

RELIGION VS. ROBBERY.

ADDRESS OF REV. DR. McGLYNN BEFORE THE NEW YORK ANTI-POVERTY
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Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: We wish to abolish poverty (a voice, "Certainly"); and in order to abolish poverty it is true that we shall not be content with any thing less than the earth. (Laughter and applause.) We wish to abolish poverty because poverty is a blotch and a blur on the fair face of God's creation; because poverty is the fruitful source of vice and crime; because poverty is the constant occasion for the degradation of the Godlike image that the Creator placed here to rule the world, from that high estate in which he was made but a little lower than the angels, to a condition much lower than that of the brute.

We wish to abolish poverty because it is the fruitful source of blasphemies that go up to heaven; because it is the immediate cause and occasion that makes men doubt whether there be a God at all; because from poverty comes the constant hatred of the existing order of things; and where men are forced to believe that it is God's order, they say: We will have none of your God! (Applause.) Your God is as bad or worse than your devil, since he makes so poor use of his power and wisdom, and permits his plans so strangely to miscarry, and sanctions this miscarriage through the voices of those who assume to speak in His name. (Applause.)

To abolish poverty, we want the earth (applause); because we believe that the blasphemies that go up from all quarters of the globe against the wisdom, and the goodness, and the very existence of an intelligent and beneficent Creator will cease only when men shall be permitted to believe what their reason itself teaches them unmistakably, that by the mere fact that they are men at all they have an absolute, indisputable, inalienable, indefeasible right and title to all the world. (Applause.) 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." It is the teaching of right reason, sanctioned by the teaching of revelation, that if man be not capable of knowing God, His justice, and His goodness and His truth--if man be not capable of knowing the moral order by the power of reason--then he is not capable of receiving a revelation. And it is enough for him to discover that the pretended revelation that is presented to him, no matter upon what apparently most authentic evidence, contradicts in the slightest tittle the teachings of his reason-- to know that it is no revelation of God, that it is some man abusing the credulity of his fellow men, or some demon disguising himself as the child of light to mislead the children of men. (Applause.)

It is the clear teaching of Catholic theology, of Christian civilization, from which, so help me God, I shall never depart in the slightest tittle (great applause and cheering), that reason is preliminary to faith, that if you have not reason to receive revelation, revelation and grace can have no existence. It is only because revelation appeals with clear argument to reason, because He whom we revere as our Lord and Master, showed by His work that He spoke with the very voice of God, and that what He said had the divine sanction--it is only

thus that His teaching is commended to us. He himself could not, would not, demand of us belief in His teachings until He had clearly demonstrated to us His divine right and title to demand the submission of our wills and intellects.

The Creator respects the image of Himself that He has stamped upon men. And so sacredly does He revere this Godlike image that He will not permit these intellects of ours to be subject to anything but Himself, because He is eternal truth; He will not permit these wills of ours to be subject to any law that is not clearly a transcript of His eternal law, of His eternal will. (Applause.)

They, then, make a great mistake who think to force upon men, as if it were the very teaching of God, what their right reason, their natural and profoundest instincts, reject as an injustice. It is because of this abuse on the part of those who assume to speak in the various churches as if by the very voice of God, and in the name of God, that so large a portion of the people have turned their backs upon the churches.

The only way to bring men back to religion, to bring them back to God, is to make it clear always and everywhere that God is the God of truth; that God is the God of justice; that God is the God of infinite love, goodness and mercy; that His goodness is spread out over all His works; that human society is of all the visible works of God, the highest, the noblest and the best (applause); and that in the divine plan human society was intended to send up to heaven praise that should so ravish the ear and the heart of the Creator as to beggar all the boasted harmony of the spheres. Praise that goes up to God from the perception of the truth by the minds of his children, by their love of goodness, of virtue and of justice, is dearer to the heart of the Father than all the praise that may come to him from all the wonders of the inanimate or the mere brute creation.

And so we, who are inspired by divine enthusiasm to justify the ways of God to man; to teach mankind that the miseries and crimes that so mar and blotch society are the result not of God's law, but of the violation of God's law (applause), are impelled to this not merely by a natural instinct of benevolence, but by those noble instincts that come from our Creator, impelling us to serve God, and him alone, by doing what we can to love our brethren. (Applause.)

