PLEA

IN BEHALF OF

WESTERN COLLEGES.

A DISCOURSE

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING COLLEGIATE AND THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AT THE WEST, IN THE FIRST PRESBY-TERIAN CHURCH, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, OCTOBER 29, 1845,

AND

IN THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA, FEBRUARY 22, 1846.

BY ALBERT BARNES.

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"Resolved, That the thanks of the Board be presented to the Rev. Albert Barnes for his sermon of last evening, and that a copy of the same be requested for publication."

An extract from the minutes of the proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Society for the promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West,—at their annual meeting at Newark, N. J. Thursday, Oct. 30th, 1846.

W. B. Lewis,

Secretary of the Board.

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PLEA IN BEHALF OF WESTERN COLLEGES.

That the soul be without knowledge, it is not good.—Proverbs xix. 2.

I propose to address you in behalf of the "Society for the promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West." The kind of education which that society seeks to promote, is that which is usual in the Protestant literary institutions of the older States of the Union.—A Protestant seminary of learning is a definite thing. It suggests a well-known and familiar thought to every mind. It is designed to secure the best practicable discipline of the intellectual powers, by instruction in the arts and sciences, and by an extended and diligent cultivation of Greek and Roman classical learning. It proposes to bring the soul under the control of the highest and purest principles of morals, and to imbue it with independence of thought, and with the inextinguishable love of liberty. Its course of study and discipline is arranged with a view that the heart shall be pervaded with the most thorough religious principles drawn directly from the Bible, and that the student shall form his own manly opinions in religion, independently of the decisions of synods and councils, and the traditions of the Fathers. It designs to acquaint the mind with the elementary principles of freedom, the history and value of the Reformation, and the events which have conspired to make our civil and religious institutions what they are. It is intended to place before the rising generation the best models of integrity, patriotism and piety, which the world has furnished; and to prepare those to whom will soon be entrusted all in this land that is valuable in liberty, in learning, and in religion, to receive intelligently the inestimable trust, and to transmit it unimpared, and improved in their hands, to future times.

In order to see the reasons for the efforts which we are making to establish such institutions at the West, it is proper to enquire, somewhat at length, what the western minds will be without the knowledge which we seek to impart, by the aid of Collegiate and Theological training. I have never resided, or traveled extensively at the West; but the map of our country is before us all, and we are not ignorant of the influences which are concentrating themselves at the West, or of the struggles which are made to control it; and though with less favorable advantages for forming an opinion on this subject than those who have resided there, we are not wholly without the means of seeing sufficient reasons for engaging in an enterprise to establish throughout that vast region institutions like those which have blessed the older states of the Republic.

It will contribute to give order to my remarks, if we consider what the human soul is without knowledge; what are the peculiar characteristics of the western mind in our country; and what are the reasons, arising from those characteristics, for establishing and sustaining such institutions as this society contemplates.

I. The human mind without knowledge, exhibits two leading phases: one, when there is *nothing* else to arouse it to effort; the other, when, though the stimulus of learning is wanting, there are other things operating to call forth its energies.

The first is, when it is destitute of knowledge, and when there is no substitute for it as the means of arousing the soul:-no freedom; no encouragement to enterprise; no feasible projects of ambition; no encouragement to till the earth, or to engage in manufactures or commerce; no protection for invention in the arts; no copy-rights for 'maps and charts and books;' no principles of religion to summon the mind to energy and action. little of the intellect that God has created in this world is in this condition. It is found where the rights of men are denied; where the soul is crushed by despotism; where the mental powers are rendered imbecile by slavery; or where a false form of religion prevails. God has made at any one period of the world sufficient intellect for all the purposes to which it could be well applied in that period; but no small part of that which he has hitherto made, has been dormant, and has been useless for the purposes for which it is created. In the regions of despotism, where there is

no encouragement for mind to rise and expand; in the vast domains of slavery, where the existence of muscular rather than mental vigor is contemplated; in lands where superstition reigns, and mind becomes torpid in the cloisters of the monk; and in those realms of heathenism, where it is taught that the perfection of being exists in ultimate absorption into the Deity, and that the progress towards this on earth is marked by the extinguishment of all passion and mental vigor; in the religion of the quietist everywhere, there is no stimulus to rouse the mind, and it sinks into imbecility and is useless.

The other aspect in which mind appears, is found in those places, where, though the stimulus of knowledge be wanting, there are other things to rouse it to energy; where though it is not developed in fair proportions under the influence of truth, it is developed, though with distortions and excresences, from other causes. There may be almost no elementary education; there may be even no capacity to read and write; there may be no rigid discipline in the exact sciences; there may be no discipling of the soul by the lessons of history, or by the calm and healthful teachings of true religion, but there may be other things that act as a stimulus to the soul, and that develop some of its highest powers. There may be freedom. There may be the love of conquest. There may be the insatiable thirst for gold. There may be great and sublime objects in nature that cannot but do much to expand the mental powers-lofty mountains, mighty rivers and water-falls, extended prairies and lakes, and magnificent There may be great objects before it to be accomplished in this world; or sublime, though gloomy and erroneous conceptions of religion, may rouse the soul into some of its highest developments to obtain rewards, or to avoid evils in the world to come.

