

Thoughts of Dr. McGlynn

SELECTED FROM VARIOUS ADDRESSES

By SYLVESTER L. MALONE

The Earth Should Be the Very Ante-Chamber of Heaven

God is the Father of all His children, all are equally brothers and therefore He has given to all of them equally His natural bounties.

He has placed us here as if in one goodly household, and He is abundantly able, as He is most willing to make His table long enough and broad enough to accommodate all of His children and with elbow room to spare.

Natural Gifts—Essential Rights

With diversity of natural gifts, God has given an equality of essential rights to all His children, just because they are His children.

The Earth Given to Men

"The earth He hath given to the children of men." He hath given it as a gratuitous gift; and he, I care not who he may be; the law, I care not what it be, or by whom it may have been written; the teacher or preacher, I care not of what church or sect, who would rob men of what God hath given them, is a sacrilegious thief, and all the more sacrilegious if he presumes to speak in the very voice and in the very words of God.

All men are created by Almighty God with certain inalienable rights; these inalienable rights are rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; life cannot be had without proper access to the materials of which this earth is made; and therefore, God has given an equal and indefeasible right to each and every one of His children of access to these materials; no prescription, no vested right, no law, can deprive the child of a beggar that may be born in a barn to-night of the same right as the child that is born to inherit an imperial throne, to equal common proprietorship, or tenancy, if you will, of the natural bounties of God.

Inequalities arising not from the inequality of gifts that God has given but from the usurpations of men of the rights that God has given to all naturally are opposed to education.

We must distinguish between the gifts of nature and the products of human industry.

There is a distinction between what God through nature has given equally to all His children because He is the equal, impartial and loving Father of them all, and the private property which by God's own law is the proper reward of man's individual energy.

God never designed that one of His children should exclude any other from the bounties He provided for all.

The Creator has made ample provision for all men in the storehouse of nature and in the faculties and powers of man.

There can be only One Landlord. He is the Lord our God.

"The earth He hath given to the children of men." It is a goodly habitation in which He has placed His family. And it is a monstrous usurpation of God's property to permit any man to call himself the absolute owner of any portion of it.

Not the property even of the whole human family, God alone is the owner and he has simply given, as Jefferson tells us, the usufruct of these bounties to each succeeding generation of living men.

Free the Earth from Landlordism

Free the earth from the curse of landlordism by taking the entire rental value of land in taxation, leaving to private holders possession of the land they choose to use.

Man's Right to Natural Bounties

It is perfectly clear that man by being a man at all has an equal right with every other man, with all men to natural bounties.

It requires no parchment to prove his title, it requires no civil or ecclesiastical law to guarantee it. The mere fact that he is here, a human being endowed with this nature is the one indispensable title to this joint, equal usufruct of all the bounties of nature.

Rights that are not God vested can never be vested.

Men are made by their Creator equal and endowed by Him with rights which for the simple reason they come from Him are inalienable so that no power can ever deprive men of them.

We have no quarrel with the payment of rent, but we have an eternal war with the payment to the wrong man.

Rental Value of Land

"It is the very shadow of society that follows society as the shadow follows the man who walks hither and thither."

To be Taken by Community

Our object is to have laws enacted by which the rental values of land shall be taken by the community because they are created by the community and rightfully belong to it, and to abolish all taxes upon the products of labor. Thus alone can justice be secured. It would give to every man all that he can honestly acquire and leave to no man what he does not deserve to have.

Landlordism

Landlordism creates artificial scarcity of natural opportunities, therefore makes scarcer all those good things that would be produced out of those natural bounties.

Land Monopoly

The monopoly that is the parent monopoly, the giant monopoly, that overshadows all other monopolies, is the monopoly of the natural bounties, and the reason why this monopoly exists at all is because there comes to these natural bounties a great value from the growth and the very needs of the community and from the increased capacity of the community to produce good things, since it is only on the land and by the land and out of the land that anything can be produced by human labor.

Therefore those who have the exclusive control of the land enjoy the faculty, the power, of placing practically what conditions they please upon the use of that land, and where mere selfishness is the rule they will naturally place upon it the highest price that they can extort from the necessities of mankind.

Hence the evils and the horrors of landlordism, of land monopoly, of land-grabbing here and elsewhere. Hence the fact that in spite of increase of wealth, of civilization, of labor-saving machinery, the masses of men are not benefited, that poverty is actually increased with the increase of wealth, and there comes to those communities that are the wealthiest a new, more degrading and more soul-killing poverty than exists in the free and simple condition of barbarism.

It is because of the enormous value that comes to lands, to the earth, where civilization is highest, population densest, and the ability of human labor to produce good things greatest. Therefore does the value of the land on which alone all these things can be done become the greater; therefore the greater

cupidity of men to possess that land; therefore the higher the toll that the masses of men can be compelled to pay for the privilege of living on that land, of standing upon it, sitting down upon it, working upon it, being ill upon it and dying upon it and being buried in it.

Monopoly exacts more than a fair return for what it gives, and we are entirely justified in saying that the state should stop at nothing that experience shall prove to be necessary in order to abolish such monopolies.

We are driving at the abolition of those monopolies that are denying, nullifying the Declaration of Independence; making impracticable the equality of men.

The People—The Land

We must have the people acknowledged as the supreme owners of the land, and those who are permitted to hold choicer portions of our common estate must pay to the people in the shape of a tax a perfect equivalent for the privilege that they enjoy, so that men shall not have to pay to their brethren for the enjoyment of a value that is a product of the whole community and not of an individual brother.

Public Utilities

And so it is with the highways of the nation, the railways, the telegraphs and the like. They are the product of the people, they can only exist by the sovereign charter of the people. By their very nature they are more or less a monopoly, and therefore do not come into the class of those things where competition will speedily reduce prices and give to each one the precise equivalent for what he has done.

Franchises

I do not think we ought to turn over the people's roads to the railway kings. We have turned over great franchises which are worth hundreds of millions of dollars to their fortunate possessors. Now, hundreds of millions of dollars is too much money for us to pay for managing our high roads.

An enormous value not earned by the investors, but created by the franchise of the people.

Make Common by Law what God made Common

The only way to right the social injustice is by making common by law, by constitution, by practice what God has made common, by appropriating to the community what the community has produced, by the owning or controlling by the community and not corporations of those great public franchises like railroads and telegraphs.

Sagacity

It was told of a recently deceased Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, a man who sat in the Senate of the United States, one of the most eminent men of his generation, how he, a poor lawyer, in a comparatively poor western town, had been able to accumulate some two or three millions of dollars worth of property. How? By "sagacity" in investing in lands at some distance from villages and towns, with foresight that in the course of a few years the growth of those communities, the industry, thrift, talent, virtue, patience of large communities would all keep adding to the value of his property, and in course of time cities, towns and villages would grow up on these lands, and he would be able to command an enormous price for land that cost him but a song. Now, while the law tolerated or even sanctioned what he was doing, he was guilty of an iniquity, of reaping where he had not sown, of exacting tribute where he had contributed nothing.

Capital

Where did the first man get his capital? Man with his bare hands and the land has produced all things. All the wonders of our civilization, this magnificent temple of art, the mightiest dome that the genius of man has ever raised over the altar of God, everything is ultimately but the product coming from a naked man on the naked earth. And God sent him down from Heaven with no other capital, no other machinery but the magnificent capital of his brain, of his muscular energies, and the magnificent natural bounties of which He has made him the lord and sovereign.

Labor

We do not stop at merely organized labor. We mean by labor the farmer, the doctor, the musician—every man who by brain or muscle renders an equivalent for what he enjoys.

The Right to Labor

We have the duty as well as the right to labor. It is necessary to the fulfillment of the law of God.

The right to labor upon what? Punching the air? No, there may be some gymnastic exercise in that, but nothing to speak of. We have the right to labor upon what? Why upon our environment of course, in this goodly habitation and not in the moon or in Mars. This earth must be the workshop, a goodly workshop, that the Father the Master workman, has stocked with wonderful materials, but raw materials, which require the use of human labor in order to evolve more of those wonders that man has already evolved by his labor.

Labor is the law of life. It is the law of civilization—it is the law of human progress.

Labor is dignified, Labor is great, Labor is sweet, Labor is holy. To labor is to pray: *Laborare est orare.*

Labor Has a Sacramental Value

Labor is caged, prisoned, cribbed, cabined and confined if it have not absolutely free access to the bounties upon which it must be exerted, so that, in the natural order, materials of labor, access to these materials and the diligent, industrious and rational exertion of labor upon these materials is the sacrament of nature, even as the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood is the sacrament in the spiritual order.

It is a thousand pities that the masses of men have so little leisure for rest, for recreation to renew their strength, their vigor, in order that they may be the better able to bear their burdens, to learn their lessons, to fulfill their tasks, to fight their battles.

Labor—Today—Horrid Drudgery

This eternal drudgery of men and women, this chaining of men and women and little children to the counters, to the bench, to the workshop, the eternal tragedy of the mothers and the daughters, the incarceration of the little children in dingy tenements that may better be called prisons than homes, the unsightly scenes, the unhealthful odors, the unseemly surroundings to which most men are condemned every day and every week, and all the years of their lives, are no part of God's original plan in placing His human family here on earth and bidding them subdue the earth and possess it and enjoy it.

Labor Should be Healthful Exercise

We should have leisure abundant to cultivate our minds, to improve our tastes and to gratify them, leisure abundant for rest and recreation, so that the toils and the burdens should be but a healthful exercise and not the horrid things they are today, debasing, degrading, distorting the stature and the dignity of man, defacing in so great measure with sores and scars, with the marks of chains, stunting, preventing the growth of the image of God in the forms and in the minds of men.

It is a noble charity to help to bring about such lawful social adjustments, based upon a sound political economy, as will create a greater and a steady demand for labor and raise wages while diminishing the cost of living, and thus largely diminish suffering, of which there will always necessarily be enough in the world for the exercise of Christian charity.

A large population will produce far more for each than a small population. And this goes to show that it is a mistake to suppose that there is danger of the human family becoming too numerous in this world. The natural bounties are practically boundless.

"It Is a Beautiful Law of God's Civilization"

that where men come together in great numbers, so far from there being any danger of their exhausting the bounties of nature, nature surrenders to them in still larger proportion her greatest mysteries and her most precious treasures."

Labor Question

The labor question in its last analysis and philosophical conclusion is the question, "How shall all men and women at all times and all places, be able to exercise all the faculties with which they are endowed for the purpose of earning a living. It is the question of how to employ their faculties and obtain their just rewards. Men find that they are unable to so employ their faculties and receive their rewards.

Immigration

Every able-bodied man, every able-bodied woman, every healthy child that comes into this country, whether from heaven or from Europe is money in the pockets of the country.

Instead of being afraid of having too many children in a family or too many people in a city, or too many people in a country, we shall be asking God to send us more of these good things, and we shall be saying we shall never have enough.

Room Enough For All

Why is there more talk today of keeping out what is called pauper labor than there was forty or fifty years ago? Simply because land thirty or forty or fifty years ago was practically to be got for nothing all over a great part of this country, and today the land is all practically monopolized. Tear away the barriers that keep the people from the land! Then there will be such a demand for labor of every kind, that the sixty millions of people of the United States will be too few to do the work. Every man not only provides for himself in a system of freedom, where natural opportunities are not monopolized, but helps to increase the wealth of his fellowmen and increases not only his own wealth and the aggregate wealth of the country, but makes it easier for everybody else. A generation or two ago that was the American spirit. We felt that any decent man who came along was a blessing to the country. This country would not be one-half what it is, it would not be more than one-third what it is today if there had been no immigration after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

The law of labor is the law of God, but it is a monstrous law if labor be God's law, and man who has the means to labor, the desire to labor, the strength to labor, is not permitted to labor.

