



## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and  
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

### **MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.**

Series IV: Sermons, 1914-1963, undated.

---

Reel  
151

Box  
53

Folder  
319

My reactions to the present political campaign, 1928.

---

"MY REACTIONS TO THE PRESENT  
POLITICAL CAMPAIGN."

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER.

THE TEMPLE, SUNDAY MORNING,

OCTOBER 14, 1928, CLEVELAND, O.

---

JOSEPH T. KRAUS  
Shorthand  
Reporter  
CLEVELAND



I regard this political campaign in which we are all having such a good time as an exceedingly interesting one, an exceedingly confused one, and only a mildly important one. It has been made exceedingly interesting by the colorful, vibrant personality of the democratic candidate, whose political sagacity, campaigning skill and forthrightness of speech have won for him many admirers among his countrymen.

Governor Smith seems to have given the slowly disintegrating Democratic party a new lease on life, and the wealthy campaign contributions which he succeeded in attracting this year are making it possible for the candidate and his party to launch a more vigorous and more extensive campaign than at any time in previous years. So that the campaign is proving to be an exceedingly absorbing one, and the American people, which above all things else likes a good show, is enjoying this campaign tremendously.

Mr. Hoover has not lent much color to this campaign. He just is not that type of a man. He is not the "happy warrior" and he does not hale from the "sidewalks of New York," and he cannot be symbolized by a brown derby. In fact, Mr. Hoover seems to belong to that class of solemn, rather taciturn statesmen whom the Republican party seems to be affecting in recent years. Mr. Hoover of course belongs to the party in power, and he is making his appeal to a nation which is normally Republican. So he can well



afford to be calm and dignified, as the occasion demands, and say only as much as he has to and as little as he dare, and to wait upon the eternal laws of Republican majority to put him and his party into the coveted office.

It is an interesting campaign, but it is also an exceedingly confusing one. Whatever issues one is able to discover in this campaign seem to be very sadly scrambled. It is of course becoming exceedingly more difficult, as it is becoming more progressively less likely, that either of the two major parties will ever again have a clear cut issue in its platform. The sole surviving distinction between these two traditional parties today seems to be that one is the party of the ins and the other is the party of the outs; that every four years one party in convention assembled views with pride its glorious record of accomplishment, and so on, and so on, and the other party once every four years in convention assembled views with alarm the record, the spectacle of sordid corruption and unabashed rascality, etc., etc.

In fact, the really great items of social legislation which have been enacted in the last few years, such as women suffrage and prohibition, were enacted in spite of the two major parties. The major parties neither dared to prove or to disprove of these measures until they became accomplished fact. And the reason is not far to seek. In order to win an election in this far flung country of ours, with its many territorial interests and conflicting inter-



ests, a party dare not take a decided stand upon any issue which will antagonize a substantial number of voters. Thus one writer has correctly stated that in the case of Governor Smith, who is at heart a true liberal, a progressive man, and a man of convictions, that in order to get anywhere at all in this election he has to effect a combination of states which, on the surface, at least, seems incongruous and unnatural, almost, in fact, impossible. He must hold the so-called solid South, which is dry, Protestant and full of Tammany hostility; he must gain the New York group, which is Republican, industrial, conservative and wet, and then carry a certain number of the restive and agricultural states in the Northwest.

Now the Republican candidate finds himself in the selfsame position, and the Republican party, for that matter, of reconciling mutually exclusive interests, with the result that every four years the candidates and the parties are compelled to perform some amazing feats of political juggling, legerdemain. They dare not take a decided stand on any issue, and they must use terms which may be made to mean all things to all men, or they can't win.

Now the important thing is to win, and hence this amazing confusion, this absence of clear issues. In fact, it is not at all clear in my mind that the American electorate wants clear cut issues. Most people vote their interests or their prejudices or their inherited bias. Few people really vote their intelligent and moral judgments.



Four years ago, for example, a clean issue, a sharply defined issue, was presented to the American electorate. The party in office,--which happened to be the Republican party,--had debauched government, betrayed its trust. Its representatives, its spokesmen, men high up in the party councils and in responsible government positions, simply turned thieves and pirates and traitors, and their maraudings and their depredations were unspeakable and unparalleled. No cabinet in any country of Europe would have survived three days in the face of such exposures. And their party, mind you, attempted to shield them all the time and to mitigate their offenses. But soon thereafter that party came up for reelection and vindication at the hands of the American electorate, and the American people was summoned to repudiate that party.

Here was an issue, moral, colossal, if you will, going to the very roots of government. What was the result? That party which was found to be so vulnerable, with such an exposed Achilles heel, was returned to office with a majority so overwhelming that it could only be interpreted as a complete vindication of moral turpitude.

So that I, for one, am not so sure that the American people are really sensitive to issues in a campaign. You take the political platforms of the two parties today. The difference between the Democratic party platform and the Republican platform, as regards vital things, such as the tariff, labor, immigration, farm relief, prohibition,--the



difference between them is the difference between tweedle-dee and tweedledum. The Democratic platform of course promises a little more, naturally has to; it is the party out of power. I realize, of course, that the candidate of the Democratic party has gone beyond his party platform and has projected issues which were not at all contained in the platform of his own party, and that is why I say that this campaign is such a confusing one.

This is a campaign of parties. We elect parties to govern, and candidates are only the spokesmen of the parties, and it is the party platform, and not the candidate, which reflects the merged interests and sentiments of the constituency of that party, and it is these sentiments and these notions which the candidate, if elected, will have to carry out into practice and legislation, or there is no sense at all to party government.

Now the closest approach to an issue in this campaign is prohibition, and it has been made an issue by the frank and outspoken position of Governor Smith. Governor Smith regards the prohibition issue--I am quoting him--as a great moral issue involving the rightecusness of our natural conduct and the protection of our children's morals, and he proposes, as soon as he is elected, to set about for an immediate revision of the Volstead law and for the presentation to the American people of a proposition so to change the Eighteenth Amendment as to enable the individual states to adopt, if they will, some such form of state manufacture



and sale of liquor as obtains in Canada. And that is the position of Governor Smith,--very clear, very frank.

But that is not the position of his party at all; in fact, the very reverse is the position of the party. In the platform adopted at Houston it clearly states, after rebuking the Republican party for not enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment, "Speaking for the natural democracy this convention pledges the party and its nominees (mind you) to an honest effort to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment and all other provisions of the Federal constitution, and all laws enacted pursuant thereto." It says nothing about modifying the Volstead law, and it says nothing about changing the Eighteenth Amendment.

Now, it is conceded that the strength of the Democratic party is in the South, and that if Governor Smith is elected he will have to count for the enactment of any law upon that constituency, those representatives from the South who are pledged to the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. How he plans to introduce a modification of the prohibition law when the representatives of his own party are pledged to enforce that law and not to change it is a miracle of statesmanship, and adds confusion upon confusion to this political campaign.

You take the religious issue, which is really not an issue at all, no formal issue, at least; neither of the platforms of the Republican and the Democratic party by so much as a word suggests religious intolerance. Both



candidates, Mr. Hoover and Governor Smith, have spoken forcibly, frankly, honestly upon the subject of religious toleration. Neither Mr. Hoover nor the Republican party can be accused, on the basis of anything in the record, of religious bias or intolerance. Mr. Hoover is a broad humanitarian, a Quaker, a member of a party which in its day also suffered from the bitter persecution of intolerance. In his many relief expeditions Mr. Hoover has served all peoples and all faiths alike, impartially. Mr. Smith is a Catholic, a loyal member of his church, but he has never permitted his politics to interfere with the administration of his office; he has never favored anyone or discriminated against anyone because of his religion, and Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant are among the closest friends and advisors and co-workers of Governor Smith.

So that as far as candidates and party platforms are concerned the record is clear: there is no religious issue; and yet people feel constrained to vote for Governor Smith and against Mr. Hoover because of the many manifestations of religious intolerance which have sprung up spontaneously all over the country; and that is confusing in itself. But the confusion becomes worse confounded when one stops to realize that the most relentless and the most bitter religious bigots in this campaign come from Governor Smith's own party, from the South, the stronghold and the bailiwick of Democracy.

I have not been able to see this thing eye to



eye with many of my friends, who feel that a vote for the Republican party this year is a vote for intolerance, and a vote for the Democratic party is a vote for tolerance. The Democratic party does not come into court with clean hands. It is the Southern Democracy which has disenfranchised five millions of human beings and deprived them of their rights guaranteed to them by the constitution of the United States; not on the basis of religious intolerance, to be sure, but on the basis of racial intolerance, and I, for one, do not know which is worse. The Democratic platform adopted at Houston has not a word to say about this thing, nor has it a word to say about the favorite Southern pastime of lynching; in fact, a few days before the Houston convention assembled, that beautiful city put on a lynching show, which most of the delegates missed because they arrived too late.

There is no anti-Catholic party in the field. If there were it would be the duty of every American citizen to smash it regardless of any other issue in the campaign. Neither of the parties, neither of the candidates, has solicited or welcomed any support from any of the numerous intolerant groups in the United States. If they had, then it would be the moral duty of the citizens of this country to repudiate that.

