform the high and responsible duties of an intellectual and noble profession. Of the eloquence of the Bar, Judge Story gives the following masterly description:

“The eloquence of the Bar is far more various and difficult than that which is required in the Pulpit, in the legislative hall, or in popular assemblies. It occasionally embraces all that belongs to each of these places, and it has, besides, many varieties of its own. In its general character it may be said to be grave, deliberative, and earnest, allowing little indulgence to fancy, and less to rhetoric. But as it must necessarily change its tone according to its subject, and the tribunal to which it is addressed, whether the court or the jury, there is ample scope for the exercise of every sort of talent, and sometimes even for dramatic effect. On some occasions it throws aside all the little plays of phrase, the vivid touches of the pencil, and the pomp and parade of diction. It is plain, direct, and authoritative. Its object is to convince the understanding, and captivate the judgment, by the strength and breadth of its testimony. Its power is in the thought, and not in the expression; in the vigour of a blow from the hand of a giant; in the weight of the argument, which crushes in its fall, what it has not levelled in its progress. At other times it is full of calm dignity and persuasiveness. It speaks with somewhat of the majesty of the law itself, in streams of deep, oracular import. It unfolds the result with an almost unconscious elegance, and its thoughts flash like the sparkles of a diamond. At other times it is earnest, and impassioned, and electrifying; awing by its bold appeals, or blinding by its fiery zeal. At other times it is searching, and acute, and vigorous; now brilliant in point, now gay in illusion, now winning in insinuation.—At other times it addresses the very souls of men in the most touching and pathetic admonitions. It then mingles with the close logic of the law those bewitching graces, which soothe prejudice, disarm resentment, or fix attention. It utters language as the occasion demands, which melts to pity, or fires with indignation, or exhorts to clemency.

"But whatever may be the variety of effort demanded of forensic eloquence, whether to convince, or captivate or persuade, or inflame, or melt; still its main character must forever be like the "grave rebuke," so finely sketched by our great epic poet, "severe in youthful beauty" that it may possess an "added grace invincible." It may not stoop to ribaldry, or vulgar jests, or sickly sentimentality, or puerile conceits. It forbids declamation or efforescence of style.—There is no room for the loquacity of ignorance, or the insolence of pride. If wit be allowed, it must be chaste and polished. The topics discussed in Courts of Justice, are too grave for merriment, and too important for trifling. When life, or character, or fortune, hangs on the issue, they must be vindicated with dignity, as well as with force."

The orator of the present day is more closely confined to facts, truth and logical induction; he speaks to the judgment—he addresses an audience who reflect, and reflect deeply—the reporter is there to convey to the press the words and metaphors as they fall from the tongue\*; and although he may address an assemblage upon whom he might successfully try some of the strong and bolder arts of rhetoric—he is restrained by the consciousness that he has to pass through a wider ordeal, and appear, with his opinions and language recorded, before a reading and critical public.

Why then, it may be asked, has oratory declined? Is it because the human intellect has deteriorated? This cannot be said with truth. In all the pursuits of science and literature—in genuine and substantial knowledge—we are infinitely superior to the classic ages. They had then no correct knowledge of the laws of nature. They had no *telescope* to search the groups of worlds which give life to the

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\*This is another trophy to the power of the Newspaper press, which shows the influence it exercises on the efforts of mind, and consequently on the progress of general intelligence.

firmament, and no *microscope* to trace the innumerable but invisible creations which exist and move around us. Geology was an unsealed volume, and the eternal hills had no records of God's miracles and works to them. Of Chemistry, electricity, and magnetism, they knew absolutely nothing. In general physics and in logic, or the science of the mind, their knowledge consisted in theories, which it has been the pursuit of subsequent times to investigate and reject. In the two fine arts of architecture and statuary they reached a sublime and peculiar pre-eminence; but even this may be ascribed to *peculiar* causes, to their climate, mythology, and to the power of their rulers in commanding, for one vast monument or temple, the energies and labours of a people. But in all the other fields of intellectual action—science, philosophy, poetry, history, the belles-lettres, tragedy, and novel-writing—the last being a species of literature to the ancients unknown—we can produce names who far surpass any rivals to be found in ancient times.

Eloquence then, it may be fairly argued, has not reached the same perfection—if perfection\* it be—which it did in

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\* "In the first place, then, we find it impossible implicitly to agree with Mr. Hume or Dr. Blair that eloquence has declined in modern compared with ancient times. The eloquence of the two periods is certainly different: but its difference consists entirely in the means now and formerly employed, by orators, to win the consent of their auditory. These means must, at all times, be suggested by the condition of society; which is itself dependent upon the state of the intellect and its development in the men or nations who are to be persuaded or convinced. Now certainly the nations of antiquity were more governed by their sensations and passions, more by their feelings and less by their reason, than those which have risen to greatness and civilization in modern Europe.—The entire difference in the state of present and past oratory

Athens or Rome, because the public man addresses himself to a different audience—is not animated by the same excitements,—and cannot expect the same rewards. Let such men as Brougham, O'Connell, Lyndhurst and Stanley, be subjected to the same *exclusive* and elaborate training, and cultivate one single oration for a period of months—give to them such a throng as gathered round Demosthenes or Cicero, when they spoke on the affairs of the state—let them have an audience who would respond with such exquisite sympathy, and reward with such boundless and enthusiastic applause, the boldest figures, and the chastened and ripe expressions of a patient and elaborate study—let the destiny of a nation depend upon this one effort to persuade and guide—and let their triumph be rewarded by national confidence, intellectual power, and the highest honours of the state; and such is my belief in the mysterious benevolence of Providence—such the nature and inherent elasticity of the human mind—such its power and facility of meeting the universal principle of means to ends,—that these men would rise to this other and higher standard, and equal, if not surpass, the fame of the great masters who have preceded them. The saying is significant, “the Schoolmaster has been

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is owing to this single cause—for, from it, have arisen a variety of modifications in the forms of Government, and consequently of debate, all of which have a tendency to diminish the influence of enthusiasm in national councils, and to bring the concerns of men, as much as may be, within the pale of ratiocination. Impassioned eloquence, less frequently resorted to, because less effective now, may have declined; *but the eloquence of reason never flourished as in later nations.*”—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxxv. p. 160.



abroad," and intelligence and reason have come to controul and restrain the imagination.

Although the people have thus changed and improved, let it not be thought that the value of preparation, and of brilliant passages, is by all deemed less important than in former times. In a brief conversation I once had the honour of holding with Mr. O'Connell, in which the subject of eloquence became a topic, he said that it was a mistake to assert that his countrymen, the Irish, alone were delighted with the figures and metaphors of bold and excited oratory—for himself, he found he could indulge in these with as much latitude on one side of the channel as on the other. Another distinguished orator of modern times has recorded this opinion :

"It may be remarked generally, that a speaker who thinks to lower his composition in order to accommodate himself to the habits and tastes of his audience, when addressing the multitude, will find that he commits a grievous mistake. All the highest powers of eloquence consist in producing passages which at once affect even the most promiscuous assemblage ; but even the graces of composition are not thrown away on such auditors. Clear strong tone, yet natural and not strained expressions, happy antithesis ; apt comparisons ; forms of speech that are natural without being obvious ; harmonious periods, yet various, spirited and never monotonous or too regularly balanced ; these are what will be always sure to captivate every audience, and yet on these mainly consists finished and elaborate and felicitous diction. \* \* \*

\* \* \* *The best speakers of all times have never failed to find that they could not speak too well and too carefully to a popular assembly—that if they spoke their best, the best they could address to the most learned assembly, they were sure to succeed.*"

To the student in oratory the labour of preparation is thus earnestly recommended. The mind must be cultivated that every latent gift may be developed, and genius herself invoked to produce a brilliant display.

Again, no question can now be settled by the single oratorical display of one master mind. The mass now read and think. London, Paris, New-York, have no single rostrum to which the nation crowds from the remote parts of the national territory. Each County, District, and State, in England, France, and America, has its public men and its hustings. Governments are no longer metropolitan. There are Elections, Debating Societies and Institutes planted in every little circle. The volume, the review, the pamphlet, the newspaper, scatter abroad the seeds of enquiry and intelligence—transfuse through the mass the essence of genius—implant the comprehensive thoughts and the speculations of the statesman, however far they may reach into futurity, into the broad field of the national mind,—they are reflected upon, reproduced and republished; and while knowledge is thus more generally diffused, there is less labour to be achieved, and less honour to be acquired, by any one mind, however highly gifted or cultivated.

Are not these causes sufficient to account for the difference between ancient and modern eloquence, and to vindicate the theory I have endeavoured to reason out, that if Demosthenes or Cicero had lived in this age, their fame as thrilling and impassioned orators would not have been so brilliant and transcendent? Be it remarked, however, with becoming humility, that upon this subject we can only speculate. It is a pure question of metaphysics, which we are unable to reduce to certainty. Nature may have created only *one* Demosthenes—*one* Cicero—*one* Newton—a Shakespeare and a Scott; upon these she may have conferred the higher attributes of divinity—there is a curtain beyond which we

cannot pierce, and before it we must bow,—for, with all our knowledge, we know little of the lamp which burns within. It thinks, feels, brightens—it moves the body and soars through space, and yet, though conscious of, and subservient to, its influence, the thought that we know not what it is—that around our living principle there is a dark and mysterious shade which we cannot penetrate, mocks the presumption of human vanity, and humbles and eradicates human pride.

This view would still be incomplete if some peculiar features of this age were not more fully illustrated, and a sketch given of the \*three scenes which now exist for displays of popular eloquence—the House of Commons at St. Stephen's, the Chamber of Deputies in Paris, and the House of Representatives at Washington. Of these, it is, I believe, generally admitted, that the two last bear no comparison with the first, in the developement of superior powers.

The style, the mode, and the spirit of debate are widely different in each—but the House of Commons is that which is unquestionably the most fitted to form, sustain, and improve the orator.