"Give us this day Our Daily Bread"

And so that prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," will surely never issue from the lips of any true child of God with the meaning, with the hope, that the Father will feed with bread for which he shall not labor, for that were to ask the father to put a double burden of labor upon some less fortunate brother, and that were a blasphemy against the Father. Let no man, therefore, dare to-day, as no man shall dare in that happier day, to say, "Give us this day our daily bread," and desire anything else by the prayer than abundant justice in the world, abundant opportunity for himself, but no greater than for any one of his brethren, to employ his energies upon the boundless materials that God has spread out for all his children. Give me, give us, give all of us, give to every child of this nation, abundant opportunity to employ our labor, and perfect security in the fruits of our labor. That is the sublime philosophy of the petition, "Give us this day our daily bread."

What we mean by Labor

Labor upon these natural bounties is the one means by which men can work out their destiny. And when we speak thus of labor we mean not merely the labor of the hand, but the labor of the head; we mean not only the exercise of muscle, but we mean also the exercise of the energies of the brain. We mean, in a word, all those exercises of human faculties, whether of soul or body, that go to make up all the wonders of civilization. We mean the labor of the preacher who teaches the word of God. We mean the labor of the artist who thinks out the marvellous dream of beauty and perpetuates it upon the canvas. We mean the thought of a Michael Angelo and of a Raphael as well and more than the labor of the man who made for Raphael the canvas, or the stonecutter that chiseled some of the stones that may now be in the dome of St. Peter's, the labor of head or hand of painter, poet, sculptor, musician, of the man who makes the musical instrument, and, still better, of the man who plays upon it, and, better still, of the master mind that composed the masterpiece that thousands of musicians shall continue to gladden the hearts of men by their repetition of. All exercise of human faculty that contributes anything to human enjoyment, to the satisfaction of human desires, everything that helps to elevate and refine man by the exercise of human energies, is labor, and it should have its reward. It should have free scope.

Poverty

I am intensely convinced that poverty is not a law of God, but is a violation of God's law.

Inability to Get Work

Poverty arises from inability to get work. Inability to get work arises from the fact that the general bounties of nature are appropriated as private property by a few, and the masses are deprived of their divine inheritance.

And so instead of having the equal right to get at the general bounties of nature, and thus exercise the right of supporting themselves and their families, the masses have to go begging of the few—of the classes—for the boon to labor. They have to crave as a blessing the chance to get work, and it rests with the monopolists to give the work to the one who will content himself with the poorest fare of all—to the one who will consent to live and reproduce his species with the least proportion of the products of his labor.

Opportunity To Work Wanted

My life has, for many a year, been made a burden to me by the never ending procession of men and women and little children coming to my door, and not asking for food, but asking for influence and letters of recommendation, and personally appealing to me to obtain for them an opportunity for working for their daily bread.

Poverty Can Be Abolished

We have a belief that poverty can be abolished by conforming human laws and institutions to the great principles of equal justice.

We would abolish involuntary poverty that comes from crowding out God's children from the Father's estate, so that they are permitted to come back to it only on condition of becoming the tenants or serfs or slaves of their more favored brethren.

The poverty which we would abolish is no part of God's plan, but a blur and a blot on civilization, rather the creation of the ignorance of his plan—a poverty that causes men to curse God and revile and ridicule the thought of saying "Our Father."

We wish, therefore, to abolish poverty because we wish to enforce the ordinances of God in the maintaining and ruling of human society, and because we see clearly that God's plan for the prevention of poverty is that men should have the earth, and it is clearly God's only plan for the abolition of poverty to restore the earth to men again.

Not God's Law

The poverty that we would abolish, the misery that is in the world, the degradation of want and the still worse degradation of the fear of want, the avarice, the cupidity, the countless crimes of which poverty, bred of injustice, is the fruitful mother, are not the result of the laws of a beneficent Father, but of the blasphemous violation of them.

"The Poor Ye Have Always With You"

"The poor ye have always with you" is the declaration of a painful fact, but not the enunciation of a divine law.

Christ, when he said "The poor ye have always with you" did not enact a law, He did not express a desire that poverty should continue to the end but He simply predicted a very unpleasant fact.

"The poor ye have always with you." More's the pity. And if we must always have some of them with us, would it be so blasphemous, so terrible a contradiction of revelation, if we could so reverse the order of things that the masses would enjoy great abundance and that it should be only classes that suffer the poverty?"

No Need To Be Poor

The poverty that comes like a necessary horrid shadow of civilization to-day is no necessary consequence of civilization. It is the result of the enormous increase of value that comes to land from civilization, and because of our mistakes in permitting that enormous value, that magnificent fund provided by a beautiful providential design for the benefit of the community, to become a curse by giving it into private pockets and making it an advantage for men to enslave their brethren by making artificially scarce the magnificent bounties of God.

Who Are the Poor?

Not merely the disinherited ones, the wanderers, the tramps, the beggars, but the tired and struggling masses of mankind who are at best only a few degrees above pauperism; those to whom a somewhat protracted period without employment or a serious domestic affliction might reduce to absolute poverty. The poor are the great masses of men everywhere. The rich are the few, the poor are the many.

Poverty, Terrible Price for Progress

The progress and civilization that is purchased by the poverty and consequent vice and crime of today are not worth the terrible price, and, therefore, it is that by a natural instinct that does justice to the better plan of God, men have been singing that God made the country and man made the town.

God Made Town and Country

If God made the country from the forces of inanimate nature, God has made the town through His highest and holiest and noblest work—namely, the brain of man.

Abolish the Devil's, Not Christ's Poverty

Christ commanded holy poverty—the magnificent spiritual detachment of the animal man from the love of material things; the using these things, as St. Paul commends, as if we used them not.

It is not Christ's poverty; it is the devil's poverty that we

are trying to abolish. And we are trying to introduce into the world God's holy poverty. Christ did not preach the blessedness of poverty, but He did preach the blessedness of the poor among whom He lived; because He came to deliver His message first to the poor, to the outcast to the obscure, to the lowly, and to the unlearned, therefore, He said: "Blessed are the poor," because they have the Gospel preached to them.

Evictions in Ireland

Talk about evictions in Ireland, I am told that there are some twenty thousand evictions in New York City every year for non-payment of rent, a greater number than in all Ireland. Mr. Gladstone in his saner later moments has said that a sentence of eviction was frequently equivalent to a sentence of death. These sentences of eviction are to the street, with the poor little pots and pans and sticks of furniture, and from the streets to the hospital, to fill a premature grave in the Potter's field unmarked, unknown.

Tragedies in New York

We find lots of people driven out of the world by actual starvation here in New York City.

There is a fearful tragedy going on right under your eyes, ladies and gentlemen, and some of you don't see it and some of you know nothing about it. It has been my lot to touch these tragedies too often as if with my very hand. My ears have been oppressed by them. My heart has been rent by them. And small wonder if I could stand it no longer, and thought it high time to raise my voice and my hand to high heaven and as good as swear that I would do what I could to abolish this iniquity.

The vice that is the parent of poverty is itself the result of poverty.

The preachers of the blessedness of poverty are themselves an awful example of the debasing power of the fear of poverty.

The Children Dying

Although a great majority of the community were happy and in peace and enjoying comfort and refinement and learning and art and virtue and religion—an impossible supposition—since no man can enjoy true religion while next door to him God's children are dying of want and he is full of everything good. (Thunders of applause.)

Tear Down Mulberry Bend Rookeries

We want to abolish the poverty of those horrid dens, and of other tenement houses not quite so horrid.

We want to tear down as far as we can those horrid tenement houses of which the papers are telling us. If we could have our way we would make short work of your Mulberry Bends and similar "bends." It would be money in our pockets to destroy such rookeries.

Have More Parks

Have nothing built in their places,—let in the sunlight, have strips of verdure all over the city, parallel with all the great avenues; more parks, more green places in the city, inviting the birds to their once-wanted haunts, and let the children of the poor have to travel but a few steps in any direction to commune with nature, to see green things, to look at the sky, to hear the ripple of the waters. It would be money in the treasury of New York to save the lives of its people, for every human being is worth money to the community, to put it upon the lowest economic ground.

Our own Central Park has paid for itself over and over again in the increased value of property around it. If the mere slight percentage on the rental value of these lands which now goes in the shape of a tax to the public treasury has paid over and over again the whole cost of Central Park, how much more would it not be if the full rental value of those lands went into the public treasury!

Now we say it with all reverence, we say it with a sense of the infinite distance that passes between that Divine Model and us, that we are humbly, reverently trying to follow in His footsteps in abolishing poverty. Surely he is a poor teacher of Christianity, surely he has but a travesty of it in his mind and heart, who would ever believe that Christ wanted him to feed the hungry, but to be careful only to feed him enough to keep him from actually dying of starvation; that Christ wants us to keep a roof over the poor, to give them shelter, but to be careful that we don't make the roof too tight, so that the poor may be constantly reminded that this is but a weary and dreary kind of a world at best, and shall be very well resigned—as, in fact, most of them are, in my experience—to get out of the world if He choose to call for them.

Sanctity of Least of God's Children

The heavens are telling the glory of God. There is a greater heaven here, vaster and more wondrous than the physical universe, in the intelligent mind and affectionate heart of the least of God's creatures. All the multitudinous and multifarious beauties and glories of the physical world are not equal to the dignity and the sanctity of the mind and the heart of the least of God's children.

The Children

In the very homes in which many of you are living there are children dying tonight, not by the hand of God, but by the hand of man.

The Children Weeping

I must now come to a close. I shall read to you two stanzas of a poem by Mrs. Browning:

"But the young, young children, oh, my brothers,
They are weeping bitterly—
They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
In the country of the free.

"And well may the children weep before you!
They are weary ere they run;
They have never seen the sunshine nor the glory
Which is brighter than the sun."

* * * * *

"Let them weep! Let them weep!"

Let Them Weep

Let them weep—yes, let them weep—since it is their only solace, and it were cruel of us to deprive them of the comfort of their tears; but just because the children are weeping, and while they are weeping, let their hot tears scald our hearts, let their inarticulate groans and wails stir up within us all that is manly and womanly and all that is Christlike, to do what we can to dry their tears, to stop the inarticulate sobbing of their breaking hearts.

Let us, just because they are weeping, feel all the more impelled to heed the voice, to believe the words, to accept the call of the Master, stimulated by His example to do what we can to take away the cause of their tears. Let us, attracted by His powerful benedictions, encouraged by His promises, and awed by His menaces, do what we can to right the wrong and to cause the blessed day of justice to dawn. And the dawn of the day of justice will be the beginning of the doing on earth of the will of the Father as it is done in heaven. It will be the beginning of the reign of the Prince of Peace.

The Church

The Church is the society that comes from Him who came to be the teacher of that essential doctrine of all religion that in spite of accidental differences all men are brethren, children of the one Father, members of the one family, that their rights and their duties are equal and correlative, that wherever a human being exists there is an immortal soul, stamped with the very image of God, there is a brother to be loved, there is an image of God to be revered, there is a friend of God whom it is our duty to serve if we would win the approving smile of his Father, his Maker, and his Lord.

The Christ

The Christ came to teach the world with new and singular force and efficacy this doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men. He came to break down the barriers, He came to teach men their essential rights and duties.

He came to manumit the slave, to emancipate woman, to teach the proud that they are only creatures of God, only men, and to teach the poor, the abject, the outcast and the downtrodden that they are endowed with all the majesty of humanity, made in the very image of God. He came to raise up the lowly, to beat down the proud. He came to level up and to level down, He came to establish upon earth a Christian commonwealth, a commonwealth that should be composed of the whole human family, acknowledging the perfect rule of justice, of brotherhood, of love.

He came to take away all the false notions and prejudices that justified the robbing of man by man, the enslaving of man by his brother. He sympathized tenderly with those of God's children who had been disinherited through the avarice and the cruelty of their brethren. He was all tenderness and compassion for them. He sympathized with them in their sorrows. He healed their diseases. He shared their poverty. He did what he could to alleviate it. He had no words of bitterness for them even in their errors and their wanderings, but like a good and loving shepherd He would gently lead them back to the fold.