I therefore say that I cannot--trying to find my way through this confusion--I cannot see that there is a clear cut religious issue in this campaign, and that the man of tolerance must vote the Democratic ticket and the man of



intolerance will vote the Republican ticket. There are, of course, hordes of bigots in these United States--one need not underestimate them--who will vote against Governor Smith simply because he is a Catholic. They have always been with us, these Medieval scavengers. They were imported into this country from the Old World, where Catholics and Protestants knifed each other for four hundred years in the name of the Prince of Peace. In our early Colonial days in this country that virus of intolerance, that black heritage of hate was already present. Those who came to these shores to find religious freedom found it neither here nor there as soon as they came. Today the Catholics are being accused of conspiring to bring the pope over to Washington! As if he did not have a comfortable little home of his own in the Vatican. But in 1688, in Virginia, the Catholics were accused of conspiring with the Indians to assassinate all the Protestants. In many of the states Jews and Catholics were denied, in some instances, the right to settle; in other instances the right to hold public worship; in many instances the right to vote and to hold office; and the Catholics were particularly disliked and feared. The state of Massachusetts passed a law prohibiting the celebration of the mass under penalty of death, and often prohibited the celebration of Christmas because that was looked upon as an evidence of popery.

The state of New York, Governor Smith's own state, in the early eighteenth century, deprived all Catholics



of the right to vote, to hold office, and any priest found within the boundaries of New York state was subject to life imprisonment. In the middle of the nineteenth century you will recall a veritable wave of anti-Catholic sentiment spread throughout the United States in the wake of the incoming large numbers of Irish Catholics. In the late 30s and in the early 40s the American Republican Association was organized, which aimed at the elimination of Catholics from public office, and also from the right to citizenship, and this movement led, you will recall, to the terrible Kensington riots of 1844, when many were killed and wounded. A little later on, in 1849, the Supreme Order of the Sons of the Star Spangled Banner was organized,--what a religious title!--and that order soon came to be known as the Know-Nothing party, because members of the order, when questioned about the program of the order, the policy, said, "I know nothing." It was a secret organization, and this Know-Nothing party, aimed against the Catholics, soon plunged into politics and made some headway.

In the election of 1855 it actually carried four states in New England on an outright anti-Catholic platform. In 1877 the American Protective Association--the infamous A.P.A.--was organized, and the policy of that organization was to exclude all Catholics from nomination or election to any office in the United States. That organization was responsible for the circulation, you will recall, of that forged document--something like our Elders



of Zion--of the forged encyclical attributed to Pope Leo XIII, which decreed that on the last day of July, 1893, all Protestants and all heretics in the United States should forthwith be assassinated by all the faithful; and so many Protestants were scared by this forged document that they actually built for themselves arsenals and stacked them with quantities of munitions and arms to protect themselves against this threatened assassination. And in 1915 you will remember in Atlanta the Ku Klux Klan was organized--or re-organized--which embraced in its empire of hate Jews and Catholics.

So that bigotry and intolerance are not unknown in these United States. It is of interest, however, to note that these movements seem to have their little day and pass out; they disintegrate; they decompose. Not one of them manages to prolong its existence much beyond a decade or a decade and a half. It seems that the American people quickly regains its sanity and prefers to remain loyal to its own declarations of religious tolerance emblazoned in its own constitution; the American people prefers to remain loyal to the tradition of the Roger Williams and the Thomas Jefferson and the Abraham Lincoln and the Theodore Roosevelt.

But there have always been, and there are today large numbers of ingrown sectarians, intolerant religionists, whose chief delight is to hate someone and who bestir themselves whenever the occasion challenges them; and this occasion has challenged them and they have bestirred



themselves in this campaign, and they will bestir themselves in future campaigns quite regardless of the outcome of this campaign.

It is part of the very arduous task of Democracy to educate these people, to educate all bigots, whether they be Catholic or Protestant or Jewish, out of their narrowness and their prejudice; to teach them to disassociate their political life and their political interests from their racial and creedal contacts and associations. And yet one should not despair about conditions, and one should not overestimate this intolerance in the United States. After all, it is in the way of a vindication of the broad religious tolerance of the American people that a man like Governor Smith could have been nominated for the President of the United States, his party knowing full well this possible opposition which has developed, and it is quite in the nature of a vindication of the fundamental broadmindedness of the American people that this self-same party nominates a Jew to the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the greatest state in the union, and that the other party, the Republican party, nominates a Jew to the office of governor of that self-same state. I realize other factors enter into the situation, but it is significant that these factors of religion and race, which would have proved an insurmountable obstacle in the path in other places, have not proved insurmountable obstacles in the present and in this land.



If I were a Protestant minister today, and especially if I lived in a small town, where narrowness is predominant, where mental horizons are circumscribed, I would spend all my time between now and election in my pulpit and in my fold, among my people, in an effort to explain to them as forcibly as I could the sacred duty of religious non-partisanship in politics. I would realize this opportunity when the minds are sensitive to this problem, to teach them with appropriate commentary and homily the full implication, the real philosophy of that clause in our constitution which declares that no religious test shall ever be a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States. I would spend this period of time stressing and underscoring, proclaiming from the very house tops, a doctrine such as Thomas Jefferson preached to his fellowmen. "Believing that religion is a matter which lies solely between man and his God; that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship; that the legislative powers of government reach actions only and not opinions, I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislators should make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Thus building a wall of separation between church and state. And if I were a Protestant minister and devoted myself to this work at this time, I would believe that I would be performing the supreme service to true Christianity and to true



Americanism.

I am inclined to believe, friends, that this campaign, in spite of this great interest which it has created, and probably because of the great confusion of issues, is likely to prove only a mildly important one. There are two fine men running for office, but there are no great issues. Governor Smith has proved himself a truly remarkable executive--courageous, independent, competent. He is a man of fine social vision, broad humanity and absolute integrity, and he would bring to the White House all that rich experience in government, that amazing skill in putting through important legislation, and that remarkable humaneness, plus integrity and uprightness. Mr. Hoover has established himself in the minds of his countrymen as a great administrator and organizer of vast projects, and in the grave crises which confronted the world in the last fifteen years, Mr. Hoover proved himself a real, a true servant of mankind. Mr. Hoover has an intimate knowledge of international affairs, and a grasp of the great problems which perturb the nations of the world today. And he would bring to the White House all that rich experience of his, plus character and probity. In fact, both of these men are head and shoulders above the men who have occupied the White House in the last eight years.

Mr. Hoover will of course be, by his nature, by his training, by his environment, by his party affiliations, more conservative, more "regular", more the friend of



the status quo, more the friend, if you will, of what we call "big business," than Mr. Smith.

It is clear, therefore, that those men and women who will vote dispassionately in the forthcoming election, that is, without reference either to religion or to prohibition--neither of which is a real issue in this campaign--and those men and women who vote intelligently in the forthcoming election, without reference to party loyalty, will devote themselves logically along this line: the conservatives will choose Mr. Hoover; the liberals will choose Governor Smith. That does not mean that the Democratic party today is the party of liberalism--far from it. The Democratic party today, solely because of the presence of this personality of Governor Smith at its head, may serve for some liberal as a half way station. But the party is far from being the American Liberal party.

Such a party will have to be born sooner or later, my friends. The logic of events will dictate sooner or later the formation of a true liberal party, which will be the true counterpart of a true conservative party; and there is room in these United States for both such parties. When such a party is organized there will ensue a logical alignment of voters along definite issues, prompted by definite attitudes to definite social, political and economic questions. Until that time, my friends, we are likely to have elections such as this, which will prove highly interesting and highly confusing, but only mildly important.



- Symon 278  
to heart 9/1/28
1. I regard - Mr. S. seems to have given  
- Am. people look show -
  2. Mr. Hoover has lent very little color -
  3. The campaign is proving - confused one  
- what are issues - scratched.  
- It is, of course - Sole, surviving  
- great items -  
- In order to win  
- thus as one writes  
- The important thing - to win
  4. In fact, it is not clear, that Am. Electorate  
wants clear-cut - Most people vote
  5. The Whiff bet Dem. & Repub - platforms -  
- I realize -
    - ① The nearest we have come - prohibition  
- it is canceled -  
- This campaign is so poor -
    - ② Talk the so-called religious issue.  
- But even more confusing.
    - ③ When it comes to Intolerance  
- platform-bunching



④ There is no Anti-C. Party -

⑤ There are 7-course hordes of hogs.  
- Earth - Generally -  
- In middle of 19C - Am. Republican Ans.

In 1879 - Supreme Order of the Sons -

In 1887 - A. P. A. - Pope Leo XIII.  
1915 - K. K. K.

⑥ These movements have their little day -

⑦ It is part, the very arduous task  
- Should not despair -

⑧ If I was a Protest. Minister  
- "no rel. test shall ever be required -"

6 - I am inclined to believe that Temp.  
- will be impaired - There are 2 fine  
- towers -  
- until such time.



I regard this pol. campaign in which we are all having such  
 a good time as an exceedingly interesting one, a very <sup>confused</sup>  
 one and ~~only~~ <sup>an</sup> ~~unusually~~ <sup>important</sup> one. (1) It has <sup>made</sup> ~~been~~  
~~exceedingly~~ <sup>interesting</sup> by the colorful, vibrant personality of the ~~idea~~  
 candidate, Mr. Smith, whose political sagacity, ~~speech~~ <sup>speech</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> forthrightness of ~~speech~~ <sup>speech</sup>, has captivated  
 many of his countrymen. Mr. Smith seems to have  
 given the steadily disintegrating Union Party a new lease  
 on life; and the wealthy campaign contributors which  
 he has succeeded in attracting, ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> making it possible  
 for the party and its candidates to conduct a vigorous and  
 extensive campaign than at any time previously. Certainly  
 this is proving a highly interesting and absorbing campaign,  
 and the Union public which ~~does~~ <sup>does</sup> all things, like Thurg's  
 little a good show, is immeasurably enjoying this  
 one.