We are not to infer, because mind is not educated according to what we esteem to be the best model of education, that it has no power. There is an intrinsic and mighty power in intellect, whether under the influences of learning or not. It does not always lose its energy when divested of the expanding and controling influences of what are commonly understood by instruction; and in

respect to mere power it may be even be doubted whether it is not often more mighty, when not under the influence of scientific or literary training than when it is. There have been exhibitions of intellectual energy by those on whom "science never dawned," perhaps not surpassed by those who have made the highest attainments in learning, or who have extended the boundaries of science farthest into before unexplored regions. In the mental power which controls an army in the day of battle; in rearing huge piles to perpetuate the memory of a victory or a monarch; in crossing streams, and ascending mountains; nay, in poetry and eloquence, there have been displays of untaught mental power to which the discipline which a college furnishes would have contributed nothing but order, and which, considered as mere exhibitions of intellect, would have been confined within narrower limits by being trained in the learning of the schools. Where there is freedom; where there are great obstacles to be overcome in accomplishing an undertaking; and where a man has the right to the avails of his own industry; and where minds trained under different influences, and with different views of morals and religion, are left to the freedom of intellectual conflicts, we do injustice to our nature when we suppose that the intellectual developments will be weak. In exhibitions of mere activity, energy, enterprise, power, I do not know that, taken as a whole, the intellectual vigor of the world would be greatly increased if it were brought under the influence of knowledge. Much that is now dormant, indeed, would be aroused into activity; much that is perverted would become useful; much that is stimulated by ambition, and the love of gain, and the desire of sensual gratification, would be curbed and restrained; much that now roams over useless fields of imagination would be chained down to sober and useful investigations. It is not the province of schemes of education to create intellect, but to control it; not to endow it with new energies, but to give proper direction to those which already exist.

The intellect which we seek to train in the western portions of our own country, is not likely to be a stagnant intellect, or an intellect of feeble powers. The effects which we hope to accomplish by establishing schools and colleges there, is not exactly that which we should aim at, if, by the influence of sound knowledge, we should seek to raise the minds that have been crushed by despotism, or made to be drivelling by superstition, or imbecile and worthless by the religion of the quietists. evils which we hope to counteract, are not those which we should hope to remove in the regions where slavery has shed a blight on the soul; or in the cell of the indolent and worthless monk; or in a Turkish Seraglio; or in the vast lands where Buddhism prevails. We contemplate mind already intensely active. act with reference to intellect already roused into vast energy. We approach not a stagnant lake, but a restless sea; -- a sea not only heaving now with wild commotion, but into which broad and rapid streams are constantly pouring from every quarter, augmenting the power of the elements that are now commingled there. It is that intellect thus already roused and mighty, that we seek to control by the influence of knowledge imparted in Protestant colleges and schools.

- II. The train of remarks thus suggested leads us to enquire, in the second place, what are the peculiar characteristics of the western mind in our country. In relation to this enquiry, I would observe:
- (1.) First, that it is a mind, in its elements, capable of great energy and power. I refer now to that mind, as it appears in its original composition, and before it is brought under any of the peculiar influences existing there. There has been, I apprehend, in no country in its early settlement, precisely the elements in forming the public mind, which there is in the western regions of our own. The colonies that went out from Phenicia, and that laid the foundations of empire on the shores of the Mediterranean, had a homogeneousness of character, and transferred the principles and feelings of the mother country at once to the new lands where they took up their abode. The colonies that went out from Greece to occupy the maratime regions of Asia Minor, carried with them the love of the arts, of literature, and of liberty, which distinguished Corinth and Athens; and Ionia became merely a reflected image of what Attica and Achaia and Argolis

had been. The colonies which landed on Plymouth rock, and at Salem, and Boston, also, had an entire homogeneousness of character. There was no intermingling of any foreign elements contemplated or allowed. They were, when they landed, and when they laid the foundation of Harvard University, and when they spread over New England, what they were in Holland and in England, with only the modifications which their new circumstances made, but with none from any foreign admixtures. Substantially so was it in Pennsylvania, in Virginia, in Maryland. We see at first in each of them, colonists of homogeneousness of character and principles; sameness of views in religion, in literature, and in politics; principles allowed to strike their roots deep, and to develop themselves long before there was any foreign ingredient that could color or modify them :- a river that long ran pure amidst the wild rocks, and over the wild plains, working a deep and permanent channel for itself, before any other stream mingled with its waters.

When we turn our eyes, however, to the great West, we discern an entirely different state of things. There is no homogeneousness of character, of origin, of aim, of language. There are elements already mingled and struggling for the mastery, any one of which, if alone, would have vital and expansive power enough to diffuse itself, all over that great valley.

There is a large infusion of the *Puritan* mind. That mind, there, as elsewhere, is one of great energy, perseverance, ingenuity, determination, ability to conquer difficulties, and to make all circumstances bend to the promotion of its own objects. It is a mind strongly imbued, from the manner in which it became *Puritan* at all, with the love of religious and civil liberty; with a hatred of oppression and wrong; with a strong conviction of the value of the simplest and purest forms of the Protestant religion; and with a desire to promote the cause of sound learning. Of that Puritan mind, however, it should be said that it appears at the West, mainly in one of its modifications, and that perhaps not in all respects, its most desirable and best one. It is rather the active, than the contemplative form of that mind that is there; rather the portion that would be represented by Pym,

and Cromwell, and Hampden, than that which would be represented by Selden, and Owen, and Milton. It is not always the best educated, or the most religious, or the most literary in its tendencies, but that which is most bold and enterprising. The roving and the unsettled migrate there. They who would not be contented on a small division of a farm, with slow gains, and with the staid and settled habits of New England, go there. Those who are disappointed at the East, often go there to better their circumstances. Those who have less of the 'home' feeling; in whom the ties which bind them to the scenes of childhood and youth are feebler, and the love of new scenes stronger, go there. Intermingled with these, there are those, also, who go with settled principles of morals, and religion; men whose power would be felt any where, and will be felt there, who go with a determination to attempt to mould the public mind there, and to make it what it should be. Yet in all this variety, there are the characteristics of the Puritan mind-things which show you that its descent can be traced from the conflicts with the claims of the 'prerogative' in the times of James and Charles, and that the same elements are there which entered into the character of the Winthrops and the Standishes of New England.