But He could be transformed wondrously at a moment's notice with fiercest indignation against the proud, the wealthy and the powerful who enslave and oppress their brethren. He who, gentleness and sweetness itself, with a voice that was the very music of Heaven, pronounced His beatitudes upon the meek, the lowly and the poor of spirit, could with an indignation such as no other mortal ever felt, a divine indignation breaking forth upon the lips of the gentlest and humblest of men, scourge the oppressors and threaten them with judgments far beyond the reach of mere human power: "Woe unto you rich men! It is hard for the rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.

It is easier for apparent impossibilities to take place than for the rich man to adapt himself, to so change his spirit, as to be worthy to enter into this new society that the Christ has come to establish in the world."

"Our Father"

When justice is absolutely meted out and we call the world one brotherhood, then all the universe can look up and say, "Our Father."

Make practical among men the doing as well as the saying of the Lord's Prayer.

The Fatherhood of God

"We would by practical statesman-like methods of adjustments of taxation make practical those great essential truths of the Declaration of Independence, the truths of the Lord's Prayer, the truth that is the very essence and the core of all religion, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man."

The Our Father

It was by preaching to the poor the glad tidings of redemption, the blessed doctrine of the fraternity and the equality of men, the beautiful fatherhood of God, that the Christ and His Apostles and their martyred successors, century after century, went on conquering the Roman world with all its powers, subduing to the beautiful lessons of the Gospel of Christ the subtle intelligence of Grecian sages and philosophers, calling into the temples of Christ the cultivated fancies of Grecian poets and teaching the pencil and chisel of great artists to find new inspiration in the great lesson of Him who taught all men regardless of whatsoever distinction, to look up and say, "Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy Name; Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven." This is the gospel and the prophets. In the sublime prayer that He Himself taught us He has given us the epitome of all His teachings, of all beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount that tells us of our Godgiven and Godlike capacities here, to which is added a Godlike life hereafter.

Politics of the Lord's Prayer

These are the principles which, carried into practice, form the politics of the Lord's Prayer. The immortal preamble of the Declaration of Independence is founded on these precisely—that all men are equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. If it be true that God is our Father, and we all are brethren, then this preamble is true. If not, then it has nothing to rest upon. If there be no brotherhood of man founded upon our mutual relationship with the Creator, then there are no equal rights, and there can be no regard for those rights or obligations to one another. Without

that society only waits for the man on horseback—the man with the drawn sword, who shall trample out the liberties and the rights of men under his horse's hoofs, and with all our boasted progress we are also doomed to such a destiny. For we are of common clay with others, and if there is no brotherhood of man sprung from God, then the law of force, of lust, of appetite must rule; might not right, must be supreme.

But if we are children of one Father, then of course the right to life is sacred. If we are brothers of one family, then it is a matter of course that we are free, and no brother, no matter how wise or how strong, can put his hand on another brother and say: "You are my property." It is part of our royal dignity as children of the King to possess the right to liberty. And in like manner follows the right, with all our differences of faculties and endowment and vocation, to the pursuit of happiness.

It Was Born With Me to Be a Priest

I think I can safely say without affectation, without the slightest violence to the truth, that I am by taste, by choice, by vocation as well as by education and ordination, nothing if not a priest, nothing if not a preacher of God's truth to men, a dispenser of His blessings. It was born with me, I believe, to be a priest. I inherited from a sainted mother the profoundest reverence for the altar of God, a kindly and a tender feeling for the suffering among God's children. I desired to do what I could to elevate my brethren and even, if I could by making some sacrifice, to be an instrument to cheer their hearts, to clear their minds, to bring them nearer to God, to assuage their sorrows, to teach them how best to bear them, and to convert the very trials and sufferings of life into so many precious counters by which to purchase the blessings of eternity.

Is It God's Order

The Rich Richer, The Poor Poorer?

I began to feel life made a burden by the never-ending procession coming to my door of men and women and children, begging not so much for alms as for employment, and felt that no matter how much I might give them, even though I reserved nothing for myself, even though I hopelessly involved myself in debt, I could accomplish little or nothing. It would be but a drop in the bucket, and I began to ask myself, "Is there no remedy? Why are things thus? Is this God's order that the poor shall be constantly becoming poorer in all our large cities all the world over, the rich richer and the poor poorer." I was compelled out of sympathy for those right at my own door, as well as for thousands of the starving people of the native land of my father and my mother, to ask myself these questions, to study a little political economy, to ask what is God's law as to the abolition of poverty, as to the

maintenance of His family here below. It required very little light to see that God's law is labor. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." And that God who gave man the law of labor could not have mocked him by setting that task before him and denying him or permitting anybody to deny him the opportunity to employ his labor.

And the more I thought, and the more I read, and the more I studied, the more I became convinced of the doctrines of this Anti-Poverty Society, the doctrine taught by Bishop Nulty of Meath, the doctrine written in the very nature of things, that God, the Father of us all, has created the natural bounties for all His children, and has given to each child the ownership of himself, so that he may make whatever use he can of his strength and talents upon those bounties that God has given equally to all, and that the product of labor exercised upon the natural bounties is absolutely the property of him who produces it and that the value that comes to the natural bounties irrespective of individual improvements, namely, the rental value, the value that comes to coal lands and to natural gas lands, and especially to city lots, utterly irrespective of anything done by the individual owner sometimes in spite of the individual owner, this rental value, is produced by the community, and therefore belongs to the community by taxing it into the public treasury.

That is the doctrine of this Anti-Poverty Society. It is sometimes called the single tax doctrine, for the reason that we could and we should remove all other taxes, since by a beautiful providential natural law, the fund produced in the rental value of natural bounties by the growth of the community will always be fully adequate to supply all the public demands. And the greatest freedom and stimulus would thus be given to labor, whether of head or hand, and thus would involuntary poverty be abolished. That is a demand for justice.

The Brotherhood of Man Must Be Acknowledged

We are possessed by a passion and a thirst that shall not be satiated till justice shall reign supreme over the whole world, till all men shall acknowledge the brotherhood of man, that the weakest has equal rights with the strongest, in a word that there is a majestic heaven-born idealization of the very mind of God that there shall come a day when men shall know no other sovereign but that Heavenly queen and her name shall be Justice.

The remedy for the social and political ills that affect mankind is the realization of the equality of man based upon the Fatherhood of God. We are all members of His family—we should be equally heirs to His estate.

Shall the child of the king of Heaven be the slave of a thing like Himself? If we are equally children of the Father, surely we are also equally entitled by the very gift of the Creator to the right

of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We must own and control ourselves, the strength of our right arms, the skill of our fingers, the cunning of our brain; whatsoever endowment we have received from nature that is the peculiar gift of the Father to each one of us. And the simple problem for the social economist and the statesman is to reconcile this full liberty of each with the equal rights of all to the natural bounties. It is blasphemy to say that God having placed us here He has permitted a constantly decreasing number of the privileged few to enslave, to rob, to oppress, to exterminate vast masses of their brethren.

It is clearly blasphemy against the Most High to assert that any so-called vested rights of property, derived from a semi-barbarous age, should actually by God's law take precedence of and eternally supersede the law of God written in the very minds and hearts of His children, that the so-called vested rights of property should actually supersede the inalienable rights of man.

Have no Quarrel with God

Poverty is not the fruitful school of the manly virtues. It is a terrible temptation—a terrible school of temptation—a terrible trial to man's faith in God. And we are doing something to revive their faith in God and God's providence by saying: O men and brethren, O women and sisters, have no quarrel with sweet religion. The cruel injustice that is crushing you, that is starving your children before your eyes, that is stifling them here in our tenement houses, the brutal cruelty of man to man that is exterminating the people of Ireland or turning them out to die in the ditch—that is not God's law, but it is the result of the violation of God's law, and we are the best friends of God's law who hate it and denounce it.

And men and women who have been estranged from God, who have got to hate the name of God, have come here to this hall and have heard the Gospel of the Father in Heaven, and they have plucked the bitterness out of their hearts and trampled it under foot, and they have stifled the blasphemies upon their lips, and they have risen to their feet and applauded to the echo the recitation of the Lord's Prayer.

And What is Prayer?

Prayer is that supernatural atmosphere, it is that spiritual halo that surrounds the soul of man, of such a character that any man who truly prays is at that moment necessarily saved. Prayer is that perfect charity which theologians tell us necessarily raises man to the condition of Salvation.

What is it but the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man? "Our Father"—not my Father—that is the essence of Christianity—of all religion that is worthy of the name; the essence of the law of Moses as it is the essence of the teaching of Christ—justice, love, brotherhood, equality.

Christmas

We are on the eve of that holy and solemn and sacred night so momentous for all mankind and especially for God's poor.

My Dear Friends: It is the holy Christmas time. The air is still redolent with the sweet winter flowers that the earth must needs bring forth even in her most inclement season to deck the manger cradle of the Son of God. It is still musical with the chants of the angels who make midair luminous by their presence and vocal with their song, telling to simple minded shepherds keeping watch, of the glad tidings, the good news of the redemption, of emancipation for man, of the breaking down of the barriers that separate man from man, the calling into one magnificent brotherhood, into a closely compacted society, with a godly kingdom of all the children of men.

The angels announced glad tidings to men: "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace." It is the dream of the human fancy; it is the aspiration of the human heart; it must needs be the distant goal of all the searching of the philosophic mind, this perfect peace, the perfect resting of the mind and soul and fancy in the possession of the true, the good and the beautiful.

The peace that we are striving for is a peace that shall be full of activity, full of thought, full of knowledge, full of the enjoyment of highest beauty and full of the exquisite thrill throughout eternity of satisfied love and affection.

But in the providence of our Creator this peace can never be attained except after that painful struggle, after that long contention, that never-ending aspiration, the searching whether in light or darkness, the journeying, whether in sunshine or in storm, the fighting the battle, whether in victory or in defeat, till in the good time of the leader, the master, the teacher, the father, the king, they shall be proclaimed absolutely the victors who shall have fought heroically till the end, even though their standard seemed to go down in defeat; they shall be welcomed home who shall have continued their journey in spite of disappointments, feeling as they did that the home was still far distant; they shall be welcomed to the unveiled vision of the very face of Him who is the infinite and the eternal truth who shall have sought the truth single mindedly, seeking to know the Father, seeking in all His works to find but new manifestations of His wisdom. It was to teach these truths that the teacher came who was born in Bethlehem.

Easter

The Easter day is a beautiful type of the eternal repose for which our hearts are yearning after the storms of time. And so the flowers and the music that so appropriately are invited to gladden the hearts as they cheer the senses of men on this blessed day seem but to typify the coming home of the soul of man.

Immortality

Now the object of this New Year sermon is this: it is to stir up within us more and more our belief in spirituality, in immortality in all those things of time and sense which are but symbols of spiritual things, to show that the reward of our labors is not merely the enjoyment of more of the comforts of life, but is in the enjoyment of the building up of a noble character. The pulsations of every human heart are for us, as it were, constant reminders of the existence of an immortal soul created in the image of God and called to co-operate with the Will that rules the universe in the making things of time and sense to subserve the holy and eternal purpose of the infinite creative mind. A painting, what is it? The twanging of a musical instrument, what is it? The painter puts on canvas a combination of water, brick-dust and oil and some other mineral substances. He spends months in daubing that brick-dust moistened with oil upon that canvas made of hemp until it becomes an object well worthy of an immortal soul, an intelligent being. And the music that we allow ourselves to be ravished by, what is it? We see apparently rational beings picking with their fingers at cat-gut, blowing with their breath into a brass instrument, rubbing with horsehair or pieces of rawhide on cat-gut or something, and the vibration produced by blowing into the brass horn and picking on the strings and rubbing the strings with horsehair produces a vibration of the air, and the vibration tickles the drum of your ear and you open your mouths and your faces become long at times and saddened, and again you smile, and under other circumstances perhaps you could hardly keep your seats, and your feet must necessarily betray sympathy with the twanging of the cat-gut. (Laughter.) Do you not see, dear friends, that in all this wondrous world of art, painting, sculpture, music there were nothing if it were the mere material thing. The whole beauty is in the spirit. Man catches glimpses of the things of which the Apostle says: "Eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, it hath not entered into the mind of man to conceive the good things that God hath prepared for those that love him."