Mr. Horn has lent very little color to the campaign. He is  
 simply not that kind of a man. He is not the Happy  
 Warrior, nor does he hark from the sidewalks of New York,  
 nor ~~can~~ <sup>can</sup> he be ~~represented~~ <sup>represented</sup> by a brass derby. He ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup>  
 belongs to the class of the solemn and rather taciturn  
 statesmen which the Rep. party has affected in recent  
 years. Mr. Horn, of course, is the candidate of the party  
 in power, and appeals to a country which is normally  
 Republican. He can afford to be calm and dignified, as the  
 occasion ~~demands~~ <sup>demands</sup>, say only as much as he has to, and  
 as little as he dare, counting upon the operation of the  
 eternal laws of Rep. majorities to put him <sup>in</sup> ~~into~~ the  
 coveted office.



The campaign is proving to be a very confused one. Whatever  
issues there may be discussed in this campaign are  
badly scrambled. ~~and~~ It is of course becoming  
increasingly more difficult and less likely for either of the  
2 major parties to ~~have~~ have any vital issues in their  
platforms. The sole surviving distinction between these  
2 traditional parties to-day is that one is the party of the  
ins; the other the party of the outs; one takes pride  
in pointing to ~~the other~~ its record of accomplish-  
ments etc. etc; the other views with alarm the spectacle  
of sordid corruption and unabashed rascality etc. etc.  
Great ~~matters~~ <sup>large</sup> matters of social legislation in recent years  
such as woman's suffrage and Prohibition were enacted  
in spite of both Pol. parties. Neither dared to oppose  
a disapprobation of them until they were accomplished  
facts. In order to win in a national election either  
party must satisfy so many diverse elements and  
interests in this fair-lying country, that they simply  
cannot afford to take a decision stand on any  
vital public issue which will antagonize a  
substantial number of voters. Thus as one  
writer has <sup>correctly</sup> pointed out, Gov. Smith, who is at heart  
a liberal and a man of convictions, must, in order  
to get anywhere in this election, effect a combination  
of stances which on the surface at least seems incongru-  
ous and unnatural - almost, in fact, impossible. He  
must hold the so-called Solid South, which is dry, Protestant,  
and full of townswomen, hostile to the N.Y. group which is  
Republican, industrial, cosmopolitan, and wet, and then carry  
a certain number of the western and radical agricultural











"Speaking for the national Democracy, this convention pledges the party and its nominees to an honest effort to enforce the 18th amendment and all other provisions of the federal Constitution, and all laws enacted pursuant thereto". Mind you - it pledged its nominee - that is Gov. Smith - and the ~~for. nominee~~ promptly <sup>telegraphed that he means to change the name of his party</sup> repudiated the pledge. It is conceded that the strength of the Union Party is the South. If elected his chief support in Congress must come from the S. states which are dry. How does the for. intend to enact <sup>any</sup> legislation ~~when~~ when the bulk of his <sup>own</sup> party representatives are pledged to oppose it?

This confusion in the minds of voters is so great, that many Rep. will vote the Union ticket this year because the ~~the~~ <sup>Union</sup> candidate is wet and <sup>his party</sup> platform dry, and many Union. will vote the Rep. ticket because the Union candidate is wet and <sup>his</sup> platform dry.

(3) It is all very confusing. Take the so-called religious issue. In reality it is no <sup>formal</sup> issue at all. Neither party platform <sup>has</sup> ~~has~~ <sup>as much as</sup> a word to say about religious intolerance. Both candidates have spoken clearly, freely and honestly on the subject. Nothing in the record of Mr. Hoover or the Repul. party indicates ~~that~~ religious bigotry. Mr. Hoover is a broad, humanitarian ~~man~~ a Quaker, member of a sect which itself in its day suffered from religious persecution. <sup>He has many religious sympathies</sup> ~~He is not a~~ <sup>He is not a</sup> ~~sectarian~~ all peoples and faiths alike. ~~the~~ Gov. Smith, a Catholic, and a loyal member of his church, has never







- nor has any candidate welcomed the endorsement of  
such anti-<sup>the</sup> elements in the majority  
as there was such a party - it would be the first duty of later coming  
to make it.

(4) There is no anti-lat. party in the field - ~~and~~ I can not  
get myself to believe that a vote for the Rep. ticket is a  
vote for intolerance, and that a vote for the Union ticket  
is a vote for tolerance.

(5) There are of course hordes of bigots in this country who will vote against Mr. Smith simply bec. he is a Catholic. Am. has never been free from the presence of such Medieval ~~parts~~<sup>partisans</sup>. They were imported here from the Old World where Cath. & Prot. <sup>rivalled</sup> their way through 4 centuries & in their zeal for the Prince of Peace. Into our ~~early~~<sup>early</sup> colonies the <sup>The def. heritages of hate -</sup> venom of rel. intell. <sup>was already</sup> present. Those who sought on these shores rel. freedom and found it - denied to others. Absentees and heretics were banished. Catholics & Jews were denied in some instances the right to settle in others the right of public worship, in still others the right to vote or hold office. The Catholics were discriminated against quite generally and charged with all kinds of crimes. <sup>- just as in Old World Cath. persecuted Protestants</sup> accused of everything they <sup>were</sup> doing. They are being charged with not bringing the Pope to Washington - as if it did not have a quiet comfortable little <sup>home, his own</sup> place in the Vatican. In 1688 <sup>in Va.</sup> they were charged with conspiring with the Indians to murder ~~all~~<sup>the</sup> Protestants. Mass. passed a law forbidding the celebration of the mass under penalty of death - and even the celebration of Christmas was prohibited <sup>as it was regarded</sup> as an evidence of Popery. In the early part of the 18c. N. Y. State forbade any Catholic from either voting or holding office & deposed ~~him~~<sup>him</sup> from any priest found within the State.



It is part of the very arduous task of democracy to educate men out of their prejudices and bigotries - whether they be Prot. Cath. & Jewish - and to teach men to dissociate pol. affairs from racial and ~~the~~ creedal considerations. ~~But~~ The process is long and wrangling, but we should not despair. It is after-all quite a vindication of Am. rel. tolerance that one of the major parties did nominate a Catholic <sup>- in spite of the southern papers which say certain followers</sup> as its candidate for the Pres. of the U.S., that the same party did nominate a Jew for the office of Just. for the greatest State in the Union, and that the other party nominated a Jew for the office of Governor of that same State. I realize that other considerations entered - but these reasons <sup>or rare</sup> seemingly did not push any of the conventional obstacles.

<sup>esp. I lived in one of the smaller, narrower towns of this land</sup>  
⑥ If I were a Prot. minister, I would spend the next few weeks <sup>until elections</sup> in my pulpit and among my fold, explaining to them the sacred duty of rel. non-partisanship in politics. I would utilize this opportunity, ~~for~~ when their minds are centered to this issue, to expound to them, ~~the~~ with ~~conviction~~ <sup>conviction</sup> and honesty, the full implication of the clause in the Const. of the U.S. that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the U.S." I would then be rendering a supreme service to true Christianity & to true Americanism.

III. I am inclined to believe that this campaign in spite of the great interest which it has aroused, only







They have lectured us in this campaign; and that will  
again in future campaigns, quite regardless of the  
outcome of this campaign —









~~basis~~ <sup>along</sup> definite attitudes towards the great pol. & economic  
and social issues of the day. Until such time we  
are likely to have every 4 years very interesting and  
very confused and only mildly important  
campaigns.





*Sermon 278*

# *The* TEMPLE BULLETIN

THE TEMPLE  
East 105<sup>th</sup> St. and Ansel Rd.  
CLEVELAND, OHIO

Abba Hillel Silver, D.D.  
RABBI

*Rabbi Leon J. Feuer*  
Minister of Religious Education

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1928

10:30 A. M.

THE FIRST SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE OF THE SEASON

RABBI SILVER

will speak on

"My Reactions to the Present  
Political Campaign"

The beautiful Friday Evening Vesper Service is held every Friday Evening  
from 5:30 to 6:10



The Temple Bulletin, published weekly from the middle of September to June, by Tifereth Israel Congregation, E. 105th Street at Ansel Road, Cleveland, Ohio. E. E. Wolf, Pres.; Emanuel Einstein, Treas.; Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Editor. Subscription price, 50 cents per annum.

Entered as second-class matter, Dec. 11, 1925, at the Post office at Cleveland, Ohio, under the act of March 3 1879.

## ***Music for Sunday Morning, October 14th***

Organ Numbers (10:15 A. M.)

Prelude

Scherzo Pastorale ....Federlein  
Slavonic Cradle Song ...Neruda  
Air .....Giordani

Postlude

Festive Postlude.....Demarest  
Paul Allen Beymer.

Soprano Solo

"Hear Ye, Israel" (Elijah)  
.....Mendelssohn  
Leona Brown Woodcock.

## ***Opening Service This Sunday***

This Sunday marks the opening of the Sunday morning services of the year and Rabbi Silver's twelfth annual Sunday morning lecture season.

Rabbi Silver urgently requests the members of the Congregation and their families to assist him in preserving the traditional dignity and decorum of our service by coming early to the services. Worshipers should be in their pews **before 10:30**. This helps the ushers to take care of the hundreds of members who are not pew owners and the many visitors to our services.

The doors of the Temple open at 10:00 o'clock, the service begins at 10:30. At 11:00 o'clock the doors will be closed.