In an article in the Quarterly Review, upon the comparative state of *Littérature* in England and France, in contrasting the

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\*Whether a Cicero can or does exist at the present day is a question of difficult solution. But the age is not destitute of a theatre where Roman oratory is still practised, and the language is heard, in all the rolling magnificence and sonorous force, which it had in the palmy times of the Senate and Comitia. Dr. Walsh, in his travels to Constantinople, relates, that on his return to Europe, he crossed the Balkan, and arrived in Hungary when the Diet was assembled, and there heard the debates conducted in the pure and classic language of a former age. I have enquired anxiously for the work to give the scene entire—but I have not been able to find it here.

character of Eloquence, before and since the French Revolution, the author says :—

“Under Robespierre and Buonaparte silence was safety, and remonstrance death. After a lapse of twenty-five years, and since it has been deemed that to speak is no longer dangerous, there has been no renewal of anything like oratory. It would indeed be difficult to devise a mode of debating, if so it can be called, more directly in opposition to eloquence of any kind than that which the French Chambers have adopted—the alternate reading of Essays for and against each question, from a pulpit; yet considering their past experience, we are convinced that they have shewn their wisdom in that precautionary regulation. The warmth and violence which are often exhibited there by different speakers, endeavouring to obtain possession of the *rostrum*, are at variance with our notions of personal dignity, and with that favourable pre-audience which the orator ought to obtain.”

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In Congress, again, a system is adopted, which, except on very rare occasions, puts all eager, effective, and animated debate at defiance. I speak not now of the uncourteous language—the tone of angry recrimination—and the personal and offensive epithets so often applied there by one speaker to another, and which disgrace so august and imposing a scene—my allusion is to the style and method of debate—to the three-day oration or volume delivered there upon some party or local question, full of truisms, amplifying the first principles of political economy or science, and better fitted for the intellect of a county election, than for the choice and educated minds of a great State; and therefore avowedly made, not to influence the House—for the Speaker often reasons to empty benches—but to be published in the National Intelligencer or pamphlet, and thus to be circulated among his constituents.

There is nothing more common than for an orator to de-

claim there day after day,—to keep the floor pertinaciously against manifest indications that the House deem him an intruder or a nuisance. The arrangement of the House is unfavourable to oratory—each member has a writing desk before his seat—he is permitted to do business there. He writes his letters, and reads the newspapers even in the midst of a debate; and a speaker has therefore to go on without being aware that he has secured the undivided attention of his hearers. The impetus or inspiration, which comes from sympathy, is thus wanting; and hence, it has been said, that the Hall of Representatives, although brilliant and beautiful displays are occasionally heard in it, is no school, and no theatre, comparable to the British House of Commons for effective and modern eloquence. But it is not required to dilate further upon the distinction recognised between these two great assemblies of Freemen—because Capt. Hall in his travels in America, and Capt. Hamilton in his “Men and Manners,” have drawn living pictures of Congress, which, though they seem to us strange and almost incredible, every unbiassed witness recognizes as true to the life. For further illustration I refer the reader to them.

In a late number of the London Quarterly Review the practice of the House of Representatives is thus referred to:

“It is an ordinary occurrence in Congress for a member to speak two or three days, and his fellow members make it a point to listen or at least suffer with decency. (Query?) Capt. Hall recommended the introduction of coughing, but was told that the state of manners did not admit of such a cure. Some Kentucky Representative might adopt the late Mr. Richard Martin’s example, and propose a bullet “as the best pill for the honourable gentleman’s compliment,” or a dozen howie knives might start from their sheaths to re-

venge a catarrh that threatened him with insult. Besides, as we formerly observed, the evil is inherent in the very nature of a strictly representative system, and is beginning to be felt in the English House of Commons to a formidable extent.

"All laws," says M. DeTocqueville, "which tend to make the representative more dependent on the elector, not only affect the conduct of the Legislature; but also the language used in it. They exercise a simultaneous influence on affairs themselves, and on the manner in which affairs are discussed. There is hardly a member of Congress who can make up his mind to go home without having despatched at least one speech to his constituents, nor who will \*endure any interruption until he has introduced into his harangue whatever useful suggestion may be made touching the four-and-twenty States of which the Union is composed, and especially the district which he represents."

The same pernicious and blighting influences which are in operation in the United States, and taint and degrade the public press, are felt in Congress, and affect thus the style

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\*The late concessions made to the influence of the popular power, by the changes in our Colonial Constitutions, will, it is supposed by some, have an effect on the style of speaking in the Colonial Assemblies, and produce a desire not only for the speaking which is to instruct—but the speaking for display. Whatever may be the effect in the future, this evil is not yet felt in the Assemblies of the Lower Provinces—it was indulged in, it was thought, by one or two members of the United Assembly of Canada, and the British checks were there attempted in the past session to controul the speakers, and spare the house from the repetition of such inflections. The "hear, hear," and the furious beat of the heel, were employed to give a speedy determination to *prosy*, and, it was thought electioneering harangues—addresses, in fact, for the constituencies 'ad captandum vulgus.' They had the effect of muzzling the stump orators of the stage, and saving the precious time of the House and of the country. The same system when required, will, no doubt, travel to the lesser satellites; and it is only to be hoped, that in place of leading to the fierce personal conflicts which disgrace Congress—that the orators in our Houses may submit, or may be made to submit quietly, to this impartial, intellectual, and British tribunal.

of public speaking. These influences have been so fully illustrated both by De Tocqueville and Marryatt in the Second series of his Diary, that it is only necessary to refer to them here. They may have been sketched by them in too strong relief—but no one can examine the evidence upon which these opinions are founded, or read the daily press, without being satisfied that their conclusions, are not much at variance with the truth. It is a remark said to be uttered by the sagacious Prince Metternich, that no free State can withstand the assaults of an untrammelled and vicious press—such are the downward and destructive tendencies of human nature, and the anxiety of the mass, under the existing and artificial circumstances of society, to invade the privileges and power of the Aristocratic order, who in all the elder dynasties were the sole depositories of power! It matters not whether this be their fault or misfortune—whether it exists in the inherent frailties or in the evil passions of mankind—the fact cannot be disputed; but whether the press of the United States has yet reached that point which endangers the existence of the Republic is a problem yet to be settled by events, which many good men now think are coming, “because they cast their shadows before.” It is, I believe, universally admitted that the power of the press there is unfavourable to a high tone of political morality, and to a pure and refined order of oratory in the Hall of Representatives at Washington.

There is a distinction which in sketching the oratory of this great Republic cannot be overlooked. Congress is composed

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\*Marryatt's Diary, p. 131.

of the assembled representatives of a people scattered over a wide diversity of climate and position, and descended from races of a mixed and heterogeneous character. They have both the southern and northern mind; and the intellectual distinctions which divide the descendants of the Anglo-Saxons and the various races of the Continent. Nothing can be more striking or opposite than the intellectual tendencies of these different races. The oratory of the south is vehement, brilliant, imaginative, abounding in metaphor,\* and overloaded with classical allusions. It wants sympathy and directness. In refined and skilful hands specimens of this style will often be given, not wanting in beauty and effect—but still they are ever deficient in logical acumen, and in the judgment of the critic “fairly ornate with ornament.” When indulged in by men of capacious intellects but coarse taste—with brilliant powers of imagination, but untrained and fiery passions,—like Randolph, it leads to gross personal invective, and to a disregard of all the decencies and courtesies of public life. Contrast for example some of the late scenes in Congress—the attack upon the venerable Adams—the duel between Mr. Wyse and Mr. Stanley—and the threatening language addressed to President Tyler—with the exhibitions in England at the late change of the Ministry—the courteous tone in which Sir Robert Peel and others addressed Lord John Russell—the eulogy pronounced upon his private and even public character, at the very time

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\*Indeed the florid and imaginative style of public speaking is exploded in England, and has scarcely been attempted at the Bar for the last half century, except by Charles Phillips, and will not likely be resumed as long as the castigation he received from Lord Brougham, and which it is said forced him into retirement for three years, is remembered.



he was expelled from place,—and the generous speech made by Lord Morpeth at Yorkshire, in favour of his opponent Mr. S. Wortley, when smarting under the loss of family and political influence, and the disappointment of an unexpected defeat; and it will not be subject of surprise that the eloquence of St. Stephen's, should be infinitely superior to that of the Congress at Washington. Having spoken thus, however, of the intellect of the South, it is but just to offer due homage to the Anglo-Saxon minds of the North. It will not be denied for example that the native literature and intellect of America stands upon very high ground, when it can muster the works of such men as Irving, Channing, Kent, Story, Paulding, Everett, Wirt, Webster, Dwight, Silliman, Walsh, Bancroft, Stephens, and Prescott; and that these men, in the departments of literature to which they have devoted themselves, are entitled to claim a perfect equality with any writers of the age. Indeed, some of these men have thrown off passages, which, in force and chastity of style, may be compared to the choicest specimens of English Literature. Channing, Kent, Story, and Webster are perfect masters of English composition, and have ever at hand the choice and ripe expressions of our classic and ancient authors. The verve and beauty—the combined melody and powers of Spencer, Shakspeare, Milton and Dryden, are ever ready to add a new grace and polish to their periods. Irving surpasses Addison in sweetness and pathos—Paulding's humour is exquisite—Stephens' travels are the very beau ideal of life and description—but as to the speeches of some of these men, Wirt, Adams, and Webster, have left records which the age cannot surpass. Place these men in a British Court, or in the House

of Commons, they would at once take the first rank as orators, and enjoy the influence which belongs to great minds. It has been said of Wirt that he is the only southerner who ever exhibited the characteristics of a northern mind—the others honor the climate of which they are natives.

