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The Old-New Deal, Part IV in a series on the American spirit,
1976.

The Old New Deal
Part IV in a Series on the American Spirit
Daniel Jeremy Silver
March 21, 1976

For nearly forty years before 1887 Henry Ward Beecher was the nationally renowned minister of the Plymouth Congregational Church of Brooklyn, New York. Reverend Beecher was a man of imposing stature, dramatic eloquence. He had been an ardent abolitionist. He was a political activist, strong-minded man. He was a man who had made the freedom of his pulpit to deal with all the political issues of the day, the pre-condition of ^{his} accepting the call to Plymouth Church. Liberal in his theology, active in political life, he was ^{in many ways} the proto-typical Protestant minister of the nineteenth century. Now the Brooklyn in which he preached was not a small agrarian town in Ohio. It was a town of factories, a thriving seaport, wharves, long shoremen. It was a town just a stone's throw from the teeming lower east side of New York. He knew something of the emerging factory community, of the emerging industrial revolution. In the middle of the 1870's he looked out one morning to his congregation and he gave as his categorical judgement the following:

Looking comprehensively through city and town and village and country, the general truth will stand, that no man in this land suffers from poverty unless it be more than his fault - unless it be his sin. . . There is enough and to spare thrice over; and if men have not enough, it is owing to the want of provident care, and foresight, and industry, and frugality, and wise saving. This is the general truth.

The general truth then was to Mr. Beecher and to the thousands who thought as he did that somehow poverty, or at least the enduring of poverty, was a sign of a character flaw. The poor man was a wastrel or a spendthrift or indolent or slothful or worse. Poverty was a sign of some moral lack, some want of character, or presumably affluence and abundance were a sign of character, strength, will, virtue. Now this general truth was not the general truth of classic Christianity. We read in

the New Testament that late in his life Jesus came to visit one Stephen at Bethany and while he was in this house he was visited by an elderly woman who had in her hand a vial of ^{very} precious and costly oil. And the woman came and she poured the oil out over the head of Jesus, in effect, she anointed him. She saw in him his messiahship, the Hebrew word messiah, meshiach, comes from the verb to anoint, to declare especially precious to God. And the New Testament, at least in the gospel according to Mark, tells us that with a good bit of social consciousness the disciples of Jesus protested against this act. It would have been, they said, far better if the lady had taken the costly oil and sold it and given the value to the poor for food, but Jesus who accepted according to this version his role as the messiah protested, quoting the section in Deuteronomy which I read to you this morning: "The poor shall always be among you, but I will not always be among you."

Now in the sense of a prophecy the poor will always be among us is a rather dismal prediction of the future, but given the economies of scarcity which were the universal economies of man until very modern times, there was no other hope. There would always be economic injustice, some who had more and the many who had far too little. Now poverty in these terms is endemic, it's universal, it's not a sign of some character flaw, moral lack, but simply the condition of men. And most of the religious teachers of the west have looked upon poverty ^{not} as a moral flaw, but as a test. Christianity would say that in this veil of tears which is our life poverty tests the virtue, the stability, the character of a man or a woman. It's a way of proving ourselves to God, it's a way of hastening our coming to the great reward that lies beyond the grave and heaven. However we accept poverty, the concept that poverty is somehow a reflex of some character flaw is unique to 19th century Ameri-

can religion. It could occur only in a country as rich, as abundant, as full of opportunity, as empty, as the United States. When the men of substance of Mr. Beecher's church throughout the land looked about themselves they saw so many ways in which they could invest their industry and their energies profitably that they could not imagine others being unable to invest energy and industry with equal success. And so, obviously, the spendthrift son, the wastrel brother, the lazy uncle, all these people deserve their poverty. Mr. Beecher could take it as a general truth, that poverty is not only a man's fault, but a sin, a sin against the opportunity which is all about.

Now most of us have long since outgrown this native American, this primitive American concept of poverty. We know that poverty is related to the economic cycle, that it is related to a cultural and educational deprivation, to racial exclusion, to many factors. In recent months when the automobile workers and others were out of work it was not because they were unwilling to work, but it was because there was no work in those factories for them to do. And yet, there are still here and there in America pockets of 19th century thinkers, disciples of Ronald Reagan and George Wallace, who are convinced that the welfare rolls in our country are infested with able-bodied men and women who want only to live off of other people's labors. Get the bums off the rolls, get them back to work. And there are in our country pockets of people of 19th century thought who still assume the America of endless opportunity is the reality, who believe that because life has been gracious to them, because they have been fortunate, anyone who is less fortunate and for whom life has held less opportunities is somehow guilty of moral failing and somehow ought not to be supported by the nation.