Enthusiasm of the Human Heart

There can be nothing worthy of the enthusiasm of the human heart or of sufficient importance to engross all of the thoughts of the human mind that does not rise far above mere time and sense and find its source and its complement in the things of the spirit and of eternity. The cause in which we are enlisted were not worth the breath that is expended upon it, if it had for its object merely the bettering of the temporal condition of men. If there were no hereafter—if the souls of men were to perish with their bodies—then I confess that I, for one, should instantly be counted out of this struggle, for I should agree with those who, in the despair of their hearts,

have said that the battle is not worth the fighting, the race not worth the running, the burden not worth the bearing, and the life not worth the living. If these strifes and anxieties, these hopes and fears, these victories and defeats, these loves and hates of this lower sphere, had not their explanation in something higher and better, then life would be more like the jest of some horrid fiend than the order of an all-wise, beneficent and loving Father. All our science, all our political economy, all our politics, all our joys and sorrows, would be without their proper significance. We might well envy the brute creation the fewness of their wants and their comparative exemption from the cares and anxieties that create so much misery for the human heart and mind. Our cause must be essentially a moral one, and, therefore, a religious one, or it is not worthy of our pursuit.

Religious Enthusiasm

We are laboring for the doing of justice and chiefly because we are aflame with the spirit of true religion. It is because we are convinced that no cause is worthy of enthusiasm that is not full of religion, that is not ablaze with it, and that is not transformed and transfused by it. It is because of the religion that is in this cause that we are in it; and the moment you take religion out of it, you take us out of it.

No New Gospel

We don't want a New Gospel for this century, but we want the Old Gospel revived.

There can be no new religion in the world. True religion must be, in its essence, as old as man in human history and as old as God in its objective side. The very essence of all religion is the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

Be Thankful, Not Proud

I am intensely conscious that every thing that is, is but the gift of God. All things that are, are good; and in proportion as they are good they are but types and symbols of the infinite goodness which is God Himself. It were therefore unphilosophical for any of God's creatures to be proud of anything that he may seem to possess. He may have much to be thankful for but nothing to be proud of.

It is a dangerous thing for a man to be very much applauded. We must all be conscious how weak, how imperfect and how impotent we are, except so far as we become instruments in the hands of Him who disposes of all things most powerfully and most sweetly for His own most worthy ends.

I do intensely believe that the most eloquent sermon that can ever be preached is the divine eloquence of holy deeds.

"It is no part of my religion that would make men and women sad, unhappy, depressed and miserable when we would bring them nearer to God."

You take my God from me and my soul must shrivel up. It is hungering, thirsting, agonizing for the true God.

He serves the Father best who venerates the Father's image in every one of his brethren and feels that the doing good to man is the most effectual worship of God.

A World Gospel

We must love man for his own sake, no matter where he was born or what his color or creed, and preach a gospel suited equally well to Ireland, America, England or any other part of the world.

Body as Well as Soul

It was not for nothing that He who came to save the souls of men did so much to minister to the relief of their bodily wants.

It is a mistaken, false and an exceedingly perverted notion of true religion to suppose that we must exalt the spirit, the things of God and eternity to such an extent as to ignore, to revile, to curse God's handiwork in the material world. A large part of our duties, without respecting and obeying which there can be no true religion, is the obligations that men owe to one another in those relations that concern their temporal abode and the necessities, comforts and happiness of their material life.

Who best would show his love for God Must give best loving service unto men

Forget selfish interest in the magnificent love of the welfare of mankind.

I wish to bring men to understand that the justice they are perpetually seeking in civil society is but another name for God's holy law.

What we so demand that we shall never be satisfied with less is, that what God has given equally to all shall belong equally to all.

It is a glorious thing to be permitted "to justify the ways of God to men," to hear the summons coming as from the very voice of God, to forget our baser selves, to rise a little nearer to the dignity of rational and immortal beings.

The Hearts of God's Poor

There is no shrine, short of the heart of God Himself, that is so precious for a man's memory to be enthroned in as in the hearts of God's poor, who were so dear to Christ, whom He identified Himself with, so that He tells us that He is they and that they are He.

Art—Nature—Religion

Man must take shapeless things of nature and make them minister to the education of his spirit, make them serve in the highest and best of causes, that of sweet religion.

Art and nature must be brought into God's holy temple and made to minister to the beauty, to the dignity, to the sanctity of His holy place.

But for that matter the whole world must be made a temple of God, and man's wondrous art must make God's handiwork so beautiful that the Father shall find in the works of man an image of Himself.

Faith—Hope—Charity

Faith is sooner or later to be swallowed up in vision, hope to be swallowed up in possession, while charity shall always reign supreme and never be swallowed up at all. But most of us would like a little of this swallowing up of faith by vision, of hope by possession should begin this side of the grave.

Foretaste of Heaven

There are moments of worship, of prayer when the soul is ravished by the magnificent union of the highest displays of art, music, oratory, poetry, of sculpture and of painting, with the service of religion, when we feel that we do enjoy already more than a foretaste, that we indeed enjoy in some sense possession of the good things to be hoped for, and our Father in Heaven gives us these occasional glimpses and foretastes and permits us, now and then, to catch a little of the music of Heaven lest we grow faint by the way.

Heads and Hearts

The harmonies of spheres, the music of the streams, the roar of the cataract, the wondrous poem of the whole universe, are constantly reciting to the ear of God. And yet, all these things, great and wondrous and worthy as they are, are but poor and small, indeed, as compared with the priceless, the inestimable dignity of one human head, one human heart, for upon every human head and heart there is stamped a more intimate and a closer image of God than upon all of His universe besides.

Have No Bitterness for Any Man

Seek to have such perfect charity, such universal love in your heart as to have no bitterness for any man. We may at times be stung by malicious criticism. The Adam in us will rise up and feel like resenting the cruel calumny. In spite of that, those who are our enemies today shall be our brethren tomorrow. They are our brethren today. They are our brethren if they are erring. They are our brethren even if they stone us to death.

Rise from the Beauties of Nature to Nature's God

Today is doubly for us a blessed day. The physical day is as if we had the ordering of it—no cloud on the sky; the sun beaming for us as if to show us the approving smile of heaven. Nature at her best. All her sounds and sights to cheer us, to gladden our hearts and to make us feel that we have been placed by our loving Father in a goodly world that, learning aright to admire its beauties, to enjoy its blessings, we might look up with faithfulness from the gift to the Giver; we might rise with but little process of logic, as if by a natural instinct of mind and heart, from the beauties of nature to nature's God.

None more—I think you will do me the justice to admit—none more than I could say with fulness of heart, as I have said from earliest childhood

**"I have loved, O Lord, the beauty of Thy house,
and the place where Thy glory dwelleth."**

I have ever loved to borrow these words of the royal psalmist of Israel and to find in them the expression of my own ardent devotion to these temples, built by the hand of man and consecrated to the Eternal God, to those altars before which I have loved to worship from early childhood, and to build one of which, noble and fair and grand in its chaste white marble, in its beautiful carvings, to build to the glory of the Most High as some outward sign and symbol of the spiritual religion that I believe is the only justification for any material aids to worship.

God Can be Worshipped Anywhere

But as much as I love the beauty of God's house, I ever am true to God's truth—to the promptings of my own reason and fancy. It is something that I have never taught to you—to believe that God is confined to any house built by the hand of man; that God cannot and must not be worshiped in spirit and in truth anywhere and everywhere.

I am glad to come with you from the dust and the heat and the turmoil of our city into the grove that reminds us of the words of our great American poet, that the groves were God's first temple.

In the Groves

Here beneath the canopy of Heaven with the beautiful sunlight of God tracing its wondrous lacework upon the greensward as it is reflected and broken by the waving branches of these trees, I feel that I can, with as much propriety, with as much solemnity, with as much deep and heartfelt devotion as ever before any altar speak to you the truth of God.—*The Excursion*, 1889.

The Reign of Moral Law

We admire the perfect reign of law in the visible universe that has produced all this wondrous, this magnificent panorama of beauty, but the mind of the Father has designed a more wondrous world of more perfect beauty in human society—the reign of a moral law—that enormously transcends the mere physical law. It is therefore not pride, but their simple duty to God that makes men assert that each individual man is greater than all the universe. Each one of you can say: "There is something in me that is greater than all this world, that will survive the wreck of ages—the undying spirit, the one thing that can know God, that can discover His will and can make heroic effort to do it, cost what it may.

Women

No cause can hope to win that has not with it the sympathy, the religious conviction and the active co-operation of one-half of the human family which I think something more than mere gallantry enables me to call by far the better half. If women are not physically as strong as men, if they are not as aggressive, if they cannot endure as much of the rougher hardships, I do believe and I believe it is the opinion even of the majority of men, that women have more conscience and, what is better still, that their will is on the average much more responsive to their conscience, which is a very different thing from merely seeing what is right and then going off and doing something else, and I believe it is not an original discovery of mine—that women have more devotion and a greater average capacity for heroic devotion to any cause that wins the approval of their consciences and the allegiance of their hearts. I believe that women are more moral, more religious, capable of enduring more keen anguish and enduring it cheerfully for a great cause than the average man.

The World Young

I believe that the world is still young. I believe that the world is only fairly beginning. I believe that the field has only so far been barely clearing for action. I believe that the new forces that have come into play almost in our own time under the guiding providence of God are preparing wonders of advancement, of civilization, of knowledge, of unity for the human family such as the world has scarcely ever hitherto dared to dream of. It has been the tendency of men for thousands of years to look back to a fancied golden age from which they were, as it were, further and further departing, the lingering rays of whose sunset were becoming less and less. The tendency of the men of our time, I think, should be to look not to the sunset but to the sunburst, to look to the future rather than to the past, to feel that a truth has been given to the world, a grace, a vocation given to the world, of which if they shall not be entirely unworthy, it may well put to shame all the boasted glories of the past.

Declaration of Independence

We believe in the Declaration of Independence, we love and revere our American Constitution, we acknowledge no inferiority in our enthusiastic patriotism to any men or set of men; we believe that this country of ours is in the providence of God our Father, freighted with the destinies of the whole human family; and we feel, therefore, how exceedingly important it is that this land of ours shall go on progressing from truth to truth, purging out more and more what is unworthy of the magnificent Gospel and charter of our Declaration of Independence.

We should never tire of repeating the fact and giving thanks to the overruling providence of our Father for the fact that that greatest declaration of the rights of men ever penned by mere satesmen, the Magna Charter, not merely of our liberties, but of the liberties of mankind, our declaration that makes dear and venerable and gladsome our Fourth of July, is a religious profession, and tells us that these sacred rights to life, to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness are thus sacred and inalienable because they are the gift of the Creator.

The Declaration of Independence is more than a mere charter of economic rights. It is a charter of the rights and liberties of mankind—a religious document in the truest sense because it bases the inalienable right of every human being born into the world to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness upon the gift of God.

Fathers of American Liberty Not Irreligious

Men in all great crises everywhere necessarily proclaim that they are naturally religious. The great founders and fathers of American liberty were not irreligious men; it is a calumny to say that they were. The men who penned and signed the immortal Declaration then and there pledged themselves to a profession of the very essence of all religion. They referred their action to the judgment of the Most High and invoked upon it fearlessly the benediction of Almighty God.

The liberty and the equality of men spoken of in our Declaration of Independence are in wondrous consonance with the very spirit of the Gospel of Christ.

The fathers of this country declared the independence of these colonies of the Crown of Great Britain. They went for justification not to mere precedent but to the fundamental rights of man.

It would not have been well that everything should be done for us by our ancestors. Each generation must find its own problems to solve and must, with the help of God, have the wisdom and courage to solve them.