In a series of beautiful papers which appeared in one of the London Magazines, some years ago, under the title of St. Stephens, and in Mr. Grant's work of "*Random Recollections of the House of Commons,*" graphic sketches are given of the stern justice and the rapid and resistless judgment of the House. When a question is there, the House—go to business! A speaker has one trial, and if he be found wanting the House will not again be easily induced to grant him pre-audience. On some questions men will be heard for hours, because it is known they have given to it years of study and preparation,—but if these men were to rise on other questions they would be instantly coughed down. The moment a speaker wanders from the question, he is recalled to it, not by the authority of "the chair," but by the restless and impassioned spirit of the benches. The "question" is constantly sounded and re-echoed. The speaker must be obedient to this call. When argument is exhausted, and the *best* speakers are heard on both sides, it is vain for an inferior man to rise and endeavour to obtain the ear of the House. The hum, the cry, or the "loud beat of angry heels," awe and force him down. The style of speaking there is thus far more condensed and racy than that which prevails in the Chamber of Deputies or in Congress. No man will be heard, if he does not present new arguments and fresh facts. An illustration of known principles would at once be sneered

down—intelligent minds are addressing an intellectual and highly cultivated auditory, and they will not suffer themselves to be insulted by more than a brief reference to that knowledge, which every general scholar and statesman is now presumed to possess. The debates therefore are conducted to inform and convince, not the House only, but the country,—the Speech delivered at night is published *in literis* before the morning. The speaker is thus inspired, but yet checked, by the mighty masters,—the fearless judgment of the Commons, and the matchless majesty of the press, combining the power and essence of intelligent public opinion—both as ready to give praise, as to award censure—to visit with an anathema, as to cheer and animate with the note of triumph. It is this system, at once unique and curious, which has rendered the House of Commons the noblest theatre for eloquence which modern times has ever seen; and gives to its debates such an extensive and commanding influence throughout the world. I have passed hours and nights in and beneath the gallery, have seen scenes there which will ever live fresh in the memory, have conversed often with members on the system, and write therefore on this subject not only with the instruction drawn from books, but from personal observation, and the testimony of leaders and their friends.

During the two visits I paid to the Old World in 1834 and 1837, I made it a point of professional duty to attend the Courts of Westminster, Parliament, and public meetings, to hear the leading orators of the age; and in looking back to the very extensive notes I made then for after reference, I find the description of some of their finest displays. I had

the good fortune, on several occasions, to hear the first orators of the day in Parliament, at the Bar, and in the Pulpit; and so far as an humble and unpretending judgment on these matters can guide me, I would place the "illustrious living" in the following order of precedence. O'Connell, I think, is the first orator of the age—for his rare concentration of intellectual gifts. He is logical, profound, sarcastic, bitter, humourous, playful,—and has a masterly command of all the earnest and touching passions. I have heard him at least fifty times, and in every variety of question, and every new display gave me a higher opinion of his varied, astonishing, and exquisite powers. In the Commons, next to him, I would rank Lord Stanley, then Sir Robert Peel, and third, Whytal Harvey—they are masters of debate, and from the two first I have heard passages of eloquence, thrilling in effect, and masterly of their kind. In the Session of 1834 the collision between Lord Stanley and Mr. O'Connell upon Irish questions, and the Coercion Bill, led to several rencontres, which, if sketched at the time, would live forever on the records of eloquence. In the debate upon the Canada Bill in 1838, Sir Robert Peel, in a brilliant speech of two hours, enchanted the House with his Statesman-like views, and the grace and vigour of his diction. The peroration of that speech, in which he traced the relationship between the mother country and her dependencies—the protection to be given by the one, and the love of old England which existed in the other—was as fine a burst of eloquence as I ever heard from human lips.—In the Lords there are no speakers compared to Lords Lyndhurst and Brougham—but I would give the palm to the latter. I heard him address the house for four hours on the

Canada Bill. His display far exceeded any estimate I could have previously formed, of what the human mind could accomplish; the terseness of his satire—command of antithesis—classical reference and powerful illustration, struck me with astonishment, and the wonder has never since ceased. At the Bar Sir William Follett and Sir Sergeant Wilde are far superior to any rival, in addressing, with powerful precision, a legal argument to the Court; while at Nisi Prius I gave the superiority to Sir James Scarlett, now Lord Abinger, Sergeant Spankie and Thesiger. In the Pulpit I heard Benson, Melville, Boone, Blunt, Baptist Noel, and the Bishop of London, Dr. Chalmers, and Dr. Gordon—but of the English Church Melville is superior to them all, and is in my mind the beau ideal of a Christian orator. Benson is next, and Baptist Noel beautiful in his own style—Dr. Chalmers is the most eloquent, but Dr. Gordon, the most profound Theologian,—his reason is logic; to hear either of them was an exquisite enjoyment, for their graphic and luminous illustration of the Christian doctrines would induce a disbeliever to say, like Felix to Paul “almost thou persuadest me to be a christian.”

One of the first of these sketches to be found in my journal is the record of a first visit to the House of Commons.—I went there to hear a debate upon the Bill for the Emancipation of the Slaves in the British West Indies, and Lord Howick was on the floor. I entered—and Lord Althorpe—then the leader of the House succeeded—the high position of the latter arose entirely from the respect felt for his character and unstained integrity, for he is gentlemanly and plain—but not an engaging nor powerful orator. As he retired to his

seat, O'Connell rose on the opposite side of the table, and a buzz was immediately heard both in the House and in the gallery. There was silence below, and the audience above bent forward. He had not uttered three sentences before I felt that I was under the influence of an extraordinary man. He broke at once into the full flood of debate. He reviewed the Government measure with caustic and bitter irony.

“ First it was to be a loan of fifteen millions, and the question, the only question then for argument was whether it was to be paid by the planters or by the labour of the slaves ; but now it has been changed into an absolute grant of twenty millions, At first the apprenticeship was to last twelve years, but now it has been cut down to seven. What are the difference of these modifications to the English people ? —just the *entire* sum of Twenty Millions ! Twenty millions—where is there such another piece of bountiful legislation ? Twenty millions—what a price to be paid for the eternal and unalienable rights of mankind ! But notwithstanding the magnitude of the gift, with what ungracious reluctance had it been received. Every hound in the pack had bayed against it. The Deputies from Dominica and Jamaica warmly opposed it—the Deputy from the Windward Islands, Mr. — a gentleman, it is said, of high talent, denounces it ; and the West India interests in the House, so far from being propitiated, submit and tell you so with an unwilling and thankless acquiescence. If such opposition was concentrated here, in defiance of ministers and their majority—what security have the British people that the local Legislatures will accede ? Where their promises—where their pledge—where the obligations which would bind them in law and honour ? Oh ! but the cry was, confide—*confide*—(Irish !)—confide (sarcastically) in *their* honour and good faith. Their honour in the question of *Slavery*. What, Sir, in the chivalry of the Legislature of Jamaica, who refused almost to the verge of rebellion, the remonstrance of this House to take the whip from the back of the female slave. Trust them not—they are unworthy of confidence. The whole scheme might yet be dissipated in air. Much argument had been heard in support of the sacred rights of humanity, as if they had binding obligations upon them. I see no humanity in their acts, and nothing of the sentiment even, except indeed it exists in

that *unseen* and measureless portion which *might* be shrouded up in the human breast. This was a question too important in itself, and had cost the country too much to be left open and undefined. It did not admit of trifling. Could any one who had reflected upon the intolerable evils—the cruel and torturing oppression of slavery, a fellow-being crouching under the lash, because bodily exhaustion rendered him incapable of bodily toil, hesitate upon its commanding importance. No, Sir, have your contracts reduced to terms, confirmed by some pledge—have value for value before you pay from your treasury this money—this magnificent donation.”

It was a speech unique in its tone and spirit. His action was highly characteristic—he advanced and retreated from the table—bent over it occasionally as he shot in full front the darts of his eloquence to the Treasury Benches—struck his hand upon the desk with peculiar emphasis—threw his arm across his breast, and even occasionally condescended to give behind a twitch with both hands to his wig, which seemed to hold its perilous situation by no secure tenure.— In a former part of this debate he had alluded, it seems, to an assertion made by Mr. James, a West India Proprietor, that some of his slaves had amassed by their own earnings a small fortune of some £200. This the member for Dublin had not rightly comprehended, and as he sat down up rose Mr. James from the Ministerial Benches, and abandoning all the tactics of the orator, addressed the house in a tone broken and husky with excitement:

“I am aware, Sir, that I have little chance in waging a war of words with gentlemen of the long robe. I have not been bred a Lawyer, and cannot stand on equal ground with professional men, nor bring to my aid that talent and ingenuity which distinguish them, and, perhaps, above all others in this house, the learned member for Dublin who has just

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\*This and the subsequent speeches were all reported by the Author

addressed you." This sentence was delivered with peculiar bitterness. "I am, Sir, but a plain man, and must speak in plain language, for in this question I hold no brief from the Anti-Slavery Society, and therefore am not under the necessity, if I had the power, to special plead their cause." (Hear, hear.) Mr. O'Connell rose—"Does the honourable member allude to me, *I deny the fact.*" (My friend and I smiled at the Irish orator perpetrating a Scotch bull.) Mr. James resuming—"I made no allusion to any particular member, but repeat again that I hold no brief from the Anti-Slavery Association. I am free to exercise my own judgment, and to give an unbiassed and impartial opinion upon this measure." He then explained the false construction as he contended, given by Mr. O'Connell to his remark. "But Sir, I can assure that learned gentleman that if the peasantry of Ireland were as well off as the negroes in the West Indies, even under the system of slavery, which he has this evening so eloquently denounced, and which has been the source of so much amiable but unguarded lamentation—if they enjoyed, to the same extent, all the comforts and the luxuries of life—the power and influence of the learned member, as the great political agitator of the age, would be at an end. (Hear, hear.) Yes, Sir," raising the tones of his voice, "Othello's occupation would be gone (loud laughter,) and his royalty would vanish,

Like the baseless fabric of a vision,  
And leave no RENTS behind."

The honourable member sat down amidst a burst of applause. It was a felicitous and palpable hit, and had an electric effect both upon the House and the Gallery. The doorkeepers as became their office, shook their heads and bawled out *Silence*—as if the impulses of nature were to be repressed by any prudent consideration touching the dignity of parliament.

I stood in a position, where, from the glare of the light below, I could observe the play of Mr. O'Connell's countenance. He sat undaunted amid the mirth excited at his expense. He even joined in it—but I discovered, I thought,



from the flash of his eye, and the tremulous motion of the hand upon his chin, that he was preparing, as Canning said, in one of those brilliant passages upon which his imperishable fame is founded, "to brace his latent elements of strength, and waken his dormant thunder." Lord Sandon, the *then* young member for Liverpool rose next, and, as I thought, rather ungenerously, followed up the attack in a spirit of bitter and sarcastic recrimination. He ran hastily over the common places of argument, by which the present and unconditional payment of the sum was advocated, and in the course of his address dilated twice upon this idea.