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 a living was entirely without opportunity to do so. Let me read you the whole paragraph;
 he's talking of the mid-nineteenth century;

One of the interesting changes of modern times, of course, occurred in the third decade of our century, when a majority of Americans for the first time accepted the proposition that the government must interfere in the marketplace, provide opportunity and welfare for those who are the victims of the American economic system. It was a recognition that even the Reagans of our time ought to acknowledge, that when one looks at the large welfare rolls one must recognize that there are very few able-bodied people there. What we have on the welfare rolls are the mothers of young children, the infirm, the handicapped, the retarded, the limited, those who cannot compete openly and easily in a complex and intricate industrial society and those who are the victims of the fluctuations, the recessions and the depressions of the social order. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, of course, was the politician who built behind him a new coalition, a coalition which was dedicated to the proposition basically that poverty is not a sin, it's not even the responsibility of many to be poor, it's somehow their fault. Poverty is part of the price of an industrial civilization and its cost, and that society must interfere with the marketplace in order to provide as equitable a distribution of opportunity and wealth as in fact can be provided. And so it's surprising to find in Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the politician of the early 1930's sentiments which in some ways agree with Reverend Beecher's. I don't know if Roosevelt knew of Reverend Beecher, but I do know that in a speech which he gave during the height of the 1932 presidential campaign, a speech which he gave to the Commonwealth Club, a club of very wealthy businessmen in San Francisco, he said in part: "No one, who did not shirk the task of earning a living, was entirely without opportunity to do so." What he was saying was that in the America of the 1870's, Mr. Beecher's America, and the verb tenses he used are all of the past, no one who did not shirk the task of earning a living was entirely without opportunity to do so. Let me read you the whole paragraph; he's talking of the mid-nineteenth century:

The happiest of economic conditions made that day long and splendid. On the Western frontier, land was substantially free. No one, who did not shirk the task of earning a living, was entirely without opportunity to do so. Depressions could, and did, come and go; but they could not alter the fundamental fact that most of the people lived partly by selling their labor and partly by extracting their livelihood from the soil, so that starvation and dislocation were practically impossible. At the very worst there was always the possibility of climbing into a covered wagon and moving west where the untilled prairies afforded a haven for men to whom the East did not provide a place. So great were our natural resources that we could offer this relief not only to our own people, but to the distressed of all the world.

This speech, probably the most programmatic of the Roosevelt of the early 1930's takes an historical point of view. The larger position that President Roosevelt tried to establish was this; that central government was not always an evil for government did not always limit the freedoms of people. He began by reminding his visitors, his listeners, that at the end of the Middle Ages it was the establishment of strong central government, of the monarchies of England and France and elsewhere, that made it possible for the city folk, for the middle-class, to escape from the limitations of freedom, from the restrictions of the feudal nobility. They gave greater economic freedom to their countries than ever existed before. Now to be sure, he went on to say, these monarchies in time became tyrannies and the growth of guilds, the growth of national parliaments, the American Revolution, was an attempt to respond to that tyranny. And America was very fortunate. We created a doctrine of limited government, of separation of powers, division of powers, and for a hundred years during the 19th century we had relative prosperity; there was great opportunity because the country was open, the land was fertile, there was a dearth of people. If you could not make a go of it where you were with your small plot of land and your small store, you could always get on to your horse and take a covered wagon and move your family

west to the untilled lands. That America, he said, had begun to come to an end in the last half of the 19th century. It had been brought to an end by the industrial revolution, by the factory, by mass production, by the need for vast task forces of workers to man the plants, by the ambition and the ruthlessness of the heads of industries who built the railroads across the United States and built the mines that went down into the earth to bring out our natural resource; who thought of workers not as craftsmen but as machines, as tools, and who abused them and used them and then threw them away with relative cruelty. He spoke of a new America, of an America of cycles of recession and depression, of an America of the sweat shop, of the company town, of the company store; an America wracked by an emerging class war, Haymarket Square riots, the Pullman strike; of an America which was deluding itself, blinding itself to the fact that opportunity was no longer endless; that the worker was no longer the strong, young man or woman of the earlier days who had a plot of land and opportunity, the labor was part of an immigrant European labor draft who came over here to be swallowed up by the American factory system. And this America, the new America of Franklin Roosevelt, insisted there was a need for government once again to step into the free enterprise system in order to give freedom, economic freedom, to the masses of our people. There was less and not more for most, and no society can survive when the mass of its people are not given a large measure of the prosperity and of the abundance which the country enjoys. He wrote and said that day:

Clearly, all this calls for a re-appraisal of values. A mere builder of more industrial plants, a creator of more railroad systems, an organizer of more corporations, is as likely to be a danger as a help. The day of the great promoter or the financial Titan, to whom we granted anything if only he would build, or develop, is over. Our task now is not discovery or

exploitation of natural resources, or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to reestablish foreign markets for our surplus production, of meeting the problem of underconsumption, of adjusting production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organizations to the service of the people. The day of enlightened administration has come.

The society has become simply too complex for anyone to assume any longer that the rewards of work and the rewards of being out of work were in fact a direct response to will or to character or to ability. This was September of 1932. Eleven million Americans were unemployed, Men who had worked for any number of years in plants for others or in their own businesses were selling apples on the street. The American free enterprise system to a large degree failed, ground to a halt, and clearly, there was a need for the government to intervene and only in terms of economic planning, but most especially in terms of reorganizing the reward system of our economy so that the many could enjoy the fruits of the labor and the resource and the wealth of the country.

The 1930's mark a watershed in the development of the American spirit, the spirit of confidence, of optimism, the spirit which believed that if man would only be willing to work, roll up his sleeves and get down to work, who was not afraid of dirt and of machinery, of long hours, all was open, every opportunity was available to him and all success would be his. The America of Pollyana and the America of Horatio Alger was behind us, was no more. There was a new America, a complex, intricate economy; an America which demanded intricate skills of the many; an America which did not always provide opportunity even to those who had mastered the skills.