## ***A Splendid Beginning***

The New Year began with our Holiday Services which from the point of view of the number of worshipers which attended the three services, is unexcelled in the annals of our Congregation. A fine worshipful spirit dominated the entire Holiday Season.

Ninety-four new members joined our fellowship within the last six weeks. The Temple is happy to welcome them into the life and activities of the Congregation. It is particularly gratifying to note that many of these new members provided themselves and their families with pews in the Temple.

## ***Rabbi Silver's Addresses***

During the month of September Rabbi Silver addressed The Convention of The International Association for Public Employment; The Leadership Training Institute of The Federated Churches of Cleveland; the opening meeting of the Community Chest Campaign of Fort Wayne, Ind.; The Emmanuel Episcopal Church and the opening Forum of the season of the City Club of Cleveland.

Rabbi Silver is scheduled to address The Southwestern Ohio Teacher's Association in Cincinnati and the Lecture Forum of Erie, Pa., during the next two weeks.

## ***"In the Public Eye"***

(From the B'nai B'rith Magazine, July, 1928)

Among Jews and non-Jews Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland is famous as an orator; he is considered by many the greatest living master of oratory in America. In



addition he is a scholar and writer of significance, being the author of "Messianic Speculations in Israel", a comprehensive account of the various messianic hopes and delusions which have been current among the Jewish people in their long and checkered history. Dr. Silver is also an active force for progress in government, in education and in general social welfare.

For these reasons, and many more, the recent conferring upon him by Western Reserve University of the degree of Doctor of Letters was hailed throughout the country with approbation.

## ***Temple Women's Association***

### **Exhibit and Sale**

The Temple Women's Association will open its activities for the season with an exhibit and sale of the work of its community sewing groups on the afternoon and evening of Oct. 23rd and the afternoon and evening of Oct. 24th. The community sewing groups have been doing splendid philanthropic work for many years and the object of the exhibit is to acquaint the community with their work. Booths will be erected in Mahler Hall and the Hall will be beautifully decorated for the event. Mrs. Benjamin Lowenstein and Mrs. Walter Goldsmith are in charge.

### **Community Sewing Groups**

The Community sewing groups do fine community philanthropic work. The proceeds of the sale of their work go to various charitable agencies as well as to several scholarship funds. These groups meet

every Tuesday in Mahler Hall. Membership in them is open to all members of The Temple Women's Association and a cordial invitation is extended to all to join one of these groups and participate in their activities.

### **First Open Program Meeting**

The first program meeting of the year for the Temple Women's Association will be on Wednesday afternoon, Nov. 14th. The lecture will be delivered by the well known educator, Dr. Edward N. Schoolman of Chicago.

## ***Temple Men's Club***

Those who attended will not soon forget the opening meeting and political symposium held last Wednesday evening, Oct. 3rd. It was undoubtedly the most successful and significant event that the Men's Club has ever held. The meeting attracted not only local but national attention. Mahler Hall was crowded to capacity and many were turned away. The Hon. Theodore E. Burton made an extremely able presentation for Herbert Hoover and the Republican party and Mr. Newton D. Baker gave a brilliant presentation of the principles of the Democratic party and of the personality of Gov. Alfred E. Smith.

That the Men's Club intends to continue the success of its first meeting is evidenced by its next program, Ladies Night, which will be held on election night, Tuesday, Nov. 6th. The speaker will be Judge Florence E. Allen. Among the features of the evening's program will be the broadcasting of election returns by direct wire from the Cleveland Press.



## OPENING EVENT OF THE SEASON

*for the*

### TEMPLE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION

## TEA DANCE

Sunday Afternoon, October 14th

*Between the hours of three and five*

Admission free to all Alumni members in good standing. Alumni are urged to turn out in good numbers and make this opening affair of the year a success.

Carl Joseph is chairman of the Committee on Arrangements

---

### *Temple Lecture Course*

The Temple Monday evening lecture course which is attracting widespread attention and favorable comment from all parts of the city opens on Monday evening, Oct. 29th. The first of the three series of lectures will be on The Religions of Mankind. The opening lecture in this series will be delivered by Prof. Joseph Jastrow of The University of Wisconsin on "The Psychology of Religion". Season tickets for the entire course are in demand. Those who have not purchased them should do so at once.

Season tickets are \$3.50 covering the entire course of twenty lectures. Tickets for the first series comprising eight lectures on The Religions of Mankind are \$1.50. Tickets may be procured in the Temple office or ordered by mail or telephone.

### *Temple Religious School*

#### **Elementary School**

The various departments of the Religious School are now in full ses-

sion and have made a fine start for the year. The Junior High School did not meet last week on Saturday because of the Succoth Holiday. The Elementary School made an excellent beginning for the year with an attendance average of 97%. The following classes had perfect attendance records: Kg., Miss Goldstein; 1B, Miss Kopperman; 1C, Miss Silverman; 1D, Miss Bartow; 2B, Miss Gup; 2D, Miss Coblitz; 3A, Miss Markowitz; 4B, Mrs. Frankel; 4D, Miss Sugarman; 4F, Miss Bernstein; 5C, 5D, Miss Gimp; 5E, 5F, Mr. Dryer.

The children celebrated Simcha Torah by visiting the outdoor Sukkah in classes. Each class upon entering the Sukkah, made the traditional blessing and the significance of the Sukkah was explained to the children. Each child then received an apple from the Sukkah. The celebration of the entire Succoth Holiday, the pageant of last week, the building and decorating of the Sukkah and visiting it, have made a vivid and lasting impression upon the children.



## MONDAY EVENINGS AT THE TEMPLE

An Outstanding Lecture Course Which Has  
Aroused Great Interest and Enthusiasm

*Twenty Vital Lectures by Twenty  
Eminent Speakers*

FIRST LECTURE, OCT. 29th

Procure Your Season Tickets by  
Phone or Mail at Once

### *Temple High School*

The High School Department held its first regular class sessions last Sunday and gives promise of a year of fine achievement. Eighty-three new students are enrolled in the High School. Representatives to the High School Student Council were elected and by next week all the extra curricular activities of the High School will be in full swing. Three new instructors have been added to the staff of the High School for this coming year. Miss Nettie Lumberg, Mr. Ralph Colbert and Mr. Henry Kutasi. Students who have not yet enrolled or reported are urged to do so at once

as the attendance record for all classes began last Sunday. No new students will be permitted to register after this coming Sunday.

### *College Department*

The College Department held its registration last Sunday morning. The College Department this year will consist of two classes, the second organized from last year's graduates of the High School Department. The College Department will begin regular class sessions this coming Sunday morning. Students who desire to register in this department should do so not later than this coming Sunday.



*The Temple Wishes to Acknowledge with Thanks the  
Following Contributions:*

*To the Floral Fund*

Irvin A. Wiedder  
Mrs. Ray Wiedder

In memory of father, Jacob H. Wiedder  
In memory of husband, Jacob H. Wiedder

*To the Scholarship Fund*

Mrs. Ray Wiedder  
Mrs. Ida Rosenwasser  
Mr. and Mrs. G. J. Feder-  
man



In memory of husband, Jacob H. Wiedder  
In memory of Dr. Eugene Rosenwasser  
In memory of their mothers, Fanny Feder-  
man and Fanny Teller

---

**In Memoriam**

We record with deep sorrow the death of MR. LEO E. HOFFMAN during the past week and extend the condolences of the congregation to his bereaved family.







# Democratic Platform



*Adopted by the  
Democratic National Convention  
Houston, Texas  
June 26th to 29th, 1928*



*Issued by the*  
**DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL  
COMMITTEE**





## Democratic National Platform 1928

HOUSTON, June 29 (A.P.)—The text of the platform adopted unanimously by the Democratic national convention follows:

We, the Democratic party in convention assembled, pause to pay our tribute of love and respect to the memory of him who in his life and in his official actions voiced the hopes and aspirations of all good men and women of every race and clime, the former President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson. His spirit moves on and his example and deeds will exalt those who come after us as they have inspired us.

We are grateful that we were privileged to work with him and again pay tribute to his high ideals and accomplishments.

We reaffirm our devotion to the principles of Democratic government formulated by Jefferson and enforced by a long and illustrious line of Democratic Presidents.

We hold that government must function not to centralize our wealth, but to preserve equal opportunity so that all may share in our priceless resources; and not confine prosperity to a favored few. We, therefore, pledge the Democratic party to encourage business, small and great alike; to conserve human happiness and liberty; to break the shackles of monopoly and free business of the nation; to respond to popular will.

The function of a national platform is to declare general principles and party policies. We do not, therefore, assume to bind our party respecting local issues or details of legislation.

We, therefore, declare the policy of the Demo-



cratic party with regard to the following dominant national issues:

## **The Rights of the States**

We demand that the constitutional rights and powers of the states shall be preserved in their full vigor and virtue. These constitute a bulwark against centralization and the destructive tendencies of the Republican party.

We oppose bureaucracy and the multiplication of offices and office holders.

We demand a revival of the spirit of local self-government without which free institutions cannot be preserved.

## **Republican Corruption**

Unblushingly, the Republican party offers as its record, agriculture prostrate, industry depressed, American shipping destroyed, workmen without employment, everywhere disgust and suspicion, and corruption unpunished and unafraid.