There is a large infusion there of a foreign mind, with little homogeneousness of character or of views, except in the single reason which has precipitated it on our western shores. It is the foreign mind which in its own country most feels the weight of oppression; which has the greatest love of liberty; which has in the highest degree the spirit of adventure; which is most ready to brave difficulties; which is most imbued with the desire of rapid gains. There are different languages; different manners and customs; different modes of faith and worship. It is alike in this, that it is a foreign mind, little acquainted with our institutions; bred up mostly under a monarchical government; restrained at home less by an intelligent public sentiment than by the bayonet; tenacious in most instances of the religion in which it was trained; and having, to a large extent, little sympathy with the principles and the achievements of Protestantism.

There is at the West, as a consequence of this, a great in-

termingling of those minds which are likely to be most adventurous, energetic, and bold. In the vast valley in which we seek to establish and maintain Protestant colleges, there are representatives from nearly all the nations of Europe, and all the forms of religion which prevail there. Ireland, and France, and England, and Germany, and Italy, have their representatives there; and they appear there, not as amalgamated with our Republican and Protestant institutions, but as still embodying the sentiments which they cherished in their father-land.

"The shrewd New Englander, the luxurious Southerner, the positive Englishman, the metaphysical Scotchman, the jovial Irishman, the excitable Frenchman, the passionate Spaniard, the voluptuous Italian, the plodding, heavy German, the debased African"—the Russian, the Polander, the Norwegian, the Dane, are all there, flung together in this "mighty crucible," each with his own language, his own plans, his own prejudices, his own religion. The antagonistic elements are in contact, but refuse to unite, and as yet no agent has been found sufficiently potent to reduce them to unity. "The iron is mixed with miry clay," and so repellant are the elements of society there, that they "cannot cleave to one another, even as iron is not mixed with clay." As yet no common sympathy binds them together; no great heart sends its generous blood throughout the system, to impart to each member a healthful and vigorous vitality."*

Yet to an extent searcely known elsewhere, mind there is individual mind. Sections and portions of it, arising from similarity of religion and language, may move together, but there is no single sentiment or impulse that will move the whole. It arises from the nature of the case, that there should be a great amount of independent plan, and of individuality. No public homogeneous sentiment has yet been formed, if there ever can be, to sway the mass, and bring them to harmonious views in religion, and in their political sentiments.

It follows from all this, that the western mind, in its elements, is capable of vast energy. There meet and mingle there all the elements of power which characterized different portions

^{*} Bib. Repository, Oct. 1845, p. 644.

of the world, and whatever else it may be, it is to be unlike the intellect of the sluggish Turk in his Seraglio; of the effeminate Italian in his own land; of those who repose on soft couches in Persia; of those who seek a gradual approximation to annihilation in the countries where Buddhism prevails; and of those who, under the influence of monastic vows, withdraw from the world, and live in cloisters and caves. There will be giants in the western world. There is now, and there ever will be, a power which will be felt in determining the destiny of the Republic.

(2.) A second characteristic of the western mind as it is now, is that it is as yet unsettled. Society there is, as far as it can be, a resolution into its original elements, and as, in ancient chaos, there was a struggling and commingling of the various elements before beauty and order appeared, so it is there. It is, to a great extent, broken off from old fixtures and associations, and new affinities and attachments are not yet formed. It is such a mind as demagogues delight in, and where all the principles and passions on which they are accustomed to play, abound. The work of detaching it from that which would be opposed to the aims of the demagogue is already there done; and what he has to accomplish is not, as at the East, first to break up old associations, and lessen the charm and power of settled habits and opinions, before he can sway the mind to his will; for this work preparatory to his purpose is already accomplished. In the settled and fixed opinions of the East; amidst the permanent influences derived from early associations, and an established public sentiment, it is comparatively easy to adhere to the lessons of virtue, and the principles of piety; and it is comparatively difficult for one to effect his purpose who sets at defiance the maxims of virtue and religion. For here is the sanctuary, where we have been accustomed to worship from childhood. Here is the Sabbath bell, reminding us of the return of the day of rest. Here are our father's sepulchres, faithful, though silent mementoes of the value of the principles which they held, and of the worth of religion in life and in death. Here is the school-house, a reminder of the lessons learned in our earliest years. Here is a well-formed, vigorous, decided public sentiment, from which it is always difficult and