Our Country Providential

I believe that we have many signs that our country is a providential one, that in the providence of God, our Father, it is marked out to be the leading nation of the world, in the very vanguard of political power and progress and everything that leads to the highest civilization. I believe, in spite of our many shortcomings, that this country is the custodian of the most precious rights and destinies of man.

Centenary—Inauguration of Washington—A Prophecy

Now then I shall prophesy again. I prophesy that long before the dawn of the day that shall commemorate the second centenary of the inauguration of George Washington, this land will rejoice in a liberty such as it has never known before; that from the Gulf of Mexico to as near as we can get safely towards the North Pole, there shall be one mighty republic composed of a hundred commonwealths all sovereign in their sphere, living together in wondrous concord and peace under the peaceful reign of the majesty of law; that in that magnificent commonwealth there shall be at least five hundred millions of people, all speaking with singular uniformity of accent the magnificent language which is our inheritance; that in closest political associations, if not in absolute political union, with this magnificent commonwealth shall be other great commonwealths, in Australia, in South Africa, Great Britain, England, Scotland, Ireland, if not actually in one union of commonwealth, in perfect accord and sympathy with the larger portion of the rest of the world; if not in perfect union of one government at least in the perfect union of sympathy and alliance with this, that by that time the dream of seer and poet shall have been largely fulfilled, that mankind everywhere shall live in peace, the prophecy of the seer of Israel shall have been made good by the universal propagation of religion based upon what is the very essence of all religion, love of God for His own sake and the love of man for God's sake, the prophecy of Isaiah will have been made good, men shall learn war no more and man, governed no longer by despots, shall be governed by himself in the Parliament of Man. When that happy day shall have come, before that, the doctrine of the equal rights of men to all natural opportunities will have become a commonplace and the name of the Anti-Poverty Society and all kindred movements will be emblazoned in letters of light in an honored place upon the pages of the history of this country.

**Let us take heart of hope
and go on**

We are all Americans and we are proud to be Americans.

True Patriotism

True patriotism must be based most of all on the love of man and least of all on love of self.

True Citizens

Men are true citizens not because they can trace their ancestors back 250 years to the Mayflower and Plymouth Rock, but because they are laboring to uphold the liberties of the American people.

Patriotism a Virtue

It is because we believe that patriotism is a virtue that is a part of religion, that we love our country as well as we love humanity. It is that happy privilege of American citizens, in loving their country best, to feel that they are best serving the interests of all mankind.

The Republican Form of Government

The democratic, the republican form of government, based upon our constitution or still better upon the preamble of our magnificent Declaration of Independence, is that which is the worthiest of man, which is the worthiest of God who has given to man the capacity and the necessity of forming human society, and by making each man His child, has given to each one the right and the necessity to help in the government of society, in the government of himself.

Government By and For the People

Is this a government by the people, for the people? It is a government of the people. Nobody will dispute that.

Some people, erroneously I think, in quoting that magnificent saying of President Lincoln, emphasize the preposition of, as if the government of the people conveyed some great truths. As a matter of fact, if we are speaking of human beings at all, if there is a government anywhere, it is a government of the people. Of course. If not, of what? So, my way of declaiming President Lincoln's magnificent, inspired sentence would be, "A government of the people, by the people and for the people. It is obtruding something into the great thought that does not properly belong to it to emphasize the preposition "of." The people of very many countries might very well rejoice if there were less government of the people everywhere. So we are not sighing for and President Lincoln was not demanding more government of the people, but—emphasis comes in on the by and on the for—"A government by the people and for the people."

The Public Schools

"The American people for many a day have very justly looked upon the public schools as the palladium of their liberties, as one of the most necessary, if not the most necessary of conditions for the maintaining of justice, for the preservation of the republic. It has got to be peculiarly an American institution, of which we are, as a people, justly proud. It fosters and promotes the usefulness of the American citizen. It is one of the greatest and most potent instruments for building up and maintaining one great, free, common nationality."

Cherish Your Schools

If I could reach the mind and heart of the whole American people—if I could reach them as a commonwealth, as a political and social community, I would say: "Cherish your public schools. Listen not to their enemies, no matter whence they come. Make your schools as complete, perfect and adequate and satisfactory as you can in every respect."

Eternal Vigilance

Eternal vigilance itself were vain if it be not guided and prompted by a keen and lively intelligence. It is vain to watch, to maintain your liberties, if you know not whence the danger to your liberties come, if you know not who or what manner of foe it is that would undermine your institutions—if you have not a proper idea of what these liberties and rights of yours mean, all your vigilance, all your intense desire to maintain them may readily come to naught. Intelligence, therefore, is a necessary condition for the maintenance of liberty and justice.

Promote Intelligence

"By a natural, a wise, a true instinct the American people from the very beginning have felt it, therefore, incumbent upon them as a people to promote intelligence. In order to promote intelligence, to make education as far as might be universal, to give to every child of the people opportunities to learn to read, to write, to be able to commune with the storied past, to be able to hear the words of wisdom that are accumulated for us in literature from every land and from every age, to be able to rise out of the mere groove, out of the mere slough, in which perhaps our daily lot may be cast, and to remember that we are not merely citizens of this goodly commonwealth of this United States of America, but that we are citizens of the world—that all the words of wisdom that have been spoken, all the great thoughts that have been thought out, all the holy inspirations that have come to men anywhere, everywhere, at any time, are all

a part of our magnificent inheritance, since we are not merely citizens of one commonwealth, but are members of one common brotherhood, under the Fatherhood of God.

"It is, therefore, something more than a mere pardonable piece of Fourth of July stilted, bombastic rhetoric to speak of education and the common schools as the palladium of our liberties. It is sober, sincere, downright truth."

Common Schools

If you want to have common schools they must be common in those things that are common.

It is proper that there shall be common schools. It is proper in order that we should have anything like an approach to the proper exercise of the suffrage that the sovereigns who exercise that right should be able to read their ballots. But it should not be enough that the voter should be able to read his ballot.

Spread of Knowledge

In a perfect commonwealth it is eminently desirable that every facility be given for the spread of culture and knowledge among the common people.

It is impossible that liberty should be preserved if those who are called upon to be the guardians of our liberties through the right of suffrage, should not be intelligent.

Ignorance

Ignorance assimilates man to the condition of the brute, while truth makes him more of a man, more of a free man.

Ignorance Not Bliss

It is not true that ignorance is bliss. It can never be that ignorance is a friend of virtue. If knowledge brings pain, it brings abundant compensation for the pain, or else we should curse our fate that we were intelligent beings at all, we should envy the dog and the sheep and better still the cabbage head.

If the immortal Shakespeare had been taken at birth away from all intercourse with his fellows and denied access to the accumulated treasures of literature, art and science, he would have been at mature old age, little better than a jabbering ape.

Ability—Modesty

Ability is a thing to be admired but modesty, a rare and charming virtue, is one to be exceedingly loved.

If it is true that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, education is the price of increasing diligence.

A republican government, a true commonwealth, a true democracy, requires not merely intelligence but virtue.

Education of the Body

I would not neglect the education of the body. We should not retrograde and be less high minded than the ancient Greeks and Romans. Therefore we rejoice in the revival of athletic training in our schools and colleges. We old fogies who cannot play baseball should not sneer at the interest that is manifested in that game.

The commonwealth that has citizens who are barbarous is a commonwealth in which liberty must soon decay.

Enemies of Public Education

There are certain enemies of public education, because they are enemies of freedom. There are those who have tried to show the absurdity of representative government, that the mass of the people did not want education, that it was a bad thing for them. They were hostile to the welfare of their native country. One reason they were opposed to education was because educated young men would not be slaves. It is a degradation of human nature to say that you can keep the body of men in order only by keeping them in ignorance.

Human Thought—Symbols—The Flag

All our human thought is by the aid of similes—the aid of signs. Our whole system of human language is but a tissue of metaphor and simile. Our most spiritual thoughts and conceptions are not without the aid of signs and symbols borrowed from the shapes, the forms, the colors, the emotions, the actions, the relations of material things, and so he is not a true philosopher but a very poor patriot and not much of an economist, who stops to ask what is the price of that flag—what is the use having that flag floating over this building.

That flag symbolizes something that is beyond all price and therefore it is extremely poor economy to say "How much does it cost?"

Much to Achieve

Just because we believe that in spite of the much that has been achieved there still remains much to achieve, we fain would not repose in the enjoyment of good things, but to-night, in the school of that Teacher, we believe that it is the duty of each generation to work, to labor, to strive, to discipline itself and to leave the world much better because that generation has lived in it. (Applause.)

One Common Nationality

Uphold the advantages of a great, wide-spreading, national system of public schools for the maintaining of one nationality, educating new generations of Americans into one common nationality.

Maintain Our Public School System

Let us insist upon maintaining our public school system. Let us insist that the language taught in these public schools shall be only the language of this American nationality. Let us see to it that every child of the people shall have easy, ample opportunity of getting such schooling and that public schools shall be in sufficient number equipped with all things necessary in order that no child of the people shall be crowded out, deprived of a fair opportunity to get a common-school education. Let that education be given without prejudice, without bigotry. Let there be nothing in it that can justly offend the sensibilities of men of any church or sect or of any national origin.

Education

Education, therefore, a general education by which the people shall be able to know what is going on and shall be taught more and more to do their own thinking, is necessary in order that they shall maintain their rights.

An educated man, all other things equal, can serve God better than his ignorant brother.

A college education is not a bad thing by any means—Wendell Phillips was all the better advocate of the poor dumb chattel slave because he had a college education.

The work of Education is an everlasting work, coming as a new thing to every child born into the world.

Every thing is new to a new generation, even the alphabet to a new arrival.

Teaching Creates Nothing—It Simply Tells

Teaching does nothing, creates nothing, but simply tells or enables us to see what is; and as intelligent and moral beings we certainly should be glad to know all the truth that we can, to see as much as we can in the religious and moral order. Any man or system that brings more light to my intellect does certainly not enslave it by rendering it impossible for it to withhold assent to a clearly perceived truth. The truth liberates us from darkness and ignorance, which is the predisposing condition of slavery.

Politics is as much abused a word as charity

Unfortunately, it has got to mean the science of controlling the votes of the masses in the interest of one or another political faction, banded together, not by the spirit of patriotism, but by the cohesion of public spoils. That is why politics has come to have such a bad name.

Politics does not consist of securing election to office by practical means.

Politics is the science of government and the carrying out of the glorious truths in the Declaration of Independence, yet to be made good.

New York and Politics

Wounds inflicted here, upon political morality, give a great comfort to the lovers of despotism everywhere, and here in this city of New York are we the observed of all observers.

Business—Politics—Statesmanship

It has been said that the government of our city should be a matter of business, and not politics. I largely agree with that sentiment as I think it may be properly understood. But there must be politics and statesmanship of the very wisest kind for the solution of the problem of the government of cities.

Honesty of Common People

It is a magnificent testimony to the honesty of the heart of the common people that they are always on the side of virtue against villainy.

Our Duty to Dignify Politics

It is part of our duty to dignify and to elevate the thing called politics, to teach men that politics is a science and an art, that politics is a noble thing, that it means the essence of the art of statesmanship, of the governing of men, of cities, of states, of nations, that it should be the means of applying by practical arrangements to the affairs of men, by wise constitutions and laws, by just and wholesome agencies, great moral truths if they be truths at all.

Since man is a social animal he necessarily requires a government that shall maintain peace, maintain the right of individuals and so order the common energies as to make them subserve the best interests of all.

The idea of government held by some that government is best symbolized by the policeman's club is an ignoble base idea.

The Sacred Urn, that should be like the Sacred Ark of Our Liberties—The Ballot Box.

The man who prostitutes his ballot, who votes against his convictions of right and duty is guilty of a sort of paricide. As far as he can, he is undermining the very foundations of the commonwealth. He is hastening the day that is sure to come to every such unfortunate country when it shall fall of its very rottenness. No commonwealth can stand save by the intelligence and virtue of its citizens.