"He had heard much indeed of conciliation from the learned member from the city of Dublin—it was a theme upon which he loved to descant,—but he had watched the whole course of his policy in and out of Parliament, and had never yet heard him advance one argument, or advocate one measure, calculated to produce so benevolent a result. Was it to produce conciliation that he spoke thus of blood and the lash? His pretensions sounded musically upon the ear, but they were the essence of a refined casuistry, and produced no practical result."

As he concluded O'Connell sprang upon the floor, his ire and eloquence flashed instantaneously. I saw his spirit kindling in the course of the noble lord's address, and whispered to my friend that we would be repaid for our visit by seeing him administer oratorical chastisement. He unsheathed his weapon and struck it once to the heart:

"The noble lord who has just sat down must not suppose that this gratuitous attack is to pass unpunished, or that he is to select me without due *compensation* (strong Irish) as the favoured object of his vituperation, because he may fancy it a favourite theme in this House. I can have little hope that he will agree with my views on this important question, because he is sent to protect a class of interests with whom I claim no relations, and for whom I profess no sympathy. I

can have even less hope than he can, or if he could, would, see any consistency in an advocate on my side of the question; but sir, however devious may have been the course of my political life, and to the noble lord's judgment I am not disposed to submit, I at least have never been the unblushing protector of bribery and corruption. (Cries of Oh, Oh!) Yes, of a system of bribery and corruption such as I venture to say has never before disgraced the annals of an election, or polluted the records of parliament. Had the noble lord been successful (louder cries of oh! oh!) that base and infamous system exposed by the investigation before the Liverpool Committee, would never have been brought to light." (Here the cries became deafening.)

The orator paused, and turning his face to the benches behind, while he drew up his figure and threw his arms across his breast, said spiritedly:

"Why are honourable gentlemen so sensitive *now*—why this warm regard for the feelings of the noble lord? There came no such gracious manifestations when he attacked the honourable member for Dublin. While the noble lord indeed reviewed the entire course (broad Irish) of his political life, no voice of mercy, no sound disturbed the House; and yet how many are moved with amiable compassion at a passing reference to one brief chapter of his parliamentary career. I say again, I have never been the advocate of such a system of barefaced bribery and corruption." Lord Sandon rose to order—but the flood of O'Connell's oratory was at the height and was not then to be stayed. He adroitly changed the subject. "But then to think that the honourable member for Carlisle (Mr James) should treat me with such intentional severity. From him, a radical member like myself, I did not expect it. The honourable gentleman has mistaken me." He then entered upon a full explanation. "I did not say *ali*—I said many. The honourable member admits there were *some*—*well, some is a good deal anyway.* (broad Irish.) But sir, to hear the peasantry of Ireland compared to the negroes of the West Indies fills me with feelings of mingled astonishment and indignation—what! compared with that abject and miserable wretch—that less than man who crouches beneath the form of his master tyrant—or writhes and shrinks under the lash ordered by his contemptible attorney. He knows little of the spirit of that people thus to misjudge

them—for there is not a peasant in Ireland, though sunk in the most abject poverty, who would exchange the privilege of looking any man in the face, however high his rank or situation, who dares to lift his hand against him, for the paltry sum of £200, or to be one of the blessed number of slaves (broad Irish) belonging to the honourable member for Carlisle—liberal and radical though he be (loud laughter.) Such arguments fill me with burning indignation *and I scorn and repudiate them*”—he paused, and sinking the thrilling tones of his voice to a whisper, which fell, however, distinctly upon my ear—“with the utmost respect for the honourable member—but” raising again his voice “with the fullest measure of contempt for the absurdities of theoretic comparison.”

The sentence was finely and emphatically said, and did evident execution upon the House. A general burst of applause followed it.

“But I have not yet done with the noble lord,” and he broke out again vehemently upon him. He produced so decided a sensation in the House, that it charmed up Mr. Stanley, the then rising star in the political hemisphere of England, and for whom the people predicted the same brilliant career of oratory as had been to Pitt and Canning. He is unquestionably a beautiful speaker. I was not in a position to see his action. He has fine intonation of voice, rising or falling as suits the discussion, to sooth or thrill the ear. I soon discovered he had the graphic power, so seldom attained by public men, but so essential for effective oratory, of relieving the debate from the extraneous matter with which it had been mystified—showed that the same question had been already considered, that the House had agreed to pay the twenty millions free of all condition, that it had been communicated to the West India Interests and Colonial Legislatures, that the Government were therefore pledged to

the measure, and that they could not alter it nor retract then, without a violation of good faith. He concluded a very able speech with a peroration finely conceived and gracefully delivered. The impression it left is still fresh, but I did not note the words at the time, for the sketch was meant to delineate O'Connell. Lord Stanley's sarcasm and *calibre* as a debater may be judged of by one fact—he is the only orator in the House before whom O'Connell ever trembled. They never sparred—when they came into collision they grappled with each other to the death-grasp. Whether these conflicts since have been equally rancorous I am unable to say. I write of the period when Ireland was wrung and the people maddened by the coercion bill.

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Of Mr. Daniel Whytal Harvey's power as a debater, I was present and witnessed a very marked and signal example. It was on one of the debates on the Canada Bill in 1838, preparatory to the mission of Lord Durham. The first Bill introduced by the Ministry had been modified and altered, in consequence, it was said at the time, of recent news from Canada, so that on being submitted a second time, it had in a great measure lost its original character, and in the course of the debate the ministry had been twitted, if not assailed, for the abandonment of their first measures. Whytal Harvey both electrified and convulsed the House by one palpable hit :

“The course the noble lord (Russell) had pursued had neither surprised nor disappointed me. When a sailor attempted an unknown sea he had to shift his canvass according to the dangers which surrounded him—here a quicksand, there a ledge, and now a baffling gust, put to flight all consistency of plan and directness of purpose. But as to this Bill, I have heard

of improvements—the Bill had been said to be improved—I had read of additions—it was said to have been remodelled—in all this there was a beautiful perplexity of language intending to cover some hidden and deep mystery. To create, however, was *not* to improve, and to reconstruct was different from an addition. To me, Sir, the Bill appears a perfect *caput mortuum*; for, with the exception of the preamble or the head, since the last adjournment, the entire body has been added. And by whom had this miracle in legislation been wrought—by the voluntary act of the noble lord and his coadjutors in office? No, the labour and credit did not appertain to them. The fresh vitality breathed into the measure came from the Right Hon. Baronet (Peel)—he had given it muscle, symmetry, and *animus*, and yet for these eminent services he had received no adequate return. I recollect well when a Student at Law, that when any papers came into the office of my master which required deep thought, luminous arrangement, and the powers of comprehensive analysis, it was first put into the hands of some tyro of the profession to give it a wide and yet unfinished outline; it next passed to a superior mind to be polished, condensed and adorned; and after it had received from them the last finish of their legal acumen, it was transferred to a leading council within the Bar, stored with legal learning, and the gathered and ripe experience of some twenty years, to get the last impetus and essence of his high legal ability. The history of this bill bears to it some, though not a perfect, analogy. It had been drafted by some unknown official, improved by the Colonial Secretary—but here the analogy stopped, it had passed from the noble Lord to the right hon. Baronet, to receive its best polish, and its present shape and vitality—and yet the fee had not passed along with it, for the seals of office were still held fast in hand!”

It was graphically and powerfully said and *told* at the time, as one of those party hits to which the then eager struggle for office between the two rival leaders, gave point and fascination. It excited a general cheer on one side of the House—but before the debate had closed the assailant was well tamed and punished for his temerity, and made to feel that the attacked had their barbed arrows, ready to fly and hurtle on the defensive.

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A third example of the happy influence produced by a single fortuitous simile, occurred in the debate before the House of Lords on the Canada Bill, in which Lord Brougham made a deadly and unsparing assault upon Lord Melbourne and his associates. The reputation of this is well known in Parliamentary history. I have already said it far surpassed any conception I could have formed of the powers of the human mind. It is reported in the fourth volume of the noble Lord's speeches, but it was only great in its delivery. It was listened to by the Peers with breathless attention. Lord Glenelg, who was the main object of attack destroyed its influence and effect by one single stroke, one happy allusion used in reply. Immediately after the delivery of the speech Lord Brougham left the house, and Lord Glenelg—a calm, beautiful and effective speaker—rose to defend himself, and before he had spoken five minutes, he said, with singular effect and emphasis, and with an appropriate introduction: "The house had shook under the deep thunder from Olympus, and he had turned to look for Jupiter, when lo! as becomes the king of the Gods, he had vanished in the clouds!" I can only give the idea, not the words—but the effect was electric, and it fell with such point on the ear of the house that the morning press on both sides admitted that the noble Secretary had given "the Rowland for an Oliver," and even retreated from the conflict triumphant.

## LECTURE XII.

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**On the Public Speaking of Ancient and Modern Times—  
On the Study of Eloquence—Hints to Students.—(Con-  
cluded.)**

### CONTENTS.

Sketches of Eloquence and references to books—Paul before Agrippa—Hints to the student for improving his powers of public Speaking—1st, Intimate knowledge of his subject—2d, Order of arrangement—Ware on extempore speaking—The art of Improvisation—3rd, Effect of extensive acquirements—Judge Story's inaugural discourse—4th, Elegant diction, by cultivating the habit of easy and rapid composition—Study of the Ancient Masters, Milton, &c.—5th, Personal Virtues—6th, The effect of living under free institutions—7th, Debating Societies.

