

# The Religious Intelligencer.

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That God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ—PETER.

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## Religious Intelligencer.

FREE TRADE, FOREIGN WINES, &c.

### Speech of Mr. Pope.

AT THE GREAT FREE TRADE HALL MEETING, MANCHESTER, MARCH 8, 1860.

I have not had an opportunity until now, either through the press or in a public meeting, of alluding to an article which some short time ago appeared in one of our Manchester papers—a paper that may be taken as the representative, I was going to say, of the influential school of politicians of the country. At all events, if the *Standard* be right when it says that the Government is ruled by the Manchester school, it is time that the Manchester school should understand what lessons we have to teach with regard to this question of Temperance and the liquor-traffic; and I therefore do regard it as of some importance that, notwithstanding all the experience of the past, notwithstanding the amount of public opinion which exists round about us, and especially in Lancashire, there should have appeared in one of our journals an article which, however meritorious as a composition, and however much it may appear to the editor of the journal to be based upon political principle, displays, in my opinion, an utter misapprehension of the nature of the question to be discussed, and an utter inability to appreciate the public opinion which exists with regard to it. Now, with reference to that article—and it is an article which appeared in the *Manchester Examiner and Times*—with reference to that portion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Budget which has been referred to, I find the mistake which is very common just now fallen into at the commencement; and perhaps, before I speak at all upon the general question, I may, on behalf of the association that I am connected with, set ourselves right in that particular. It seems to be imagined that there is no opposition to the Chancellor's suggestions but from the publicans. Those who know anything whatever as to the state of public opinion, and the nature of the opposition which has been exhibited in Parliament, know perfectly well that the publican opposition is paltry and powerless compared with the opposition which the Temperance men have brought to bear upon the question. The first petition was presented on the 20th of February, and there were only two presented between the 20th and 23rd. Between the 23rd of February and the 3rd of March, 919 petitions were poured into the House of Commons; and from whom did they emanate? From the publicans? Not at all. If you refer to the list of which is published weekly for the guidance of the members of the House of Commons, you will find that out of that number more than 800 are petitions in the form of the one we ask you to adopt to-night—(cheers)—and although, no doubt, it may sometimes be said to us, as it has been said to me, "Surely you must doubt whether you are now on the right side, when you find yourselves shouldered by those who have been your bitterest opponents," I say, we have reason to congratulate ourselves that the publicans are driven to come over to our side of the argument, in order to protect their own trade. There is not a single argument which is used by a licensed victualler throughout the country, or by a licensed victualler's member in the House of Commons which, as the *Examiner and Times* itself frankly admits, if believed in, must not necessarily carry forward the conviction of the principles of legislation which are contended for by the United Kingdom Alliance. (Hear.)

Instead of seeing anything to disparage us in the fact that the publican cannot defend his own trade, but is obliged to say that the interests of public morality demand that the trade should not be increased, I am thankful to find our opponents sharpening the weapons and placing them in our own hands. (Cheers.) I am thankful to know that at all events, as far as they and as far as all who lend their influence in support of the publican opposition are concerned, they must, if they are consistent and just, come forward to our view of the question. But it is time, surely, that the public press should know that there is an opposition far higher, far nobler, far more important, than the opposition of mere interest. We have no sympathy with the defence of the publicans' monopoly. We would strike it down as cheerfully as the writer of the article in the *Examiner and Times*. We have no sympathy with the protection of the publican interest; but we have great sympathy with the protection of the interests of public morality and sobriety; and it is on that ground that we insist, and we have a right to insist, that this question shall be discussed, and we ask from the *Examiner*, or from any newspaper or public man that thinks it worth while to debate the question, that it shall be debated not as a mere question of politics, not as a mere question of revenue, not as a mere matter of expediency, for the purpose of getting rid of a large influx of commodities expected to flow into the country as the consequence of the French treaty; but as a great question of public morality, as a great question of social reform, a question which cannot be dealt with as if it were one merely of pounds, shillings, and pence for the Exchequer. (Cheers.) I think that, if the petition which I expect you will adopt to-night be read, you will see at once that it is not a publican's petition, nor a petition that the publicans are likely