Now the political coalition which swept Mr. Roosevelt's power was a coalition of peoples, many of whom had come out of an environment in which they had been steeped with the old American free enterprise system, the Puritan attitudes of the Reverend Beechers. It was an America which had always had a counterpoint to this assumption that poverty was somehow a failure of the individual. There had been the progressives who after the scandals of the Grant administration brought in civil service and brought in anti-trust legislation to preclude the development of even greater monopolies. There had been the muckrakers who had gone out into the jungle of the economy, ^{into} the abattoirs of Chicago and into the mines of West Virginia and who had depicted for all to read the terrible economic hardships and deprivations of these people; how they were abused; the lack of safety standards; the lack of protection for the worker; the use by the industrial titans, the robber barons and scabs and Pinkertons in order to break up attempts of the workers to unionize for better wages and for better plant conditions. There had been always a counterpoint in the best of the American society which had to do with concern, with humanistic values, which was responsive to the needs of the new America, the urban worker, the man who labored in the factories to produce the American industrial miracle. And interestingly, there had grown up in the late 19th century America and early 20th century America a new religious position, ^a position which was not unimportant in forming minds such as President Roosevelt's. It was called in the Protestant church the social gospel. It derived itself largely not from traditional Christian metaphysics and theology, but from the image of the ^{man} Jesus who went out among the poor and the deprived of his day, who suffered with them and who was empathetic with them.

and who sought their well-being. It derived from the Hebrew Bible, the kind of legislation which I read to you this morning which required not as an act of charity but as an act of social obligation that a tax, a tithe,^{to} be brought for the poor, for those who could not be gainfully employed, to provide for the widow and the orphan and the fatherless, to provide by right food and shelter and clothing and subsistence; a scripture which had required of the ancient Israelite that every seventh year all debts be remitted, that no man be permanently in bondage, economic bondage to the wealthy or to the banks or to the company, which had provided that every 50th year all land was to revert to its original owners, that there be no monopolistic control of the natural resource of the community. It's surprising, given its early date, how the sense of economic justice permeates the social legislation of scriptures, that men like William Gladdings and Walter Auschenbusch and others, largely men of mid-western religious leaders, rose in their pulpit and spoke about the horrible conditions of the factories and of the mines, of the slums in the cities, of the responsibility of the well-dressed who sat before them to care and to be concerned with the lives of those who toiled in their factories, to make the goods which they enjoyed and from which they derived their profit; who looked hard at the statistics of child labor, unemployment, malnutrition, disease, the lack of decent education provided the communities and insisted that remedial and reform legislation be devised and be developed. And there developed in our synagogues a similar socially active response. The synagogue in the 19th century was small and was new, but it was not the activist synagogue of the 20th century. Oh, there were a few abolitionists in the pulpit, but

with few exceptions the pulpit was not actively involved in social concerns, but in the early 20th century American Judaism began to formulate the ideas of what is sometimes called prophetic Judaism. Prophetic Judaism is a combination of the social legislation of the Torah and laws to which I have already referred and the moral outrage of the prophets, "woe unto them who are at ease in Zion, cease to do evil, learn to do well, relieve the oppressed, righteousness, righteousness, shalt thou pursue." Amos and Hosea found their way again into the pulpit, and more importantly than the occasional forensic outrage which was spoken from the pulpit, congregations throughout the land began to involve themselves politically in social reform. The first unemployment insurance act in the State of Ohio was written in our congregation. Rabbis began to rise in their pulpit and tell the captains of industry who stood before them that labor had every right to organize and to demand its share of wealth and responsibility. There were great conflicts between the pew and the pulpit, between the sensitive and the insensitive, but, lo and behold, in the 20th century the religious community of America bestirred itself. It was no longer satisfied with salvation of soul, but demanded the salvation of the society. And by the late 1915's, early 1916's, we find the organization of American rabbis establishing a fourteen point program for the social betterment of the country requiring:

1. A more equitable distribution of the profits of industry.
2. A minimum wage which will insure for all workers a fair standard of living.
3. The legal enactment of an eight hour day as a maximum for all industrial workers.
4. A compulsory one-day-of-rest-in-seven for all workers.

5. Regulation of industrial conditions to give all workers a safe and sanitary working environment, with particular reference to the special needs of women.
6. Abolition of child labor and raising the standard of age wherever the legal age limit is lower than is consistent with moral and physical health.
7. Adequate workmen's compensation for industrial accidents and occupational diseases.
8. Legislative provision for universal workmen's health insurance and careful study of social insurance methods for meeting the contingencies of unemployment and old age.
9. An adequate, permanent national system of public employment bureaus to make possible the proper distribution of the labor forces of America.
10. Recognition of the right of labor to organize and to bargain collectively.
11. The application of the principles of mediation, conciliation and arbitration to industrial disputes.
12. Proper housing for working-people, secured through government regulation when necessary.
13. The preservation and integrity of the home by a system of mother's pensions.
14. Constructive care of dependents, defectives and criminals, with the aim of restoring them to normal life wherever possible.

That's a platform of sixty years ago and a number of ^{the} planks in this platform have, of course, not ^{yet} been realized as America reaches its bicentennial.

