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The real American, 1944.

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THE REAL AMERICAN

The distinctive qualities of the men who have fashioned the great American Tradition. With special reference to Catherine Bowen's "Yankee From Olympus."

By  
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

At  
The Temple

On  
Sunday morning, November 12, 1944

Dear Friends: Armistice Day, which was celebrated by our people yesterday, brings to mind the great purpose for which the American people fought the first World War and which is fighting the second World War. That purpose was spoken of then as "making the world safe for Democracy." We speak of it today as securing for mankind the "four Freedoms." A single idea motivated both enormous military exertions of America. But if we look further, we will discover that this same single idea was the driving force behind other wars in American history. It is the unmistakable and dominant theme in the classic American tradition.

And if we look to the men whom destiny designated to be the spokesmen of our country in its decisive critical hours -- in this war, in the last war, in the Civil War, in the Revolutionary War -- if we look to men like Roosevelt, or Lincoln or Wilson, or Washington, and to the men close to them in the making of policy and the molding of national purpose -- we shall discover the same remarkable identity of thought and outlook.

And not only they! Others whose essential contribution to America was not in the field of politics, but the titans of the mind and the spirit who forged truth and glory in the fields of Art, Science, Philosophy, Literature. Most of these too, in the main, belonged to the same fraternity who were inspired by the same dynamic tradition.

There seems to be an unmistakable pattern in American life. That is <sup>not</sup> to say that America is all ideals, noble and forthright. That is not to say that all Americans were or are paragons of virtue. Not at all. In fact one of the fine characteristics of the American people is that it has never looked upon itself as a chosen people, as being some superior race. Americans are quite aware of their and are not averse to criticism or self-criticism. An shortcomings/ American has a good sense of humor and frequently laughs at himself and is the first to catalogue fully all the faults, evils, crudities which have attended the amazing material and industrial development of his country and his people, in the last 150 years.

In spite of all these imperfections which no one wishes to deny there has persisted for all to see throughout the history of the American people a strong, clearly discernable portent and active complex of ideas or ideals, variously phrased but essentially one, which we call the American Tradition -- the American Way of Life. And the real American has always responded to that idea, that ideal, to that complex, and when challenged the Real American is always ready to fight for it, and if necessary, to die for it.

Now it is not starry-eyed idealism, or adolescent political or social romancing. Uncle Sam is not a Don Quixote. He is neither naive nor deluded. It is the sober convictions of very strong and practical men, men who were able to reclaim a continent from primeval wilderness and who fashioned the most advanced and prosperous civilization mankind ever experienced. These Americans came from the old world and were the products of older civilizations. They knew everything the old world had to offer. But, as pioneers in the great, new and unexplored world, in the midst of the unshakackled freedom, and the manifold physical and spiritual challenges with which the dangers the adventures and the opportunities confronted them, they were remade. New insight and understadnings came to them, a freshness, a vigor, an outlook or vision which was far beyond anything the old world knew or could embody in institutions and ways of life. And in spite of everything, this free, hopeful, generous outlook, this faith in man, this confidence in the future, this comradely helpfulness, this cou rage this boundless energy, has remained as distinctive qualities of the American people to this very day.

I was reading, the other day, the very fine book by Edgar Snow, "People on Our Side," a very penetrating study of Russia, China and India today and their relation to the war effort of the United Nations. There is a chapter on India and its long and confused struggle for freedom. There is a very fair account of British rule in India. What struck me in reading the book, having in mind my subject for this morning, was one paragraph in which Edgar Snow contrasts British rule in India

with American rule in the Philippines. I'll read this paragraph to you. It is very significant in illustrating the point I am endeavoring to make this morning that is something distinctive in American life.

"In my mind," he writes, "I contrasted what I saw here with what I knew of the Philippines. When the Americans arrived in the islands they found a population fully as backward as India's and with nothing like the unity of historic civilization. It was a land of many peoples, speaking eighty different dialects -- Mohammedans Igorot head-hunters, pygmies, pagans, Aglipayans and Catholics, divided by centuries-of feuds. But in one generation 55% of these former illiterates learned to read and write. Twenty thousand American teachers went in and taught them the rudiments of science and democracy. Americans helped them to raise themselves to liberty, encouraged them to forget their sectarian quarrels and to unite to build a nation -- which they did.