Never in the entire history of the country has there occurred in any given period of time or, indeed, in all time put together, such a spectacle of sordid corruption and unabashed rascality as that which has characterized the administration of federal affairs under eight blighting years of Republican rule. Not the revels of reconstruction, nor all the compounded frauds succeeding that evil era have approached in sheer audacity the shocking thieveries and startling depravities of officials high and low in the public service at Washington. From cabinet ministers with their treasonable crimes, to the cheap vendors of official patronage; from the purchasers of seats in the United States senate to the vulgar grafters upon alien trust funds, and upon the hospital resources of the disabled veterans of the World War; from the givers and receivers of stolen funds for Republican campaign purposes to the public men who sat by silently consenting and never revealing a fact or uttering a word in condemnation.



the whole official organization under Republican rule has become saturated with dishonesty, defiant of public opinion and actuated only by a partisan desire to perpetuate its control of the government.

As in the time of Samuel J. Tilden, from whom the presidency was stolen, the watchword of the day should be: "Turn the rascals out." This is the appeal of the Democratic party to the people of the country. To this fixed purpose should be devoted every effort and applied every resource of the party; to this end every minor difference on non-essential issues should be put aside and a determined and united fight be made to rescue the government from those who have betrayed their trust by disgracing it.

## **Economy and Reorganization**

The Democratic party stands for efficiency and economy in the administration of public affairs, and we pledge:

(a) Business-like reorganization of all departments of the government.

(b) Elimination of duplication, waste and overlapping.

(c) Substitution of modern business-like methods for existing obsolete and antiquated conditions.

No economy resulted from the Republican party rule. The savings they claim take no account of the elimination of expenditures following the end of the World War, the large sums realized from the sale of war materials, nor its failure to supply sufficient funds for the efficient conduct of many important governmental activities.

## **Finance and Taxation**

(a) The federal reserve system created and inaugurated under Democratic auspices is the greatest legislative contribution to constructive business ever adopted. The administration of the system for the advantage of stock market speculators must



cease. It must be administered for the benefit of farmers, wage-earners, merchants, manufacturers and others engaged in constructive business.

(b) The taxing function of governments, free of despotism, has for centuries been regarded as the power above all others which requires vigilant scrutiny to the end that it be not exercised for purposes of favor or oppression.

Three times since the World War the Democrats in the congress have favored a reduction of the tax burdens of the people in face of stubborn opposition from a Republican administration; and each time these reductions have largely been made for the relief of those least able to endure the exactions of a Republican fiscal policy. The tax bill of the session recently ended was delayed by Republican tactics and juggled by partisan considerations so as to make impossible a full measure of relief to the greater body of taxpayers. The moderate reductions afforded were grudgingly conceded and the whole proceeding in the congress, dictated as far as possible from the White House and the treasury, denoted the proverbial desire of the Republican party always to discriminate against the masses in favor of privileged classes.

The Democratic party avows its belief in the fiscal policy inaugurated by the last Democratic administration, which has provided a sinking fund sufficient to extinguish the nation's indebtedness within a reasonable period of time, without harassing the present and next succeeding generations with tax burdens, which, if not unendurable, do in fact check initiative in enterprise and progress in business. Taxes levied beyond the actual requirements of the legally established sinking fund are but an added burden upon the American people, and the surplus thus accumulated in the federal treasury is an incentive to the increasingly extravagant expenditures which have characterized Republican administrations. We, therefore, favor a further reduction of the internal taxes of the people.



## Tariff

The Democratic tariff legislation will be based on the following policies:

(a) The maintenance of legitimate business and a high standard of wages for American labor.

(b) Increasing the purchasing power of wages and income by the reduction of those monopolistic and extortionate tariff rates bestowed in payment of political debts.

(c) Abolition of log-rolling and restoration of the Wilson conception of a fact-finding tariff commission, quasi-judicial and free from the executive domination which has destroyed the usefulness of the present commission.

(d) Duties that will permit effective competition, insure against monopoly and at the same time produce a fair revenue for the support of government. Actual difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, with adequate safeguard for the wage of the American laborer, must be the extreme measure of every tariff rate.

(e) Safeguarding the public against monopoly created by special tariff favors.

(f) Equitable distribution of the benefits and burdens of the tariff among all.

Wage earner, farmer, stockman, producer and legitimate business in general have everything to gain from a Democratic tariff based on justice to all.

## Civil Service

Grover Cleveland made the extension of the merit system a tenet of our political faith. We shall preserve and maintain the civil service.

## Agriculture

Deception upon the farmer and stock raiser has been practiced by the Republican party through false and delusive promises for more than fifty



years. Specially favored industries have been artificially aided by Republican legislation. Comparatively little has been done for agriculture and stock raising upon which national prosperity rests. Unsympathetic inaction with regard to this problem must cease. Virulent hostility of the Republican administration to the advocates of farm relief and denial of the right of farm organizations to lead in the development of farm policy must yield to Democratic sympathy and friendliness.

Four years ago the Republican party, forced to acknowledge the critical situation, pledged itself to take all steps necessary to bring back a balanced condition between agriculture and other industries and labor. Today it faces the country not only with that pledge unredeemed, but broken by the acts of a Republican President who is primarily responsible for the failure to offer a constructive program to restore equality to agriculture.

While he had no constructive and adequate program to offer in its stead, he has twice vetoed farm relief legislation and has sought to justify his disapproval of agricultural legislation partly on grounds wholly inconsistent with his acts making industrial monopolies the beneficiaries of government favor; and in indorsing the agricultural policy of the present administration, the Republican party in its recent convention served notice upon the farmer that the so-called protective system is not meant for him; that while it offers protection to the privileged few, it promises continued world prices to the producers of the chief cash crops of agriculture.

We condemn the policy of the Republican party which promises relief to agriculture only through a reduction of American farm production to the needs of the domestic market. Such a program means the continued deflation of agriculture, the forcing of additional millions from the farms, and the perpetuation of agricultural distress for years to come, with continued bad effects on business and labor throughout the United States.

The Democratic party recognizes that the prob-



lems of production differ as between agriculture and industry. Industrial production is largely under human control, while agricultural production, because of lack of co-ordination among the 6,500,000 individual farm units, and because of the influence of weather, pests and other causes, is largely beyond human control. The result is that a large crop frequently is produced on a small acreage and a small crop on a large acreage; and measured in money value it frequently happens that a large crop brings less than a small crop.

Producers of crops whose total volume exceeds the needs of the domestic market must continue at a disadvantage until the government shall intervene as seriously and as effectively in behalf of the farmer as it has intervened in behalf of labor and industry. There is a need of supplemental legislation for the control and orderly handling of agricultural surpluses, in order that the price of the surplus may not determine the price of the whole crop. Labor has benefited by collective bargaining and some industries by tariff. Agriculture must be as effectively aided.

The Democratic party in its 1924 platform pledged its support to such legislation. It now reaffirms that stand and pledges the united efforts of the legislative and executive branches of government, as far as may be controlled by the party, to the immediate enactment of such legislation, and to such other steps as are necessary to establish and maintain the purchasing power of farm products and the complete economic quality of agriculture.

The Democratic party has always stood against special privilege and for common equality under the law. It is a fundamental principle of the party that such tariffs as are levied must not discriminate against any industry, class or section. Therefore, we pledge that in its tariff policy the Democratic party will insist upon equality of treatment between agriculture and other industries.

Farm relief must rest on the basis of an economic equality of agriculture with other industries. To



give this equality a remedy must be found which will include among other things:

(a) Credit aid by loans to co-operatives on at least as favorable a basis as the government aid to the merchant marine.

(b) Creation of a federal farm board to assist the farmer and stock-raiser in the marketing of their products, as the federal reserve board has done for the banker and business man. When our archaic banking and currency system was revised, after its record of disaster and panic under Republican administrations, it was a Democratic congress in the administration of a Democratic President that accomplished its stabilization through the federal reserve act, creating the federal reserve board, with powers adequate to its purpose. Now, in the hour of agriculture's need, the Democratic party pledges the establishment of a new agricultural policy fitted to present conditions, under the direction of a farm board vested with all the powers necessary to accomplish for agriculture what the federal reserve board has been able to accomplish for finance, in full recognition of the fact that the banks of the country, through voluntary co-operation, were never able to stabilize the financial system of the country until government powers were invoked to help them.

(c) Reduction through proper government agencies of the spread between what the farmer and stock-raiser gets and the ultimate consumer pays with consequent benefits to both.

(d) Consideration of the condition of agriculture in the formulation of government financial and tax measures.

We pledge the party to foster and develop co-operative marketing associations through appropriate government aid.

We recognize that experience has demonstrated that members of such associations alone cannot successfully assume the full responsibility for a program that benefits all producers alike. We pledge



the party to an earnest endeavor to solve this problem of the distribution of the cost of dealing with crop surpluses over the marketed units of the crop whose producers are benefited by such assistance. The solution of this problem would avoid government subsidy, to which the Democratic party has always been opposed. The solution of this problem will be a prime and immediate concern of a Democratic administration.

We direct attention to the fact that it was a Democratic congress in the administration of a Democratic President which established the federal loan system and laid the foundation for the entire rural credits structure, which has aided agriculture to sustain in part the shock of the policies of two Republican administrations, and we promise thoroughgoing administration of our rural credits laws, so that the farmers in all sections may secure the maximum benefits intended under these acts.

## Mining

Mining is one of the basic industries of this country. We produce more coal, iron and copper than any other country. The value of our mineral production is second only to agriculture. Mining has suffered like agriculture and from similar causes. It is the duty of our government to foster this industry and to remove the restrictions that destroy its prosperity.

## Foreign Policy

The Republican administration has no foreign policy; it has drifted without plan. This great nation cannot afford to play a minor role in world politics. It must have a sound and positive foreign policy, not a negative one. We declare for a constructive foreign policy based on these principles:

(a) Outlawry of war and an abhorrence of militarism, conquest and imperialism.