perilous for a man to break away. A demagogue; a propagator of error; a rejector of religion here must begin his work by a covert or open attack on these associations; he must weaken their power over the soul; he has a long work to do to detach the mind from its fastenings, before he can move it according to his will. But, in a new region, he finds all this to a great extent, done to his hand. There is no ancient sanctuary, or Sabbath bell, or sepulchre of the dead, or school-house, or established public sentiment, that can hinder his purposes; and his work begins at a point, to reach which elsewhere might cost the labors of his life. The power of virtue as derived from association and from reminiscences of the past, was broken the moment the emigrant turned his face toward the setting sun, and when he crosses the mountains he is in a new world, and is dissociated from the old things which bound him to fixed principles and opinions, and open to any new influence that may meet him there. Tens of thousands of minds thus detached from all that was fixed and settled in their own native lands, are thus thrown together without order, in interminable forests, or on boundless prairies, with commingled and unsettled views, and prepared for any new influences that may meet them there. This feature of the western mind, I cannot better describe than in the language of one who has long resided there, and who has had opportunity of extensive observation. "In consequence of the incoherency of this element, in a population thus heterogeneous, and broken off from the fixtures of old communities, without time to form new ones, all the social forces are shifting and mutable, and yield like the particles of liquid to the least force impressed. This quality of western society, combined with the bold, prompt, energetic, and adventurous temperament impressed generally on it by common influences in the life of the emigrant, exposes it to vehement and brief excitement, to epidemic delusion and agitation. Upon this sea of incoherent and vehement mind, every wind of opinion has been let loose, and is struggling for the mastery; and the mass heaves restlessly to and fro, under the thousand different forces impressed. The west is, therefore, peculiarly perturbed with demagogueism and popular agitation, not only in politics, but in religion, and in all social interests. Amid these shifting social elements, we want principles of stability; we want a system of permanent forces; we want deep, strong, and constant influences, that shall take from the changefulness and excitability of the western mind, by giving it the tranquility of depth, and shall protect it from delusive and fitful impulses, by enduing it with a calm, propound, and pure reason."

Lest, however, these should seem to be dark and unfavorable representations, and should appear to do injustice to what is truly noble in the western mind, I would guard the statements by two remarks.

One is, that while there may be much that appears perilous in breaking away from some associations—from those whose tendency is good—there may be much more that is desirable in breaking away from many that are evil. It is true that the emigrant from New England goes away from the school-house, and from the sanctuary, and from his father's sepulchres, and from a thousand things which bound him to virtue and religion; but it is also true, that the emigrant from the old world has by the fact of his crossing the deep, and making this new world his home, broken away from a thousand influences in favor of a false religion in his own land. All that was venerable there by age that was fitted to foster superstition; all the influence under which he grew up tending to error-in the moss-grown cathedral, the consecrated relics of the saints, the pompous ceremonial, the long train of priests, and in the sepulchral places of the dead, is unseen where a man makes a western prairie his home. If these ever exist there, they are to be re-produced, and it will be with diminished splendor and influence, and only after a lapse of years, and while his own mind, and more especially the minds of his children, shall be open to the better influence which grows out of our Protestant and Republican institutions.

The other remark is, that if, from the circumstances of the case, there is much in the western mind that is undesirable, there is much, also, from the same circumstances that is noble. The boy that leaves his home and becomes a seaman, is exposed indeed to numerous bad influences; but there will be developed

in his mind when a sailor some of the qualities that we most love and admire. He will be open, frank, generous, forgiving, liberal, and ever ready to do you good. So the emigrant at the West. You naturally look there for what you are sure to find, noble and magnanimous feeling; large and liberal hospitality; a readiness to aid those who are in distress and want; a purpose to take part with the oppressed, the wronged, and the defenceless; the absence of a penurious spirit; and a courtesy, often expressed indeed with some degree of roughness, that yields the tribute of respect to those who are in any way entitled to it. A minister of the gospel may be certain that he may travel there any where without being insulted; or if he is insulted by one, there will be a dozen who will defend him—simply because he is a minister—though possibly it might be with many modes of expression that would not fall mellifluously on his ear; and an unprotected female in the West, in public conveyances, may be sure of a defence from insult which could not have been enjoyed in the best days of chivalry, if she had a hundred armed knights ready to fix the lance in her behalf. No wayfaring man amidst such developments of mind, will want a home for a night; no one who is sick, will lack those who will watch, without fee or reward, the live-long night at his bedside; no one will suffer for bread, while the humble stores of the log cabin can furnish it. These characteristics may be moulded into noble traits in behalf of patriotism and religion.

(3.) A third observation which may be made in relation to the characteristics of the western mind, is, that there are circumstances which make it certain, that it will be developed. There are few or none of the causes operating to produce imbecility and inaction which exist in many of the older nations of the world. On the contrary, there is every thing to produce a development of whatever slumbering vigor and energy there may be in the soul. There is all which can exist in the fact that all others are intensely active; in the enjoyment of the most ample freedom; in the prospects of rapid and vast gains; in the hope of rising to honor and office; in the possibility of swaying by popular eloquence the public mind.

From the character, also, of the elements which compose

society there, there will be intellectual strife; there will be earnest conflict; there will be impassioned eloquence; there will be a struggle of mind with mind. "Place a New Englander, proud to stand as the representative of some stern Puritan ancestor, in contact with an Irish Jesuit, abhoring in his deepest soul every thing savoring of Puritanism in church and state; place face to face a positive English monarchist, with as positive an American Republican; or a gay, excitable Frenchman, with a heavy, plodding German; or a voluptuous, reckless Italian, with a conscientious, law-abiding Scotchman; or a passionate Spaniard, with a calm, but decided Quaker," and let the questions arise which will arise when such minds come in collision, and there will be fierce intellectual conflicts, and if mind has any hidden resources, they will be developed.*

Every thing, too, in the natural scenery is on a scale so vast and grand—the majestic rivers, the boundless prairies, the deep forest, the very immensity almost of the rich domain which is spread out there, as to make man vast in his schemes, gigantic in his purposes, large in his aspirations, boundless in his ambition.