A new spirit began to course through the religious community and this spirit helped to sensitize some of the patrician class, like President Roosevelt, to the concerns of the worker, the urban displaced worker of his day. But the coalition that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt put together to win ^{the} White House in 1932 was not made up largely of the congregations of those who preached the social gospel and

those who preached prophetic Judaism. A few of these people were sensitized, but the majority, I'm afraid, continued to vote their privilege and low taxes and to mouth their concerns with the large government; the best government was the government that governed least, provided it voted consistently for protective tariffs for the industry in which I was heavily invested.

And so when we look at the statistics, the voting statistics, of 1932 we find that President Roosevelt's democratic coalition came not from the upper middle-class, the well-to-do, but it came from the new American, the labor drafts who had been brought over in the 1880's, 1890's and 1900's, the Italians, the Czechs, the Slavs, the Jews, the Poles, the Russians, the men and women who had been brought to Cleveland to work in the steel mills, who had been brought to Pennsylvania to work in the coal mines and in the steel mills, who were used for their physical strength, who were given minimum wages, and who if they tried to organize were beaten over the head for their temerity and their impudence. Now those who came to America after the 1880's never knew the America which led a Reverend Beecher to think of poverty as somehow related to a moral flaw. America was not self-evidently a land of great opportunity. It was the cold street of the lower east side of New York or the south side of Boston or the flats in Cleveland. It was a shanty with cold water, crowded teeming tenement slums, urban violence, a factory in which workmen six or seven hours a day, twelve hours a week, a mine in which their eight and nine-year olds went down for 12 and 14 and 16 hours days, mines without safety standards, with no provision for the healing, the hospitalization of workers who were injured on the job. It was a crude and rude and cruel America, and this coalition, these were the great numbers, the new Americans, and they knew of what President Roosevelt

spoke, and they knew there was need for greater economic justice in the land and they voted for whoever offered it to them.

Now this new coalition came from parts of the world where a minimal government was unknown. They saw the opportunity for government to interfere for their benefit and they voted accordingly. And interestingly, ever since, the social gospel and the prophetic Judaism has combined itself with the new America to create the social mood of America in the 1940's and 50's and 60's. The old American has been outnumbered. The old American spirit still, to a large degree, dominates or, at least provides the idiom, with which many Americans speak.

I was struck when we had our collegians here in early December. They spoke to us of their feelings of the bicentennial, how many of them had the feeling that they could not relate to the Americans of the Revolution, the Americans of an earlier day. They were a new breed, they felt. The problems which they faced, however much they admired the way in which the revolutionists and the early fathers had faced their problem, were of a different order. Their concern was no longer simply to provide that government which would govern least, but to provide that government which would allow a maximum of freedom consonance with a maximum of economic justice. Our America is complex. Our industry is intricately interwoven with the social fabric and the economies of the rest of the world. Highly differentiated skills are demanded of each of us. None of us is any longer a self-reliant person in the sense that we can provide our food and our clothing and our wherewithal and guarantee by sheer energy that we can take care of ourselves and our own. We live in a time of great tension and great change, but the change which Franklin Roosevelt represented in the early 1930's is one in which people can live with decency and with freedom and with a sense of economic justice.

If you have wondered as I have often wondered why our Jewish community

require governmental support in many ways. We all benefit by the work of others. And in this new America we must find somehow a new balance between the concerns with tyranny and political freedom which moved the founding fathers and the concerns for economic justice in the larger welfare which are the concerns of the worker and the society of our day. These concerns are in tension. They are not easily resolved. As Franklin Roosevelt said that day to the Commonwealth Club: "That which created a new economic freedom at the end of the Middle Ages inevitably became the tyranny of the 18th century, and that which created the new economic opportunity of the 1930's and 40's and 50's can, if it is not kept in careful check, become a new form of tyranny in the 1970's and 1980's, but we must live with danger and the price of danger is vigilance. We must be aware, all of us, it would seem to me, that given the nature of our social order, given the complexity of our economy, given the demands which are placed upon each of us, only the development of the true sense of community, only the development of social and governmental institutions which will provide the basic decencies, health and education, recreation, minimum wage, guaranteed annual income and the like - only such a pattern of basic economic justice can provide the foundation on which we can build a community which will provide political freedoms. If we fail to provide the basic decencies, if we fail to protect our people against this massive, intricate, economic world in which we live, ultimately we will lose that very thing which we seek to keep, political freedom, because people in desperation will turn to the tyrant to provide them what the free society has not been able to do. We live in a time of great tension and great change, but the change which Franklin ~~DeLano~~ Roosevelt represented in the early 1930's is one in which people can live with decency and with freedom and with a sense of economic justice.

If you have wondered as I have oftentimes wondered why our Jewish community

turns so sympathetically, almost universally, to the New Deal and voted for it, it's because the New Deal was for us an old deal. We had lived under the New Deal for centuries. We did not call it a New Deal. We simply created communities in Europe in which there were organizations to provide for the dowry of the poor bride, to provide basic welfare for the impoverished, to ransom the captive, to provide medical care and hospitalization for the infirm and the ill. Jews came from a society in which we took for granted public welfare. We lived with it. We knew how it operated. We had no concept of charity, only the concept of economic justice. From the days of the Bible to the days of the social welfare ghetto, the shtetl of eastern Europe, the New Deal and the philosophy behind it was for us simply our way of life and that way of life had had its problems, but it also had its freedoms and it made for survival. And so the New Deal did not seem as radical a departure from the past as it did to many of the old Americans and we have made our peace with it, but having made our peace with it let none of us deny the fact that once government intervenes in the marketplace it itself becomes part of the problem and now there is not only the possibility of effective economic and social legislation, but there is the danger of governmental tyranny and that danger is the new danger, the new balance, which Americans must build and create, a society in which the wealth of the nation is equitably distributed and the freedoms of the individual are somehow carefully preserved.

