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Jews, Slaves, and Abolition - The Natural History of a Moral
Principle, 1977.

Jews, Slaves, and Abolition
The Natural History of a Moral Principle
Daniel Jeremy Silver
February 27, 1977

The lead article in Time Magazine bore the title "Why Roots Hit Home." Roots, of course, referred to the television series which portrayed the family history of a black writer, Alex Haley from the family's origin in Africa to his place in modern America. Roots, as you know, was a television phenomenon. Over one hundred thirty million Americans watched one or more of the eight sections into which this dramatic presentation was divided. Seven of those sections now rate among the ten most viewed television programs ever. Why did Roots hit home? Why did Americans respond to it? Many reasons have been offered. I would like to suggest my own: Roots took us back to the uncompleted war in our history, the Civil War, and to unfinished business. The Civil War settled the question of secession, the dissolution of the Union; but it left us with the issue of race, unfinished business which has occupied us for more than a century.

Last year while the country celebrated its bicentennial, there were any number of television programs on Bunker Hill, Lexington and Valley Forge; but none commanded a mass audience. We tuned them in. We tuned them out. The history represented by the American Revolution is over. No one is exercised about English tyranny. We accept constitutional democracy. If ^{the} American Revolution is a closed chapter in our history the Civil War remains alive. The issue of race is of prime concern. We pay attention to the issues raised by the Civil War. Of the three other television programs which have gained top audiences, two presented Gone With the Wind, a white version of the Civil War and its issues.

What Roots did, I think, was to raise again, and effectively, the primal emotions which stir in the spirit of Black America and White America. Roots told Black America,

and any whites who were willing to listen, that their background in the old world was neither primitive nor aboriginal as the conventional wisdom tends to picture it to be. Jefur, the village from which Haley's ancestors come, evidenced a high degree of social organization. It was neither pagan or heathen. Its people were Muslims, followers of the Koran, monotheists.

At the same time Roots told White America, and any other who were willing to listen, that the New World environment they had created was far more primitive than the conventional wisdom tends to picture it. Behind the graceful drives and the magnificent columned porticos of the southern mansions with the slave pens, places of cruelty, violence and sadism, whose dark reality can no longer be hidden.

Whatever the reason for the popularity of Roots, and I have not concerned myself with artistic or dramatic considerations, I was struck by the fact that when we as Jews talked of Roots we tended to repeat some version of a theme which began, 'I am awfully glad that we had no part in that dark chapter.' True, we didn't have a major, or even a significant role, in the creation of the slave economy, but this sermon is dedicated to the proposition that we, at least, deserve a footnote in any history of the period. For many reasons I think it is important that we look honestly at our tradition and at the actions of our fellow Jews, to see them for what they were and to understand our tradition for what it is.

There's an old Yiddish proverb addressed to storekeepers which reminds them how to tell the purchaser about the defects of the garment as well as about its virtues. There are defects in any garment. No, we did not write the chapter, but some of us were there. In 1860 there were only 45,000 Jewish men, women and children in all of the slave-owning states of the old South. This number represents less than one-half of one percent of the total white population of these states. Of the estimated 600,000 black slaves

in the South in 1860, Jewish slave owners owned less than one percent. Given the minimal figures, it is perhaps understandable that we Jews should think that we had no part in the peculiar institution which is called black slavery.

None of us come from slave-owning backgrounds. The shtetl and the ghetto were not places where people owned slaves. We have lived in an America, largely in the north, where the issue of slavery was not a live issue. We have come to think of ourselves as free of the taint of racism; slavery seems to us to be their problem. Jews were not numerous in the south. Jews were recent newcomers. We think of the south as Christian territory. The south is identified in our minds with a plethora of churches and the Bible Belt. It's believing country and we know that its faith as expressed in the Old Testament was slavery acceptance. For all of his love for his fellow man, Jesus never spoke out against the institution of slavery. Saint Paul, in the letters that he addressed to churches around the world, spoke of slavery three times. In each case he spoke directly to slaves who had converted to the new faith, and he counseled them to serve their masters with the same fear and trembling with which they would serve Christ. Far from being an abolitionist, Paul obviously accepted the institution of slavery and, indeed, the shortest of these letters, a letter addressed to one Philamon, a slave-owning Christian, has as its basic import the fact that Paul was sending back a fugitive slave by the name of Onesimus who had come to him and been converted. Paul thinks it appropriate that Onesimus be sent back to his owner although he pleads that he be treated with humanity and consideration for his faith.

It is perhaps understandable then that we think of black slavery as a uniquely Christian fall from grace, one in which we had no part. Unfortunately, our hands are not totally clean. In what little research I have been able to do, and this is not an area of my primary concern, I read of at least one rabbi in Richmond who owned slaves. They were not field hands, to be sure, but house servants; but they were slaves nonetheless.