to have much sympathy with, because not merely does it content itself with desiring the House of Commons to negative the Government proposition, but it adds a positive suggestion, containing the principle of the Permissive Bill, which we know to be hateful to the trade as it is welcome to the intelligent among the working classes all through the country. But, very briefly, for the purpose of defining (and it is very necessary that it should be defined) what our position is as politicians on this question, I propose to read you the last paragraph in that article, and say one or two words upon the various points in it. The editor writes:—We therefore trust that the public will support a measure (that is, Mr. Gladstone's suggestion) which infringes no legitimate interest, and which, carrying out the principle of free trade, will also promote public morality." (Oh!) Well, now, I do not propose to discuss the question of legitimate interests; I have done that so often that I may be well spared that part of the discussion at all events; but it is essential that we should understand exactly what our relations are to the party—or principle, if you like—of free trade, and whether or not we are reasonable in our expectations that this suggested scheme would not promote but injure public morality. Now, this free trade doctrine is really the great bugbear we have to contend against. It is the popular doctrine at present; everybody is a free trader—at least every politician professes to be. As Mr. Gladstone said, they are "without exception free-traders," though probably not "free-traders without exception." But no mistake is more fatal, as it appears to us, to a thorough appreciation of this Temperance question than the notion that the principle of free trade is bound up in the entire opening of the traffic of strong drink. What is it that we mean when we talk about free trade? Because, I suppose, we should welcome no free trade and no free-trader that is not based upon an intelligent conception of what it means and of what he conceives as to his own principles. What do you mean by free trade? What have we been taught from this platform as the principle of free trade? I think you will see it in a moment when you remember what the converse of free trade was. What was its opposing principle? Protection. Protection for what purpose? The protection of British industry against competition in other markets. Free trade, as it has been taught us, means this—the removal of all differential or protective duties which are placed, as such, upon foreign commodities; that is, that the consumer at home shall be able, so far as the law is concerned, to purchase in any market upon exactly the same terms on which he can buy in his own. That is what I understand by the principle of free trade. There is plenty of authority for it if it is necessary. I find the authority, beyond question, under a signature which nobody will be likely to dispute—I find it in the very treaty itself which forms the very basis of all this discussion; and that treaty is signed with the name of the greatest living free-trader—Richard Cobden. (Cheers.) Now, in the 7th article of that treaty, I find that her Britannic Majesty promises to recommend to Parliament to admit into the United Kingdom merchandise imported from France at a rate of duty equal to the excise duty which is or shall be imposed upon articles of the same description in the United Kingdom. The customs is removed, but the foreign produce is placed upon not more favorable, but simply upon equal terms, with the producer at home—equality and not preference, being the principle of free trade. And then, in article ninth, power is reserved to the Government of this country upon this very principle. "It is understood," says article 9th, "between the two high contracting powers, that if one of them thinks it necessary to establish an excise-tax or inland-duty upon any article of home production or manufacture which is comprised among the preceding enumerated articles, the foreign imported article of the same description may be immediately liable to an equivalent duty on importation." So that, you see, the treaty itself (which, I take it, bearing the signature of Richard Cobden, no member of the Manchester school will be likely to quarrel with in its definition of what is free trade) makes a distinction, and an important one, between legislation for the purposes of inland revenue, and the customs duties or differential or protective duties which operate at the ports to keep out foreign produce; and not only draws the distinction, but absolutely reserves the power to deal with foreign commodities so as to put them on an equality with home commodities, if any necessity should arise by which inland legislation should be thought desirable. Then, I say, that on the face of it, this question is separated altogether from the question of free trade. We may say this, and we do say this,—we have no right, as free-traders, to quarrel with the removal of differential duties between wines from the Continent; because the object and purpose of this duty was to protect the colonial wine-grower or the manufacturer of British brandy, and we are not to fight our battle of legislation for Temperance purposes through the medium of the Custom House; and, therefore, we have no opposition to offer to that suggestion, or to the French treaty.