IT may be thought by some, that, amid these general disquisitions, which we have followed, the rules and principles of oratory might have been more entertainingly, if not better taught, had they been illustrated by a fuller reference to quotations and examples. To have done this effectively would have expanded the essay, which is intended only to guide and inspire to study, into a volume; and I have therefore retreated from a purpose not difficult to be accomplished. I had indeed selected a series of the choice specimens of eloquence from the published records of its masters, to give the student an idea of their different styles—but they are too lengthy for the general plan of the work. I re-

fer to them therefore in the note\* beneath, and before passing to the consideration of these rules, intended as guides

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*Indian Eloquence*—Logan's Speech, in Jefferson's Notes in Virginia. *Personal Dignity*—Lord Thurlow's reply to the Duke of Grafton. Lives of Eminent Lawyers, p. 251. *Parliamentary Eloquence*, Chatham, Fox, Pitt, &c., by Butler in the Reminiscent. Canning's Select Speeches, edited by Walsh, Philadelphia. I give one passage from his Speech at Plymouth in 1823:—

“The resources created by peace are means of war. In cherishing those resources we but accumulate those means.—Our present repose is no more proof of inability to act, than the state of inertness and inactivity in which I have seen those mighty masses that float in the waters above your town, is a proof that they are devoid of strength, and incapable of being fitted out for action. You well know, gentlemen, how soon one of those stupendous masses, now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness,—how soon, upon any call of patriotism, or of necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated thing, instinct with life and motion—how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage—how quickly it would put forth all its beauty and its bravery, collect its scattered elements of strength, and awaken its dormant thunder. Such as is one of these magnificent machines when springing from inaction into a display of its might—such is England herself, when apparently passive and motionless she silently concentrates the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion. But God forbid that that occasion should arise.”

Extracts from Erskine's speeches, in appendix to Lord Brougham's dissertation, before quoted. Grattan's declaration of Irish rights—*London edition*.—For sketches of the orators at the Scotch bar, see Peters's “Letters to his kinsfolk.” The judgments of Sir W. Scott in the Consistory Courts, contained in the Ecclesiastical Reports, and of Chancellor Kent, in Johnston's Reports, are said to be the finest specimens of judicial eloquence. In McAuley's speech to the electors of Edinburgh in 1838, the following splendid defence was made for the Whigs:—

“It seems to me, that, in our history, I can discern a great party often depressed, but never extinguished, preserving its constant identity; a party which, though often tainted with the sins of the age, has been always in advance of it; a party which, though guilty of some crimes and errors, has yet generally been on the side of civil freedom, religious toleration,



So the student, I select but one illustration from a number I have sketched.

civilization, and social improvement, and of that party I am proud to acknowledge myself a member—(Loud cheering.)—That party began to exist before the words Whig and Tory came into use, and would still exist though those words should become obsolete. That was the party, gentlemen, which, in the great question of monopolies, stood up against Elizabeth; that was the party which, in the reign of James I., organised for the first time a parliamentary opposition, gradually advancing the privileges of the people, and gradually drove back the prerogative of the Crown. That party, under Charles the First, abolished the Ship-money, the Star Chamber, the High Commission Court. That party, under Charles the Second, obtained the Habeas Corpus Act. That party effected the Revolution. That party carried the Toleration Act. That party broke in this country the yoke of a foreign church, and saved Scotland from the cruel fate of Ireland. That party reared and maintained the constitutional throne of the house of Hanover against the hostility of the Church and landed aristocracy of England. That party opposed the American war. That party stood up against the domination of Pitt.—That party first gave liberty of conscience to the Protestant dissenters, and afterwards by great exertions and sacrifices, extended the same liberty to the Catholic. To the exertions of that party in the seventeenth century we owe it that we have a House of Commons. To its exertions in the nineteenth century we owe it that the House of Commons has been purified. That party abolished the slave trade. That party abolished colonial slavery. Whatever has been done for the education of the people, or for the mitigation of the penal code, originated with that party; and to that party I belong. I look back with pride on its many titles of glory—on all that it has done for human liberty and human happiness. I see it now hard pressed, struggling with difficulties and dangers, but still fighting the good fight. At its head I see still men who have inherited the virtue and the courage, as well as the names and the blood, of old champions and martyrs of freedom. My post is at their side—(Cheers). Delusion may triumph, but the triumphs of delusion are but for a day—(Great cheering). We may be defeated; but our principles will, I am convinced, only gain fresh strength from defending them—(Renewed cheering.) But be that as it may, my part is taken. While one shred of the old banner is flying, by that banner will I at least be found—(Great cheering). The good old cause, as Sydney called it on the scaffold—van-

No scene in the wide pages of history, has ever produced a higher impression on my own mind, of the force and effective-

quished or victorious—insulted or applauded—the good old cause is still the good old cause with me—(Great cheering). Whether in or out of Parliament—whether speaking with that authority which must always belong to the representatives of this great and enlightened community, or expressing the humbler sentiments of a private citizen, I will to the last maintain inviolate my fidelity to principles which, though they may be for a time borne down by senseless clamour—are yet strong with the strength, and immortal with the immortality of truth—and to men who, however they may be misunderstood or misrepresented by contemporaries, will assuredly find justice and admiration from a better age—(Cheering)."

The Speeches of Sergeant Talfourd on the Law of Copyright are reported as the first of the kind. The following passage has inimitable beauty:—

"But I do not press these considerations to the full extent—the past is beyond our power—and I only ask for the present a brief reversion in the future. "Riches fineless" are already ours. It is in truth the greatness of the blessings which the world inherits from genius that dazzles the mind on this question, and the habit of repaying its bounty by words, that confuses us and indisposes us to justice. It is because the spoils of time are freely and irrevocably ours—because the forms of antique beauty wear for us the bloom of an imperishable youth—because the elder literature of our own country is a free mine of wealth to the bookseller and of delight to ourselves, that we are unable to understand the claims of our contemporaries to a beneficial interest in their works. Because genius of necessity communicates so much, we cannot conceive it as retaining anything for its possessor. There is a sense indeed in which the poets "on earth have made us heirs of truth and pure delight in heavenly lays;" and it is because of this very boon; because their thoughts become our thoughts, and their phrases unconsciously enrich our daily language—because their works, harmonious by the law of their own nature, suggest to us the rules of composition by which their imitators should be guided—because to them we can resort, and "in our golden urns draw light," that we cannot fancy them apart from ourselves, or admit that they have any property except in our praise. And our gratitude is shewn, not only in leaving their descendants without portion in the pecuniary benefits derived from their works, but in permitting their fame to be frittered away in abridgments, and polluted by base intermixtures, and denying to their

ness of eloquence, than the defence of the Apostle Paul before Agrippa. It is contained in the 26th chapter of the Acts:—

“Then Agrippa said unto Paul, thou art permitted to speak for thyself. Then Paul stretched forth his hand and answered for himself—I think myself happy, King Agrippa, because I shall answer for myself this day before thee touching all the things whereof I am accused of the Jews, especially *because I know* thee to be expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews, wherefore I beseech thee to hear me patiently.

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“Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the Prophets and Moses did say should come; that Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should shew light unto the people and the Gentiles. And as he thus spoke for himself, Festus said with a loud voice, Paul, thou art beside thyself; much learning doth make thee mad.—But he said, I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness. For the king knoweth of these things before whom also I speak freely; for I am persuaded that none of these things are hidden from him, for this thing was not done in a corner. King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest. Then Agrippa said unto Paul, almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian. And Paul said, I would to God that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost and altogether such as I am, except these bonds.”

Let the imagination paint the scene, King Agrippa on his

children even the cold privilege of watching over and protecting it!”

For specimens of American orators, see Quarterly Review for December 1840—particularly the splendid passage by Wirt “Who is Blennishasset?” Speeches and legal arguments by Daniel Webster—Boston, 1835. American Oratory, by a member of the Philadelphia Bar, 1836. In addition to these the student will find in Chambers’ volume, in the Educational Course, on the “Principles of Elocution,” an excellent selection of some of the best passages of ancient and modern oratory—this book is within the reach of every Colonist.

throne of State—"coming" as it is said, "with great pomp," surrounded by the Chief Captains and men of Jerusalem, and the clamorous multitude of unbelieving Jews "crying that he ought not to live any longer." The Apostle aged, persecuted, in bonds—no fear, no tremor is visible,—the spirit of God sustained him, and ere he spake, he gave dignity and decision to his discourse, and stretched forth his hand. The human mind can imagine no scene which can surpass this in moral impressiveness. The speech itself is a beautiful and persuasive exposition of Christianity. The light in heaven which burst upon him—the ministry with which he was endowed, and the passage "Whereupon O King Agrippa I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision" is electric. But the conclusion is even more exquisite. The Apostle trembled not to reject the imputation of insanity. He feared not to meet the power of the King, nor the prejudices of an aroused and impatient mob—with what calmness and dignity does he reply "I am not mad most noble Festus, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness." Again, King Agrippa, "believest thou the Prophets, I know that thou believest, why then reject the root of Jesse who has come to fulfil them." Mark the argument—the pause—its influence upon the King—the confession coming from him—because hostile to every prejudice of the Jews—"Thou almost persuaded me to be a Christian." I have often been astonished that this had not been selected by Raffælle for one of his Cartoons—the subject far surpasses "Paul preaching at Athens," a painting which this artist has sketched with matchless skill.

I am conscious, before concluding, that the high purpose, but

humble pretensions of this essay would not be completed, if I did not give a few plain suggestions for the study of, and improvement in, public speaking. Several incidental hints have been already thrown out, and the principle boldly stated, that no man, however highly gifted, can be an orator, who has not diligently studied, and is not master of the rules of the art; but these hints and suggestions have to be \*classified and arranged in order that the student in the work of self-improvement may have them before him in one connected, and, if I can reach it, in a practical and perspicuous view.

I shall not touch upon the natural and inferior qualifications—the figure, voice, and intonation—the elements of Elocution acquired at schools, because these are beside the scope of our present enquiry. I shall presume all these to be at command; and endeavour to illustrate how a young man, animated with the desire of excellence, is most likely to acquire respectable, if not brilliant, powers of public speaking.