"I could never forget the national demonstration I witnessed on the fortieth anniversary of the American occupation. Millions of humble Filipinos marched out under banners of the infant republic to pay tribute to the United States "for the boundless blessings bestowed upon us," the first time in history any people ever spontaneously offered thanksgiving to its own conquerors."

He proceeds to contrast these with the attitude of the Indians toward Great Britain, and the attitude of Burma and Malaya when they aided the invading Japanese in driving out the British overlords.

Others have commented, as has Edgar Snow on this characteristic spirit of helpfulness, this readiness to share, to extend a helping hand, this sympathy for the under-dog, this willingness to break a in defense of the weak, the persecuted and the oppressed. This is characteristic of America and it all stems from a basic religious regard for man as such, for the equality of all men, for the inalienable rights of man, for the high destiny of mankind.

Jefferson expressed it in the Declaration of Independence, Adams, Thoreau, Payne, Lincoln, Whittier, Wilson, Emerson, Brandeis, and a host of other Americans, and the same basic convictions.

Of course, we have had, as we have now, many ruthless exploiters, and American citizens whose sole interest is grasping, hoarding and waxing rich and powerful regardless of what human lives or rights they trample upon. We have had and do have our conscienceless industrial plutocrats, and our financial buccaneers whose guiding principle in life is certainly not the spirit of helpfulness. But while these people live in America they are not of America. They are not of its genius. They are not of its real heart. They are not of the real inspiration of America. American people are not exploiters. They bitterly resent unfairness, injustice and corruption. When they become aroused, they strike in anger at entrenched wickedness and selfishness. The American people believe in fair play and the square deal, in live and let live, in giving the other fellow a break.

And along with this spirit of helpfulness which derives from a basic regard for man goes also the Real American's dogged faith in the general rightness, the general soundness, the general dependability of what we call the common man, the average man, the people, the simple folk. They are not the best informed. They are not experts. They may <sup>not</sup> ~~and~~ know all the answers. But they know their own best interests, far better and ahead of their leaders -- and if not altogether overwhelmed by disaster and kept from knowing the truth, or panicked by a conspiracy of lying propaganda, they will cannily decide right most of the time.

Very recently in an article written by the editor of the American Institute of Public Opinion there was published a study of American public opinion based on an analysis of the findings of all the major polling organizations in the United States in the last seven or eight years. He comes to the following conclusions. These are his words: "The American people are not only generally right in their thinking about public issues, but they show more common sense than ~~most~~ their

leaders." Public opinion is not infallible...Yet when it comes to major public issues, public opinion, studies show few instances when the majority of our people were not in favor of doing something long before either the legislative or the executive branch of the Government got around to doing it."

The real American never loses this conviction. The masses do not frighten him. He does not regard them as do the dictators as "dunderheads" to be incited, propagandized, dominated and mastered and used. He looks on the common folk as the reservoir of strength, the inherent soundness, the strong foundation of American democracy. And it is significant that Thomas Jefferson, who was undoubtedly the greatest philosopher of American Democracy sensed that intuitively long long ago. It was he who said: "The sum total of the common sense of the common people is the greatest and soundest force on earth."

The real American has also retained the pioneering spirit of America. He is not afraid of experiment. He is not revolutionary. He has enterprise. He is an adventurer. He does not believe that all our frontiers have been reached. He does not think of America as old and spent. They believe that there are still beckoning horizons. He has faith in the future. He has not become set and staid and conservative. He still dares to dissent, and if need be to rebel. He is still a strong individualist, jealous of his Bill of Rights, though not at all doctrinaire about it so as not to realize that a giant industrial society makes mandatory certain adjustments between personal and collective security.

And I found, interestingly enough all these qualities which associated with the real American superbly illustrated in the life of one of the greatest Americans of our day -- Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, whose fine biography written by Catherine Bowen, called "Yankee From Olympus" appeared recently.

The life of Oliver Wendell Holmes spans nearly a century of American history, He was 94 when he died and at the age of 90 he was still sitting on the bench of the United States Supreme Court, which he had occupied for 26 years.

He was descended from an illustrious American family of New England. His father was the noted American poet, Oliver Wendell Holmes. The son, Justice Holmes, was possessed of an amazing intellect, a relentlessly searching analytical mind, a boundless and overflowing energy, extraordinary capacity for discipline and work.