(b) Freedom from entangling political alliances with foreign nations.



(c) Protection of American lives and rights.

(d) Non-interference with the elections or other internal political affairs of any foreign nation. This principle of non-interference extends to Mexico, Nicaragua and all other Latin American nations. Interference in the purely internal affairs of Latin American countries must cease.

(e) Rescue of our country from its present impaired world standing and restoration to its former position as a leader in the movement for international arbitration, conciliation, conference and limitation of armament by international agreement.

(f) International agreements for reduction of all armaments, and the end of competitive war preparations, and in the meantime the maintenance of an army and navy adequate for national defense.

(g) Full, free and open co-operation with all other nations for the promotion of peace and justice throughout the world.

(h) In our foreign relations this country should stand as a unit, and to be successful, foreign policies must have the approval and the support of the American people.

(i) Abolition of the practice of the President of entering into and carrying out agreements with a foreign government, either de facto or de jure, for the protection of such government against revolution or foreign attack, or for the supervision of its internal affairs, when such agreements have not been advised and consented to by the senate as provided in the Constitution of the United States, and we condemn the administration for carrying out such an unratified agreement that requires us to use our armed forces in Nicaragua.

(j) Recognition that the Monroe Doctrine is a cardinal principle of this government promulgated for the protection of ourselves and our Latin-American neighbors. We shall seek their friendly co-operation in the maintenance of this doctrine.

(k) We condemn the Republican administration for lack of statesmanship and efficiency in nego-



tiating the 1921 treaty for the limitation of armaments, which limited only the construction of battleships and ships of over 10,000 tons. Merely a gesture toward peace, it accomplished no limitation of armament, because, it simply substituted one weapon of destruction for another.

While it resulted in the destruction of our battleships and the blueprints of battleships of other nations, it placed no limitation upon construction of aircraft, submarines, cruisers, warships under 10,000 tons, poisonous gases, or other weapons of destruction. No agreement was ratified with regard to submarines and poisonous gases. The attempt of the President to remedy the failure of 1921 by the Geneva conference of 1928 was characterized by the same lack of statesmanship and efficiency and resulted in entire failure.

In consequence the race between nations in the building of unlimited weapons of destruction still goes on, and the peoples of the world are still threatened with war and burdened with taxation for additional armament.

## **Water Power, Waterways and Flood Control**

The federal government and state governments respectively now have absolute and exclusive sovereignty and control over enormous water powers, which constitute one of the greatest assets of the nation. This sovereign title and control must be preserved respectively in the state and federal governments, to the end that the people may be protected against exploitation of this great resource and that water powers may be expeditiously developed under such regulations as will insure to the people reasonable rates and equitable distribution.

We favor and will promote deep waterways from the Great Lakes to the Gulf and to the Atlantic Ocean. We favor the fostering and building up of water transportation through improvement of inland waterways, and removal of discrimination against water transportation. Flood control and the lowering of flood levels are essential to the safety of life



and property, and the productivity of our lands, the navigability of our streams, the reclaiming of our wet and overflowed lands. We favor expeditious construction of flood relief works on the Mississippi and Colorado rivers and such reclamation and irrigation projects upon the Colorado river as may be found feasible.

We favor appropriation for prompt co-ordinated surveys by the United States to determine the possibilities of general navigation improvements and water power development on navigable streams and their tributaries and to secure reliable information as to the most economical navigation improvement, in combination with the most efficient and complete development of water power.

We favor the strict enforcement of the federal water-power act, a Democratic act, and insist that the public interest in water-power sites, ignored by two Republican administrations, be protected.

## **Flood Control**

Being deeply impressed by the terrible disasters from floods in the Mississippi valley during 1927, we heartily indorse the flood control act of last May, which recognizes that the flood waters of the Mississippi river and its tributaries constitute a national problem of the gravest character and makes provision for their speedy and effective control. This measure is a continuation and expansion of the policy established by a Democratic congress in 1917 in the act of that year for controlling floods on the Mississippi and Sacramento rivers. It is a great piece of constructive legislation, and we pledge our party to its vigorous and early enforcement.

## **Conservation and Reclamation**

We shall conserve the natural resources of our country for the benefit of the people and to protect them against waste and monopolization. Our disappearing resources of timber call for a national policy of reforestation. The federal government should improve and develop its public lands so that



they may go into private ownership and become subjected to taxation for the support of the states wherein they exist. The Democratic administration will actively, efficiently and economically carry on reclamation projects and make equitable adjustments with the homestead entrymen for the mistakes the government has made, and extend all practical aid to refinance reclamation and drainage projects.

## Transportation

Efficient and economical transportation is essential to the prosperity of every industry. Cost of transportation controls the income of every human being and materially affects the cost of living. We must, therefore, promote every form of transportation to a state of highest efficiency. Recognizing the prime importance of air transportation we shall encourage its development by every possible means. Improved roads are of vital importance not only to commerce and industry, but also to agriculture and rural life. The federal government should construct and maintain at its own expense roads upon its public lands. We reaffirm our approval of the federal roads law, enacted by a Democratic administration. Common carriers, whether by land, water or rail, must be protected in an equal opportunity to compete so that governmental regulations against exorbitant rates and inefficiency will be aided by competition.

## Labor

(a) We favor the principle of collective bargaining and the Democratic principle that organized labor should choose its own representatives without coercion or interference.

(b) Labor is not a commodity. Human rights must be safeguarded. Labor should be exempt from the operation of anti-trust laws.

(c) We recognize that legislative and other investigations have shown the existence of grave abuse in the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes. No injunctions should be granted in labor



disputes except upon proof of threatened irreparable injury and after notice and hearing, and the injunction should be confined to those acts which do directly threaten irreparable injury. The expressed purpose of representatives of capital, labor and the bar to devise a plan for the elimination of the present evils with respect to injunctions must be supported and legislation designed to accomplish these ends formulated and passed.

(d) We favor legislation providing that products of convict labor shipped from one state to another shall be subject to laws of the latter state as though they had been produced therein.

## **Unemployment**

Unemployment is present, widespread and increasing. Unemployment is almost as destructive to the happiness, comfort and well-being of human beings as war. We expend vast sums of money to protect our people against the evils of war, but no government program is anticipated to prevent the awful suffering and economic losses of unemployment. It threatens the well-being of millions of our people and endangers the prosperity of the nation. We favor the adoption by the government, after a study of this subject, of a scientific plan whereby during periods of unemployment appropriations shall be made available for the construction of necessary public works and the lessening, as far as consistent with public interests, of government construction work when labor is generally and satisfactorily employed in private enterprise.

Study should also be made of modern methods of industry and a constructive solution found to absorb and utilize the surplus human labor released by the increasing use of machinery.

## **Accident Compensation to Government Employees**

We favor legislation making fair and liberal compensation to government employees who are injured in accident or by occupational disease and to the



dependents of such workers as may die as a result thereof.

## **Federal Employes**

Federal employes should receive a living wage based upon American standards of decent living. Present wages are in many instances far below that standard. We favor a fair and liberal retirement law for government employes in the classified service.

## **Veterans**

Through Democratic votes, and in spite of two Republican Presidents' opposition, the congress has maintained America's traditional policy to generously care for the veterans of the World War. In extending them free hospitalization, a statutory award for tuberculosis, a program of progressive hospital construction, and provisions for compensation for the disabled, the widows and orphans, America has surpassed the record of any nation in the history of the world. We pledge the veterans that none of the benefits heretofore accorded by the Wilson administration and the votes of Democratic members of congress shall be withdrawn; that these will be added to more in accordance with the veterans' and their dependents' actual needs. Generous appropriations, honest management, the removal of vexatious administration delays, and sympathetic assistance of the veterans of all wars is what the Democratic party demands and promises.

## **Women and Children**

We declare for equality of women with men in all political and governmental matters.

Children are the chief asset of the nation. Therefore, their protection through infancy and childhood against exploitation is an important national duty.

The Democratic party has always opposed the exploitation of women in industry and has stood for such conditions of work as will preserve their health and safety.



We favor an equal wage for equal service; and likewise favor adequate appropriations for the women's and children's bureau.

## **Immigration**

Laws which limit immigration must be preserved in full force and effect, but the provisions contained in these laws that separate husbands from wives and parents from infant children are inhuman and not essential to the purpose of the efficacy of such law.

## **Radio**

Government supervision must secure to all the people the advantage of radio communication and likewise guarantee the right of free speech. Official control in contravention of this guaranty should not be tolerated. Governmental control must prevent monopolistic use of radio communication and guarantee equitable distribution and enjoyment thereof.

## **Coal**

Bituminous coal is not only the common base of manufacture, but is a vital agency in our interstate transportation. The demoralization of this industry, its labor conflicts and distress, its waste of a national resource and disordered public service, demand constructive legislation that will allow capital and labor a fair share of prosperity, with adequate protection to the consuming public.

## **Congressional Election Reform**

We favor legislation to prevent defeated members of both houses of the congress from participating in the sessions of the congress by fixing the date for convening the congress immediately after the biennial national election.

## **Law Enforcement**

The Republican party, for eight years in complete control of the government at Washington, presents the remarkable spectacle of feeling compelled in its



national platform to promise obedience to a provision of the federal Constitution which it has flagrantly disregarded and to apologize to the country for its failure to enforce laws enacted by the congress of the United States. Speaking for the national Democracy, this convention pledges the party and its nominees to an honest effort to enforce the Eighteenth amendment and all other provisions of the federal Constitution and all laws enacted pursuant thereto.

