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59

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In the great American tradition - Washington - Lincoln, 1954.

842
IN THE GREAT AMERICAN TRADITION

Washington - Lincoln

February 14, 1954

The American people, dear friends, celebrate this month the birthday anniversary of its two most heroic figures, George Washington, Father of his country, Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator. These two great Americans represent the two great American traditions. I call the one the Tradition of Revolution, and the other the Tradition of Liberty through Law. On the face of it these two traditions seem to be contradictory. Actually, as nearly 180 years of American history have demonstrated, they are not at all contradictory, they are complementary; they are logically related, and neither has any positive social significance without the other.

George Washington was a Revolutionist, and that might sound strange to certain American ears in 1954, that term "Revolutionist," especially as applied to such a staid, conservative, and respectable gentleman as George Washington, a man of sound political judgment and practical sagacity. We don't associate George Washington with a concept of "Revolutionist," but he was that. Some of the most conservative men in history have been its greatest revolutionists. We are accustomed to think of a revolutionist as a wild-looking, scatter-brained, dagger-wielding, bomb-throwing fanatic. Not so at all! The great revolutionists of history, like Oliver Cromwell, Simon de Bolivar, Count Cavour, and Mirabeau, and Gandhi did not belong to this category of irresponsible, radical, impetuous, zealous fanatics. These men wanted to destroy nothing, they wanted to conserve what tyrannical governments were determined to destroy. They wanted to conserve fundamental human rights, God-given to man - freedom, equality, human dignity. And they

drew their inspiration from great old traditions of mankind.

George Washington was not a radical, in any sense of the term. He was a solid man of affairs. But he subscribed whole-heartedly to the principle which was incorporated in the Declaration of Independence that "wherever any form of government becomes destructive of these rights, these human rights, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government." George Washington subscribed to this principle. "When a long train of abuses and usurpations pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce men under absolute despotism, it is the right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security."

This is the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, at the heart of the American Revolution, and George Washington believed in it wholeheartedly, and believing these things sincerely, he accepted the grave responsibility of leading the army of the American Revolutionists through seven long, heart-breaking years of war, a war which only about one-third of the American people really wanted, and these mostly the poor people. The bulk of the property owners, of the prosperous class, were Loyalists and Torys. 100,000 of them actually fled from the colonies to Canada because they were not in sympathy with the American Revolution and these principles of the American Revolution. And George Washington held that poorly armed and poorly equipped army, often short of food and clothing and nearly always short of funds, and led that army through more than one Valley Forge and sustained it as well as a new revolutionary government with his own faith and his own courage. Of him the eminent American historian James Truslow Adams in his "Epic of America" writes the following:

(quote)

Now the legacy of Washington to his people and to mankind was not merely the legacy of character, it was the legacy of revolution against tyranny. The right of man to break the chain which other men have wrongfully riveted upon him. And that same thing is going on in our world today - the desperate effort of men to break their chains. That makes our age an age of crisis and an age of anxiety. Two-thirds of mankind today is struggling to achieve political freedom and economic freedom against native, feudal exploiters and rulers who have pressed them down through the long centuries into misery and deprivation, want, ignorance, against foreign, imperial exploitation, the exploitation of alien rulers. And in this age of crisis, with the passions of revolution running high all over the world, our own country should ask itself whether it is remaining faithful to its own great tradition of revolution. Are we on the side of these men and nations who are aspiring to the same kind of freedom which our forefathers reached for in 1775 to break chains? Or are we in a blind game of power-politics, finding ourselves more and more siding with the oppressors! of these men and nations! Here is a very serious question which we should be asking ourselves today.

Until all men and nations have gained their birth-right of freedom, the fires of revolution should not be quenched, the fires of revolution cannot be quenched. Our slogan in those days was "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God." It still remains the slogan of free men everywhere. Our statue of liberty holds aloft a torch, a burning torch of freedom, not a fire-extinguisher, and this same spirit of revolution hurling itself when the times are accomplished against everything which binds and constricts and reduces the stature of man - this same spirit of revolution will attack some day and destroy all forms of tyranny, including the tyranny of communism, which has riveted itself on huge sections of mankind. That day is coming! There is no escape! It will come from within, that

spirit of revolution, that raging fire, when the chains become too galling and intolerable for men living in those countries, and a new generation arises which will feel itself robbed of its inherent natural human rights, which will hunger for freedom to think for itself, and their souls will hunger for the food of independence of mind and of spirit, of soul.