We may not think it the most delightful thing in the world, and we cannot anticipate the vast social benefits which appear to exist in the vista of the future, in the mind of some of those who admire that policy; but we acquiesce in it as based upon a principle which we have no right to oppose. But when we come to the question of

legislation for the purpose of extending an inland trade, then we come to a discussion entirely separate and distinct from the principles which I have been alluding to. We stand here, therefore, as zealous free-traders as anybody; and the position we take is this:—You have no right to talk about this being a development of the principles of free trade, because, if you come to look at it logically and carefully, it has nothing to do with the principles of free trade at all. You are therefore endeavouring, by putting before the people a sort of will-o'-the-wisp, by seducing their imagination, by throwing before them something which they believe to be beneficial, you are seducing them into a course of legislation which will prove socially hurtful;—and we say, the first necessity for Temperance Reformers and sound politicians is, to separate this question from the question of free trade, and not to allow free trade to be dragged through the mire in order to serve the turn of those who desire this particular measure. (Cheers.) Well, now, I find that there is so much in the question that might be discussed, that I must leave various departments barely alluded to. I might have pointed out that there was, in truth, nothing of the question of free trade even in the proposal. It may be said, and said rightly, that it is unprofitable and improper legislation to deal in the way of taxation with industry at all; and that the more you tax industry by exercise or customs, the more you cripple it and diminish the resources of the people. And that might lead us to a discussion on direct and indirect taxation, and so on. Very true; but that is not the proposal which is before the country at all. The proposal before the country is not a proposal for free trade. It is a proposal which involves the abandonment of all principles of open trade; because, although the suggestion originally was such, it is now come to this, that we are to have licences. Why licences, if the trade is to be open? Why is nobody to trade except those who are licensed? Why am I not to trade without a licence, if it is a genuine open trade, a respectable business? And no only so, but we must have guarantees of a police regulation character, and magisterial certificates. Is that free trade? Either—and I challenge those who discuss it upon this principle—either you must abandon restriction altogether—either you must say, a man may sell drink as freely as he sells bread—or you must be consistent, and admit that you have departed from your principle, and that the whole question is a question of degree—a question of public safety, which would justify any interference if it will justify you at all. (Cheers.) But I must pass from that, because I think that you will agree with me that, really, the question of free trade is not involved, and that we stand entirely justified, as free traders, in the course we have thought it our duty to take with the Government. Nor will I argue, either, upon the question that this is an exceptional trade, and that in truth whatever may be the proper course to be taken with ordinary trades this trade ought to be so dealt with, because it is not a trade in the legitimate and proper sense of the term. I pass on to say one word in regard to what *Examiner and Times* says as to our anticipations with regard to the measure. The *Examiner and Times* says we are mistaken in our notions as to what the effect of the new measure will be. He says it will promote public morality, because it is well known that the inhabitants of wine-growing countries are the most temperate people with whom we are acquainted. Well, now, I know that is a very common assertion; but I should like a little authority for it. I dare say I shall be told that the authority for it is common observation. Well, then, I reply, common observation is a cheat. I know this, that common observation, in its results, depends very much upon the spirit with which the observer goes about his work. When I happened, in the course of a journey through Belgium and France with my friend Mr. Alderman Harvey, some years ago, to be inquiring and looking about upon this matter, I was able to find a very great deal of intemperance in both these countries. But then the difference between myself and some of those with whom I have talked had been this,—that, in all probability, I looked for it, and they did not. I do not say, therefore, that my observation was any authority, because the tendency of my mind was as much predisposed in the one direction as the mind of the ordinary traveller is predisposed in the other; therefore, I do not ask anybody to take my personal observation as authority. But it is all quackery for people to say that the wine countries seem to them to be sober when they do not go into the places where the drunkenness and debauchery are to be found. Suppose a Frenchman were to stop a few days in London; he would perhaps go along Pall Mall, and into St. James's Park, and round the Law Courts, and up to the National Gallery; and how many drunken people would he find there? Would it be reasonable for him to go and say, "I did not see any drunken men in London"? But that is what travellers do in Paris; they go round about the Champs Elysees, and the garden of the Tuilleries, and so forth; but let them go into the wine-shops, let them go beyond the Barrier, and into the Rattcliffe Highways of Paris, and they will see perhaps not the same character of drunkenness as here, but as much quarrelsome and dangerous and blasphemous as you find in any part of this country. I should like the *Examiner and Times*, before it makes an assertion of that sort, to give us a little authority of figures