Henry George (great applause and three cheers), with that dauntless courage that to my mind is perhaps the noblest trait in his character, and makes him tower like a giant among the pigmies who surround him (great applause), whose lion hearted bravery if possible surpasses his magnificent philanthropy and his godlike genius (applause), has had the courage to say that there is frequently more of the essence of true religion in the dynamiter (applause) who seems to hate society as it exists, in the nihilist who is calumniated as wishing to annihilate everything (applause), in the anarchist who is calumniously represented as wishing to abolish all social order—that there is more of the essence of true religion in some of these men, even in some of them who seem to blaspheme God, than in the scribes and pharisees who sit in the front seats of the synagogues (wild and tumultuous applause) and thank God, with sanctimonious faces, that they are not like other men; that they fast twice in the week and pay their pew rent regularly (laughter), which is the modern equivalent, I suppose, to paying tithes—and that they are not like a few of those unfortunate nihilists and dynamiters and anti-poverty people. (Great applause.) And the reason our guide, philosopher, and friend (applause) gave for thus speaking was this: That their rebellion against the existing order of things, their hatred of the monster that is presented to them falsely as a god, is a tribute that their godlike nature pays to the true God; a tribute that their hearts are paying to eternal truth and justice. (Great applause.)

We wish, then to abolish poverty. (Applause.) And when we announced our object and proclaimed our name, it was a question among men whether our object and our title were a joke or a blasphemy. (Laughter.) It seemed at first like a huge joke to start out to abolish such a necessary, and it would seem such an indispensable, thing as poverty. (Laughter.) Then, again, it seemed surely like a blasphemy to attempt to interfere with the clear ordinance of Good. The devil, you know, is always ready to quote scripture. (Great laughter.) As an illustration of the fact, do you not remember how the devil quoted scripture most glibly and made several most apt quotations when he tempted our Savior to fall down and worship him, with the promise of all the kingdoms of the world? So this devil we have to contend against---this great black devil of whom our worthy chairman has told us so happily and wittily---is not like those friends of his, the lawyers (great laughter); for, unlike them, he is perfectly familiar with the inside of the Book as well as with the outside of it. (Laughter.) He does not do any kissing of the Book at all, I believe; he does that by proxy. (Great laughter and applause.) So the devil jumped up and said: "What! abolish poverty? It is clearly a crime against the plain teachings of the New Testament; against the teachings of Christ---'the poor ye have always with you.' " Well, in the first place---if I may be permitted to try my hand at interpreting scripture a little---(laughter and applause)---if it is not too risky a thing for me to try a fall or two (laughter) with the devil on the theological platform (laughter and applause)---that is the declaration of a painful fact, but not the enunciation of a divine law. (Great applause.) The scriptures might very well say---and we would not need revelation to teach us---that there has been, and is, and there is likely to be to the end, more or less crime in the world, for the reason that God will not do violence to our free will; but respects so much this magnificent image of Himself that he will tolerate evil rather than violate our moral freedom. Therefore it is that because of human freedom of will there will be more or less of crime in the world. (Applause.)

Now I think I floored the devil that time (Applause and laughter), because even the devil will hardly say that God in permitting the existence of crime in the world actually ordains that there shall be crime in the world. "The poor ye have always with you." More's the pity. And if we must always have some of them with us, don't you think it will be an excellent thing, entirely in keeping with right reason and revelation, to diminish the number of them as much as possible and to improve the quality of their poverty a little? (Applause.) Would it be so blasphemous, so terrible a contradiction of revelation, if we could so reverse the order of things that the masses should enjoy great abundance and that it should be only classes that suffer the poverty? (Great applause.)

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. (Applause.) We have no business to ask God to make another world outside of this that the masses may escape to in order to get a comfortable living. What good would it do to escape to that other world if the order of things were not changed and after a while a few of the brethren should be able to say, "The whole of this world also is ours and now you must pay us to toll for the privilege of living upon it!" (Applause.)