And while it may be true, that not a few settlers there, from the circumstances of their early training in southern latitudes where men are unaccustomed to labor, may be disposed to indolence and inaction; while the same result to some extent may be produced by the very exuberance of the soil, making labor comparatively unnecessary, and furnishing with ease the supply of the natural wants of our physical being; while, for a time at least, energy and enterprize may in some portions be checked by the prostrating influence of those sicknesses which visit a new country periodically; and while the very vastness and immensity of the regions may dispose many there to draw magnificent outlines of plans which will never be completed in detail, and to devise schemes so grand that there shall be neither the skill, nor the means, nor the patience to fill up the picture—to project towns and cities which it would require centuries to build, and in places where they may be never wanted, and to enter and enclose lands

^{*} See Bib. Repos. for Oct. 1845, p. 645.

beyond the power of any family to cultivate, still it is true at the West, that if there is power in the original elements of the mind there, it will be developed. If man has any energy of soul, in that western world, it will not slumber or sleep. Wherever else there may be apathy, it is not to be looked for in the portions of our own country west of the mountains.

(4.) I may notice a fourth characteristic of the western mind in its relation to religion. So far as those can theorize in regard to that mind who have not had an opportunity personally to witness its operations, it seems clear that it will be manifested in close connexion with religion, or that religion of some kind as a moulding principle will enter into its developments. Those who have gone there, and who still go there, have been strongly imbued with some sentiments of religion on their native soil; and those sentiments, whatever they are, will be unfolded with vigor and power of growth. It is not a collection of colonies of Atheists and infidels that go to people that western world; and strange as it may seem to one who looks on the heterogeneous and unsettled mass, the result of the experiments there made, has shown that the West is not a favorable field for planting communities destitute of all religion. Most of those who have gone, and are now going to people that region, have been trained up in connection with some form of religion, and not a few of those forms are those which take the firmest hold on the human soul, and which are the last to die out by neglect, or under any counteracting influence. The Puritan influence as an element of conduct never soon dies away, and is among the last that can be modified by any foreign power, and when it is developed in the form of the religion of Principle, it never dies. The mass of Germans who emigrate to the West are religionists, and are nominally at least attached to the Christian Church, and are in their original temperament too immoveable to be organized into new associations of professed infidels. The same is true, from other causes, of the Irishman, the Swiss, the Frenchman, the Norwegian, and The Romanist retains his religion as an active principle wherever he goes. "He changes his sky, but not his mind,

when he crosses the ocean; when he leaves the cathedrals and shrines, and pictures, and relics, and consecrated burial-places of the old world, and goes into the forest; and among the various sects to which Protestantism has given birth, the religious sentiment is one that is constantly developed at the West. There may be great ignorance. There may be much fanaticism; there may be new combinations of the elements of religion; there may be a constant changing of creeds; there may be new, and heretofore unheard of forms of error; there may be wild and visionary schemes of religion there, but there will be some form of religious development. There are few portions of the world, if I understand the matter, where there are more ministers of religion, such as they are, in proportion to the population, than at the West. As an illustration of this, it may be mentioned that some two years since, the southern portion of the state of Illinois was carefully explored with reference to the number of professed religious teachers there. In twenty counties of that state, it was found that, embracing preachers of all orders, there was one for every three hundred of the entire population.* In such a community should the present race of preachers, imperfect and ignorant as many of them are, be removed, their places would be supplied by multitudes who would rush to the altar without preparation, and seek to take advantage of the religious propensities of the people, to promote their own popularity, and to wield the power which religion always gives to its professed ministers. The West, if I understand it, is not a place in which to propagate atheism or infidelity. No attempt of the kind yet has struck its roots deep enough to be permanent, and they who seek to spread views that are wholly at variance with all forms of religion there, will find that they impinge on the deepest pre-

^{*}The exact number was as follows: Baptists, regular, 68; Missionary, do, 19; Union, do. 3; Emancipating, do. 1; Campbellite, 42; Methodist, circuit, 17; local, 196; stationary, 7; Old School Presbyterian, 6; New School Presbyterian, 2; Associate Reformed Presbyterian, 6; Cumberland Presbyterian, 19; Episcopalian, 2; Lutherans, 3; German Reformed, 1; Evangelical Associate, 2. The entire population in those counties was 112,700; the number of Church members 21,601, exclusive of some 5,500 Catholics—making one professor of religion to about every five in the entire Protestant population, and one preacher of the Gospel, of some sort, to every three hundred.

judices of the human soul, and that however they may affect a few individuals, they can produce no permanent organization there. He who wishes to ride into permanent power in the West will identify himself with some form of the religious development, for the masses there can be moved by nothing which does not contemplate the permanent influence of religion.

The question, then, if these are just views, is not whether there shall be any religion or none, but whether the religion which shall prevail there shall be true or false; enlightened or ignorant; a miserable fanaticism, or large and liberal christianity; a low and drivelling superstition, or principles that commend themselves to reason and common sense; the religion of tradition, or the religion of the Bible; a religion of excitement, and feeling, and variableness, or the religion of principle; a religion that depends on truth for success, or a religion that derives its efficacy from consecrated places, and holy water, and extreme unction; a religion, which, in connexion with the usual course of training in Protestant colleges and schools, has made the older states of the Republic what they are, or a religion in which ignorance shall be the mother of devotion.