for it. (Cheers.) Let it name anybody of authority who has investigated the question, and who will bear out that statement, and I pledge myself to find five of equal authority who will state the contrary. (Applause.) Has the *Examiner* any criminal statistics for example, to throw at our heads? I should be glad to see them if there are any such in existence. Now, what is the fact? I will just give you one or two authorities—not more, because there is not time. I will give you the authority of an Englishman. What says Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton? He says that there is nothing so treacherous as these light wines; they inflame the brain like fire whilst melting on the palate like ice. And then, he says, the inhabitants of light-wine countries are always quarrelsome. Let us take the testimony of a man, about whom there cannot be any dispute as an authority, for he must be acquainted with light-wine countries—I mean Cardinal Wiseman. In his "Recollections of the Last Four Popes," he says this, that "though, compared with other nations, the Italians cannot be considered as sober," "they are fond of the Osteria and the Bettola, in which they sit and sip for hours." "There time is lost, and evil conversation exchanged; there stupid discussions are raised whence spring noisy brawls, the jar of which kindles fierce passions and sometimes deadly hate. Occasionally, even worse ensues. From the tongue, sharpened as a sword, the inward fury flies to the sharper steel lurking in the vest or the legging, and the body, pierced by a fatal wound, stretched on the threshold of the hostelry, proves the deadly violence to which may lead a quarrel over cups." But, gentlemen, if it were necessary, I could call your attention to still stronger statements than that. It so happens that there have been men who have investigated this very question—who have made it a subject for careful study. M. Quetelet, in a work which he published in 1835, "Upon Man, and the Development of his Faculties," alludes to this very matter of intemperance in the wine districts. Just consider this one little fact—in four years in France, 1,129 murders were committed; 556 of these murders were committed in wine-shops! (Sensation.) You see, then, what hope there is of improving our morality by introducing wine-shops here. (Applause.) And remember, gentlemen, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself declares, and the *Examiner and Times* endorses, that these wine-shops are not to be substituted for anything. This is to be a new trade; it is to be an additional circumstance of temptation. They have got aid of the nonsense about substituting it.

Mr. Gladstone does not attempt to say anything of that sort to the House of Commons. He is a man of too much conscience and sense to say that which he does not believe; and the experience of the past has shown him that it could not possibly be expected that wine would supersede the stronger drinks of this country. Therefore he frankly acknowledges that we are to have a new trade—a new source of temptation. I have here a list in which I find that in seven departments of France—those which are generally considered to be most productive of the vice—crime is above the average, and education also above the average; and there must be some explanation given of that large proportion of crime, and it is in the fact that there drinking is above the average. We find therefore, that, instead of these wine districts of France, according to Quetelet's (a Frenchman's) own statistics, being as sober as we are taught to believe they are, although they have advantages in the way of education there they are still above the average in crime, because drinking is above the average; but when we look at 14 other districts, we find that crime is there below the average, although education is below the average also.—Why is this? It is because drinking is below the average. And if I look through the wine countries, I find the same rule applying. The Dutch of the Lower Rhine, and the low countries generally, present an over-average of crime, because there is an over-average of drinking, although education is very prevalent. The Danish provinces are in the same position, and so are other wine districts on the Continent. The truth is, this one of those things which are taken for granted,—one of the matters in which the public press do not care to inquire; it is a sort of *ad captandum* assertion, a convenient argument to be used; but I do earnestly trust the gentlemen representing the *Examiner and Times* here to-night will take the compliments of this large meeting to the editor of that paper—(applause)—and say that when he next discusses the light wine question, we hope he will deal in statistics of authority, and not in assertions without facts.—(Loud applause.) Having stated that there were many other things in the article under review which deserved reply, if there had been time, and shown symptoms of being about to close his speech which were met with cries of "Go on, go on," Mr. Pope remarked that it ought to have been expected that the light wine fallacies would have been exploded by experience—the bitter experience acknowledged and confessed by everybody who had studied the subject—the experience of 30 years with regard to the Beer Bill. It was lamentable indeed that statesmen should yet be dealing in the threadbare nonsense that strong drinks could be driven out by the light wines of the Continent. The danger threatening the philanthropic movements on the Continent was in fact that strong drinks were driving out the light wines there. The Inspector Gener-