But we cannot delude ourselves. It were worse than folly to amuse ourselves with the imagination of any other earth or any other world for the human family than this old earth of ours. We are condemned to be confined to this world,

and not merely during our individual lives. The whole human family, as we know it, is condemned to live here, maybe for thousands and tens of thousands and myriads of years yet to come. We are like a goodly company on board a tight and well kept ship sailing through space. And we have to stick to the ship, for we can find no safety in getting off. And for that matter there is this great difference in sailing in a ship and sailing around the sun on this goodly planet, that even if we wanted to jump off we couldn't succeed in doing it. (Applause.) So here we are, for weal or woe, for thousands of years already past and probably for myriads of years yet to come, condemned if you choose, to this earth by the clear law and providence of the Creator.

Now, then, it is this earth that we must have, and therefore this earth we shall have. (Applause.) Man was placed here with such a nature and such necessities that it is perfectly clear, it is the most obvious teaching of his instincts, and his reason, that the Creator, if he be an intelligent and a beneficent one at all, must have intended that he should be able to maintain decently and comfortably the life that the Creator has given him, that he should have the opportunity, the means and the material to develop all the instincts and all the capacities of his nature. We find lying loose all about us a wondrous storehouse of materials, out of which man is able to create all manner of good things, and to imitate, by his creative faculty, the wonders of the Creator in the universe. The fact that man has done these things shows that he is able to do them. The fact that he has capacities and instincts that drive him to do these things shows that it was in the mind and plan of the Creator that he should do them. (Applause.) Therefore, it is obvious that it is the law of nature and of God that man should have access to these materials; that all men should have access to them; that all men, being equally by nature brethren of one family because children of one Father, should have joint, equal ownership in usufruct of all these bounties. (Applause.) It is perfectly clear that man, by being a man at all, has an equal right with every other man, with all men, to these bounties. It requires no parchment to prove his title; it requires no civil or ecclesiastical law to guarantee it. (Applause.) 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.

They have in certain countries a great deal of formality about allowing people to get married. The bans of matrimony have to be published three times in the church and three times at the city hall of the place where the man lives, and in the same way in the church and at the city hall of the place where the woman lives. And the result is that they make it so difficult for people to get married that a very large part of the community think it not worth while to get married at all. (Laughter.) And besides these requirements of church and state, there are other requirements that are insisted upon by the families of the unhappy intended groom and bride. (Laughter.) I remember having read a very clever book written by a very clever little American woman, in which she states how she came very near being married in Paris; but she didn't. One of the greatest difficulties was that she had to get a certificate of birth.

(Uproarious laughter.) The little woman is honest enough to acknowledge in that book that the less said about her birth the better. She wasn't of a very high and aristocratic family but she was going to marry an old noodle of a duke who had money, so she had to lie about it, and forge a certificate. She entitles this most amusing chapter in the book thus: "I prove that I was born." (Great laughter and applause.) It was a pretty difficult thing for her to prove it in the sense that that old noodle wanted her to, but we shall be more accommodating, and cheerfully acknowledge the absolute, inalienable, unquest-

ionable, indefeasible right and title of every individual to a joint equal share in all the general bounties of nature in virtue of the mere fact that he was born at all. (Great applause.) And I think we can all agree that we need no other proof of the fact that a man was born than that he is here present himself, to assert his right and title to his equal share of the estate. (Applause.)

In spite of all the clear demonstrations in the works of Mr. Henry George (great applause) and of other accepted masters of political economy, like Herbert Spencer (applause) and John Stuart Mill (applause), that the money value, the rental value, the selling value of any of the bounties of nature was not created by individuals, and therefore in strict justice should not belong as private property to individuals, there is in the minds of very many people a feeling that there must be some quibble, some sophistry in this doctrine. It looks wonderfully plausible when they read the arguments; it is impossible for them to answer them. (Applause, and then a voice: "They don't read them at all.") Right you are (applause); the great majority of them never read at all; but if they do read they can never answer the arguments, and the only resort for them, and the one that they constantly avail themselves of, is to misrepresent the arguments, to belie the object and the means of its attainment. (Applause.) When I was in Cincinnati a month or two ago to deliver a sermon, or a lecture, or a speech, or an address, or something (laughter) on the cross of the new crusade--I believe you have heard the title once before (applause)--and stayed over a day, I went in company with a goodly number of Knights of Labor (great applause) and land and labor parties to hear a supposed-to-be learned and every way respectable and amiable gentleman--a Jesuit father named Higgins. He lectured avowedly to demolish Henry George. It was expressly advertised that he would refute the theories of Henry George. The poor man did his best (laughter), and while he was trying to utterly demolish and annihilate Henry George, so little did he succeed that I do not think you need my testimony to assure you that Henry George is still the liveliest kind of a corpse. (laughter and applause.) A newspaper man asked me the next morning what I thought of the lecture. I stated to him that while listening to it I was forcibly reminded of what Henry George had been able to say in the preface to one of the late editions of his works, that he had failed to see a single argument against the book that had not been already answered in the book itself. (Applause.)