The most important Jew in the old South was a man by the name of Judah P. Benjamin. Judah P. Benjamin was a brilliant lawyer from New Orleans, a man who was elected from Louisiana to the United States Senate and later a cabinet officer of the Confederacy. Judah P. Benjamin owned a great estate up the Mississippi River by the name of Belle Chase where he employed 140 slaves, 80 of them were field hands. Jewish storekeepers and auctioneers in the old South sold slaves as they would any other merchandise. I came across a broad sheet put out by the firm of one Israel Jones of Mobile in which he offers for auction on a particular day 50 kegs of lard, 15 barrels of domestic brandy and slaves at auction; male slave, Alfred, 25 years, field hand; boy slave, Tyronne, 7 years of age; female slave, Judy, 30 years of age; terms cash. Israel Jones was not another itinerant peddler. He was a leading citizen of Mobile; chairman of its musical association, founding president of the first synagogue in Alabama, a post he continued to hold for nearly thirty years. Judah P. Benjamin, Israel Jones and the rabbi of Richmond thought of themselves as respectable people. They were respected by non-Jews as well as the Jewish community. In all probability they were not Simon Lagrees, but they saw nothing wrong, immoral, unJewish if you will, in owning, purchasing and selling slaves.

Beside these respectable slave owners, a number of Jews who were not among the respectable citizens of the South dealt in slaves. We know of four - the Davis Brothers - who lived in Petersburg and in Richmond, Virginia, who had only one business - they sold slaves. They bought slaves from the ships, manacled their purchases and brought them in chain gangs to the markets of the interior. To read some of the wills of the Jews who died in the old South is to find provisions requiring that a particular female slave and her children be manumitted, the reason is obvious. This man had used his chattel sexually. These children were his children.

Jews did not create the slave economy. Jews did not create the plantation economy. We were too insignificant, too much of a newcomer group, but not a single voice among the leadership of the Jewish community of the old South raised in protest against slavery. Now that is not to say that the Jews of the south condoned brutality or could have been effective opponents. This small community obviously had to adopt some form of protective coloration. It could not attack the basic institutions of the society. I do suggest that the stance of our tradition did not require of those Jews that they damn slavery as evil.

It is important to remember that slavery as practiced in the old South involved two elements: the ownership of one human being by another human being and a racial theory about blacks as slaves. Slavery is an old human institution, as old as recorded history. Slavery was eliminated only in our generation. It is only in the last decade that Saudi Arabia and some other Arab countries have finally eliminated human ownership. Slavery was probably inevitable in most pre-industrial societies. In the ancient world most slaves were one's equals. They were prisoners of war whom you had met in open battle, your equals; you might be the slave, if you lost. They were debtors, perhaps members of your own family who had to sell themselves because they had lost what few possessions or what little land they owned. They were the criminal class sold into slavery for their crimes, but criminals who came out of your own tribes. Slavery was generally an economic, not a racist institution. In the old South a racist doctrine was added to economic practice. Presumably, God had placed the black man upon the earth to be the white man's slave. God had so constructed the black man that he could survive only with direction. He was genetically incompetent to be a free man. The white South took this doctrine over from the Muslim world which had long looked upon the black slave as inferior and the South had refined these doctrines and provided them with appropriate proof texts and theology.

The result by the mid-nineteenth century was a theory of race which was not unlike the racial concepts the Nazis would develop a century later about the Jews. The black man was inferior. The black man must be protected. Owners were really doing the black man a favor by maintaining him in his slave condition. You will not find any resonance of such racism in our tradition. The Song of Songs sings out, "I am black but comely." The prophet argues that those who live in Ehtiopia and the Sudan are as precious to God as those who live in the Holy Land. The chosen people are chosen for service, not color.

There is nothing in the traditional Jewish attitude towards humanity which encourages any concept that suggests that one race is inferior and one race is by nature superior. It is interesting to note that the respectable slave owners of the South who were Jewish, the Israel Jones's and the Judah P. Benjamin's, were among those who opposed the increasing rule which developed in the pre-Civil War decades. Until about 1830ⁱⁿ most southern states a man could free his slave and the black man could walk the streets of Mible, Savannah or Charleston as a free man, but after 1830 the various state legislatures

out a series of laws which prevented manumission on the "kindly" grounds that a black man could not manage his freedom. Those few Jews who had positions of some prominence in the South opposed the development of such laws, but they were, of course, a minority and the laws were passed. During the Civil War Judah P. Benjamin was one of the few men who argued that the black man ought to be freed so that he would join the Confederate Army. In his mind the war was constitutional, not racial, in origin and the black man was fully capable of fighting alongside the white, that is, he knew the black man as a human being. Benjamin's voice was part of a small minority crying out in the wilderness; and the south fought against the north without one of its greatest human resources. Racism then has no resonance in our Jewish tradition, but what I am suggesting to you is that slavery does and the best way to present this to you is to talk to you about

the 4th of January, 1861.