Through successive stages of growth and development as student, lawyer, lecturer on law, author of classic legal texts, professor at Harvard Law School, Judge and Chief Justice of the Mass. Supreme Court, and Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, Holmes rose to the very pinnacle of his profession and was acknowledged by his colleagues as the foremost legal authority of his day.

What interests us laymen, is to discover in his long and creative life which left a lasting influence not alone on the development of American law, but on the development of American economic and social life, the evidence of the great American tradition of which we have spoken. Catherine Downen draws attention to these facts.

Justice Holmes came to be known as the great dissenter. He was not just a rebel and a no-sayer. He entertained no pet economic theories. He feared neither socialism nor capitalism and he was neither for in government nor for laissez faire. He was a high-minded lawyer with vision. He believed in the authority of law and in the constitution of the United States. But he also knew that the letter killeth, that there must be some elasticity in law, which is, after all, an historical development. "When the pattern of society changes, legislation meets the change, or the state perishes." He felt that the necessities of the times must be reflected in legislation. Legislation is empirical. The life of law has not been logic. It has been experience.

Times were rapidly changing in America and new necessities were making themselves felt. The individual American citizen was struggling to survive in a growing collectivist world. "A pioneer economic individualism was giving way to the collectivism of corporate trade. A rural America was fast becoming the most

industrial country in the world. Big business was being swollen to a size "threatening and dangerous" to government and society.

Justice Holmes felt that the Constitution must be interpreted to meet the needs of the times. So he maintained that "The constitution is not intended to embody a particular economic theory." Constitutional law, like all other mortal contrivances, has to take some chances. The Constitution, he said, is an experiment, as all life is an experience.

And so, while his conservative colleagues followed dead legal precedents to defeat new social social legislation, Oliver Holmes dissented.

Back in 1896 there was still sharp discussion of the right of labor to picket. The Mass. Court, of which Holmes was a member, declared picketing illegal. Holmes dissented. In so doing, he made the following pronouncement:

"It is plain from the slightest consideration of practical affairs or the most superficial reading of industrial history, that free competition means combination, and that the organization of the world, now going on so fast, means an ever increasing might and scope of combination. It seems to be futile to set our faces against this tendency. Whether beneficial on the whole, as I think it, or detrimental, it is inevitable, unless the fundamental axioms of society, and even the fundamental conditions of life, are to be changed.

"One of the eternal conflicts out of which life is made up is that between the effort of every man to get the most he can for his services, and that of society, disguised under the name of capital, to get his services for the least possible return. Combination on the one side is patent and powerful. Combination on the other is the necessary and desirable counterpart, if the battle is to be carried on in a fair and equal way."

Here it is -- the American tradition "the battle is to be carried on in a fair and equal way."

He believed in the right of States to make their own social experiments.

States were beginning at the turn of the century to enact labor legislation, wage and hour laws, child labor laws. The State of New York had passed a law prohibiting more than ten hours of work per day in bakeries. This law challenged as class legislation...The U. S. Supreme Court voted against the law. Holmes dissented, and in so doing, made the following pronouncement:

"This case is decided upon an economic theory which a large part of the country does not entertain...

"It is settled by various decisions of this Court that State constitutions and State laws may regulate life in many ways which we as legislators might think... injudicious...

"The liberty of the citizen to do as he likes so long as he does not interfere with the liberty of others to do the same, which has been a shibboleth for some well-known writers, is interfered with by the school laws, by the Post Office, by every State or municipal institution which takes his money for purposes thought desirable, whether he likes it or not. The Fourteenth Amendment does not enact Mr. Herbert Spencer's Social Statics.

"The other day we sustained the Mass. vaccination law...The decision sustaining an eight-hour law for miners is still recent... Some of these laws embody convictions or prejudices which judges are likely to share. Some may not. But a constitution is not intended to embody a particular economic theory, whether of paternalism and the organic relation of the citizen to the State or of laissez faire. It is made for people of fundamentally differing views, and the accident of our finding certain opinions natural and familiar or novel and even shocking ought not to conclude our judgment upon the question whether statutes embodying them conflict with the Constitution of the United States."

In 1918 the U.S. Supreme Court declared the Child Labor Law unconstitutional and an invasion of State Rights. Justice /Holmes dissented.