American Rabbis submits the following declaration of principles as a program for the attainment of which the followers of our faith should strive:

1. A more equitable distribution of the profits of industry.
2. A minimum wage which will insure for all workers a fair standard of living.
3. The legal enactment of an eight hour day as a maximum for all industrial workers.
4. A compulsory one-day-of-rest-in-seven for all workers.
5. Regulation of industrial conditions to give all workers a safe and sanitary working environment, with particular reference to the special needs of women.
6. Abolition of child labor and raising the standard of age wherever the legal age limit is lower than is consistent with moral and physical health.
7. Adequate workmen's compensation for industrial accidents and occupational diseases.
8. Legislative provision for universal workmen's health insurance and careful study of social insurance methods for meeting the contingencies of unemployment and old age.
9. An adequate, permanent national system of public employment bureaus to make possible the proper distribution of the labor forces of America.
10. Recognition of the right of labor to organize and to bargain collectively.
11. The application of the principles of mediation, conciliation and arbitration to industrial disputes.
12. Proper housing for working-people, secured through government regulation when necessary.
13. The preservation and integrity of the home by a system of mother's pensions.
14. Constructive care of dependents, defectives and criminals, with the aim of restoring them to normal life wherever possible.

(3) "Society," said Pope Leo XIII, "can be healed in no other way than by a return to Christian life and Christian institutions." The truth of these words is more widely perceived today than when they were written, more than twenty-seven years ago. Changes in our economic and political systems will have only partial and feeble efficiency if they be not reinforced by the Christian view of work and wealth. Neither the moderate reforms advocated in this paper nor any other program of betterment or reconstruction will prove reasonably effective without a reform in the spirit of both labor and capital. The laborer must come to realize that he owes his employer and society an honest day's work in return for a fair wage, and that conditions cannot be substantially improved until he roots out the desire to get a maximum of return for a minimum of service. The capitalist must likewise get a new viewpoint. He needs to learn the long-forgotten truth that wealth is stewardship, that profit-making is not the basic justifica-

try, just as he did in fixing the power of the central Government in the development of Nations. Society paid him well for his services and its development. When the development among the Nations of Europe, however, had been completed, ambition and ruthlessness, having served their term, tended to overstep their mark.

There came a growing feeling that Government was conducted for the benefit of a few who thrived unduly at the expense of all. The people sought a balancing—a limiting force. There came gradually, through town councils, trade guilds, national parliaments, by constitution and by popular participation and control, limitations on arbitrary power.

Another factor that tended to limit the power of those who ruled, was the rise of the ethical conception that a ruler bore a responsibility for the welfare of his subjects.

The American colonies were born in this struggle. The American Revolution was a turning point in it. After the Revolution the struggle continued and shaped itself in the public life of the country. There were those who because they had seen the confusion which attended the years of war for American independence surrendered to the belief that popular Government was essentially dangerous and essentially unworkable. They were honest people, my friends, and we cannot deny that their experience had warranted some measure of fear. The most brilliant, honest and able exponent of this point of view was Hamilton. He was too impatient of slow-moving methods. Fundamentally he believed that the safety of the republic lay in the autocratic strength of its Government, that the destiny of individuals was to serve that Government, and that fundamentally a great and strong group of central institutions, guided by a small group of able and public spirited citizens, could best direct all Government.

But Mr. Jefferson, in the summer of 1776, after drafting the Declaration of Independence turned his mind to the same problem and took a different view. He did not deceive himself with outward forms. Government to him was a means to an end, not an end in itself; it might be either a refuge and a help or a threat and a danger, depending on the circumstances. We find him carefully analyzing the society for which he was to organize a Government. "We have no paupers. The great mass of our population is of laborers, our rich who cannot live without labor, either manual or professional, being few and of moderate wealth. Most of the laboring class possess property, cultivate their own lands, have families and from the demand for their labor, are enabled to

exact from the rich and the competent such prices as enable them to feed abundantly, clothe above mere decency, to labor moderately and raise their families."

These people, he considered, had two sets of rights, those of "personal competency" and those involved in acquiring and possessing property. By "personal competency" he meant the right of free thinking, freedom of forming and expressing opinions, and freedom of personal living, each man according to his own lights. To insure the first set of rights, a Government must so order its functions as not to interfere with the individual. But even Jefferson realized that the exercise of the property rights might so interfere with the rights of the individual that the Government, without whose assistance the property rights could not exist, must intervene, not to destroy individualism, but to protect it.

You are familiar with the great political duel which followed; and how Hamilton, and his friends, building toward a dominant centralized power were at length defeated in the great election of 1800, by Mr. Jefferson's party. Out of that duel came the two parties, Republican and Democratic, as we know them today.