The South Carolina legislature has voted for secession. President Lincoln has been elected, but has not yet taken office. President Buchanan has asked the country to observe the 4th of January as a National Fast Day and as a Day of Prayer for the Union. Congregation B'nai Yeshurun in the borough of Manhattan has organized a public service. Its rabbi, Moses Joseph Raphael, will speak on The Bible's View of Slavery. Rabbi Raphael had been born in Stockholm, Sweden where his father had been the banker to the king. He had been educated in England which had outlawed slavery in the early days of the 19th century. He had come to New York in the late 1840's and had served B'nai Yeshurun since his arrival. He had never lived in a slave-owning society, in fact, he had never even visited the South. He had no experience with slavery and had vested interest in its defense; but if you expect to hear on this day a ringing support of abolition you will be disappointed. What Rabbi Raphael, a traditionalist rabbi, did that day was to take as his enemy the abolitionist, particularly Henry Ward Beecher, the Protestant preacher of nearby Brooklyn. The rabbi argued that it was such fiery and and intemperate oratory as Beecher's which had forced the South to this desperate act of secession. The abolitionist cried out that slavery was a sin against God, a statement Raphael denied and it was the abolitionist whose passion was forcing the south to destroy the Union and Raphael felt the issue cried out for prudence rather than passion. It is well to remember that those who loved the Union moved cautiously on the issue of emancipation. The Emancipation Proclamation was not signed by President Lincoln for nearly four years. Prudent men recognized that slavery was the basis of the economy of the south, and that to free the slave was not only to disrupt that economy, but to throw 600,000 men and women and children out of work with little prospect for most slaves are illiterate and culturally deprived. Their families had been broken up. Even if one was most sympathetic to the theme of emancipation the human problem required careful handling. In order to pre-

serve the Union many men of prudence and principle felt that one ought to go slow on the issue of emancipation, the developments in the economy would take care of emancipation - already the feed and care of a slave was more costly than the wages of a hired servant.

Raphael was a great lover of this country and of the Union. A son would lose his arm at the battle of Antietam fighting with the Union Army. That day Raphael suggested that it was Beecher who misread Scripture. He began by quoting to Beecher from the 25th chapter of the book of Leviticus:

Such male and female slaves as you may have - it is from the nations round about you that you may acquire male and female slaves. You may also buy them from among the children of aliens resident with you, or from their families that are among you, whom they begot in your land. These shall become your property: you may keep them as a possession for your children after you, for them to inherit as property for all time. Such you may treat as slaves.

Obviously, there is in the Bible a warrant for slavery, but Rabbi Raphael did not make that day an apology to the southern practice of slavery. The Bible accepts slavery but condones neither racism nor the abuse of the slave. Raphael made it clear that the Biblical concept of slavery required respect for the person of the slave. The slave had a nature, a soul, which was as divine as any other person and, therefore, he was entitled to the full measure of human rights. Raphael quoted the Biblical law which says, among other things, that if an owner has sexual relationships with his female slave and refuses to marry her she must immediately be set free. He quoted the Biblical law which says that if one injures a slave, male or female, so as to cause him any permanent damage, even the loss of a tooth, that slave must be set free. Rabbi Raphael underscored in his sermon that slavery as it had been practiced in the Roman Empire and as it was being practiced in the south, unfortunately, looked upon the slave as a thing, devoid of divine human nature, without rights and treated this human chattel in a way to which our tradition gave no warrant.

You could not argue with the fact that the Torah permits slavery, but this does not mean you have to own slaves. He drew an analogy to the Biblical law which permits polygamy, but obviously there is no requirement that you must have more than one wife.

Raphael's argument was with the abolitionist who he said misconstrued scripture and for that reason, despite its caveats, picked up by southern sympathizers who sponsored its distribution around the country, who found in Raphael a rabbi who read the Bible in the original and seemingly confirmed all that southern ministers and divines have been saying about the sanctity of the institution of slavery. They found in his speech what they wanted to find. They paid little attention to the motivation of such men as Judah P. Benjamin and Israel Jones and Rabbi Raphael, only that the crucial issue was not the issue of slavery, but the issue of the Union. In their minds slavery was an issue only if the slave owner abused his authority.