During and following the intolerant years of the last war, America was

experiencing a wave of intolerance. There was considerable Red baiting, a considerable Red scare, and the Bill of Rights was being flagrantly violated. There was a famous case, some of you may recall it -- the Abrams Case. Abrams and his friends protested against sending American troops into Russia after the Revolution of 1917. He thought it was a crime. He protested, and put his protest into print and called for a general strike. The Department of Justice arrested him. Abrams was sentenced to 20 years. The U. S. Supreme Court sustained that. Justice Holmes dissented and in dissenting he made this historic pronouncement:

"...Sentences of twenty years' imprisonment have been imposed for the publishing of two leaflets that I believe the defendants had as much right to publish as the Government has to publish the Constitution of the United States now vainly invoked by them.

"Even if I am technically wrong and enough can be squeezed from these poor and puny anonymities to turn the color of legal litmus paper .. the most nominal punishment seems to me all that possibly could be inflicted, unless the defendants are to be made to suffer not for what the indictment alleges but for the creed that they avow...

"...When men have realized that time has upset many fighting faiths, they may come to believe even more than they believe the very foundations of their own conduct that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas -- that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market, and that truth is the only ground upon which their wishes safely can be carried out. That, at any rate, is the theory of our Constitution. It is an experiment, as all life is an experiment...While that experiment is part of our system I think we should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death...

"....I regret that I cannot put into more impressive words my belief that

in their conviction upon this indictment the defendants were deprived of their rights under the Constitution of the United States."

This is the real American tradition. Real Freedom, real experiment, real pioneering, real faith in the ultimate soundness of mass opinion. Of pioneering, Justice Holmes once said this, and it gives incite into his character: "If he is a man of high ambitions he must leave even his fellow-adventurers and go forth into a deeper solitude and greater trials. He must start for the pole. In plain words he must face the loneliness of original work. No one can cut new paths in company. He does that alone." That is the real spirit of pioneer work -- the unexplored, the undiscovered, to carve out the new way and the new life for himself.

And finally, I shall close on the note of Justice Holmes, a real American, one of the greatest in that glorious company of American immortals, at the age of seventy-two addressed the Harvard Law School Dinner in New York and said the following:

"...As I grow older I grow calm. If I feel what are perhaps an old man's apprehensions, that competition from new races will cut deeper than working men's disputes and will test whether we can hang together and can fight; if I fear that we are running through the world's resources at a pace we cannot keep; I do not lose my hopes.

"I do not pin my dreams for the future to my country or even to my race. I think it probably that civilization somehow will last as long as I care to look ahead -- perhaps with smaller numbers, but perhaps also bred to greatness and splendor by science. I think it not improbable that man, like the grub that prepares a chamber for the winged thing it never has seen but is to be -- that man may have cosmic destinies that he does not understand. And so beyond the vision of battling races and an impoverished earth I catch a dreaming glimpse of peace.

"The other day my dream was pictured to my mind. It was evening. I was

walking homeward on Pennsylvania Avenue near the Treasury, and as I looked beyond Sherman's Statue to the west the sky was aflame with scarlet and crimson from the setting sun. But, like the note of downfall in Wagner's opera, below the sky line there came from little globes the pallid discord of the electric lights.

"And I thought to myself the Gotterdammerung will end, and from those globes clustered like evil eggs will come the new masters of the sky. It is like the time in which we live. But then I remembered the faith that I partly have expressed, faith in a universe not measured by our fears, a universe that has thought and more than thought inside of it, and as I gazed, after the sunset and above the electric lights there shone the stars."

This is the Real American.



1) Armistice Day brings to mind great purpose for which American people fought first world war and are fighting second world war. That purpose is making world safe for democracy. We speak of it today as securing for mankind the 4 freedoms. A single idea motivated both enormous military enterprises of America. If we look further we will discover that this same idea was the driving force behind other wars in human history. It is the unstoppable and dominant theme in the classic American tradition.

And if we look to the men whom destiny designated to be the spokesmen of our country in its decisive critical hours - in this way - in the best way in the world - in the best way - if we look to Lincoln - Lincoln and Washington, and to those dearly remembered in the making of freedom and the making of our purpose - we shall discover the same remarkable identity of that and our work. They all belong to the tradition!