The *first* requisite of good speaking is to understand thoroughly, and to have a comprehensive and intimate knowledge of the subject or question upon which the audience is to be addressed. It is a common term to speak of “the inspiration of the hour,”—an expression upon which indeed an indefinite and abstract meaning is too often conferred. The art of speaking, says O’Connell, “is the art of thinking on one’s legs;” and Brougham in his work on Natural Theology, where he follows up the mental branch of the argument,

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\*Blair’s Lectures, vol. 2, p. 160, on Improvement in the Art of Speaking.

which Paley had left untouched, thus describes the process of mind conducted by the orator as he speaks

“A practised orator will declaim in measured and in various periods—will weave his discourse into one texture—form parenthesis within parenthesis—excite the passions or move to laughter—take a turn in his discourse from an accidental interruption, making it the topic of his Rhetoric for five minutes to come, and pursuing in like manner the new illustrations to which it gives rise—mould his diction with a view to show an epigrammatic point, or an alliteration or a discord; and all this with so much assured reliance on his own powers, and with such perfect ease to himself, that he shall even plan the next sentence while he is pronouncing off-hand the one he is engaged with, adapting each to the other, and shall look forward to the topic which is to follow, and fit in the close of the one he is handling to be its introducer, nor shall any auditor be able to discover the least difference between all this, and the portion of his speech which he has got by heart, or tell the transition from the one to the other.”

Both illustrations are just—but neither would supply the previous pre-requisites of deep and effective study—of viewing the question in all its aspects—of reading every thing which bears upon it; and by thus instructing himself, and forming a sound and clear apprehension, (for this is the foundation of happy illustration and animated discourse) the speaker may be best able to instruct others.

2. The next essential to eloquent and effective speaking is that the orator should see before he rises that his matter—the order of discourse—the pathway of his journey—is clearly and logically arranged. All writers upon eloquence have dilated upon the necessity of skilful arrangement, and have suggested hints and plans by which the memory of the speaker may be improved and strengthened. To discuss the metaphysical training is not my province here; but on looking at its effect it is undoubtedly of paramount importance, that the speech

to be delivered should be thoroughly digested and skilfully arranged, so as to give the argument an harmonious bearing and efficiency—to place each topic in its proper position, and to engraft upon each the illustration most applicable, and best fitted to persuade and convince. If Mr. O'Connell's description of eloquence be true—that it is learning to think upon one's legs, and in the presence of a large assembly, the speaker, in preparing for his display, ought to adopt the same system as if he purposed to write an essay;—to sit down and arrange beforehand his subject into different heads—the arguments he intends to use in support of it, with a due regard to the place—his audience—their intelligence, passions and prejudices—and the line of illustration—the quotations, allegories and figures, which he could bring to render each position acceptable and convincing. With brief notes, thus reduced to writing, he will speak with greater confidence—he will touch and carry along with him the feelings and sympathies of his auditory; and while his mind is free from *written* passages (very aptly styled the chains and tyranny of words)—his mind will rise to the inspiration of the time; and if he possess the *materiel* of oratory, he will throw off periods more finely balanced, a richer and more attractive imagery, use freer action, and more varied intonation, than if he had not prepared at all, or prepared too much. Several extracts have been already made to establish the benefit and necessity of preparation; but in Provinces like these, where public speaking is so rare, and yet so enviable a talent; and where from the genius of our governments, the pathway to the Legislature, and the honors and influence of the Government, are open to all, exhortations on this head cannot be too

frequently repeated. I give here an extract on the subject from Ware, a writer upon eloquence, celebrated in the United States. It is particularly applicable to these self-made orators who abuse the patience of our public meetings, and the Halls of the Legislature, by their crude and vapid nothings—with their rough, unpolished, and inapposite displays.

“The history of the world is full of testimony to prove how much depends upon industry; not an eminent orator has lived but is an example of it. Yet, in contradiction to all this, the almost universal feeling appears to be, that industry can effect nothing, that eminence is the result of accident, and that every one must be content to remain just what he may happen to be. Thus multitudes, who come forward as teachers and guides, suffer themselves to be satisfied with the most indifferent attainments, and a miserable mediocrity, without so much as enquiring how they may rise higher, much less making any attempt to rise. For any other art they would serve an apprenticeship, and would be ashamed to practise it in public life before they had learned it. If any one would sing, he attends a master, and is drilled in the very elementary principles; and only after the most laborious process dares to exercise his voice in public. This he does, though he has scarce anything to learn but the mechanical execution of what lies in sensible forms before the eye. But the extempore speaker, who has to invent as well as to utter, to carry on an operation of the mind, as well as to produce sound, enters upon the work without preparatory discipline, and then wonders that he fails! If he were learning to play on the flute for public exhibition, what hours and days would he spend in giving facility to his fingers, and attaining the power of the sweetest and most expressive execution! If he were devoting himself to the organ, what months and years would he labour, that he might know its compass, and be master of its keys, and be able to draw out, at will, all its various combinations of harmonious sound, and its full richness and delicacy of expression! And yet he will fancy that the grandest, the most various and the most expressive of all instruments, which the infinite Creator has fashioned by the union of an intellectual soul with the powers of speech, may be played upon without study or



practice; he comes to it a mere uninstructed tyro, and thinks to manage all its stops, and command the whole compass of its varied and comprehensive powers! He finds himself a bungler in the attempt, is mortified at his failure, and settles it in his mind forever, that attempt is vain."

No question has been more frequently discussed than whether the maxim of the Roman Poet, "Poeta nascitur non fit," is not equally applicable to the orator; and it has been argued, with some show of ingenuity, that public speaking is more a gift than an art. No opinion can be more dangerous and unsound. Oratory requires, no doubt, very high natural endowments—but a graceful person, commanding carriage, varied intonation, quick sensibilities, deep and earnest passions, are not the only requisites, to the talent of public speaking. They are essentials—but not all;—knowledge and labour are still required to instruct, lead, and animate others. The opposite argument has been founded on the facile and peculiar powers which some nations have exhibited for oratorical display; and especially upon the art of *Improvvisatore*, for which the modern Italians are so much distinguished. It is certainly a wonderful, nay, almost a miraculous, exhibition of the powers of the human mind, and, when exhibited by a professor, or master of the art, astonishes and delights every beholder who has seen it for the first time, no matter how superior may be the order of his own mind, or boundless the extent of his acquisitions. Still it is admitted that excellence in it is the fruit of patient study. Neither is this art practised by the Italians alone—for late travellers in South America, particularly Mr. Robertson, in his "Letters from \*Parraguay," states that the art of

\*London, 1839.

Improvisatore is as much a part of the entertainment of the "Tertullius" there as the song or the dance.

3. The more highly the mind is cultivated, and the more extensive its acquirements in Science, Literature, Philosophy, and the wide range of human learning—it is obvious that the Public Speaker will be more likely, because better able, to reach a higher, if not the highest, order of eloquence. The more extensive his acquaintance with the poets, his figures will be more brilliant and chaste; the deeper he has read the novel and the drama, he will paint better human virtue, and describe more fearfully the effects of passion and of crime; the wider he has studied the classics and history, he will be able to draw more copiously from the gathered wisdom and experience of past ages; the more searchingly he has investigated science, his mind and conceptions will be expanded and elevated by the magnificent view it discloses of nature, and the awful mystery of the Divine head; the more thoroughly he has comprehended metaphysics—the mind itself—the passions, the feelings, the morals, which sway and agitate the heart and conduct—the better he will be able to reach them, and gain that mastery, without which, speaking would be in vain. Longinus, Aristotle, Cicero, Fenelon, Blair, Brougham, all unite in giving their common and unanimous testimony, that general learning is essential to the noble production of genuine eloquence. He, therefore, who aspires to be a perfect orator, has no limits to his labor, and may continue to study—to range over the universe of letters as far as his health and leisure will permit,—in the certainty, that every new acquisition will bring forth some new bequ-

ty, and that his studies will come to adorn every fresh oratorical display.

The eminent Judge Story in his inaugural address, when he assumed the duties of the Chair of Law in the Harvard University, thus speaks of the extensive preparation required to form the perfect lawyer and orator:—

“ The perfect lawyer, like the perfect orator, must accomplish himself for his duties by familiarity with every study. It may be truly said, that to him, nothing that concerns human nature or human art is indifferent or useless. He should search the human heart, and explore to their sources the passions, and appetites, and feelings of mankind. He should watch the emotions of the dark and malignant passions, as they silently approach the chambers of the soul in its first slumbers. He should catch the first warm rays of sympathy and benevolence, as they play around the character, and are reflected back from its varying lines. He should learn to detect the cunning arts of the hypocrite, who pours into the credulous and unwary ear his leperous distilment. He should for this purpose make the master spirits of all ages pay contributions to his labours. He should walk abroad through nature and elevate his thoughts, and warm his virtues by a contemplation of her beauty, and magnificence, and harmony. He should examine well the precepts of religion, as the only solid basis of civil society, and gather from them not only his duty, but his hopes; not only his consolations, but his discipline and his glory. He should unlock all the treasures of history for illustration and instruction, and admonition. He will thus see man, as he has been, and thereby best know what he is. He will thus be taught to distrust theory, and cling to practical good; to rely more upon experience, than reasoning; more upon institutions, than laws; more upon checks to vice, than upon motives to virtue. He will become more indulgent to human errors; more scrupulous in means, as well as in ends; more wise, more candid, more forgiving, more disinterested. If the melancholy infirmities of the race shall make him trust man less, he may yet learn to love man more.

“ Nor should he stop here. He must drink in the lessons

and the spirit of philosophy. I do not mean that philosophy described by Milton, as

“ A perpetual feast of nectared sweets,  
Where no crude surfeit reigns ;”

but that philosophy, which is conversant with men's business and interests, with the policy and welfare of nations ; that philosophy, which dwells not in vain imaginations, and Platonic dreams ; but which stoops to life, and enlarges the boundaries of human happiness ; that philosophy which sits by us in the closet, cheers us by the fireside, walks with us in the fields and highways, kneels with us at the altars, and lights up the enduring flame of patriotism.

“ What has been already said, rather presupposes than insists upon the importance of a full possession of the general literature of ancient and modern times. It is the classical learning alone which can impart a solid and lasting polish to the mind, and give to diction that subtle elegance and grace which colour the thoughts with almost transparent hues. It should be studied not merely in its grave disquisitions, but in its glorious fictions, and in those graphical displays of the human heart, in the midst of which we wander as in the presence of familiar, but disembodied spirits.