So began, in American political life, the new day, the day of the individual against the system, the day in which individualism was made the great watchword of American life. The happiest of economic conditions made that day long and splendid. On the Western frontier, land was substantially free. No one, who did not shirk the task of earning a living, was entirely without opportunity to do so. Depressions could, and did, come and go; but they could not alter the fundamental fact that most of the people lived partly by selling their labor and partly by extracting their livelihood from the soil, so that starvation and dislocation were practically impossible. At the very worst there was always the possibility of climbing into a covered wagon and moving west where the untilled prairies afforded a haven for men to whom the East did not provide a place. So great were our natural resources that we could offer this relief not only to our own people, but to the distressed of all the world; ~~we could invite immigration from Europe, and welcome it with open arms. Traditionally, when a depression came a new section of land was opened in the West; and even our temporary misfortune served our manifest destiny.~~

It was in the middle of the nineteenth century that a new force was released and a new dream created. The force was what is called the industrial revolution, the advance of steam and ma-

chinery modern dream of standard within the distance and to reach the heaviest of this would therefore, Government to produce live happiness. Now it was a question of the shadow of required us will and force could engineering consummation.

So many age, however cheerfully enter with it was too for we could. The history in large measure Titans, with too much action as the the means the railroad often wasted did build has been essential for the American times over net advantage we had freedom by leaps plants were society chose and unlimited reduced the.

During equal opportunity government with development request of was originating our inf among you so long ago times by the land; some

was permissible if the method by which it got its power, and the use it made of that power, were reasonable.

Woodrow Wilson, elected in 1912, saw the situation more clearly. Where Jefferson had feared the encroachment of political power on the lives of individuals, Wilson knew that the new power was financial. He saw, in the highly centralized economic system, the despot of the twentieth century, on whom great masses of individuals relied for their safety and their livelihood, and whose irresponsibility and greed (if they were not controlled) would reduce them to starvation and penury. The concentration of financial power had not proceeded so far in 1912 as it has today; but it had grown far enough for Mr. Wilson to realize fully its implications. . . . The problem he saw so clearly is left with us as a legacy; and no one of us on either side of the political controversy can deny that it is a matter of grave concern to the Government.

A glance at the situation today only too clearly indicates that equality of opportunity as we have known it no longer exists. Our industrial plant is built; the problem just now is whether under existing conditions it is not overbuilt. Our last frontier has long since been reached, and there is practically no more free land. More than half of our people do not live on the farms or on lands and cannot derive a living by cultivating their own property. There is no safety valve in the form of a Western prairie to which those thrown out of work by the Eastern economic machines can go for a new start. We are not able to invite the immigration from Europe to share our endless plenty. We are now providing a drab living for our own people.

Our system of constantly rising tariffs has at last reacted against us to the point of closing our Canadian frontier on the north, our European markets on the east, many of our Latin-American markets to the south, and a goodly proportion of our Pacific markets on the west, through the retaliatory tariffs of those countries. It has forced many of our great industrial institutions which exported their surplus production to such countries, to establish plants in such countries, within the tariff walls. This has resulted in the reduction of the operation of their American plants, and opportunity for employment.

Just as freedom to farm has ceased, so also the opportunity in business has narrowed. It still is true that men can start small enterprises, trusting to native shrewdness and ability to keep abreast of competitors; but area after area has been preempted altogether by the great corporations, and

even in the fields which still have no great concerns, the small man starts under a handicap. The unfeeling statistics of the past three decades show that the independent business man is running a losing race. Perhaps he is forced to the wall; perhaps he cannot command credit; perhaps he is "squeezed out," in Mr. Wilson's words, by highly organized corporate competitors, as your corner grocery man can tell you. Recently a careful study was made of the concentration of business in the United States. It showed that our economic life was dominated by some six hundred odd corporations who controlled two-thirds of American industry. Ten million small business men divided the other third. More striking still, it appeared that if the process of concentration goes on at the same rate, at the end of another century we shall have all American industry controlled by a dozen corporations, and run by perhaps a hundred men. Put plainly, we are steering a steady course toward economic oligarchy, if we are not there already.

Clearly, all this calls for a re-appraisal of values. A mere builder of more industrial plants, a creator of more railroad systems, an organizer of more corporations, is as likely to be a danger as a help. The day of the great promoter or the financial Titan, to whom we granted anything if only he would build, or develop, is over. Our task now is not discovery or exploitation of natural resources, or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to reestablish foreign markets for our surplus production, of meeting the problem of underconsumption, of adjusting production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organizations to the service of the people. The day of enlightened administration has come.

Just as in older times the central Government was first a haven of refuge, and then a threat, so now in a closer economic system the central and ambitious financial unit is no longer a servant of national desire, but a danger. I would draw the parallel one step farther. We did not think because national Government had become a threat in the 18th century that therefore we should abandon the principle of national Government. Nor today should we abandon the principle of strong economic units called corporations, merely because their power is susceptible of easy abuse. In other times we dealt with the problem of an unduly ambitious central Government by modifying it gradually into a constitutional democratic Government. So today we are modifying and controlling our economic units.

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From 1850 to 1857 Henry Wood Beecher was the natural

celebrated minister of Plymouth Congregational Church in Brooklyn NY.