America ought to remain loyal to the spirit of sacred revolution in the world - that's its first great tradition, its first great bequest to mankind. By that torch in a few years after our own revolution we kindled the fires of revolution in France, and then throughout Europe, and they all looked to America as their inspiration. The world will still look to America - the free world - as its inspiration.

And the second great tradition of America is the tradition of "Liberty through Law." Oftentimes the liberty, which is the product of revolution, becomes anarchy because it is not harnessed in law. Liberty must be expressed and safeguarded in law, and where there are great laws, just laws, established, through which the liberties of man are fully safeguarded, then revolution becomes no longer necessary, nay - it becomes the enemy of liberty. When Moses brought the children of Israel out of slavery, the slavery from Egypt, he knew that their emancipation was only the first step. Their new-found liberty had to be safeguarded through a law, a law which would define human rights and human obligations, and he took them immediately to the foot of Mount Sinai and gave them the law because there was no liberty without law, there is no tyranny without revolution ultimately, for there is no liberty without law. And this is what the American revolutionary fathers did after they proclaimed their declaration of independence and won their war of liberation, they proceeded to adopt a con-

stitution, a basic fundamental law, to safeguard their new-found liberties and the liberties of the all succeeding generations. Whatever the American people since that time wanted to achieve for themselves, they were able to do so within the framework of that constitution. All political, social, and economic progress was possible for them. All rights of men were safeguarded and of religions and of minorities were protected. And the Constitution of the United States proved not a dike against human progress, but a broad channel through which the progressive life of the American people could flow beneficently without overflowing its banks and becoming destructive.

Under our law, the people are the masters of their government, not its victims or its slaves. We can have the kind of government we want within this democratic formula. If the government is bad we can change it at the ballot. If it is good, we can improve it. This principle of change, this principle of continuous bloodless revolution has been conserved for the American people for all future times within the system of government defined by the Constitution.

There is no need for any attempts, therefore, at violent overthrow of the American system of government except as men would wish to undermine it, to destroy its independence, its integrity, in order to make it subservient to some alien system and to some foreign philosophy.

For nearly 180 years, that's a long stretch of time, this American system has worked. It broke down only once, in the tragic instance of the Civil War over the question of negro slavery, the one issue which the Constitution of the United States did not face in a forthright manner, avoided confronting this issue, frankly and forthrightly. It was the destiny of Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, to correct this tragic mistake which bedevilled American political life almost from its very inception until the Civil War, which cost more than a half million lives

of free American citizens, both of the North and of the South.

Abraham Lincoln abhorred slavery! He wanted to see it destroyed. But there was the Constitution, and the slave-holding states he knew had a constitutional right to hold slaves. To revoke that right was to destroy the Union, and it was his first responsibility as President of the United States to preserve the Union. He would therefore not interfere with slavery where it already existed but he was determined to keep it from expanding into territories where it did not exist. His hope was, his fond and prayerful hope was to confine this unspeakable horror, as he called it, this black, foul lie, as he called it, to confine it, to isolate it in an expanding country and gradually and peacefully to liquidate it.

But the South wished it otherwise. The South chose war. And at the first opportunity in 1862 Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation which corrected the tragic mistake of omission of the Constitution of the United States. It wasn't very long before the Constitution was amended, the Union was preserved - a more perfect Constitution, a more perfect Union came out of that great ordeal of civil war. And now for nearly nine decades the negroes of the United States have been making steady progress - in recent years more rapidly than before towards full equality and towards gaining their full liberty through law.

Abraham Lincoln was zealous in the defense of the Constitution of the United States and of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, as a safeguard to "liberty under law" for all men. In his day, you will recall, there was a powerful movement known as the "^{Know -}nothing" movement which was aimed against Catholics, against other religious minorities - very similar to that movement which developed decades later in the Klan movement in the south. Abraham Lincoln faced that issue squarely and told the American people, "If the safeguards to liberty are broken down, as is now attempted, when they have made things of all the free negroes,

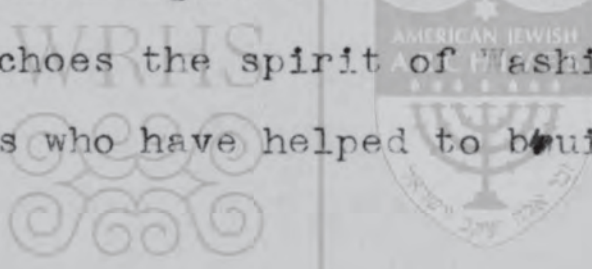
how long think you before they will begin to make things of poor white men? Be not deceived. Revolutions do not go backward. The founder of the Democratic party (Jefferson) declared that all men were created equal. His successors in the leadership have written the word "white" before men making it read "all white men are created equal." Pray, will or may not the Know-Nothings, if they should get in power, add the word Protestant, making it read "all Protestant white men?" And so restricting the empire of freedom to a few.