“ It is by such studies, and such accomplishments, that the means are to be prepared for excellence in the highest order of the profession. The student whose ambition has measured them, if he can but add to them the power of eloquence, (that gift which owes so much to nature, and so much to art,) may indeed aspire to be a perfect lawyer.”

4. To obtain the command of classic and eloquent diction is a fourth essential to excellence of speech. How this is to be obtained may be subject of much discussion, but upon it I entertain a clear and decided opinion. To study the best masters, the practice of Demosthenes and Cicero may be followed, and the great efforts of eloquence copied and re-copied into a Common-place-book,—the student may attend the House of Commons, or our Assemblies, night after night, like Romilly, for instruction—the best speakers in the pulpit, at the Bar, and the Legislature, may be heard

and reported, but the practice will not be acquired,—or a command of *extempore* and eloquent language attained, until the student has tried and tasked his own powers, and prepared the road to excellence, by *cultivating the habit of rapid and easy composition*. Cicero, in his *De Oratore*, and Lord Brougham, both very high authority, recommend this system as the best by which a public speaker can acquire a flow of easy and eloquent diction. And let me add, if he wish to obtain the pith and vigour of the English language, he must read and study not the authors of modern days only—but Milton, Dryden, and Shakespeare; these are the masters of our language, and exhibit it in all its vigour and purity.

5. The highest flights of oratory consist in appeals to the deeper and more earnest passions which animate the human breast. It is fortunate that assemblies and multitudes can only be affected and enchanted, when these appeals touch the nobler and the better passions. But to paint these well, they must be felt as well as figured. Hypocrisy cannot reach them—they will not lie under her mantle; and hence, it has been said, that the true orator must not only be a great, but a good man. We would voluntarily, nay, as if by instinct, shrink from any fervid description of virtue—from an appeal to patriotism, or an exhortation to forgiveness and charity, however strongly and eloquently expressed,—if they came from a man known to be vicious, and incapable of performing the generous act he strove to induce his audience to admire and to perform. Consistency of public principle—a strict observance of the charities of life—an honourable and generous performance of the social duties,—are all essential to the reputation

and influence of a public speaker ; and it is certainly a deserved and honorable eulogium to the moral providence of Heaven, that the best rewards which spring from the cultivation of talents of the highest order, are dependant upon the observance of moral principles, lofty integrity, and the pure affections of the heart.

G. It has been said that eloquence has never reached its highest standard except in a free state. The history of Greece and Rome, the young Republics of Italy, the British House of Commons, and the Congress of the United States, have been referred to in proof of this position. I will refrain from illustrating it here, because it would unavoidably conduct me into the discussion of the question of Responsible Government, which still divides these Colonies into two great parties. I have pledged myself to utter no political opinion, and to advocate no party views, in a work devoted solely to the advancement of Colonial literature and science ; because I believe I will best subserve the great and Christian end I have in view, by propitiating every prejudice, exciting every generous feeling, and thus concentrating the energies of all.

And Lastly. Speaking, as has been before said, "is the habit of thinking on one's legs." To speak, and to speak well, is unquestionably a habit. There are many examples in Literature of men who were celebrated authors, and perfect adepts in the art of composition, who had not the power of addressing a popular assembly ; and this, not from any physical unfitness, but because they had not subjected themselves to the necessary mental training requisite to confer the habit. I could refer now to several literary men in England of very high eminence, scholars of extensive acquire-

ments, and able and even eloquent authors—who the instant they rise to speak, lose at once all power of association, and forcible expression, which in the closet they can summon at command—they have not cultivated, and not attained, the art or habit of public speaking. Every young man, therefore, who intends to embrace a profession where this art is required, ought to begin early, and task and train his powers. The debating Society is an admirable school of tuition, and some of the finest orators, who have adorned the history of eloquence, have made their first essays in Assemblies of this kind. Sir James MacIntosh, Sir Samuel Romilly, attended them for years—the younger Pitt, when first called to the bar, was wont to attend the Old Bailey, term after term, in order to gain a retainer; and if evidence were wanting to prove the advantage and necessity of such institutions, it would be easy to condense in their favour a long array of the testimony of men of the first eminence. To render them effective and salutary, every display in them ought to be preceded with the requisite research and preparation.—Lord Mansfield has said that many of the arguments he delivered, while a young man, in his Debating Club, were afterwards highly useful to him both as Counsel and Judge.—To speak—to talk for mere amusement—to debate without attention to order—is to acquire a habit, which must be corrected before eminence can afterwards be acquired, either at the bar, or in the pulpit, or Legislature; for let it ever be recollected that speaking is an art, and that success can only be attained by early, continued and resolute study.





## ADDENDA.

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SCIENCE.—*Note to p. 30.*—For a striking picture of the improvements made in the arts and sciences,—the range of investigation and discovery which is now prosecuting in Europe,—and the list of talented and scientific men who adorn the age, I recommend to the perusal of the reader an article in the London Quarterly Review for June last, p. 44, giving a critique upon the last and improved edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, edited by Macvey Napier—the distinguished Editor of the Edinburgh Review. The omission of this important reference was not discovered till the form had passed through the press.

UPPER CANADA.—*Note to p. 202.*—Since the Lecture on the Education of Upper Canada was printed, I am indebted to the able and intelligent the Hon. Mr. Baldwin, now Attorney General of Canada West, for a copy of Dr. Charles Duncombe's Report upon the subject of Education, made to the Parliament of that Province, Feb. 25, 1836. Dr. Duncombe was one of three Commissioners, appointed by the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, to enquire into, and report upon the subject of Education. He proceeded to the United States, travelled East and West examining their Schools, Colleges, and Institutions; and, on his return, framed this Report, "with the view of placing before the House, in as condensed a form as possible, the *lien* state of the Literary Institutions, most worthy of imitation in these Colonies, both in Europe and America." It is a task most diligently and ably performed, in a volume of 256 pages, and the Author gives suggestions for a general system of Colonial Education. I shall be glad to avail myself of the extensive and valuable information it contains, on the subjects embraced in the 2nd. and 3rd. volumes. I beg here also to add my acknowledgements to the Hon. S. B. Harrison, the Hon. Mr.

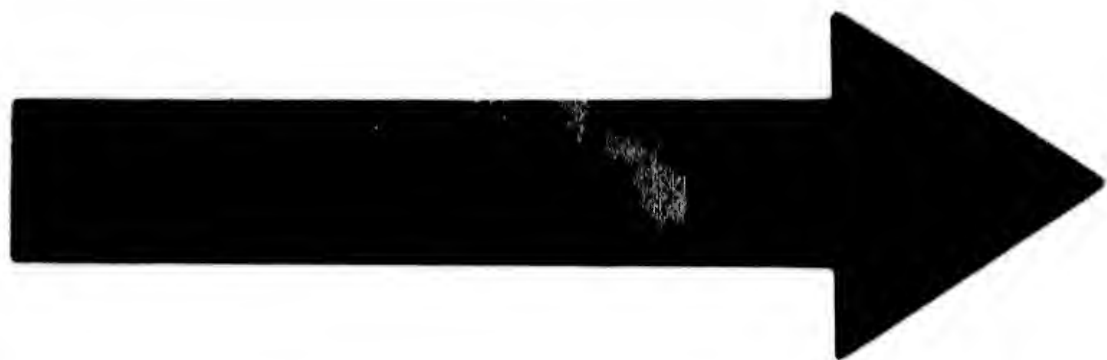
Jamieson, Vice Chancellor, and Wm. Hepburn, Esquire, for the valuable documents furnished to me, and for the cordiality which they evinced in promoting my enquiries, in June last, while in Kingston, and since my return.

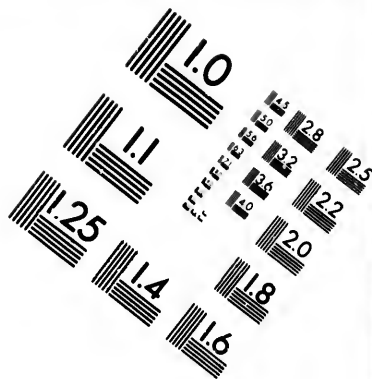
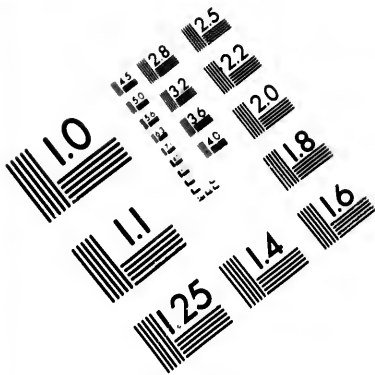
NEW-BRUNSWICK—*p.* 233.—I have not been able to obtain a list of the public grants for Education, voted by the Legislature of this Province for 1842. To L. A. Wilmot and Wm. End, Esqrs., I am indebted for the statistics of New Brunswick, and to both I offer my sincere thanks for the valuable assistance they have rendered.