The true inquiry, then, that comes before us is: What is the character of the mind of a people imbued to a great extent with the religious principle, and under its actings and promptings, without corresponding intelligence? What will the western mind be under the development of the religious principle, without the influence which can be derived from colleges and schools? can answer these questions in few words. (1) First, it may be a mind of vast power. The religious principle, under its worst forms, may do as much as any thing else can to develope the human powers,-for religion is the highest stimulus which you can apply to the human soul. The mind of the Prophet of Arabia, the mind of the Saracen, the mind of the Crusader in the dark ages, was terrible in energy; nor has there ever been a mightier principle employed for the subjugation of nations. (2) Second, that religious principle, unless controlled and modified by intelligence, may assume a great variety of forms, among which it might be difficult to determine which would be most deleterious

to the interests of the Republic.—It may assume the form of fanaticism. Under the influence of pretended direct communications from heaven, the wildest and most pernicious opinions shall be held, and the sword and the faggot be called in to accomplish what reason and persuasion shall be unable to effect. The world was made desolate before the fanaticism of the prophet of Mecca, and oceans of blood have been shed to gratify it .-It may assume the form of gloomy superstition. It may suppose that religion consists in the consecration of places of devotion and of burial; in sprinkling and ablutions; in incense, processions, beads, and genuflexions; in veneration for the relies of the dead, and in utter withdrawment from the world, and may exhaust itself in founding monasteries and nunneries.-It may assume the form of religious bigotry, and demand, by pains and penaltics, the conformity of all men to its own creed. It is an enlightened religion only that is liberal; and bigotry, the world over, has had a close connexion with narrow-minded ignorance. -It may develope itself in wild and ungovernable excitement; may pretend to great zeal, be exhibited in fitful spasms, be solely under the dominion of feeling, and, under an ignorant ministry, be manifested in scenes of wild disorder and confusion. -It may give birth to a thousand different sects, under the auspices of minds incapable of seeing the harmony and proportions of truth, and supposing that the 'one idea' which has assumed so much importance in their own mental vision is the whole of religion. A new sect shall appear with every new shade of thought, and mcn, destined otherwise to be unknown, shall rise into temporary importance and power by making that one thought the essence of all religion.

Such, as it seems to me, are some of the characteristics of the mind which it is our duty to seek to mould into homogeneous conformity with the spirit of our institutions, and in reference to which we deem it desirable to establish and maintain Protestan literary institutions at the West.

III. I proposed to inquire, in the third place, what are the reasons arising from these characteristics of mind, for establishing and sustaining such institutions.

The object of all efforts that are put forth in relation to the western mind, is to establish and maintain there a governing influence. That system of measures that shall be adapted to do this, will secure the ultimate ascendency, and the vast West has become a field of conflict, in reference to which the most mighty forces in this land, and in other lands, are marshalling themselves for battle. It is quite apparent, that the great moral struggle that is to determine, more than any thing else, what the world shall be, is to be there. That mighty, restless, energetic, unformed, excited, mass of mind, is to be brought under restraint; to be moulded into homogeneousness; to be placed under proper control. It is to be made to accomplish important purposes for the Republic; for the church; for the world—for the destiny of this Republic is to be determined by the character of the mind beyond the mountains, and the influence which it is to exert in the cause of the great experiment of self-government, of liberty, and of human redemption, is to be determined by what that western mind is to be.

Now there are many ways in which you may restrain and control the human intellect. You may do it by superstition; but then you destroy its freedom and its individuality. You may set over it a priesthood that shall have dominion over the faith, and that shall fetter the soul down to the belief of dogmas ordained by the church in an ignorant age, and before the human faculties had attained half the growth which they now have; but then you prevent all further development of the intellectual powers. this may be done, let Spain and Italy testify. But this is not the kind of control which befits the mind of our country, and the attempt to do this cannot be successful. There will be outbreaks, and individuality, and progress; and it is vain to attempt to make mind here what it was once in the dark ages, or what it is now beneath the shadows of the Vatican.-You may control mind in an army, by the iron law of military discipline. According to the theory, and, extensively, according to the practice, in an army there is but one active mind—that of the commander; and every other intellect, and every other will, is to be merged in his, for soldiers are not contemplated as freemen, or as having a will, but as strong and well-adjusted machines.-You may control and restrain mind under a despotism. There, too, it is contemplated that there is to be but one developed and active mind; that of the prime minister, or the sovereign. Expanding and active intellect elsewhere is dangerous; and he who gives it play, whether in prose or verse, in private enterprise or prospects for public improvement, does it with the scimetar and the bowstring before his eyes. The minds of the millions are to be merged in the one mind of the supreme ruler; and the individuality of the soul is lest in the prescribed and constrained words and actions of the automaton or the Mandarin.-You may restrain mind by slavery; for, under that system, there is presumed to be mental power and energy only in the master. It is essential to the system that the intellect of the slave should slumber; that the thinking man should be lost in the working animal; that it be presumed that there is no inventive power, no ability to write a book, no intelligence to acquaint the fettered mind itself with the knowledge of its own slumbering energy; that no fields of enterprise should be opened; and that, as with the bee, the beaver, and the ox, one generation should have as much skill as the next. In all these systems no progress is contemplated; no accumulation of intellectual power is presumed; no increased facilities for furthering the interests of society are designed or desired. The beaver built his dam, and the bee constructed her cell, with as much skill in the first age of the world, as now. There has been no accumulation of wisdom; no progress in the art. The Chincse Mandarin thought as clearly, and with the same rules and bounds to his thoughts, two thousand years ago, as he does now. So it is in the institutions of slavery; so it is contemplated in all armies; so it is under a system of settled superstition—a fixed creed-an infallible church; -under the form of a religious belief, unchangeable, not in its principles, as the system in the Bible is, but unchangeable in its details.

It is only free mind that is endowed with a power of development, and that makes advances from age to age; and such the mind in our western world is to be. It is not to be disciplined as in an army; it is not to be cast into one permanent and 2^* unvarying mould as under a despotism; it is not to be reduced to the condition of the fixed instincts of the brute as in slavery. Of all lands our own is best adapted to development—whether for good or for evil. Our vigorous climate; our consciousness of possessing the inalienable rights of freedom; our religion; our boundless fields of enterprise; our public offices, accessible to all; our inexhaustible resources in wealth, are all adapted to call forth the whole power of intellect in this nation. And wherever else—amidst camps and courts, harems and seraglios, convents and nunneries, mind stagnates and slumbers, it will not be likely to among the free people west of the mountains.