Now bigots did not all die with the generation in which Lincoln lived. They are here today; they have been right along. There have always been those who would persecute men for their opinions and deny men their civil rights under the Constitution. That movement is going on today. A hundred years ago John Stuart Mill wrote, "Protection against the tyranny of the magistrate is not enough. There needs to be protection also against the tyranny of the majority against the tendency of society to impose its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them." That tyranny is not entirely wanting in our society today, especially in times of crisis in an age of anxiety. The majority is inclined to become intolerant with minority opinion, with dissenting points of view, with those who do not conform for one reason or another. And the majority would then wish to employ not the defined laws of procedure to hold these minorities within their proper straits, but would like to use extra-legal methods to suppress them or to liquidate them. That is the beginning of the end of free society.

It is well for us to take to heart - from these two heroic figures of American history to take our inspiration to guide us in these troubled times. In the first place to remember that our task is not to quench the fires of justified dissatisfaction, unhappiness, revolt in the world today. Mankind has not reached a position of universal justice and freedom.

So that the revolution^{ist} no longer has a place in society; it is the enemy of society - rather in many parts of the world the revolutionist today is the friend of civilization, even as Washington and Lincoln were the great champions of progressive human society. We must again learn to be on the alert, as Lincoln was, to protect liberty under law, with emphasis both on liberty and law.

Any voice raised in society today which is contemptuous of liberty or contemptuous of law but prates of patriotism in the abstract, that voice is a voice of menace of danger to America. We cannot brush aside the safeguards of liberty - the Bill of Rights - and at the same time hope to conserve our free society. Every voice that is raised today in defense of liberty and of law and of the rights of minorities as well as of majorities is a voice raised which echoes the spirit of Washington and of Lincoln and of all the great Americans who have helped to build the greatest free society on earth.



1/ 2 Heroic figures - this month - For then, this country - Great Emancipator
2 Great American Traditions - Tradition of Liberty - Tradition of
Liberty Then Now - On the surface - contradictory -
Actually as 179 yrs of Am. hist. have demonstrated -
Complementary - logically related - Neither has
either position social appearance without the other

2/ S.W. was a Revolutionist! Sound enough to certain Am. ears
Esp. as applied to such a staid, conservative,
respectable gentleman, of sound, practical judgment and
practical sagacity as was S.W.

But some, the most conservative men of history to men to
great revolutions - accustomed - world-history, scatter-
brained, day-to-day, as bank theory, favorites -
at all! Cornwall, Bolivar, Count Cavour, Mirabeau, Gandhi
These men wanted not to destroy, but to keep 'ground'
from destroying fundamental human rights. They
wanted to conserve what was not fit to lose
- freedom and equality and human dignity.

3. S.W. - was not a radical in any sense. He was a solid
man of affairs - but he subscribed wholeheartedly
to principles embodied in 'Declarations'.

"That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these
rights, it is the right, the people to alter or to abolish it,
and to institute new government" -

"When a long train of abuses and usurpations ~~unusually~~ ^{invariably} pursuing invariably the same object ~~brings~~ ^{deserves} a danger to redress them under absolute despotism, it is then right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new guards for their future security."

And believing these things sincerely, he undertook to lead the armies of the Amer. Revolution - then 7 long hard - breathless years, was - a war in which only $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Am. people really wanted - mostly the poor people. The well, the property owners were Loyalists and Tories. 100,000, then fled from the colonies to Canada because they were not in sympathy with the Revolution - and he led that poorly armed, poorly equipped army, often without food and clothing, but never always short of funds - then one Valley Forge after another - winning his war and the new republic sent - with his faith and his courage + of him - the historian James Truslow Adams - "Epic of America" (wrote) (quote)

4. A legacy of revolution against tyranny - the right, men - being as in the world to-day - That is what make our age - an age of anxiety - an age of crises - $\frac{2}{3}$ of mankind - stray they for full economic freedom - against feudal, water monies - against imperial exploitation & alien rule -

13
We should ask ourselves - are we faithful to our great
tradition? Are we on the side, these men & women
struggling to break chains -

- Or are we, in a blind panic of power-politics, finding
ourselves siding with their oppressors!