And not only they, others whose essential contribution to our way and in the field of politics, but the laborer, the artist and the poet who found truth and glory in the values of our and our freedom and liberty, many of them belonged to the same tradition, were inspired by the same dynamism and tradition.

2) There is an unmistakable pattern in our life! This is not to say that America is all ideals - work and service, that the American people are the paragons of virtue. Not at all! In fact our chief weakness of the American is that he never looks upon himself as belonging to a superior race or a chosen people. He is quite aware of all his short-comings and is not averse to criticism or self-criticism. He has a good sense of humor and frequently laughs at himself. He will be the first to catalogue the many faults and evils and conditions which attendant the amazing material and industrial development of his country and his people.

But in spite of these imperfections which no one wishes to deny, there has persisted throughout the history of the American people a strong, clearly discernible, potent and active complex

of ideas, or ideals, variously phrased but essentially one, which we call the Am. Character - the Am. way of life - and the Real Americans have always responded to it and, when challenged, to Real Americans fought and died for it. It is something quite distinctive!

It is not starry-eyed idealism, or adulterated pol. or social romance. Back Sam is not a Don Juan living with girls as he is the young man delight of the other conviction of very practical men - who best a con- front ment from pitiless wilderness and to the most advanced and perfected civilization that marked his own times. These Americans came from the old world and was the product of the old civiliza- tions. They know ever they that the old world had to go. But as pioneers in the great new and unexplored world, in the midst of the unshakable freedom and the unparalleled physical and spiritual challenges with which the adventures and the adventures and the adventures had to be con- fronted them, they never reminded. True wisdom and understanding came to them, a firmness, a vision, an artistic vision which was far beyond anything the old world knew or could embody in institutions and ways of life. And in spite of everything, this free, hopeful, generous idealism, this faith in man, this confidence in the future, this compassionate helpfulness, this courage, this boundless energy, has remained as distinctive features, to the Am. people to this day.

3) I have been reading Edgar Snow's "People on Our Side" - a very fine and penetrating story account of Russia, China & Tibet today and their relations to the war effort, the Soviet Union. There is a chapter on Tibet - and other long and complex parts of the world. There is a very fair account of the Comm. rule in Tibet. What struck me, having in mind my subject for this morning, was one paragraph in which Edgar Snow contrast British rule in Tibet and Am. rule in the Philippines. (Arch) He contrasts that with British attitude to Tibet and Am. rule in the Philippines. (Arch) 12.41

victims cooperated with Japanese on driving the Am. soldiers out  
(3)  
of Burma & Malaya.

Others have commended on this spirit of helpfulness - this  
readiness to share - ~~that~~ <sup>they</sup> extend a helping hand - this sympathy  
for "the under-dog", the widows, to best a loan in defence  
of the weak, ~~and~~ the persecuted and the oppressed - It stems  
from the basis regard for man - the equality of all men -  
the "unalienable rights of all men" - the high destiny

Jefferson expressed it in the <sup>Declaration of Independence</sup> Franklin <sup>Adams, Thackeray</sup> Walt Whitman and  
to the same conviction - and Walt Whitman and  
Emerson, and Walt Whitman and Walt Whitman and

We have had and do have many outrages exploited among  
our citizens - when self interest is prodding and hoarding  
and using rich and powerful regards what human  
rights or lives they trample upon. We have had and do have  
our conscienceless industrial plants and our financial  
barons, whose guiding principle in life is certainly not  
the spirit of helpfulness. But what they are in America - they  
are not of America - not of its heart, the inspiration. The Am.  
people do not exploit. They hate unfairness,  
and injustice. and when around - they stand with prayer  
and anger at entrusted wickedness and insolent wrongdoers.  
They believe in fair-play and the square-deal. in less and  
less time; in giving the other  fellow a chance.

4) Along with this spirit of helpfulness which derives from a basic regard  
for man eyes also the best loves dogged faith in the general rightness  
soundness and dependability of the common man - of what we  
call the people - the common folk. They are not the best informed  
They are not experts. They may not know all the answers. But  
they know their own best interests - far better and ahead of  
their leaders - and if not altogether or whenever by desert

and kept from knowing the truth, ~~or~~ or permitted by <sup>conspicuously</sup> (4)  
propaganda, they will decide right soon, the time.