During a certain municipal campaign that seems now like very remote ancient history (laughter), because so many things have happened since (great and tumultuous applause, accompanied by the waving of handkerchiefs), and you know that the sense of time comes chiefly from the sensation of events, rather than from the mere watching the swinging of a pendulum--during that same interesting canvass a prelate with a foreign title, which Mr. Henry George facetiously interprets "My lord" (hisses), was called upon with a kind of Macedonian cry by the chairman of the committee on resolution of a certain institution in this city. (Hisses and groans.) And this right reverend prelate, in a letter which furnished a magnificent campaign document, and which was printed and scattered broadcast before the doors of churches on the Sunday before election, said that he and others of the same profession as himself disapproved entirely Mr. George's doctrines, and found them bad in political economy, theology and every thing else. (A voice: "Suspend him.") A few days after that one case-hardened man--I believe it was a priest (wild applause and cheers)--oh, it was not I: I should not have been so case-hardened; I should have been afraid to do what this bolder man did--he went to this right reverend man with the foreign title and said: "See here, monsignor (that is the correct Italian pronunciation, I believe,)--

see here. Do you know what the younger clergy are saying--that they are willing to wager that you have not read any of Henry George's works?" He had just condemned them as unsound and bad and every way disastrous. Do you know what his answer was? "Why, of course not; do you think a man can be expected to read all the trash that comes out nowadays?" (Great laughter.) That was his answer.

And there is a still more distinguished prelate in town to whom I undertook to send Mr. George with a letter of introduction and commendation (hisses and groans)--now, let him alone--(applause)--with the object that Mr. Henry George should explain this terrible doctrine to him, and show that he was not a socialist and a communist; that he had the most sacred respect for the rights of property; and that therefore I, while sympathizing with Mr. George and agreeing with his doctrines, was not necessarily an enemy of society and a holder of doctrines utterly contrary to the rights of property. Mr. George came back and reported to me that he might as well have been talking to the marble of an adjacent church as to the gentleman to whom he had been trying to explain the doctrine. (Hisses.) Mr. George sent him a complete set of his works the next day, and I doubt very much if he has read a page of them. (Hisses.) For though this doctrine seems to clash, and does clash, with certain arrangements that are now permitted, tolerated, and even sanctioned by the civil law, it does not, therefore, follow that it is contrary to the rights of property as taught by reason, as taught by true religion, and as thundered forth upon the summit of Mount Sinai in the great social law, "Thou shalt not steal." (Great applause.) For we remember that civil law is not always necessarily good law (cries of "hear! hear!" and applause): that civil law and justice are unfortunately very frequently two very distinct things. (Applause.) For we remember that it is the teaching of the old tomes of theology, of the first fathers of the church, and of the canonists, that no law can have any power to bind the immortal soul of man, to lay obligations upon his Godlike freedom of will, except that law be a transcript of the very mind of God Himself (applause); except it be in keeping with eternal justice, which is God. (Applause.)

They should remember that the Christian religion itself was forbidden by law for centuries and centuries (applause); that pontiffs, bishops, doctors of the church, priests and thousands of men, women and children were done to death by the Roman law, which forbade the Christian superstition. (Applause.) They should remember that law very often is but another name for oppression, for robbery, for slavery and every manner of injustice. (Applause.) And it is a poor business to have anything forced down our throats simply because it happens to be sanctioned by law, especially down the throats of those who have a little drop of Irish blood in their veins. (Great and tumultuous applause and cheering.)

Was not the Catholic religion forbidden by law in Ireland for centuries? (Cries of "hear! hear!" and applause.) The funniest thing of it all was that while the penal statute was still on the statute book a certain gentleman in Rome was coquetting with the British cabinet and most eager to give them a veto upon the appointment of Irish bishops--a beautiful illustration of the wolf having a good deal to say about the appointment of the shepherd, or rather, of the shepherd's dog.