In all the restraints imposed on mind in this land, whether by education, religion, or law, there are certain things to be always recognized and secured. One is, that all restraint is to be consistent with individuality. Men are to be trained to act as individuals; not to act as masses. Many minds are to act for themselves; not many hands to be raised, and many votes to be cast under the control of one-whether of domestic or of foreign dictation. Another is, that all restraint is to be consistent with freedom. It is settled here that mind will be free. Men will think what they please, say what they please, do what they please, vote as they please. The States are to be free. Individuals are to be They are to have all the liberty which they now have, and all which they ought to have. If there is any invasion on this principle; any attempt to fetter and restrain mind beyond these just limits, there will be internal agitation, commotion, and outbreaks;—for the oppressed and living mass, like the smothered fires of the volcano, will struggle and throw off the load that you place upon it, and will burst the fetters with which you seek to bind it.

No system of education at the West can be successful which does not recognize these principles, and the question now before this nation is, whether these ends can be best secured under a system of Protestant training, or under the auspices of the Papal mode of instruction. That power which controls the education of the West, controls ultimately the western mind; and the grand

inquiry, therefore, is, who shall control the education of our country? I will use the language of another here, as expressing views on this subject which must commend themselves to any reflecting mind. "There are those who are ready to take this business of providing seats of education at the West, out of our hands entirely. They have means enough, and men enough for this work. The Jesuits, in the presence of whose tremendous organization of intellectual and moral despotism, the Pope himself, with all his own hierarchy, is not his own master; the Jesuits are willing, nay, longing-nay, plotting and toiling, to become the educators of America. Let them have the privilege of possessing the seats of education at the West, and of moulding the leading minds of the millions that are to inhabit there, and we may give up all efforts to re-produce, in the West, what Puritanism has produced here. I am not afraid of priests. As mere priest, in such a country as this, is a poor creature. Let the priests come; and, in the climate of our freedom, with a free pulpit, and a free press, and free schools, and with the fountains of free and manly thoughts in our seats of higher education, it will be seen that priestcraft is not a thriving business. But deliver us from the Jesuit professor—the Popish teacher—forming the minds, and shaping the entire intellectual and moral character of those who are to direct the opinions of the masses of our people. A sister of charity, teaching French, and music, and such like things, in a nunnery boarding school, is a mightier agent than a priest with his Latin prayers, and his maledictions, and his holy water. If they are to monopolise the higher education of the West; if they are to have the conceded reputation of giving the best education, they win the field; then where are we as a people? We are on the way to where Spain is. What was Spain when the Jesuits had not become the educators of her leading minds; when they were only beginning to establish those colleges of theirs? Then was she the foremost empire in the world, first in splendor, in wealth, in chivalry, in power, and in the extent of her dominion. Where is she now? The least among the nations, degraded, impoverished, despised. And the history of every nation upon which the vampire power of Jesuit education has fastened itself, is paralled to that of Spain. Shall we then yield to that influence, and follow to the same destiny?"—

The grand question at the West, in regard to its final destiny, lies between such Jesuit colleges, and such colleges and schools as the society whose interests I advocate is endeavoring to sustain and establish, for by one or the other of them the leading minds of the West are to be controlled. We have seen what a Protestant college is, and we know well what is its influence. It is felt all over the eastern portions of the Republic. The Protestant college was the first thing that our fathers contemplated after building their own houses and the church of God, and almost the first 'clearing' that was made in the boundless forest was to let down the light of the sun on the earth, that they might build a college there. The influence of that institution, and of those founded after the same model, has been felt in all the interests of our common country, and is now a matter of history. It is not with us a doubtful experiment when we attempt to found similar institutions in the newly-settled portions of our Republic, nor by founding or sustaining them do we put any thing to hazard. By doing this, we at the same time express our deep convictions of their value, and discharge a high obligation resting on us as friends of learning and of our own Republican institutions. Greece could not but have felt the obligation to diffuse her own principles of liberty and love of the arts through all her colonies; an obligation which could have rested on no other people. For much higher reasons, we, who are professed Protestant christians, owe it to every portion of the New World settled in the main by those who are bound to us by the ties of kindred; who are descended from the same ancestors, and are heirs to the same rich inheritance in civil and religious rights, to see to it that our much valued institutions should be re-produced and perpetuated there. We know what the result would be, for we can regard our history in the older portions of the Republic, as a prophecy of what the west will be under the influence of similar seminaries and schools.

But what is a Roman Catholic college? What is a Jesuit

* Dr. Bacon's Address in Behalf of Western Colleges, p. 10.

seminary of learning? How is such an institution adapted to our Republic?

A Roman Catholic college, like a Protestant college, is also a thing that is not unknown. It is an institution whose influence has been determined in the world, and which is capable now of being accurately defined. It is an institution under the control of priests, a few of whom are learned, but the mass or whom, in comparison with Protestant ministers of this country, in all that relates to the cultivation of the mind, are incomparably inferior. It is an institution contemplating the bestowment of the highest blessings of education only on a few leading minds. "Our government requires the diffusion of learning through the multitude. Romanism prefers the concentration of it in a few minds that can control and regulate the faith and practice of the mass. Our government requires that every citizen be himself a man; forming his own judgments, acting agreeably to his independent moral principle. Romanism contemplates that the majority are not to think for themselves, but that they shall do what the reverend chapter may think out for them." It is an institution in the service of the Roman communion, and all whose ends and efforts, on principle, tend to the advancement of the Papal See. It is an institution essentially proselyting in its character, and which would not be tolerated for a moment if it were not understood to be pledged to spread the sentiments of the Roman communion, and all whose apparent Catholicity of character, in any place, must, on principle, be assumed only because that is the most 'expedient' way of securing the ends of the establishment. It is, in our own country, essentially and inevitably a foreign institution, governed by laws enacted abroad; taught by men educated abroad; and having reference to the advancement of a cause whose centre is abroad. It is an institution whose studies are graduated to meet and sustain the dogmas of a church settled infallibly centuries ago, and which cannot adapt itself to the advancing state of the world. It is an institution whose text books, if they use those pertaining to modern times, must be expurgated of