I read recently the editor of the American Institute of Public  
Opinion recently published a study of Am. public opinion  
based on an analysis of the findings of all the major polling ag. in the U.S. such as Gallup  
and his survey, shows that:

"The American people are not only generally right in their  
thinking about public issues but they show more common  
sense than their leaders." Public opinion is not infallible...  
yet when it comes to major public issues, public opinion  
studies show few instances when the majority of people  
were not in favor of doing something long before either the  
legislature or the executive branch, the government got around  
to doing it.

The Real American never loses this conviction. The warms  
do not frighten him! He does not regard them as do the  
dictators as "dunderheads" to be imposed and manipulated and  
used. They are the also reserving strength - the wherewith  
soundness - the strong foundations which is the of American  
democracy is the sum total of the goodness and the  
common sense of the people is the greatest and soundest force on earth"  
The Real Am has retained the pioneering spirit of Am. He is  
not afraid of experiment. He is not revolutionary. He is  
enterprising and adventurous. He does not believe that all  
our frontiers have been reached. He does not think of Am.  
as old and spent. There are still beckoning horizons.  
He has faith in the Future. He has not grown set  
and staid and conservative. He still dares to dissent  
and if need be to rebel. He is still a strong individualist -  
jealous of his Bill of Rights - though not at all doctrinaire  
about it so as not to realize that the strong freedom a  
and individual society needs mandatory action



7/ Holmes came to be known as the Great Dissenter.

- He was not just a rebel and a no-sayer.
- He did not wish to be known as a reformer, <sup>a fighter</sup> or a crusader.
- He entertained no set economic theories.
- He feared neither socialism nor capitalism, he was neither for
- He was a high-minded lawyer with <sup>paternalism in court - no laissez-faire</sup> vision
- He believed in the authority of law and in the Constitution, the U.S.
- But he also knew that the letter killeth - that there must be some elasticity in law, which is after all, an historical development - "when the pattern of society changes, legislation meets the change - or the state perishes"
- "The felt necessities, the times' needs reflected in legislation, legislation is empirical - the life of law has not been logic. It has <sup>been experience</sup> ~~been experience~~"
- Times were rapidly changing in America - and new necessities were arising, being felt.
- The individual Am. citizen was struggling to survive in a growing collectivist world.
- "A proven econ. individualism was way way to the collectivism of corporate trade, & Rural Am. was fast becoming the most indust. country in the world. Big business was being swollen to a size threatening dangers" - to government & society
- The Constitution must be interpreted to meet the needs, the times.
- "The Constitution is not intended to embody a particular econ. theory - Constitutional law, like other mortal constitutions, has to take some chances." The Constitution is an experiment - as all life is an experiment.

8/ And so, while his <sup>conservative</sup> colleagues followed dead legal precedents to defeat new social legislation. O. W. H. dissented.

→ The Right of labor to picket - The hon. Court in '96 declared picketing legal. Holmes dissented. (Justice) (330)

→ Now it is - the Times. "The battle is to be carried on in a fair and equal way."

9/ He believed in the right of States to make their own social experiments. States were beginning at the time the country to enact labor legislation - Work Hours Law - Child Labor Law -

The State of N.Y. has passed a law prohibiting more than 10 hours work per day in bakeries - It was challenged as class legislation. The Supreme Court voted against law. Holmes dissented. - withdrawn into process - violates freedom of contract. (Justice 375)

10/ The U.S. Supreme Court in 1918 - declared the Child Labor Law unconstitutional. - abuse of the police power - invasion of States Rights - Holmes dissented!

11/ Intolerant years <sup>during following</sup> followed but as - Red banding (Red Scare). Bill, Rights are being flagrantly violated -

Abrams case. protested against sending Am. troops into Russia after the Rev. of 1917. a criminal Put his protest into print - Called for a general strike. Dept. of Justice arrested them.

Sentenced to 20 yrs. imprisonment. V. S. Supreme Court (8)  
sustained sentence. Holmes dissent (Just) 390

11) This is the Am. Tradition -  
To Real Freedom - ~~Real Experiment!~~ - Real pioneering  
Real Faith in the Future

→ of Pioneering Holmes was said. (p. 249)

→ Faith in the Future (p. 382) - act. 72  
Harvard Law School Dinner w by