You remember the story of the newly-arrived immigrant who, as he got upon the pier saw a street fight going on, and immediately rolled up his sleeves, spat upon his hands and said: "Which side is agin the government." (uproarious laughter and applause, breaking out again and again.) We must take compassion upon these poor benighted brethren; we must try to enlighten them and remove their prejudices. It is not enough for us to reason, to prove from reason,

that our doctrine is clearly the teaching of right reason. It is necessary to show them even from scriptural facts that it is the right doctrine. But the trouble is that then, perhaps, they will say we are dabbling in theology. They condemned Galileo and Copernicus for teaching that the earth revolved around the sun. Copernicus fortunately was dead a hundred years, so they could not worry him any longer. They got Galileo and they worried him--the poor old fellow. He said: "It is all right if you will only look at it; the earth is round and revolves around the sun, and its revolutions produce the 365 days, and all that." But they said: "Oh, no! no! no!" (Great laughter and applause.) They said: "You can prove as much as you please, but we have no stomach for that kind of thing. The scriptures say the earth abides: therefore--and in Latin it says "stat," which means "stands"--therefore you are a heretic, and therefore you are against scripture." Galileo did not set up for much of a theologian, and yet this preaching did not seem exactly right to him. He said that it simply meant that the earth stands while men are disappearing like snowflakes. They said he was trying to interfere with theology. They are now trying to make us believe that he was condemned for interfering with theology. The truth is, theology was interfering with him.

There was Copernicus, who said about the same thing. Ah, did he? Yes, he was a Catholic priest who originated the doctrine of the revolution of the solar system around the sun, and has had the honor of having his name inscribed in letters of light on the solar system. (Great laughter.) But I must be very careful in saying this or some fellow in the gallery may jump up and say they kept his book on the index for one hundred years, and the only reason they did not touch him was because he was dead. (Great laughter.) I shouldn't know what to say to that fellow in the gallery. That remark would knock me clean off the platform. (Laughter.)

Then we will have to dabble in theology, because they insist in obtruding their theology into all political and economic questions. That is one of the reasons why we are talking so much about God in this matter. Not merely because we find so much religion in this movement and because the religion that is in it is so powerful an attraction for us, but also because we are placed somewhat on the defensive. So far from opposing justice, we are asserting justice. So far from interfering with religion, we are attempting to bring religion back again. So far from taking people away from God, this doctrine is rapidly bringing them back to God again. (Applause.) We have to keep asserting that men who for many years have been familiar more with curses than with prayers are now forgetting their curses and are learning their prayers again. (Applause.) We have to remind them of the very singular fact that the preachers of this political economy are familiarizing people with the wondrous power and the full significance of the Lord's Prayer. (Applause.) We have to keep reminding them that because of the truth that is preached upon this platform men are willing now to say their prayers, instead of having to be compelled to say them by the threat that if they do not they will be sent to bed without supper. (Laughter.) They now begin to see that the religion of this new crusade is so good a thing that they rise up with a shout of applause that makes the welkin ring as they catch the true significance of the Lord's Prayer.

I have told you these things more than once, and it would be indiscreet to dwell upon them too long again. (Voices from all over the house, "Go on, go on.") But it is necessary for us to dwell upon them, not merely because of the religion that is in this cause, and because of the powerful fascination of the

justice and the truth of it, but also in order to refute the constant arguments that are borrowed from the supposed teachings of religion. We have to hit back! (Great applause.) And if men begin to say that this new doctrine cannot be true because most of the respectable people, and the majority of the well-to-do classes, and nearly all the clergy, and all the churches, look upon it with suspicion, and, in fact, with positive reprobation, we have to say, Do you remember that it was the orthodox church and all the goody-goody and respectable people in the church and state who excommunicated Christ and did him to death?--(great applause)--the scribes, the pharisees, the doctors of the law--the doctors of divinity, I suppose you would call them now. It was the high priest who said: "It is expedient that this man should die because he is perverting the people. It is a political necessity that he should die, because if we allow him to go on perverting the masses, stirring up this extraordinary enthusiasm, something will happen. The Romans will take umbrage--somebody will misrepresent us, saying that we are responsible, that we have tolerated this; and they will come and destroy what little vestige of independent autonomy they have yet left to us. So, in order that we may continue to enjoy what little they have yet left us to enjoy, we must put this man to death. The multitudes are following him; they are following him out to the wilderness, and it is reported that this man seems to have the power of controlling the very elements. He dares to say that he is the very Son of God himself, and he solaces the people with promises of a heavenly reward. He tells them of a strange doctrine of this essential equality and fraternity. He has no respect for persons. He preaches to the slave and the beggar rather than to the wealthy and the powerful and the learned. We must see what we can do to put him out of the church, to put him out of the synagogue." And not satisfied with that they said "It is expedient, it is necessary that this man should die." (Applause.)