^{*} Prof. Park, in his Dudleian Lecture. Bibliotheca Sacra, Aug. 1845, p. 484.

every sentiment, however true, that favors the Protestantism of our country. It is an institution in which neither history, nor moral philosophy, nor logic, nor geology, nor even anatomy, can be taught without danger to the Roman Catholic communion, unless guarded and explained by a Roman Catholic professor. Recently, the British government, after having given a magnificent annual revenue to the Maynooth college for the education exclusively of Catholic priests, proposed to establish in Ireland a certain number of colleges for education in the various branches of secular learning, to be open indiscriminately to young men of whatever church or denomination. Against this proposal, "the Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops of Ireland," in their capacity of "spiritual pastors' of the Roman Catholic young men who might resort to such colleges, have expostulated in a "memorial" addressed to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In their memorial they have the frankness to say in so many words: "That the Roman Catholic pupils could not attend the lectures in history, logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, geology, or anatomy, without exposing their faith or morals to imminent danger, unless a Roman Catholic professor will be appointed for each of the chairs." What a confession! History, and morals, and metaphysics, and moral philosophy, and even geology and anatomy, perilous to be taught young men, unless under the guidance of Roman Catholic professors; and in the nineteenth century, great questions in science, in geology and anatomy, to be settled, not by the principles of the Novum Organum, but by the authority of the church!

I will add, further, that a Jesuit college is an institution in which a young man cannot be educated for the purposes of American citizenship. Such a college has, indeed, well-founded claims to skill in instructing in the ancient languages, for many of that order are trained in the best modes of teaching the ancient classics. It has pretentions to skill in instructing in modern languages, for not a few of the professors in such colleges are foreigners, to whom such languages are vernacular. In these respects they may equal, but do not surpass, the education which may be obtained in the Protestant colleges in our country.

In no other respect, can an education, adapted to the wants of an American citizen—to the duties which our sons and daughters will be called to discharge in this Republic, be obtained in a Jesuit institution, that can be compared with that which may be obtained in Protestant seminaries of corresponding grade. There is no error more prevalent than that of over-rating the advantages of Catholic seminaries of learning, and the causes of that error it would not be difficult to state. The confidence with which their claims are set forth; the fact that most of the instructors are foreigners, a fact that, in the view of many, magnifies their pretensions to learning; the fact that so little is known of the interior arrangements, and the instructions in these institutions, throwing an air of venerable mystery over them; the fact that a few among their leaders are eminently learned; these, and kindred things, will account for the over-rated estimate of such institutions. If to this be added the fact that there are not a few persons in the community who are opposed to evangelical religion, and who are willing to laud an institution the more because the evangelical doctrines are pressed less closely on the conscience and the heart, while yet the forms of religion are preserved, it is easy to see that, in extended portions of our country, it is not difficult to keep up the impression of the superiority of such schools. And if to this be added, also, the impression so carefully kept up, that an education can be obtained there at a cheaper rate than in Protestant schools, it is not difficult to perceive how this prevailing error may be perpetuated. Yet we may ask, and the question will not soon be answered, where in this country is there a Jesuit college that, for the purposes of educating the youth of this land for the duties of American citizenship, can be compared with Yale, or Harvard, or Dartmouth, or Princeton? There is not one.

"The Jesuit teacher," it has been well said, "the teacher of whatever name, whose one great object is to bring the intellect into bondage, and to enslave the soul to Rome, cannot impart a good education. They may be familiar with the legendary lives of St. Ignatius and St. Dominic, but what can they know of the history of the United States? Their teachers dare not let them

know the story of American liberty, from its storm-rocked cradle in the Mayflower, to the day when trans-Atlantic institutions became a terror to Austria and to Rome. Nay, such teachers dare not let their pupils know the history of Europe for the last three hundred years, or what belongs to the geography of Europe at this hour. They dare not let their pupils know the difference between Spain and England, between Sicily and Scotland, between the most Popish states, and the most Protestant, every-History is their enemy; geography is their enemy; every science that enlarges the mind and awakens the love of truth, and forms the intellectual powers to habits of bold thought and free investigation, is their enemy." Where is there a Jesuit institution, in the United States, or a Roman Catholic institution any where, that dares to give its pupils the true history, and an account of the true condition of North and South America; or that dares go back to the fountains, and trace the history of New England and Mexico? In what Catholic seminary has it ever been told, or ever will be told, why the one smiles in beauty, intelligence, and peace, and the other is sunk in ignorance and shrouded in gloomy superstition, and is too feeble to lift its hand in defence of injured rights?

The grand question now before the people of this land is, which of the two classes of institutions, now referred to, shall fix and mould the as yet unsettled mind of the mighty West. Colleges, and sehools, and seminaries, for both sexes, there will be there; and one thing is clear, unless we can establish institutions of learning that shall be of as high an order of scholarship, and as cheap as the Jesuit, the issue will not be doubtful. That we can do it, no one can doubt; if we will do it, the West is safe; our country is safe; the cause of liberty and of Protestantism in the world is safe.