NEWFOUNDLAND—*Note p.* 241.—I am still, I regret to say, unable to furnish any abstract of the state of Education among the Catholic population of Newfoundland. To my friend, Bryan Robinson, Esq., of St. John's, I am indebted for the following sketch of the "Newfoundland and British North American School Society," and beg to thank him for the ability and promptness with which he has attended to the enquiries put to him:

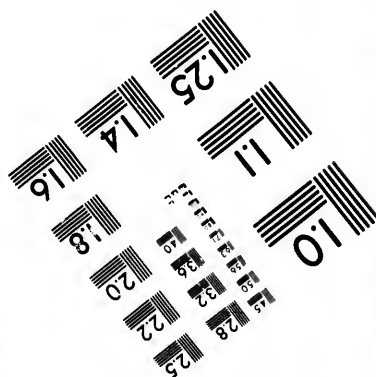
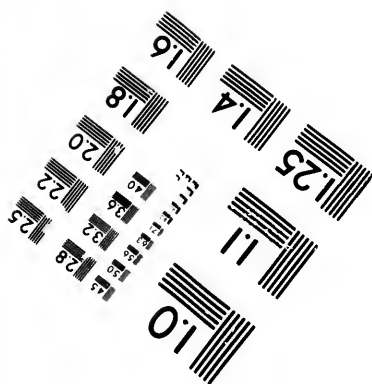
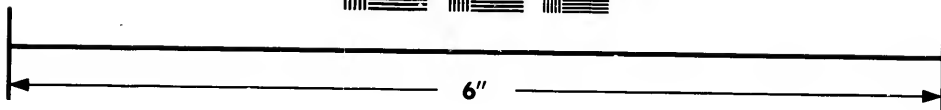
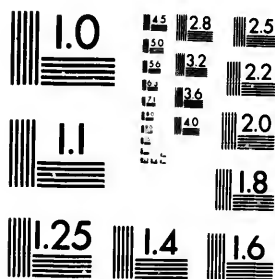
"The Newfoundland and British North American School Society, of which the Queen is Patron, was founded in the year 1823, by Samuel Codner, Esq., a Newfoundland Merchant. Its projected sphere of labour comprises Newfoundland and the other North American Colonies. Its first agents or teachers, Messrs. Jeynes and Fleet, reached Newfoundland in 1824, and as soon as possible opened a School in St. John's, the Capital. It has now in Newfoundland 17 principal stations, including St. John's. The Teachers at the principal stations are all paid from the Funds of the Parent Society, collected in England. The number of Branch Stations, connected with the several principal stations, and the Teachers at which are under the direction and superintendence of the principal teachers, is 45; at 26 of these Branch stations, Schools, Daily or Sunday, and in most instances both Daily and Sunday, are now in operation. The salaries of the Branch Teachers are paid out of Local Funds—consisting of an annual grant by the Colonial Legislature of £300 sterling, the subscriptions of the charitable and benevolent, and payments for tuition by the parents of scholars, who are not "bona fide" paupers. The scale for these payments is 5s. currency per annum for reading, 10s. currency for reading and writing, and 15s. for reading, writing and arithmetic. The schools are open to children of all deno-

minations. The grand principle of the education imparted by the Society is that it is scriptural; the Madras style is pursued in them. In 1838 the Society extended its operations, in accordance with its original design, to Canada, where it has now 42 Daily Schools in operation, besides Sunday Schools. The Governor General of Canada, and the Governor of Newfoundland, are Vice Patrons. In its list of Vice Presidents are 10 Bishops, among whom are the Bishops of Montreal and Newfoundland. The Society's affairs are managed in England by a Committee composed of Clergymen and Laymen, aided by a clerical and lay Secretary; in the Colonies by two Clerical Superintendants. In Newfoundland 8 of the Society's teachers, (6 of whom are still employed as Schoolmasters) have been admitted to the Holy Order of Deacons. Several of the Society's Agents have also been ordained in Canada. The Society has already educated in Newfoundland about 12,000 children and adults; and there are now about 3000 pupils in its Schools."





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#### ERRATA.

P. 7—Restored to a genial soil, read *when* restored. P. 66—*stirling* morality, read *sterling* morality. P. 81—Pen of Lord Brougham *in* various subjects, read *on* various subjects. P. 123—Horne Looke, read Horne *Tooke*. P. 178—This *demand* is equally applicable, read this *reasoning*. P. 191—George *Footvoyc*, Esq., read *Futvoyc*. P. 206—Nothing has been yet *desired*, read *derived*. P. 241, Note—Promised *it*, read *them*. P. 296—Henry's *tracts*, read Henry's *bursts*.—P. 313—Philosophy, *poetry*, history, read philosophy, history. P. 351—We would *voluntarily*, read *involuntarily*.—There are a few grammatical and typical errors which are not noticed, because the reader will at once discover and correct them—this list will be excused, considering that the work has not been supervised by a trained and professional compositor.

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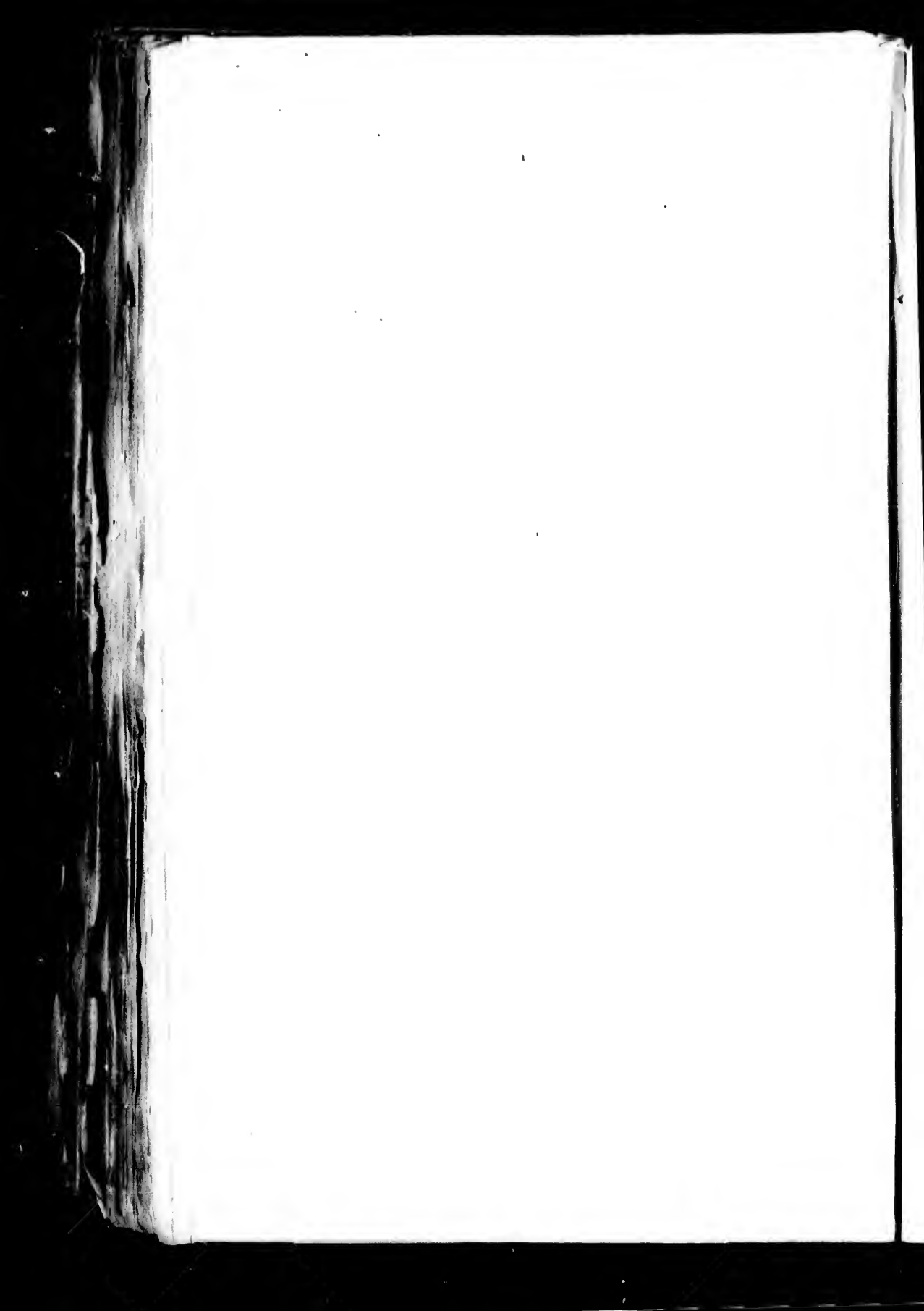
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(To be published in June next.)

- LECTURE XIII.—On the necessity of combining Religious with Secular Education—Systems and compromise of Sects in different National Establishments—Practical Plan for these Colonies.
- XIV. On the History of the Novel, and the use and abuse of Novel Reading—Different styles and authors.
- XV.—Same subject continued—Review of Modern Novels—Hints to Parents and Readers of selections to be made.
- XVI.—Effects of Education on Morals, as proved by the statistics of Crime ;—Sunday Schools. The state of morals in different Nations.
- XVII.—On Common Schools—Branches to be taught—Books, Maps, Gymnastics.—Industrial Schools for Agriculture—Their fitness for these Colonies.
- XVIII.—Normal School System—Character and training of Masters—Practical plan for these Colonies.
- XIX.—On Academies and Colleges.—Present condition in the Lower Provinces.—Necessity of combining one or two Central Institutions, on the Model of the best in the Old and New World.
- XX.—On founding Institutes and Museums on a general plan, and under Legislative controul and encouragement.
- XXI.—On the Lyceum System—District and Itinerat'g Libraries—Schools of design for Mechanics—Public Walks and Systems in Germany, &c.
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- XXIV.—On Colonial Literature—Past and present condition—Colonial Authors—Press—High standard of the Colonial Mind.
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\* \* This volume is written on the same plan as the first, and contains references to the best and most popular works on the subjects it embraces. The third volume, on the principles of Colonial Legislation, is in the course of preparation.



**BY THE SAME AUTHOR.**

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I.

LETTERS TO LORD STANLEY ON THE RIGHTS OF FISHERY, and THE GENERAL COLONIAL POLICY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. Ridgway, London, 1834, pp. 193. A large part of the edition of this work has been sold in Great Britain.

II.

ON THE ESCHEAT QUESTION IN PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND, Agitation and Remedies. R. & W. Small, London, 1838.

III.

ON COLONIAL BANKING, EXCHANGES, AND CURRENCY, recommending British Sterling as the Money of Account. Orr & Coy, London, 1838.

IV.

LETTERS ON "RESPONSIBLE" GOVERNMENT, justified by the sound principles of the Constitution, addressed to LORD JOHN RUSSELL, Secretary of State for the Colonies. Cunnabell, Halifax, 1840.

V.

LETTERS AND OPINION TO LORD STANLEY, SECRETARY OF STATE, on the IMPOLICY OF THE REPEAL OF THE UNION BETWEEN THE ISLAND OF CAPE BRETON AND NOVA SCOTIA. Nugent, Halifax, 1842.

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