And what was the doctrine that they most feared? It was just this doctrine which we have said time and again is the very essence of all true religion; the very essence and the core of the doctrine of this new crusade, the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man (applause); the doctrine of the Lord's prayer; the doctrine of the sermon on the mount, the parable of the judgment day; the doctrine of the holy gospel. And we should remember the original significance of the words "gospel" and "evangel." They mean glad tidings, good news. To whom were glad tidings sent and preached? It was to the afflicted, to the outcast, to the slave, to the disinherited. It was to them that the beatitudes were promised, to those who would hunger and thirst after justice, with the promise that they should have their fill.

I say the more we are provoked the more we shall assert that we stand upon the very same platform with Christ (great applause); that there is nothing in the preaching or the practice of the anti-poverty movement--this new crusade--that is not in perfect consonance with His most humane teachings; nothing but what can ask His sanction and invoke from Him his choicest benediction. (Applause.)

It were tedious to detain you much longer (cries of "Go on") with proofs that what the Master taught--the gospel of menace to the rich and of solace to the poor--has been the teaching of saints and sages through all the ages of Christianity. The great doctors and fathers of the church have always taught the self-same doctrine; and, coming down to particulars, they have taught that the gifts of nature are not to individuals or to classes, but to all the children of men. (Applause.) They but reiterate throughout the ages the com-

mandment given at Mount Sinai, "Thou shalt not steal," that was reiterated by the Master when He spoke of depriving the laborer of his hire. (Applause.) They tell us that the gifts of nature are to all living men, and that they have only been appropriated by individuals through injustice and robbery. (Applause.) They clearly acknowledge the 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. They distinguish between what is produced by human industry and is necessarily human property, and what was not made by man, but made by God, and therefore is not human property (applause), so much so that it can be said, and it must be said, if we wish to be very accurate, that the common gifts of nature are not absolute property even of the whole human family; that the whole human race to-day has only the usufruct of them, and not the absolute ownership. (Applause.)

Now I will quote one of the fathers for you--St. Basil, a doctor of the Greek church, who flourished about the year 390. I had occasion to quote him in New Jersey or Albany or somewhere else, and was reported to have said that he flourished three hundred and ninety years ago; and some clerical critic may get up and say that I don't know much about ecclesiastical history. Some fifteen hundred years ago St. Basil talked about this very thing and used this remarkable language, "The rich who occupy what should be common are something like a man who comes into the theatre and tries to keep everybody else out, and himself alone tries to enjoy the play." (Great applause.) Suppose that there was but one single door of admission for the enjoyment of this performance here to-night (laughter), and that somebody had got in here about 5 o'clock this afternoon, and having secured admission himself, put his stalwart back to the door and positively refused to let anybody else in. According to St. Basil that would be a fit image of the rich people who appropriate all the bounties of nature. By chicanery, by craft, by robbery, by all sorts of iniquity they have managed to disinherit and rob their brethren; and your "saviors of society" (hisses) and your chaplains and your right reverends whom you seem to hire to do the gospel part for you (laughter and applause), want to make us believe that that is religion--the robbery of the masses of God's people by a few privileged classes under the name of law. Small blame to us if we have not quite so much respect for law if this is the kind of law it is intended to cram down our throats forever and forever. (Laughter and applause.)