al of Prisons in Belgium had stated that their jails were filled out of the grog shops, and that they were endeavoring to check the growing appetite among the people for strong drinks which light wines could not satisfy. The experience of the Beer bill surely must have shown that, instead of weaning the people from the use of spirits by supplying them with beer, a new class of drinkers was created, amongst whom the new appetite was cultivated until they must have something stronger than beer. And that was exactly the result which would follow from cheap wines if introduced here. The same licences, moreover, would not carry the highly branded wines just as much as the lighter wines. On the whole, he rather congratulated himself upon the turn which affairs were taking. The discussion was being narrowed very considerably.—Some two or three years ago when addressing them from that platform, on the rejection of Mr Hardy's Beer Bill he had ventured to say that it appeared evident that the contest in the House of Commons, and in the country, and with public men, was narrowing itself to the contest of principle, and that the sooner we distinguished accurately that that was the ground upon which we had to fight, the better would it be for our success. It was now recognised to be so by the *Examiner and Times*. The question was not between us and the publicans. The publicans admitted our case; with them it was a simple question of power—of how soon could we get it. It was now narrowed simply to this: We were to have an open trade, or were we to have the principles of Prohibition embodied in legislation?—He was thankful it was coming to this, because now we should have discussion much keener, more argumentative, and more likely to be sooner successful. He believed the course pursued by the Government would very materially aid the agitation of the United Kingdom Alliance. He knew as a fact that the power which had been exhibited by Temperance men throughout the country had very much impressed the Government with regard to this question. (Hear, hear.) It might be very well for the publicans to imagine that they had something to do with it, and possibly, under the existing state of affairs with members of Parliament, they might have had something to do in putting the screw on and procuring beneficial modifications in the scheme; but we had reason to believe that the petitions which had been presented, and the representations made, on behalf of our principle, had not only set the government thinking, but might, he had no doubt, if leisure and opportunity were afforded to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to investigate the matter, lead him with his honesty and courage, at some future time his conversion to the principles for which we contended. (Cheers.)

Having adverted to one member of the present Government who is favourable to our principle and anxious to have it fairly and thoroughly discussed and not as a mere question of expediency, Mr. Pope went on to say that, if it were true, as he believed it was, that the question was narrowing, how important it was that those who held similar principles with us should stand shoulder to shoulder with us in the battle. There must be no shirking of duty, no deserting of our colours. He had been very much delighted with a paper which had been placed in his hand by the secretary of an association which had been established in this city for the purpose of attending to municipal and parliamentary matters here (the business of the Alliance Executive being general and national, not local). By the exertions of the Manchester and Salford Permissive Bill Association several thousands of burgesses had been placed upon the register, who were supposed or known to be favourable to our principles. (Cheers.) We knew well how we stood with the vast body of the people; and if the measure which had been laid before Parliament for an extension of political power passed, as nobody doubted but that it would, it would then be the fault of the people themselves if they did not have this question entirely discussed in the House of Commons and sent to Parliament men who would vote as they desired upon it. ("Send yourself.") Let us, at all events, determine that, instead of relaxing our efforts, we would band ourselves together with greater determination than ever. He recommended his hearers to associate themselves in their own wards with the Permissive Bill Association, of which Mr. Heywood was the treasurer, Mr. Hartley secretary, whilst Mr. M. Masters had attended to the registration. Let them take care that the next election should find them prepared, so that the Temperance strength might all be ranked on the side of a proper candidate. It must necessarily take some little time before this question could be thoroughly discussed and settled; but if discussed now on the broad basis of principle, it would, when settled, be settled for ever; and it was for the people what direction that settlement should take. (Loud cheers.)

A WORD IN SEASON.  
"A ministry of power," it has been said, "must be a ministry of prayer." If I may be allowed to speak practically upon this point, as one who, for a series of years, has had much ministerial employment, I would humbly and affectionately assure my younger brother in the ministry, that unless there be a resolute appointment of a certain time every day, for seclusion and secret communion with God, and private devotional dwelling upon his holy Word not with a view to others, but for the improvement of ourselves, there can scarcely be much of real improvement to our

own souls, or in our ministry to others! (Tim. iv. 15, 16.)  
"Oh! for a closer walk with God!" said the daily breathing and longing of our souls; but to walk with him, we must deal much often with the blood of Christ.