## Campaign Expenditures

We condemn the improper and excessive use of money in elections as a danger threatening the very existence of democratic institutions. Republican expenditures in senatorial primaries and elections have been so exorbitant as to constitute a national scandal. We favor publicity in all matters affecting campaign contributions and expenditures. We shall, beginning not later than August 1, 1928, and every thirty days thereafter, the last publication and filing being not later than five days before the election, publish in the press and file with the appropriate committees of the house and senate a complete account of all contributions, the names of the contributors, the amounts expended and the purposes for which the expenditures are made, and will at all times hold open for public inspection the books and records relating to such matters. In the event that any financial obligations are contracted and not paid, our national committee will similarly report and publish, at least five days before the election, all details respecting such obligations.

We agree to keep and maintain a permanent record of all campaign contributions and expenditures and to insist that contributions by the citizens of one state to the campaign committees of other states shall have immediate publicity.

## Merchant Marine

We reaffirm our support of an efficient, dependable American merchant marine for the carriage of



the greater portion of our commerce and for the national defense.

The Democratic party has consistently and vigorously supported the shipping services maintained by the regional United States Shipping Board in the interest of all ports and all sections of our country, and has successfully opposed the discontinuance of any of these lines. We favor the transfer of these lines gradually to the local private American companies when such companies can show their ability to take over and permanently maintain the lines. Lines that cannot now be transferred to private enterprise should continue to be operated as at present and should be kept in an efficient state by remodeling of some vessels and replacement of others.

We are unalterably opposed to a monopoly in American shipping and are opposed to the operation of any of our service in a manner that would retard the development of any ports or sections of our country.

We oppose such sacrifices and favoritism as exhibited in the past in the matter of alleged sales, and insist that the primary purpose of the legislation upon this subject be the establishment and maintenance of an adequate American merchant marine.

## Armenia

We favor the most earnest efforts on the part of the United States to secure the fulfillment of the promises and engagements made during and following the World War by the United States and the allied powers to Armenia and her people.

## Education

We believe with Jefferson and other founders of the republic that ignorance is the enemy of freedom and that each state, being responsible for the intellectual and moral qualifications of its citizens and for the expenditure of the moneys collected by taxation for the support of its schools, shall use its



sovereign right in all matters pertaining to education.

The federal government should offer to the states such counsel, advice, results of research and aid as may be made available through the federal agencies for the general improvement of our schools in view of our national needs.

## Monopolies and Anti-Trust Laws

During the last seven years, under Republican rule, the anti-trust laws have been thwarted, ignored and violated so that the country is rapidly becoming controlled by trusts and sinister monopolies formed for the purpose of wringing from the necessities of life an unrighteous profit. These combinations are often formed and conducted in violation of law, encouraged, aided and abetted in their activities by the Republican administration and are driving all small tradespeople and small industrialists out of business. Competition is one of the most sacred, cherished and economic rights of the American people. We demand the strict enforcement of the anti-trust laws and the enactment of other laws, if necessary to control this great menace to trade and commerce, and thus to preserve the right of the small merchant and manufacturer to earn a legitimate profit from his business.

Dishonest business should be treated without influence at the national capitol. Honest business, no matter its size, need have no fears of a Democratic administration. The Democratic party will ever oppose illegitimate and dishonest business. It will foster, promote and encourage all legitimate business enterprises.

## Canal Zone

We favor the employment of American citizens in the operation and maintenance of the Panama canal in all positions above the grade of messenger and favor as liberal wages and conditions of employment as prevailed under previous Democratic administrations.



## **Alaska-Hawaii**

We favor the development of Alaska and Hawaii in the traditional American way through self-government. We favor the appointment of only bona fide residents to office in territories. We favor the extension and improvement of the mail, air mail, telegraph and radio, agricultural experimenting, highway construction and other necessary federal activities in the territories.

## **Philippines**

The Filipino people have succeeded in maintaining a stable government and have thus fulfilled the only condition laid down by the congress as a prerequisite to the granting of independence. We declare that it is now our duty to keep our promise to these people by granting them immediately the independence which they so honorably covet.

## **Porto Rico**

We favor granting to Porto Rico such territorial form of government as would meet the present economic conditions of the island, and provide for the aspirations of her people, with the view to ultimate statehood accorded to all territories of the United States since the beginning of our government, and we believe any officials appointed to administer the government of such territories should be qualified by previous bona fide residence therein.

## **Public Health**

The Democratic party recognizes that not only the productive wealth of the nation, but its contentment and happiness depend upon the health of its citizens. It therefore pledges itself to enlarge the existing bureau of public health and to do all things possible to stamp out communicable and contagious diseases and to ascertain preventive means and remedies for these diseases, such as cancer, infantile paralysis and others which heretofore have largely defied the skill of physicians.



We pledge our party to spare no means to lift the apprehension of diseases from the minds of our people, and to appropriate all moneys necessary thereto to carry out this pledge.

## Conclusion

Affirming our faith in these principles, we submit our cause to the people.

### THE COMMITTEE ON PLATFORM AND RESOLUTIONS.

KEY PITTMAN, Chairman.

MICHAEL L. IGOE, Secretary.

CHAS. E. JACKSON, Asst. Secretary.

R. EARL PETERS, Asst. Secretary.





## NO ROOM FOR BIGOTRY.

America has room for every shade and degree of opinion; political, economic, religious. It will never be large enough, so long as liberty endures, to shelter intolerance.

The Constitution of the United States twice speaks out clearly on the question in words familiar to everyone versed in the fundamentals of the republic:

"No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

And again:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Thomas Jefferson, to whom both Republicans and Democrats in these days look back for inspiration, considered these declarations of principle essential to the liberty in whose name the fathers of the republic called for help from a God of justice.

"Believing that religion is a matter which lies solely between man and his God," Jefferson wrote in 1802; "that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship, that the legislative powers of government reach actions only and not opinions, I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their Legislature should 'make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' thus building a wall of separation between church and state."

Yet the folly persists. There exist in the United States today groups, otherwise intelligent and certainly pretending to patriotism, which insist—contrary to the Constitution they assume to admire—that one's qualification for office shall in fact be determined by a religious test.

More than 100 years after Jefferson uttered the words we quote above, another president of the United States wrote a letter to an Ohio man. We cite Theodore Roosevelt to support Jefferson:

"You say that 'the mass of the voters that are not Catholic will not support a man for any office, especially for president of the United States, who is a Roman Catholic.' I believe that when you say this you foully slander your fellow countrymen."

Nothing can be more destructive of the very foundation stones of what the world acclaims the greatest experiment in popular liberty history has yet recorded than the spirit of religious bigotry.

To hold that Alfred E. Smith should not be president because he is a member of the Catholic church, as some are doing, is to deny the wisdom of the authors of the Constitution; to attack a fundamental principle of political liberty.

We concede, of course, the privilege of anyone to oppose the election of Smith on any one of many issues—his attitude toward prohibition, his record as governor of New York, his association with Tammany, his position on agriculture, foreign relations, waterways—or on all of them—but to attack him for his religion is a blow not at him alone but at an ideal which Americans have cherished since the beginning of the republic.

Here is an issue bigger than party; bigger than the identity of the next president; bigger than republican government or democracy.

Let bigotry find no haven in America.



# FROM GOVERNOR SMITH'S ADDRESS OF ACCEPTANCE

August 22, 1928

## The Theory of Progressive Government

Government should be constructive, not destructive; progressive, not reactionary. I am entirely unwilling to accept the old order of things as the best unless and until I become convinced that it cannot be made better.

It is our new world theory that government exists for the people as against the old world conception that the people exist for the government. A sharp line separates those who believe that an elect class should be the special object of the government's concern and those who believe that the government is the agent and servant of the people who create it. Dominant in the Republican Party today is the element which proclaims and executes the political theories against which the party liberals like Roosevelt and La Follette and their party insurgents have rebelled. This reactionary element seeks to vindicate the theory of benevolent oligarchy. It assumes that a material prosperity, the very existence of which is challenged, is an excuse for political inequality. It makes the concern of the government, not people, but material things.

\* \* \* \*

## Real Outlawry of War

The real outlawry of war must come from a more substantial endeavor to remove the causes of war and in this endeavor the Republican administration has signally failed.

I believe the American people desire to assume their fair share of responsibility for the administration of a world of which they are a part, without political alliance with any foreign nation. I pledge myself to a resumption of a real endeavor to make the outlawry of war effective by removing its causes and to substitute the methods of conciliation, conference, arbitration and judicial determination.

## The Eighteenth Amendment

The President of the United States has two constitutional duties with respect to prohibition. The first is embodied in his oath of office. If, with one hand on the Bible and the other hand reaching up to Heaven, I promise the people of this country that "I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," you may be sure that I shall live up to that oath to the last degree. I shall to the very limit execute the pledge of our platform "to make an honest endeavor to enforce the 18th Amendment and all other provisions of the Federal Constitution and all laws enacted pursuant thereto."

\* \* \* \*

## Temperance vs. Disregard for the Law

I believe in temperance. We have not achieved temperance under the present system. The mothers and fathers of young men and women throughout this land know the anxiety and worry which has been brought to them by their children's use of liquor in a way which was unknown before prohibition. I believe in reverence for law. Today disregard of the prohibition laws is insidiously sapping respect for all law. I raise, therefore, what I profoundly believe to be a great moral issue involving the righteousness of our national conduct and the protection of our children's morals. The remedy, as I have stated, is the fearless application of Jeffersonian principles.