Sanctity of the Ballot

The purification of the ballot will almost necessarily and immediately lead to a great purification of our politics.

* * * It will take away the peculiar power that wealth has in politics. It will restore the suffrage to what it was originally intended to make it, namely, the expression of the honest judgment and the uncorrupted heart of the common people.

The Ballot Box

The true citizen, the true man, the true lover of his country will approach election day, will approach the ballot box with a sense of profound responsibility, uncover his head and deposit his ballot in that box feeling that he has performed an act only less sacred than when kneeling before the altar of Christ he receives that sacrament which pledges him as a soldier of Christ to sacrifice the whole world if need be rather than prove a traitor to his King.

How Samuel J. Tilden Voted

I read with great satisfaction an account of one of our statesmen, Mr. Tilden, depositing his vote a few years ago, how he approached the ballot box with a certain gravity and solemnity and almost reverence, and taking off his hat, deposited with great deliberation his ballot in the hand of the inspector. Thus should every man approach the ballot box.

Use Ballot to Safeguard Rights

Is not the suffrage in a so-called free country the very foundation of all our liberties, of all our rights? Is there without bloody revolution any other means of safe-guarding our rights, of asserting them, of enlarging the enjoyment of them except through the use of the ballot.

Suffrage

I do believe in universal suffrage, but let those who exercise it learn to be the master of their masters. I am perfectly willing to endure whatsoever evils may come to us from universal suffrage, so that the very evils themselves may compel us to purify our politics, and make the individual voter worthy of the suffrage.

Reason

Men are perfectly safe in following their reason. Reason is a transformation of the very light that comes from the countenance of the Creator. It is that light which the first page of the Gospel of St. John speaks of when it tells us of a "light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world."

Authority is of no account at all except as far as it is for edification.

Authority has no excuse for being, except as it is helpful, never as it is hurtful. Its only excuse for being is to do good, and when it is perverted to the doing of wrong, it becomes a curse, it becomes a nuisance, it becomes a crime and a sacrilege against the beneficent intention of Him who established the authority.

Dogmatism only a Means

Authority is only a means toward an end, even dogmatism is only a means toward an end; the supreme end of religion here is to give such clear light to man's understanding and such inducement to his will as shall make him love with absolute love and follow with absolute devotion the holy will of God. That is the end of all religion.

* * * * *

Dogmatism and authority are but the scaffolding for the erection of the edifice, a magnificent edifice that must endure throughout eternity, of which God is the builder.

The Highest Diplomacy

Absolute singlemindedness in the perception of righteousness and justice and absolute fearlessness in doing righteousness and justice. This is a Christlike diplomacy and more than a match for that of Talleyrand or Metternich.

Divine Trusts—Human Hands

I believe that divine trusts have been placed in very human hands, and that too much reverence may sometimes be given to the instruments which should only be observed towards the divine itself.

Pastor

I prefer the word pastor. Pastor means a shepherd, pastor means a feeder. A pastor is one who feeds his flock, a rector one who rules them. I think of the two, I should sooner have the reputation of being the feeder than the ruler.

Conscience

Just because I believe in God, I believe in Justice, and I believe in the awful sanctity of individual conscience.

No man can be at peace with God who is not at peace with his conscience. The man that wrongs this light sins against God. The man that follows this light is at one with God and that man's soul is saved. No power in hell, on earth or in Heaven can come between such a man and his Father.

The Final Tribunal

The final tribunal for every child of God is his own conscience manifesting to him as best it may, the will of God. Therefore it is not possible that any child of God shall ever be condemned before that perfectly just tribunal for having done a wrong that he did not know to be a wrong.

I should be an unwise teacher if I should set up *my* conscience as *your* guide. Conscience is our own individual reason applying to our own individual cases the law of God as we best know it.

Duty to Obey Conscience

I believe it is the duty of each man to obey his own conscience, cost what it will, and therefore it is the duty of every other man to reverence that man's right and duty to obey his own conscience.

The Clear and Simple Guide

It is a signal evidence of the wisdom and goodness of the God whom we adore that amid the perplexities of life, the doubts as to the truth, the anxieties as to duty, the fears for the past and the future, the ruthless tearing of the heart strings as by a malignant fate, there is yet a clear and simple guide given to every rational being that shall lead him safely through the labyrinth to a perfect deliverance.

That guide is the voice of conscience teaching men to apply to themselves a universal law that is written upon the hearts of all God's children. This is a natural law that necessarily precedes all revealed law. If this natural monitor did not exist within the breast of each of us then would revelations appeal to us in vain.

Our God is a wondrously merciful as well as a wise and loving God and He will never condemn anyone who has followed that guide, even though sometimes he may have mistaken the light.

There can be no clash between the teachings of revealed religion and the teachings of natural religion.

God's Truth Cannot Change

God's truth cannot change, though weak man's fallible conception of it may change from age to age.

Science and Religion

We should have absolute confidence that no word that God has written in the sky or in the bowels of the earth will contradict any word written by men whom He has inspired. . . . Man is here to make the best use of God's school, God's workhouse, the world.

There is no contradiction, there cannot be any contradiction between the most natural aspirations of the human heart for justice, for liberty, for equality, and the teachings of religion, the teachings of Christ, the true teachings of the Church of Christ.

All truths are God's truths and conflict between true science and religion is impossible.

There is not nor can there be any contradiction between the voice of God speaking through the universal instincts of humanity, and the voice of the same God speaking through the sweet lips of Him who spoke as man never spoke before of the Fatherhood of God in Heaven and of the Brotherhood of all men on earth.

There can be no contradiction between the teachings of justice in the heart of man and the teachings of Christ and His Church.

And when, in accordance with these instincts, a minister of the Gospel, a minister of religion, anywhere addresses thus multitudes, it is always true as it was written of the Master Himself that the common people heard Him gladly.

Church and State

I am willing to go in for perfect, absolute union of Church and State in the Kingdom of Heaven beyond the grave, or in communities of angelic men such as Mayor Hewitt would like to discover in order to invite them to become commissioners.

The only union there should be between Church and State should be one of good will and greatest respect for each other—nothing more.

The Church of Christ is a living temple built up with the souls of His poor and not with the cut stone, not of gems, not of stained glass windows.

Truth Must Prevail

Truth must prevail, it is powerful; it has all the power of God; Saints have died for it; and the very efforts to stifle it will but propagate it.

Saul—Paul—Stephen

The Saul of yesterday will become the Paul of tomorrow and the conversion of the Saul into the Paul will have been perhaps the result of the martyrdom of the Stephen stoned to death.

It is no new thing for men oppressed to be in the front ranks of the defenders of the oppression.

Truth Precious

A great truth is so precious that no man can afford to lose it, no matter how he may be abused, or maligned on account of his adherence to it.

It is never permissible for a man to deny what he believes but dutiful, laudable and decent for him not to be obtruding all that he believes or telling all that he knows to everybody everywhere and on the slightest provocation.

In every man's life occurs an epoch when he must choose his own career and when he may not throw off the responsibility or tamely place his destiny in the hands of his friends.

Fear of Man

It is a bad thing for a man to fear the face of a man almost more than the displeasure of his God.

The Seer of Truth

No man can make the truth. All that is given to man is to see the truth, and he who sees it best as it is in God is the Seer.

No man can do better than to see the truth, no man can do better than to follow with his will the truth that he has the happiness of seeing with his eyes.

Conservatism and Necessary Change

Because of the weakness, the one sidedness of our poor natures, we are prone to conserve what at one time may have served an excellent purpose, but in the course of time may have become a hindrance or obstacle where previously it was an aid. And the tendency of institutions everywhere is to this conservatism, to this case hardening, to the appealing to the past as a justification for the present, and a certain change at times becomes necessary.

Justice

The supreme moral law—the law of gravitation in the moral order is justice.

Justice is the one thing necessary to hold society together, to give each individual man the proper opportunity of exercising his God-given liberty.

Justice must be like Him in whose bosom it finds its eternal resting place, universal—it must prevail throughout the universe of God.

When justice becomes the common atmosphere of human society, then men will take naturally to religion.

Justice the Highest Charity

In demanding justice I am demanding the highest charity.

What is Justice?

It is the will of God concerning the relations between men and especially concerning those things that are essentially for the maintenance of this life.

Justice is the will of God, the natural law reinducted by revealed religion, concerning the rights of property, concerning the rights of men, women and children who are born into this world with material bodies as well as spiritual souls.

We shall never have justice till we have more charity, we shall never have perfect justice till we have perfect charity.

We must love justice because of our love of God and men, and enforce it as a religious principle. We should be eager to see justice done to everybody, because it is the holy will of God.

We would, then, make practical the possession and enjoyment of all those rights that are declared to be ours by the gift of the Creator, the equal right of all men to have access to the natural bounties and to enjoy whatsoever they produce by their labor out of the natural bounties or to get a perfect equivalent for their labor and wherever these natural bounties take on a peculiar value from the growth of civilization the community has a right to appropriate that rental value to public uses.

Let Justice be Done

"Let justice be done," as the old Latin saying has it, "even though the heavens should fall." But let justice be done and the heavens would not fall to our ruin. Then the heavens will stoop to the embrace of earth and earth would be lifted up to the kiss of heaven, and then on earth shall be at last fulfilled the Saviour's prayer, the prayer that all His children everywhere are reciting with yearning hearts: "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven."

When the law of justice shall be carried out there need be little further call for the exercise of charity in feeding the bodies of men, in relieving their temporal wants. The charity that shall do great things for the love of God must take higher flights, must find its best field in administering to the nobler wants of the minds and spirits of men.

Charity

It is charity, charity that seeketh not its own things, but is prodigal of self in order to win the brother.

It was this charity, this love of mankind for God's sake, based upon the love of God for His own sake, that converted the world to Christianity, that abolished slavery. And it is only in this spirit that the slavery that we are warring against can ever be abolished.

It is that love which makes us work with a divine enthusiasm without seeking a reward, to do what we can to make sweeter, holier the homes and lives of God's children because they are His children. It was this charity that inspired men of God to go abroad, not so much to dole out alms, for they had nothing to give, but to teach men to recognize the one infinite, eternal God, Creator of all things, object of these minds and hearts of ours, and to teach men how best they could make use of this earthly school that at the end they might better merit the cordial welcome of the Best of Fathers.

Restore That Glorious Word to Its Proper Place

I should like to do a little toward restoring that glorious word to its proper place. Unfortunately, it too often is taken as meaning the mere doling out of alms; it is now but rarely taken to mean what it ought to mean, what it means in the Scriptures. It is the very charity of which St. Paul speaks in that magnificent passage in which he describes the marvellous characteristics of that queen of virtues.

Is it not a monstrous injury that is done to the sweet name of charity to so degrade it that its occupation must be gone, if there are no more beggars with empty stomachs and sore heads to be filled and medicated?

Almsgiving, Poor Business Compared With Justice

Charity is a noble virtue, but to make the whole world an almshouse is carrying it to the absurd. The noblest charity is to do justice—not only to procure, at the sacrifice of self, in an unselfish spirit, some improvement in the condition of mankind, but to compel tyrants to do justice to the victims they have wronged.

The Noblest Charity is to do Justice

The highest charity is to labor, to suffer and to die for justice.

"Songs Without Words"

We have all heard, I think, and I confess it comes to me always with a peculiar poetic grace and force of "songs without words." I know not by whom the phrase was first used, I know that one of the sweetest and greatest of musical geniuses that this world has been blest with from heaven has written a series of instrumental pieces which he called "songs without words." It was a most beautiful conception, and it was no ordinary mind that that conception first came to, the conception of songs without words.

The sweet music of the orchestra has a peculiar charm; the violin and the flute and the horn are singing intelligently to our minds songs without words.