HYMN FOR SABBATH EVENING  
BY WILLIAM ROSS WALLACE.  
Star of the holy Sabbath Eve!  
How radiant like some angels there,  
With blessings from the Earth below,  
Thou sittest on thy throne of air—  
The purple clouds around thee hung  
In tattered folds upon the Blue,  
Purer and grander than a king  
Of Orient islands ever knew.  
Star of the holy Sabbath Eve!  
How calm the eyes of one can gaze  
On the sweetest peace that seems a part,  
A spirit of thy tender rays,  
If he from dark gross matter turned,  
And reared a temple on the sod,  
Where through the long, still holy day  
His soul looked up unto its God.  
Star of the holy Sabbath Eve!  
How plainly dost thou seem the word  
Of him who smiles on duty done,  
Thou' from thy throne no tone is heard:  
Yes, there is language never writ—  
And harpless music, spirit-rolled,  
As holy in its silliness,  
As seraph-syllents from cords of gold.  
Star of the holy Sabbath Eve!  
O, may thy tender teachings now  
Fall with a wild but deathless power  
On every meditative brow,  
While here beneath thy sacred light,  
We muse upon thy deed sublime  
That gave lost Earth of one day rest,  
The promise of a stormless time.

RULES FOR HOME EDUCATION.  
The following are worthy of being printed in letters of gold, and being placed in a conspicuous position in every household.  
1. From your children's earliest infancy, inculcate the necessity of instant obedience.  
2. Unite firmness with gentleness. Let your children always understand that you mean exactly what you say.  
3. Never promise them anything unless you are sure you can give them what you promise.  
4. If you tell a child to do anything, show him how to do it, and see that it is done.  
5. Always punish your children for wilfully disobeying you, but never punish in anger.  
6. Never let them perceive that they can vex you, or make you lose your self-command.  
7. If they give way to petulance and temper, wait till they are calm, and then gently reason with them on the impropriety of their conduct.  
8. Remember that a little present punishment, when the occasion arises, is much more effectual than the threatening of a greater punishment, should the fault be renewed.  
9. Never give your children anything because they cry for it.  
10. On no account allow them to do at one time what you have forbidden, under the same circumstances, at another.  
11. Teach them that the only sure and easy way to appear good, is to be good.  
12. Accustom them to make their little recitals the result of truth.  
13. Never allow of tale-bearing.  
14. Teach them that self-denial, not self-indulgence, is the appointed and sure method of securing happiness.

WHAT ONE WOMAN DID.  
The Philadelphia Christian Instructor relates a most interesting incident, showing what one woman, constrained by the love of Christ, did for a village in the mountains of Pennsylvania. Who can estimate the home missionary power of this same faith and love in the hearts of even a hundredth part of the professed Christians of our country. The Instructor says:—  
"Ten years since there was a little town in the mountainous regions of this state, which had about six hundred inhabitants, but not a single church or house of worship, not, so far as known, a single individual in it who made any pretences to personal religion. About that time a lady who resided there, was called to visit some friends in the west, and during her absence was thrown under religious influences, which resulted in her conversion, as she believed. Immediately her heart became interested in the spiritual state of the place of her residence, and she returned to it, determined, by the grace of God enabling her, to undertake something on its behalf."  
"Accordingly she spoke to several, but received no encouragement, but was rather repulsed. At length she resolved upon commencing a Sabbath School. While walking to her place the first morning, she met the gentleman who now made this statement, and told him her purpose, but he, too, discouraged her. She however went on, had two scholars that day, the next Sabbath six, and before the summer was closed one hundred and sixty. Shortly after the school was well started, the public began to be interested, many became personal inquirers after Christ, a minister and regular preacher was sought, and now as the population has steadily increased, and religious duties have been persisted in, there are five organized churches in that place, three Sabbath schools with about six hundred children in them, and six young men have gone from that place, and from this effort, into the Christian ministry."

THE UNIVERSAL FATHER.  
The sun does not shine for a few trees and flowers, but for the wide world's joy. The lonely pine on the mountain top waves its sombre boughs and cries "Thou art my sun." And the little meadow violet lifts its cup of blue, and whispers with its perfumed breath, "Thou art my sun." And the grain in a thousand fields rustles in the wind, and makes answer, "Thou art my sun."  
So God sits, effulgent, in heaven, not for a favored few, but for the universe of life; and there is no creature so poor or so low that he may not look up with childlike confidence, and say, "My Father, thou art mine."—Henry Ward Beecher.