\* \* \* \*



### **Modification of the Volstead Law**

In accordance with this Democratic principle, some immediate relief would come from an amendment to the Volstead Law giving a scientific definition of the alcoholic content of an intoxicating beverage. The present definition is admittedly inaccurate and unscientific. Each State would then be allowed to fix its own standard of alcoholic content, subject always to the proviso that that standard could not exceed the maximum fixed by the Congress. I believe moreover that there should be submitted to the people the question of some change in the provisions of the 18th amendment.

\* \* \* \*

I personally believe in an amendment in the 18th Amendment which would give to each individual State itself only after approval by a referendum popular vote of its people the right wholly within its borders to import, manufacture or cause to be manufactured and sell alcoholic beverages, the sale to be made only by the State itself and not for consumption in any public place. We may well learn from the experience of other nations. Our Canadian neighbors have gone far in this manner to solve this problem by the method of sale made by the state itself and not by private individuals.

There is no question here of the return of the saloon. When I stated that the saloon "is and ought to be a defunct institution in this country" I meant it. I mean it today. I will never advocate nor approve any law which directly or indirectly permits the return of the saloon.

Such a change would preserve for the dry states the benefit of a national law that would continue to make interstate shipment of intoxicating beverages a crime.

### **Public Ownership and Control of Water Power**

\* \* \* \*

I shall carry into Federal administration the same policy which I have maintained against heavy odds in my own state. Under no circumstances should private monopoly be permitted to capitalize for rate-making purposes water power sites that are the property of the people themselves. It is to me unthinkable that the Government of the United States or any state thereof will permit either direct or indirect alienation of water power sites.

### **Protective Legislation**

I shall continue my sympathetic interest in the advancement of progressive legislation for the protection and advancement of working men and women. Promotion of proper care of maternity, infancy and childhood and the encouragement of those scientific activities of the national government which advance the safeguards of public health, are so fundamental as to need no expression from me other than my record as legislator and as Governor.

### **Equality of Opportunity**

None can question my respect for and cooperation with the Civil Service nor my interest in proper compensation for government service. I believe in that true equality of women that opens to them without restriction all avenues of opportunity for which they can qualify in business, in government service and in politics.

### **Freedom from Political Obligations**

\* \* \* \*

Victory, simply for the sake of achieving it, is empty. I am entirely satisfied of our success in November because I am sure we are right and therefore sure that our victory means progress for our nation. I am convinced of the wisdom of our platform. I pledge a complete devotion to the welfare of our country and our people. I place that welfare above every other consideration and I am satisfied that our party is in a position to promote it. To that end I here and now declare to my fellow countrymen from one end of the United States to the other, that I will dedicate myself with all the power and energy that I possess to the service of our great Republic.



AN ABSTRACT FROM  
"MY REACTIONS TO THE PRESENT POLITICAL CAMPAIGN"  
BY  
RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
THE TEMPLE, CLEVELAND  
OCTOBER 14th, 1928.

I regard this political campaign in which we are all having such a good time as an exceedingly interesting one, an exceedingly confused one and only a mildly important one. It has been made exceedingly interesting by the colorful and vibrant personality of the Democratic candidate, Governor Smith, whose political sagacity, campaigning skill and forthrightness of speech have captivated many of his countrymen. Governor Smith seems to have given the slowly disintegrating Democratic party a new lease on life and the wealthy campaign contributions which he has succeeded in attracting are making it possible for the party to conduct a more vigorous and extensive campaign than at any time in the past. Certainly this is proving an absorbing campaign; and the American public, which above all other things likes a good show is tremendously enjoying this one.

Mr. Hoover has lent very little color to this campaign. He is simply not that kind of a man. He is not the Happy Warrior, nor does he hail from the sidewalks of New York nor can he be symbolized by a brown derby. He belongs to the class of the solemn and rather taciturn statesmen whom the Republican party has favored in recent years. Mr. Hoover, of course is the candidate of the party in power and he appeals to a country which is normally Republican. He can therefore afford to be calm and dignified, say only as much as he has to and as little as he dare and count upon the operations of the eternal laws of Republican majorities to put him and his party into the coveted offices.



The campaign is proving to be a very confusing one. Whatever of issues there may be discovered in it are badly scrambled. It is of course becoming increasingly less likely for either of the two major parties to have any vital issues in their platforms. In order to win in a national election either party must satisfy so many diverse and conflicting elements and groups in <sup>this</sup> ~~the~~ far-flung country that the party simply can not afford to take a decisive stand on any vital public issue which may antagonize a substantial number of voters. Parties and candidates are constrained every four years to perform amazing feats of political jugglery and legerdemain. They must avoid clear-cut issues and they must use terms which may mean all things to all men.

The difference between the Republican and the Democratic platforms this year on such subjects as the tariff, labor, prohibition, farm relief, and foreign relations is the difference between twiddle-de-dee and twiddle-de-dum. The Democratic platform promises a little more - because it has to. I realize that in some instances the Democratic candidate has gone beyond his own party platform and has projected issues not at all contemplated by his party. The more the confusion! Our Government is one of parties and candidates are assumed to be the spokesmen of their parties and their platforms. It is the platform rather than the candidate which represents the combined sentiments of the constituencies of the party and it is these sentiments as reflected in the platform which must determine the action of the candidate, if elected, or there can be no party government at all.

The nearest we have gotten to a clear-cut issue in this campaign is Prohibition - due entirely to the frank and outspoken position of Governor Smith.

Governor Smith proposes an immediate modification of the Volstead Law and a submission to the people of the question of some change in the provisions of the Eighteenth Amendment which would give each



individual state the right to adopt some such system of state manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages as is in vogue in Canada. But his own party platform says nothing of the kind. In fact it says quite the reverse. After criticizing the Republican party for not enforcing the Prohibition Law it proceeds to pledge itself to its full enforcement. Governor Smith, if elected, will find himself in the position of advocating a change in the Eighteenth Amendment which will be strenuously opposed by the very representatives in his own party, upon whose support he will have to depend. It is all very confusing.

Take the so-called religious issue. In reality it is no issue at all. Neither party platform by so much as a word, suggests intolerance. Both candidates have spoken clearly, forcibly and honestly on this subject. Nothing in the record of Mr. Hoover or the Republican party indicates religious bigotry; and yet some men feel prompted to vote for Governor Smith, against the Republican party because of the many evidences of religious intolerance which <sup>have</sup> ~~many~~ spontaneously appeared all over the land. This is confusing in itself - but even more confusing is the fact that the most persistent and relentless religious bigotry which is being displayed in the campaign comes from Governor Smith's own party in the South - the stronghold of Democracy.

There is no anti-Catholic party in the field, nor has any candidate solicited or welcomed the endorsement of the anti-Catholic elements in this country. If that were the case it would be the prime duty of every American citizen to rise up and crush them. Under existing conditions however, I can not get myself to believe that a vote for the Republican ticket is a vote for intolerance and a vote for the Democratic ticket is a vote for tolerance.



There are of course, hordes of bigots in this country who will vote against Governor Smith simply because he is a Catholic. America has never been free from the presence of such medieval scavengers. They were imported here from the old world where Catholics and Protestants have knifed their way through four centuries in their zeal for the Prince of Peace. From time to time anti-Catholic sentiment sweep over this country. These movements have seemed to have their little day and cease to be. They never succeeded in prolonging their life beyond a decade or so. The American people quickly recovers its sanity and remains loyal to the historic declarations of religious toleration emblazoned on the pages of its Constitution.

It is part of the arduous task of democracy ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ and of organized religion to educate men out of their prejudices and bigotries - whether they be Protestant, Catholic or Jewish - and to teach men to dissociate their political thought from their racial and creedal considerations.

If I were a Protestant minister, especially in a small town, I would spend the next few weeks before election in my pulpit and among my people explaining to them the sacred duty of religious non-partizanship in politics. I would utilize this opportunity when their minds are sensitive to this issue to expound to them with commentary and homily the full implication of the clause in our Constitution which says that "No religious test shall ever be required as qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." I would then be rendering a supreme service both to my church and to America.

I am inclined to believe that this campaign is only mildly important. There are two fine men running for office but there are no great party issues. Governor Smith has proved himself a truly great executive,



courageous and competent. He is a man of fine social vision and true humanitarian impulses who would bring to the White House his rich experience in government, his skill in putting through important legislation, his humaneness and his absolute integrity.

Mr. Hoover has been a great administrator, a successful organizer of vast projects and during the grave crises of the last fifteen years he has proved himself a true servant of mankind. He has intimate knowledge of international relations and he would bring to the White House all that experience and knowledge plus character and probity. Mr. Hoover will undoubtedly be more conservative, more "regular", more the friend of Big Business than Governor Smith. It is therefore clear that those citizens who will vote dispassionately, without reference to religion or prohibition and intelligently, without reference to party affiliation will divide along this line; the conservative will choose Hoover. The liberal will choose Smith.

This does not of course mean that the Democratic party today is the party of liberalism. Far from it. Because of its ~~present~~ present standard bearer it may serve for some liberals as a half-way house. But ~~the~~ the American Liberal Party is still to be born. The logic of events will sooner or later dictate the formation of a true liberal party which will be the counterpart of a truly conservative party. There will then ensue a logical allignment of men along definite attitudes towards the great political, economic and social issues of the day. Until such a time we are likely to have every four years, very interesting and very confusing, but only mildly important campaigns.