I confess that I can never hear sweet music without being stirred to the depths of my heart. I feel that what little there is in me, stirred exceedingly by sweet music. I have always felt in church, that while I heard the music, I was admiring not so much the words that the choir was singing, as the sweet strains that were more eloquent, touching and pathetic than even the words themselves, and I am pretty well satisfied that such preaching as I was able to give to the flock that honored me by its affection was certainly no less worthy of the subject because of the inspiration that always came from sweet melody and harmony.

Great Masters of the Drama

I confess myself guilty of having gone scores of times to witness the presentation of classic masterpieces of the drama by the great masters.

I think that I have learned a very great deal by going to hear those masters of the dramatic art. I remember going to a breakfast given in honor of Mr. Barry Sullivan. And there I confessed before the newspaper reporters that I was only too glad to sit at the feet of such a master as Mr. Sullivan and to learn from him "to suit the word to the action and the action to the word." And I remember that I said something like this: "We are clergymen who believe that we are sent of God to men to deliver to them the most momentous messages, to solve for them the most terrible of mysteries. We might as well learn from Hamlet how to beguile people of their tears and to make each particular hair to stand on end like quills upon the fretful porcupine," and in all seriousness make even the scoffing to believe that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of in your philosophy.

"It Makes Me Mad," as Hamlet Says

When one likes to get mad, it is well to be able to quote Hamlet.

Life

Life at best is such a comedy mixed with tragedy, it is so short, it is so fleeting, it is so illusive and delusive, that surely he has learned its lessons poorly who prizes it much for its own sake, and yet strange and fleeting and mocking as it must frequently seem to us, it is yet wondrously full of potencies and opportunities for eternity.

The time is brief, but in this brief time we may do something that shall merit the eternal, approving smile of the Father in heaven. We may say words that shall not be forgotten speedily after our voice may have been stilled in death.

We may leave some written word after us that shall gladden the heart and cheer the minds of men ready to perish of despair. We may do some gentle deed of charity that may teach people to look up to the Father in heaven with gratitude and so believe that He is a loving and a kind Father.

We may do some good work, the example of which shall continue to make the lives of others who may come after us the sweeter and the better from the fact that we have lived. And so let us accept the gift of life and what life and strength and talent and voice may be given us, so that we may the more diligently employ them all in the service of the best of Fathers and for the welfare of the brethren.

Nothingness of Time

I am profoundly impressed with the comparative nothingness of time, with the comparatively trifling character of the things, the toys, the children's playthings, the child's rattle, the sugar stick, that men call pleasure and business and politics, and statesmanship, and dignify with the name of affairs except so far as all these things that busy the brain and torment the heart and engross the fancy of men are signs and symbols of spiritual things.

The human mind does not measure its time so much by the revolution of the earth, as by the multitude of thoughts and events that crowd upon it.

Greatest Works of God Come Unexpectedly

The greatest works of God are not ushered in with the sound of trumpets, but they come unexpectedly, they come in the night, they come like the dew from Heaven and they are perfected like the growing of the blade of grass whose growth no man can perceive.

The Kingdom of Heaven is within us

and if we but open our eyes to it, if we but take hold of it and fight and labor and suffer and die for it, then what matters it where this clod shall mingle with the parent earth?

Liberty

"Liberty is the child of God, liberty is one of the greatest primary gifts that God has made to man and all laws whether civil or ecclesiastical, as far as they are in restraint of liberty, are to be taken as moderately as possible, to be restricted as much as possible. Liberty is in possession. Liberty is always to be respected. Liberty has not to prove itself right, but the law has to prove its right to restrain our liberty. Where the law is doubtful liberty remains in secure possession."

It is impossible that men shall retain their liberty and to have their liberty maintained for them, they must maintain it for themselves.

I am in favor of liberty to buy and sell, liberty to labor, liberty of suffrage, liberty to go and come, liberty of conscience all the world over.

The pursuit of happiness comprises more than the mere eating of bread.

Man is endowed with many faculties and because he is endowed with these faculties he has the right to use them, he has a right to seek truth and knowledge, culture in art and science,

Slavery Not a Good Thing

Absolute dependence of one person upon another cannot be good. It is against the law of nature, therefore bad.

If slavery unmans the slave, it also unmans the slaveholders. If it makes the chattel man a mere creeping crawling thing; abject, vile, degraded, it also paralyzes the owner.

Chattel Slavery

A man can never be rightfully called the property of another. Chattel slavery is a crime against natural justice. He would have been a strange negro who hesitated to escape lest he rob his master of the price placed on him as a Chattel. There is no power in the universe which can rightfully put its hand on our shoulder and say, "You are mine," except the Father and His hand is placed on our heads to bless us.

Chattel Slavery an Abomination

Every human being, by the mere fact of being born a human being, is entitled to liberty. Therefore, by the very law of God none of us can be righteously enslaved. Chattel slavery is essentially an abomination, an iniquity, an injustice, a violation of an inalienable right of man.

Wendell Phillips—William Lloyd Garrison

In the very cities in which they are now preparing to build monuments and memorial halls in honor of Wendell Phillips and Lloyd Garrison, these men were denounced by the press and pulpit, by the intelligent and the "respectable" classes as disturbers of the peace, and what was particularly reprehensible in the case of Wendell Phillips was that "he surely ought to know better for he was a gentleman, he was a gentleman born, he was a man of blue blood, he was a man of the select few whom Providence has in His unspeakable goodness blessed this country by causing them to be born on or near Beacon Hill in Boston, to be born on or near which hill is a kind of charter of absolute respectability, of intelligence, of virtue, and of all those indefinable qualities that in their aggregate go to make up respectability.

Wendell Phillips was a gentleman, a scholar, an orator, and he threw himself by one of the oddest freaks, one of the craziest of humors, into this absurd warfare against established society, against the Constitution of the United States, and against the laws of a large part of the States, in fact we may say in some sense, of all the States. He was not always on the side of legality. He believed in a law higher even than the Constitution of the United States or the laws of any of the States of the Union.

Phillips and Garrison Mobbed

So this crank, this fool, this madcap, this degenerate gentleman, this unworthy descendant of Beacon Hill, Wendell Phillips, was mobbed in his native city of Boston, and within a stone's throw, I believe, of Beacon Hill, and he was rotten-egged in New York City by a gang when he came here forty or fifty years ago to make an Abolition speech in the Old Tabernacle in the lower part of Broadway.

Lloyd Garrison was driven by a mob of gentlemen, with a rope around his neck, with the threat that they would speedily hang him to the nearest lamp-post. It is only a few months ago that I was driven through the streets of a large city by a clergyman, and he said that the people that look out upon that monument (William Lloyd Garrison's) are the sons and grandsons of the men who led Lloyd Garrison, with a rope around his neck, to a lamp-post.

Monuments to Phillips and Garrison

The City of Boston and the City of New York and all the great cities of the country will honor themselves by building in some choice spot on some beautiful knoll in the greatest parks or in some magnificent plaza, surrounded by temples of industry and art, monuments to Wendell Phillips and Lloyd Garrison.



Men Sent of God

"When the last page of the New Testament was written, surely God's hands were not tied and to every age, in ever great emergency wherever there are children of God to be saved, where liberty is to be maintained, where the world seems ready to perish by the weight of its sins and woes, there always has been, there ever shall be, in the very nick of time, some man sent of God."—*Ireland's Saint*, Cooper Union, 1889.

St. Patrick

It is creditable to the people of Ireland that their civil holiday is a religious holiday, that it is a holiday that commemorates the virtues of the man that taught their fathers the Gospel of Christ. We have not a very copious history of this man, and yet I think we know quite enough about him to justify us in saying that he was mentally and morally of a gigantic stature. There is no reason to believe that he was an eminent scholar, that he was a great inventive genius; but yet he was one of those rare men that rise once or so in a century, sent as truly as those of whom we read in Holy Writ, of whom it is said: "There was a man sent of God."

Ireland's Apostle


It was by the wondrous discipline that he underwent for years on the bleak mountain side, and the voluntary introspection and self-denial, the long prayers and communing with God, that the orphan, robbed of home and country and friends, not treading the primrose path of idleness, but the thorny path that leads to the summit of Golgotha, was preparing in the depths of his own heart, found actions that should be deep and strong enough to bear the mighty edifice that should outlast the ages—the edifice of the Christian faith of a whole nation, of a whole race destined in after years to spread over the civilized world, and wherever it should be to bear reverently and lovingly in head and heart the name of the Apostle Patrick.

It is somewhat suggestive that the Apostle of Ireland was himself a foreign born citizen. He acquired a better right to speak for Ireland than any man that was ever born in it before or since.

He was not an Irishman, and yet was the best Irishman that ever lived.

The Irish People

I think we owe an enormous debt of gratitude to the Irish people, particularly in Ireland, for the magnificent, heroic example they have been giving to the whole world of heroic devotion to principle, unquenchable, enthusiastic love for liberty.



Welcome to Michael Davitt—1882

I like Michael Davitt, the father and founder of the Land League, because I find him an honest man and because I find that his love for Ireland is of the true ring, that he thanks God not because he has a country to sell, but because he was deemed worthy to suffer for her—because he is a noble, large-hearted man whose patriotism is not of that kind which is only an enlarged selfishness.

Blessings on the cause and the man. Blessings on the minds and hearts of those who love the truth as they can see it.

Let us have no anger in our hearts—no bitterness on our lips for any honest man.

This is the spirit of Michael Davitt and I take him to my heart of hearts.

Let us bid him welcome to this Young Republic in the language of his ancient fatherland, "Go m-beannuige Dia dhui"—(cheers)—that he may never lose heart, but have strength and courage in spite of calumny to face his enemies and tread down all detraction.

Let Him Not Apologize for the Truth That is in Him

It was painful to hear him on the platform utter words of despair and say that he would be tempted to retire in disgust from the arena of public exertion. Don't do it, Davitt. It is too natural for a generous heart to be pained and crushed by apparent heartlessness, but God has called you to be a martyr, and you must be willing to suffer to the end. (Tremendous cheering.) It was with that object that God permitted your enemies to thrust you into jail, and you came out a better man, a prophet of light, a witness of the truth, and a standard bearer of justice. When the holy man of old complained of the difficulty he experienced in diffusing truth and the consequent failure of his mission, he was told: "There are thousands who love the truth and you know it not." So go on, in God's Name, and never tire of preaching until the whole world acknowledges the truth and professes its belief in it.

Michael Davitt, for the rest of your lifetime preach the gospel to every creature—the gospel of the Land for the People.

Farewell to Davitt, July, 1882

He makes his last appearance in this country in this hall to-night.

Must we not say, as the day approaches when he is leaving our shores: May every blessing attend him. May God give wisdom to his judgment, and firmness to his will, and knowledge to his mind, and light to his understanding, and a clarion

ring to his voice, that he may preach his gospel until it is heard, and we may say it with reverence, like the gospel of Christianity is preached throughout the whole world.

On Michael Davitt—1890

I am perfectly satisfied that since Michael Davitt has been able to think at all, there has never been a moment that that gifted mind of his has not thought earnestly, and seen clearly the injustice of landlordism, and that gallant generous heart of his has not burned with indignation at the wrongs that it inflicted upon humanity . . .

I would say to Michael Davitt were he here: "God Almighty loved you too much from the very first moment he created you, to cut you out for a politician. Politicians are very useful men, serving an excellent purpose. Your average hum-drum statesmen are absolutely necessary cogs in the machinery of the State. But I think that God destined you to be a seer, a prophet. God inspired you with a magnificent zeal for humanity. You are too great a man to confine your thoughts even to the land of your birth. God made you for humanity.