Concurrent with this and a career related to social reform

and reform, HWB had role in growth of the subject to social reform

the social reform of the day in providence of the church &

with church, the social movement, efficiency and prosperity and

built a new nationalist church and a social movement

movement was a new way to achieve social reform

Conclusion

~~Conclusion~~

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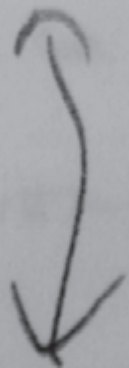


How church was but a free moral church for
the learning of NYC, Brooklyn church had a manifesto

of justice & a movement - yet was a social movement

of the left side of HWB making the following subject

of the movement



Parent, at least of it is ENOUGH POTENCY in business
of judicial competence and will, the man who is poor
is somewhat morally flawed. This is not intentional the
The lawyer and mark up a story about James and his
he was in the business of one Simon - Baldwin, and was
under claiming because from the business - apparently
has ended in the of James and his oil - the oil is poor
the oil in James hand and is to assist him, [The last
the oil is poor and is to assist him - the oil is poor]

The oil is poor and is to assist him - the oil is poor
Should never republish it ! write - she should
have sold the oil and given its value to the poor
But James doesn't agree ! "you have the poor
always with you, but you will not always have me."

The part of the story - that James accepted the
oil is poor - but the business should be
ended because for the poor men and the poor
ONE OF THEM poverty is and will be
ending, the should be ended and the poor
be ended - A dual refugee - but at least

INDULG

~~Part can be be converted into~~

X⁵ December! my number of my children & early
 some known and a whole others - - but not
 until 1st of July came so we find children
 getting round a new station, which will
 by last 1st of July come see at 1st of July will
 history of mankind to feel as aware of progress - so
 long and I responded that he just felt usual
be made that various will be given to children

Journal

O'Leary, see also Page since HW Bessie's
 will - - - - - to say that see in legs
 some other use - - - - - the writing -
 a place to HORTON ALGER 17th - If you need

and much more - Success needs us. We are going to
passing a real crisis - but all too often - product
of culture & abundant stimulus, racial exclusion,
on technological unemployment, which has never been
in any way out of reach but which is systematic
not a result of concrete factors, the new machine will
soon lay off from the industrial plant needed to make
but none will be made.

President's judgment can stand alone to save -
the supporters of large industry - national keep speed
of machine - the efficiency and after we are shipless,
idle, weapons - The crisis is "the end of business as usual". That means we have no more
need a new way of doing things just as we
from free-will. This part is said, to say,
cannot wait for your country, to be used,
to rebuild, now more than ever before
gives seriously leads to poverty
POVERTY IS NO MORE THE RESULT OF CHARACTER

FLYING FROM THE WENT OF A FEW OF A READER'S LETTER ON

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[illegible]

The new business plan is being
 developed - a new business
 plan is being developed -

1. Current Year 1900
 2. Previous Year 1899

170, 168
Wele Te Noun

meditation Each of us enters this sanctuary with a different need.

Some hearts are full of gratitude and joy:

They are overflowing with the happiness of love and the joy of life;
they are stirred by the challenge of making tomorrow's world better;
they are healing from illness or have escaped misfortune.

And we rejoice with them.

Some hearts ache with sorrow:

Disappointments weigh heavily upon them and they have tasted despair;
families have been broken; loved ones lie on a bed of pain; death
has taken those whom they cherished.

May our presence and sympathy bring them comfort.

Some hearts are embittered:

They have sought answers in vain; ideals are mocked and betrayed;
life has lost its meaning and value:

May the knowledge that we too are searching restore their hope and
give them courage to believe that all is not vanity.

Some spirits hunger:

They long for friendship; they need understanding; they yearn for
warmth.

May we in our common need and striving gain strength from one another,
as we share our joys, lighten each other's burdens, and pray for the
welfare of our community.

+++

Lord our God, You are our unfailing help. Darkness does not conceal
You from the eye of faith, nor do the forces of destruction obscure Your
presence. Above the fury of men and the blows of chance abides
the Eternal God. When pain and sorrow try our souls, grant us courage
to meet them undismayed and with faith that does not waver.
Let not the tears that must come to every eye obscure our vision of
Your goodness. Amen.

[Reader's Kaddish]

*Let the glory of God be extolled,
let His great name be hallowed
in the world whose creation He willed.*

*May His kingdom soon prevail,
in our own day, our own lives,*

יִתְגַּדֵּל וִיחַקֹּדֶשׁ שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא
בְּעֵלְמָא דִּי-בְרָא כְרַעוּתָּהּ.

וַיִּמְלִיךְ מַלְכוּתָּהּ
בְּחַיֵּינוּ וּבְיוֹמֵינוּ

Kaddish

Friday

Sunday

Mar 21

Those who passed away this week

LOUIS BROWN
NELLIE TYROLER
DORIS MICKLIN

~~Dr. Nathan S. S. S. S.~~

Dr. Nathan S. S. S. S.
Groenbeke

Gahrzeits

SOPHIE KLOPFER STRAUSS
HOWARD SIMON SAKS
LOUIS SCHOEN
MARY NEWHOUSE FIRTH
SARAH BAUMOEL
EDWARD ENGLANDER
JENNIE GOLDSMITH
LEON SPERLING
ROSE SPILKA
FRANK H. FOX
GERTRUDE LOVEMAN JASKULEK
BIRDIE STOTTER COLE
EDWIN R. COLE
ROSE BERNSTEIN
SAMUEL S. ROSENTHAL
HAROLD M. STRAUSS
BLANCHE M. MAYER
LENA MENDELSON
MAXWELL L. LAPPIN
DAVID TOMARKIN

SIDNEY N. WEITZ
MOLLIE FRIEDMAN
DR. EMANUEL KLAUS



Looking comprehensively through city and town and village and country, the general truth will stand, that no man in this land suffers from poverty unless it be more than his fault—unless it be his *sin*. . . . There is enough and to spare thrice over; and if men have not enough, it is owing to the want of provident care, and foresight, and industry, and frugality, and wise saving. This is the general truth.³

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SERVICE FOR THE MORNING OF SHABBAT - 3

שחרית לשבת - ג

OPENING PRAYERS

ברכות השחר

(Shachar Avakeshcha)

Early will I seek You,
God my refuge strong;
Late prepare to meet You
With my evening song.