And, faith, you ought to be very thankful to this Anti-poverty society and to this united labor party (great applause and cheers) that they are exceedingly conservative; that they are so eager to protest their toleration and their respect for existing laws; that they are so anxious to make it known that they will have no resort to violence; that they only intend a perfectly peaceful and legitimate and constitutional agitation; that they simply wish to convert a majority of the city, of the state, of the country, of the world, to their way of thinking. (Great applause.) They will not violate even the law which they know to be unjust, but are patient and tolerant and long-suffering, until they can peacefully, legally and constitutionally rewrite the laws. And if you are not thankful for us, let me assure you most seriously that you can go farther and fare worse (Laughter.) And if you will not permit the peaceful, the lawful reform that we are aiming at, you may have to get your stomach full of such reform as came with the French revolution (cries of "Hear, hear," and great applause); as came through the Protestant reformation. (Applause.) Many of us believe that the French revolution and the Protestant reformation while reforming, and purging and purifying many things, also

destroyed a great many good things. We would fain bring about reformation without destruction (applause); reformation for the better in all things without doing injustice or hurt even to the least of God's children.

The times require plain speaking, and I happen to be in the exceptional position of a man who is a little more free to speak than a good many others. (Cheers and applause.) I do most earnestly hope, I do most intensely desire, I do most humbly and reverently pray that I shall not abuse this new found liberty. (Applause.) We desire, I desire, the preservation of society. We believe in the Declaration of Independence. (Applause.) We love and revere our American constitution (applause); we acknowledge no inferiority in our enthusiastic American 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. (Cries of "Hear, hear," and applause.)

It is because we believe that patriotism is a virtue, that it is a part of religion, that we love our country as well as we love humanity. (Applause.) It is the happy privilege of American citizens, in loving their country best and serving their country best, to see that they are best serving the interests of mankind. (Applause.) And we find exceeding comfort in the belief that the providence of the Creator of human society that watches over the fall of the sparrow and over the wants and needs of the least of his human children, is pledged to the guardianship and care and development of this nation, because God's merciful designs for all mankind are so largely to be promoted through that liberty, equality, fraternity and love of justice that hitherto have been, and in the future we hope still more shall be, characteristic of this American people. (Applause.)

And in perfect parallellism of our love of country is our love of God and of the holy church of Christ. (Applause.) They serve best in God's vineyard who point out with regret, but yet with courage, the defects of a system, the mistakes, the shortcomings of those who represent it. It were a sad day for patriotic and true Americans when they must cease to criticise and differ from the policy of any administration.

And so it is in religion. And surely it is no new thing for me to believe, and there are many here who can bear me witness that it is no new thing for me to preach, that our true allegiance is to God and truth, to the church in its teachings, to the catechism and its holy dogmas, and not to the mere individual who by circumstance of time may occupy a place (great applause), and for a time be charged with its administration. If it is proper for one pope to criticise the administration of a previous pope; if it is permissible for us to criticise the bad policy of this or that or the other pope or bishop; if it is permissible for us to say that there need have been no French revolution or Protestant reformation if those who were charged with the preaching of Christ's gospel and the administration of the sacraments had not so strangely forgotten and abused their office (wild and tumultuous applause and cheers, long continued, the whole audience rising and waving handkerchiefs and hats); if it is permissible as historical critics to say all this and to write it, wouldn't it be a good thing to whisper something of the same kind into the ears of those who still live, while there is still time to change their policies and politics? (Applause)

Let us have no fear. We will assert this doctrine in spite of men and devils.

We shall preach justice to do what we can to make it practically common. We will not enter into partnership with the devil. We will not be guilty of the extraordinary compromise, of which I was once told in a very funny story by a venerable old Portuguese priest. He said, in his peculiar dialect, something like this: "Dere was a voman vonce in my guntry who was a very vise voman, and she always liked to be rightd vit both sides; and so she wanted to obtain some special favor von day tru the intercession of the archangel St. Michael. And she vent to de church and brayed as long as she couldt, and brought vid her a two pound vax gandle, and lighted it before de bicture of St. Michael, in order to show her dewotion to de angel and obtain his bowerful ait. St. Michael was represented in de picture, as you haf frequently seen, punching the head of de devil mit his spear. And dis vise voman thought it vell to be in vid both sides. Vile she put de two pound gandle before de bicture of St. Michael, she put a little two ounce taper before de bicture of the devil." (Laughter and applause.) Now, I give you permission to burn as many pounds of wax as you may choose before the picture of St. Michael, but I earnestly entreat you not to burn any little tapers before the devil at all (laughter), but rather applaud and enjoy the work that St. Michael is doing with his foot on the devil's head and punching him with his spear.

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