Men Who Have Seen a Great Truth

Men who are conscious of the possession of a great truth, men who have seen, as if unveiled, its native beauty, men whose hearts have been stirred to their depths by a call as if from Heaven, to come out and preach the word, to tell their brethren the truth that they have seen, to tell the glorious, the simple, and the adequate remedy for human sorrows, for human suffering, for human want, men who have seen and felt this can never be the same as they were before. If, like the prophet of old, sent to deliver God's message to a sinful people, they, through selfish motives, through indolence, through fear of consequence should shrink from the fulfillment of the duty, they must, if need be, be scourged and driven by God's chastisement to do His work and to preach His word. (Applause.) If they shall go forth and preach the word regardless of consequences, thrice blessed they (applause); and if they shall fail to teach the truth because it will be unpleasant to the ears of the powerful, of the wealthy, of those who have the distribution of favors, of gifts, of patronage, if they shall seek to continue in the pleasant broad and beaten paths rather than to go by the thorny and the steep and the rugged and the rocky way that leads to a higher and better life, to a nobler truth, woe unto them. (Great applause.) The promised peace for them shall be no peace. The pleasant cup shall be turned to bitterness. Their days end ingloriously, and if an epitaph be written upon their graves at all, it should tell of the treachery to God and to God's truth.

The Ownership of Man and the Ownership of Land

Let us see if there is not a weighty precedent for the action we propose. Some of you have taken part in a little unpleasantness which disturbed this country a few years ago, and some of you have at least heard of it. It was about slavery—the right and wrong of one human being owning another human being. The planters of the South asked the friends of freedom, “Can’t a man do what he pleases with his own?” A planter dies in debt and his creditors seize on his property, which consists not only of horses and lands but of a hundred able-bodied blacks. The auctioneer puts them on the block and the purchaser examines their teeth, pokes them in the ribs, ascertains the state of their health, the soundness of their frames, the condition of their lungs, and their capacity for labor, precisely as if they were horses. Was not that the practice of the South—that separation of the wife and child, sold as you would sell a pup—the separation of the father and mother—torn from mutual embraces and sent, the one to the East and the other to the West of this interminable continent, there to be chained and tasked and compelled to work with stripes that Mercy with a bleeding heart would weep when she saw inflicted on a beast? Is this a chapter from ancient history or pagan times?

Did it not happen a few years ago, and was it not all founded on “the sacred rights of property?” Did not eleven States and twelve millions of people turn out in arms to vindicate those “sacred rights of property,” and did not thousands die terrible deaths for four years on the fields of war to protect those rights? Many people, on this side, put it as a doubtful question whether slavery could be interfered with, they talked of the Missouri compromise, and of a certain parallel of latitude which should be the boundary line between the free States and the slave States; but meantime God said this thing must stop; Providence overruled their machinations, and finally the principle was established that *man* should not *own* his *fellow-man* on this continent; and finally the Government took up the affair, and Abraham Lincoln with the scratch of his pen, by the document to which he signed his name, abolished all that property. A thousand millions’ worth of property were abolished by one scratch of Lincoln’s pen. The people had a charter of liberty, but this clause was not contained in that charter. They took it from the tabernacle—they perceived it was not perfect, and they amended it. And what was that amendment? That there should thenceforth be no property in man in America. *The Government was not permitted to pay a dollar in the shape of compensation* to the planters for the abolition of slavery. Now we have all been applauded by the whole civilized world for our conduct on that occasion.

Dr. McGlynn on His Dead Friend*Interview New York Herald, October 30, 1897*

Henry George was unquestionably one of the greatest and most remarkable men that our country has produced. His lovable personality, his rare genius for political philosophy and economy, his indefatigable and successful study and search for political and economic truth set him quite apart from all other Americans.

I do not think that it is merely the enthusiastic language of a devoted friend to say that as the providence of God raised up a Washington to be the father of his country and endowed him with such gifts and gave him such experiences that we might well believe that without them the Republic would not have been achieved, as in a similar crisis the rare gifts and character of a Lincoln were so plainly providential that none but men with little faith in God could doubt that he had been prepared for and sent upon a mission by the Father in Heaven, and I have no hesitation in saying that Henry George by his extraordinary gifts and career showed that he was marked out by the providence of God to be a foremost leader and teacher in the work of emancipation of the masses of men everywhere from an industrial slavery too often worse and more galling than mere chattel slavery, and to hasten the coming and to perpetuate the duration, not merely of a larger and more perfect American Union of States, but of the commonwealth or united states of the world.

Well shall it be for us Americans if we shall not be recreant to our opportunities, and if the masses of the American people shall accept the teachings of Henry George. The only alternative to such acceptance is a constant deterioration, ever increasing political corruption, enormous increase of sordid monopolies, the building up here of an unprecedented and brutal aristocracy of wealth and the constantly increasing degradation and impoverishment of the masses of the people.

If the wonderously beautiful philosophy of Henry George shall not be accepted in practice, later generations of Americans, if not our own generation, will surely be doomed to see the oppressed masses, brutalized by their poverty and enthrallment, rise up to a vengeance, and perhaps one unwise, and abhorrent measures for the righting of their wrongs that on a large scale, amid much greater numbers of men, might more than repeat the horrors of the French revolution.

I myself am no politician. I am a clergyman, and I hope not lacking in humanity and patriotism, and what I have said and my attitude toward Mr. George so far from being inconsistent with my religion, are largely dictated by my religion itself—namely, the religion of Him who felt compassion for the multitude, and who taught us to labor and to pray for the coming upon earth of a kingdom of peace and perfect justice and brotherhood, which he did not disdain to call the Kingdom of Heaven upon Earth."

Henry Ward Beecher

Foremost in the work of hastening the coming of the better day was the great man whose memory we perpetuate in these memorial pages. None other so well understood, as he taught the men of his land and time to exalt the essentials of religion, pure and undefiled, in which we all agree, and to minimize the differences that seem to separate us. To him was given to see with clearer vision, to reveal with unequaled genius, and with tireless energy to make common among men the meaning of Him who taught of old on the mount and by the sea-shore the core of all religion—the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. I cheerfully confess that from Mr. Beecher I learned from the first days of my ministry, a new tenderness and fulness of meaning in the "Our Father," and I am glad to be able here to state that the theology of the old church agrees with his in this; that the essence of religion is in communion with God through the love of Him for His own sake and in loving all men for God's sake with best love with which we love ourselves, and that while sacrifice and sacrament, creed and ritual, prayers and sermon and song may be and are powerful helps and necessary manifestations of this religion, which is love, without it they are but a mockery, a sacrilege and a blasphemy.

Henry George

We stand upon ground that is made sacred by what remains of a man who was raised by a peculiar providence of the Father in Heaven to deliver a message to men of righteousness and justice and of truth.

He died in the struggle upon which he had enthusiastically entered to deal blows and willing to take blows in a conflict for the rights of men for universal justice. To fight for a cause that would make the magnificent intentions of the preamble of the Declaration of Independence no longer "glittering generalities." The chair of the President of the United States is all too small for such a man.

This man was not merely a philosopher and a sage, but he was a seer, a prophet, a preacher and a forerunner sent by God, and we can say of him as the Scriptures say, "There was a man sent of God whose name was John," and I believe that I am not guilty of any profanation of the Christian Scripture when I say there was a man sent of God whose name was Henry George.

And when God has sent such a messenger with such a message, the hearts of mankind are stirred to the depths. It were a pity if that man should have been elected Mayor of New York. It is well that he was spared the ignoble strife and the daily carping cares of such an office. I repeat no office was worthy of his generous nature, his great sympathy and his noble aims.

He died just as he should have died; just as he ought to have died. It is a great and a good thing to be a preacher. It is greater and a better thing to be an apostle, it is the greatest and the best thing to add to the character of an apostle that of a crusader. It adds to the great glory of being a preacher, an apostle and a crusader to have died for his faith.

Progress and Poverty

The concluding chapter of the book is more like the utterance of an inspired seer of Israel, or of some ecstatic contemplating the great progress of eternity, than the utterance of a mere political economist.

I found an excellent exposition of the industrial and social condition of man in Henry George's book, a poem of philosophy, a prophecy and a prayer. In language rare and unequalled the author presents a picture of the perishing lives and in a glowing, poetic language tells of God's bounties to His children, but that somehow with the increase of the use of wealth there is an increase of poverty, where there is the congregation of the greatest wealth, by its side is the greatest poverty and misery.

I had never found so clear an expression of the cause of the trouble, involuntary poverty, and its remedy, as I found in that monumental work of your fellow citizen, Henry George.

I became all aglow with a new and clearer light that had come to my mind in such full consonance with all my thoughts and aspirations from my earliest childhood, and I did, as best I could, what I could to justify the teachings of that great work based upon the essence of all religion, the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

Back to First Principles

There is no hope for this nation except by going back to first principles, by appealing to the masses of men, not in the name of selfish interest but in the name of a magnificent eternal truth, in the name of justice, in the name of patriotism, in the name of virtue and sweet religion.

Industrial Slavery

There is an industrial slavery that is wider spread, is more far-reaching and frequently more debasing than chattel slavery. And this industrial slavery has for its most fruitful source the absolute private property in the natural bounties, namely in land.

**The First of all Freedoms
is the Freedom of the Earth**

Civil Law and Justice

Civil law and justice are, unfortunately, very frequently two very different things.

It is poor business for a government to make law contemptible. It is still worse to make law odious, to make laws that are not true laws, because they violate the essential principle of law.

Inhumanity of Man to Man

The rapacity and inhumanity of man to man, of brother to brother, of sister nation to sister nation, has brought about horrors unspeakable, miseries that strange to say were inflicted upon a Christian people, not by barbarian invaders, but by men kneeling before the same altars, invoking the same saints, praying to the same God.

Color—Creed

If you are not willing to give freedom and justice to every man alike, no matter what color he may exhibit or sect he belongs to, you do not deserve liberty for yourself.

The Russian Government

Our Russian brethren are not Nihilists, but they are wise in wanting to annihilate the Russian Government. That is about the kind of Nihilists they are. They don't believe in abolishing the universe, but they do believe most sacredly, and I give them all my blessing in the effort, in trying to abolish, root and branch, the Russian Government and all that it implies and all that belongs to it and all that savors of it. They want a government of the people, by the people, for the people. And how can any American man or woman do otherwise than wish them Godspeed?

The World to be a Magnificent Commonwealth

In spite of the superstitions that still attach to royalty, let us believe with a firm faith, as well we may, that the good time is approaching when the world will have no use for emperors and kings and royal and imperial highnesses. Let us believe, as well we may, for the earth and skies are full of signs of the coming of a better time; let us believe that the world one day is to be a magnificent commonwealth that shall be ruled, not by kings, but by the parliament of man.

The Best Things—Old Things

The best things in the world are the old things, the best tales are the oft-told tales, the things most essential for human life are truths that are so old that they are simply eternal.

Auld Lang Syne

It is the tender love of the past, the eager solicitude for the future, that makes the difference between man and beast.

Anniversaries

It is characteristic of men everywhere and particularly of men who are worthy of the name of men, who follow best the dictates of reason, to rise above the selfish interests of their own petty lives, to consider the interests of others, to celebrate days that commemorate great events, that mark epochs in history and again to commemorate days that mark special events in their own individual lives. It is characteristic of right minded men on the day that marks the completion of one year and the beginning of a new, to stand as it were in the moment of time that separates the irrevocable past, fixed for all eternity, from the indistinct, the unknown, the uncertain future so full of opportunities and yet possibly so full of fate. And so all who are not utterly dead to the dictates of reason feel called upon to make a retrospect, to review the past, to see where errors have been committed, to resolve in the days that may be left to be more earnest and diligent, remembering that he serves the Father best who venerates the Father's image in every one of his brethren and feels that the doing good to men is the most effectual worship of God.

Commemoration of the Dead

It is a holy and wholesome thought to commemorate the dead. It is not merely a duty that we owe, to them, it is a very great comfort that we secure for ourselves. We prove that we have been able to cease to be mere animals, and proclaim ourselves to be children of the Father who is in heaven. In doing honor to our dear dead ones we are communing with them; we are holding silent converse with those who we believe may be still very near to us.

Rev. Thomas Farrell

I want to recall his name with signal honor and with every testimony of my undying affection to his memory.

From my earliest days in the priesthood in this city that man was more than a father to me. He was my guide, philosopher and friend. He was a liberal if ever there was one. He was a man who loved liberty if ever a man loved liberty. He was a man that loved truth above all things.