5/ Until men & nations have gained their birth-right of
freedom - the fight for revolution ^{can} should not be conducted
in the world. "Resistance to Tyranny is obedience to God"
It is not a fire-or-fear game which the Tories, Whigs - Tories
| Freedom.

6/ Same spirit of revolution breaking itself when the times are
accomplished & avert everything which binds, restricts and
reduces man - which will attack and destroy the tyrannical
which Communism has injected as large sections of
manhood. Its day is coming! There is no escape! It will
come from within, when the chains become too galling and
intolerable, and a generation arises which will feel itself
robbed of its ~~inherent~~ ^{inherent} human rights - ^{what} ~~what~~ will
want to think for ~~themselves~~ ^{themselves} - and ~~take~~ ^{take} the path of independence,

7/ and "Liberty Under Law" - ~~Liberty~~ ^{freedom}, the ~~best~~ ^{most} revolution, is
not enough. It must be expressed and safeguarded in law -
And when there ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~no~~ ^{no} laws, though which the rights of men,
are fully safeguarded, then revolution is no longer necessary,
nay - it becomes the enemy of society.

① Moses - Sinai - Law -

② Amer. Decl. of Independence - Constitution -

4

Whatever the Amer. people wish to achieve for themselves - they can do with in the framework, that constitutes - all political and econ. progress is possible - All rights

{ men, of religious, of minorities are protected.

- The constitution is not a dyke against progress - but a channel through which the passage of the people can flow - beneficially - without overflowing its banks and turn destructive.

- ~~The~~ Under our law, the people are the masters of their government not its victims, or its slaves

- We can have the kind of a part we want - within the democratic formula -

- If the part is bad we can change it - at the ballot box. If it is good - we can improve it.

- The principle of change - of ^{continuous alterations} ~~of~~ the constitution - has been reserved for all future time - for the American people within their system / const. - defined by the Constitution =

- There is no need for any attempts at violent overthrow of the Amer. system / quit - profit to men would wish to undermine it - destroy its independence + integrity - and make it subservient to an alien system and an alien philosophy.

8/ For nearly 100 yrs - this Am. system has ruled. (5)
Knot down in only one - tragic instance. And he - was
using (slavery) - the one issue which the Constitution did
not confront in a forth-right manner.

It was the desire of Ab. Lincoln, the Great Emancipator to
correct this tragic mistake - which cost hundreds Am.
lives almost from its very inception until the Civil War -
and cost 1/2 mil. lives of free Am. citizens, North & South.

He worked to settle the problem by Constitutional methods -
The Constitution was amended - The Union was preserved.
A more perfect Constitution - A more perfect Union
came out of the fire, that great crisis -

And for nearly nine decades now, the negro in the U.S.
has been making steady progress - in recent years
more rapidly than before - towards full equality -
enjoying liberty through law.

8/ Lincoln abhorred slavery! He wanted to see it destroyed.
But there was the Constitution - and the slave-holding states, he knew
had a Constitutional right to hold slaves. To remove that right was
to destroy the Union - and his first responsibility as Pres., the U.S. was
to preserve the Union. He would not interfere with slavery where it
already existed. But he was determined to keep it from expanding
into territories where it did not exist. His hope was to confine it there
and gradually and peacefully liquidate it.
But the South chose War - and at the last moment in 1862 -
Emancipation

10/ Lincoln was zealous in the defense of the Constitution ^{+ page 1. Balance / 5}
safeguards to "liberty under law" - for all men

"If the safeguards to liberty are broken down, as is now attempted, when they have made things, all the free negroes, how long, think you, before they will begin to make things for white men? Be not deceived. Revolutions do not occur.

The friends of the Democratic party (Jefferson) declared that all men were created equal. His successor in the leadership has written the word "white" before men, making it read "all white men are created equal." Pray, will or may not the Know-Nothing, if they should get in power, add the word "Protestant" making it read "all ~~white~~ Protestant white men?"

11/ Bigots did not die with Lincoln's generation. They are
here to-day - have been right along - the rats in the
Amer. ship of state -

And those who would persecute men for their opinions - and
deny men their ^{civil} rights under the Constitution -

100 years ago - John Stuart Mill - said (quote)

12/ Let us talk inspiration - from 2 greatest Americans

① not much fire of revolution in the world -

② Protect the principle, liberty under law - with
emphasis both on liberty and law -

John Stuart Mill -

"Protection against the tyranny of the majority is not enough.
there needs (to be) protection also against the tyranny of the
prevailing opinion and feeling; against the tendency of
society to impose its own ideas and practices as
rules of conduct on those who dissent from them."



1954 1/100
1865
84 58

1954
1775
179