Though unto Your greatness
I with trembling soar,
Yet my inmost thinking
Lies Your eyes before.

What this frail heart's dreaming,
And my tongue's poor speech,
Can they even distant
To Your greatness reach?

Being great in mercy,
You will not despise
Praises which till death's hour
From my soul will rise.

שחר אבקשך, צורי ומשגיבי;
אערך לפניך שחרי וגם ערבי.
לפני גדלתך אעמד ואבהל,
כי עינך תראה כל מחשבות לבי.
מה-זה אשר יוכל הלב והלשון
לעשות, ומה כח רוחי בתוך קרבי?
הנה לך חיסב זמרה אנוש; על כן
אורך בעוד תהיה נשמת אלוה בי.

+++

The synagogue is the sanctuary of Israel.
Born out of our longing for the living God,
It has been to Israel, throughout our wanderings,
a visible token of the presence of God in His people's midst.
Its beauty is the beauty of holiness; steadfast it has stood
as the champion of justice, mercy, and peace.

Its truths are true for all people.
Its love is a love for all people.
Its God is the God of all people,
as it has been said:
"My house shall be called a
house of prayer for all peoples."

Let all the family of Israel, all who hunger for righteousness,
all who seek the Eternal find Him here - and here find life!

+++

As I see it, the task of Government in its relation to business is to assist the development of an economic declaration of rights, an economic constitutional order. This is the common task of statesman and business man. It is the minimum requirement of a more permanently safe order of things.

Happily, the times indicate that to create such an order not only is the proper policy of Government, but it is the only line of safety for our economic structures as well. We know, now, that these economic units cannot exist unless prosperity is uniform, that is, unless purchasing power is well distributed throughout every group in the Nation. That is why even the most selfish of corporations for its own interest would be glad to see wages restored and unemployment ended and to bring the Western farmer back to his accustomed level of prosperity and to assure a permanent safety to both groups. That is why some enlightened industries themselves endeavor to limit the freedom of action of each man and business group within the industry in the common interest of all; why business men everywhere are asking a form of organization which will bring the scheme of things into balance, even though it may in some measure qualify the freedom of action of individual units within the business. . . .

I feel that we are coming to a view through the drift of our legislation and our public thinking in the past quarter century that private economic power is, to enlarge an old phrase, a public trust as well. I hold that continued enjoyment of that power by any individual or group must depend upon the fulfillment of that trust. The men who have reached the summit of American business life know this best; happily, many of these urge the binding quality of this greater social contract.

The terms of that contract are as old as the Republic, and as new as the new economic order.

Every man has a right to life; and this means that he has also a right to make a comfortable living. He may by sloth or crime decline to exercise that right; but it may not be denied him. We have no actual famine or dearth; our industrial and agricultural mechanism can produce enough and to spare. Our Government formal and informal, political and economic, owes to everyone an avenue to possess himself of a portion of that plenty sufficient for his needs, through his own work.

Every man has a right to his own property; which means a right to be assured, to the fullest

extent attainable, in the safety of his savings. By no other means can men carry the burdens of those parts of life which, in the nature of things, afford no chance of labor; childhood, sickness, old age. In all thought of property, this right is paramount; all other property rights must yield to it. If, in accord with this principle, we must restrict the operations of the speculator, the manipulator, even the financier, I believe we must accept the restriction as needful, not to hamper individualism but to protect it.

These two requirements must be satisfied, in the main, by the individuals who claim and hold control of the great industrial and financial combinations which dominate so large a part of our industrial life. They have undertaken to be, not business men, but princes of property. I am not prepared to say that the system which produces them is wrong. I am very clear that they must fearlessly and competently assume the responsibility which goes with the power. . . .

The final term of the high contract was for liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We have learned a great deal of both in the past century. We know that individual liberty and individual happiness mean nothing unless both are ordered in the sense that one man's meat is not another man's poison. We know that the old "rights of personal competency," the right to read, to think, to speak, to choose and live a mode of life, must be respected at all hazards. We know that liberty to do anything which deprives others of those elemental rights is outside the protection of any compact; and that Government in this regard is the maintenance of a balance, within which every individual may have a place if he will take it; in which every individual may find safety if he wishes it; in which every individual may attain such power as his ability permits, consistent with his assuming the accompanying responsibility. . . .

Faith in America, faith in our tradition of personal responsibility, faith in our institutions, faith in ourselves demand that we recognize the new terms of the old social contract. We shall fulfill them, as we fulfilled the obligation of the apparent Utopia which Jefferson imagined for us in 1776, and which Jefferson, Roosevelt and Wilson sought to bring to realization. We must do so, lest a rising tide of misery, engendered by our common failure, engulf us all. But failure is not an American habit; and in the strength of great hope we must all shoulder our common load.