In the 12th century Moses Maimonides had compiled a compendium of Jewish law which he called the Mishneh Torah, the second Torah. In a section known as the Laws of Acquisition Maimonides devoted a whole section to the issue of slaves. He cites the rules which deal with ownership of slaves, transference of such ownership, and manumission, an act much appreciated in the Jewish tradition. Maimonides concludes with what is in effect a homily which is as far as our rabbinic tradition went in its strictures about slavery:

It is permitted to work a heathen slave with rigor. Though such is the rule, it is the quality of piety and the way of wisdom that a man be merciful and pursue justice and not make his yoke heavy upon the slave or distress him, but give him to eat and to drink of all foods and drinks.

The Sages of old were wont to let the slave partake of every dish that they themselves ate of and to give the meal of the cattle and of the slaves precedence over their own. Thus also the master should not disgrace them by hand or by word, because scriptural law has delivered them only unto slavery and not unto disgrace.

They are slaves by necessity. They are not slaves because of racial inferiority.

Nor should he heap upon the slave oral abuse or anger, but should rather speak to him softly and listen to his claims.

And on and on and on in that vein. That is the background of the Jewish attitude towards slavery as it was developed by the rabbinic tradition. Slavery was an accepted institution. The slave often had a position of competence and authority. The slave might be tutor of your children or a partner in your business. According to Jewish law, a slave could own money, could sue and be sued in commercial matters, and had all the rights of a free man. He could manage an estate or own an estate, manage a business or own one. Slavery, as known in the Mediterranean, had few of the ramifications of racial debasement which slavery had in the old South. There was cruelty, to be sure; but in fact most were probably no worse off than factory hands in the days of the sweat shops. Here and there one or two voices cried out with the abolitionist thesis that slavery is a sin against God and man which cannot be tolerated. The most famous of the abolitionists was David Einhorn. David Einhorn was a German Jew. He was known as a radical reform rabbi. After his training in Europe and after the failure of the revolution of 1848 Einhorn came to the United States, settled in Baltimore, and became rabbi of Har Sinai Congregation. By about 1855 Einhorn became convinced of the evil implicit in slavery. He saw not only the texts, but the reality of the plantations. Baltimore is the door to the old South. Einhorn began to speak out forcibly against the institution of slavery. When Raphael published his speech on the

Biblical view of slavery, Einhorn attacked it bitterly - I'll give you his logic in a moment - for this attack he was bitterly denounced in Baltimore, a city seething with pre-Civil War unrest. Einhorn's life was threatened. For a time he was protected by the young men of his congregation who formed an honor guard, but it soon became impossible to protect Einhorn and he fled to Philadelphia. Einhorn hoped to return, but tensions continued to rise and the congregation finally wrote him a lovely letter which said, in effect: 'we love you but we cannot guarantee your safety if you return.'

Einhorn's argument was simply this. He could not argue with the scriptural texts, but he began with a different attitude towards Scripture. Traditional Judaism assumed that Torah was the word of God, infallible, and that what the Torah permitted could be denounced by man. One need not own slaves, but one could not declare such ownership, by definition, sinful. As an historian, Einhorn looked upon Biblical law not as the infallible word of God, but as an expression of the Jewish spirit at a particular moment in time. He argued that we need not be bound by, what he called, the dead letter of the law; rather, we were bound by its inner spirit. One has only to read the Biblical texts to see that the Jewish spirit, even then, was not wholeheartedly behind the institution of slavery and was doing its best to limit slavery which, as an economic necessity, could not be abolished. He wrote of the difference in Biblical law between the treatment permissible towards a heathen slave who could be worked with rigor, sold at will and owned for his lifetime, and the treatment accorded to a Hebrew slave. The Hebrew slave can be owned for six years, but in the seventh year he must be set free. Einhorn was something of a student of ancient law and he knew that in the various codes of Mesopotamian law the rule was that if a slave escaped he was to be scarred. He noted that Biblical law made no provision for the bounding of the fugitive slave. Indeed, a Hebrew slave who refused his

freedom was to be marked physically. You were to take that slave to the gate of the city and pierce his ear lobe as a sign that he had refused to be manumission. As midrash developed on this, why the ear? Because the ear that had heard God say on Mt. Sinai "proclaim freedom unto the land and to all the inhabitants thereof" and refused freedom was obviously defective to begin with. Einhorn remarked that in the Mesopotamian codes the life of a slave was worth a fraction of the life of a free man. If a free man was injured the law of compensation required that ten dollars be paid for the loss of a finger. If a slave was injured the same law limited his master's award to ten cents. In the Bible the law required equal compensation for injury to a slave or a free man. As human beings, slave and free man were of equal worth.

Now Einhorn used these examples to suggest the direction in which Biblical law had been developing. He spoke of thrust, of growth, of development; and, more than that, he took some of the social justice texts from the prophets and took them quite literally. On Yom Kippur afternoon we read from the 56th chapter of the book of Isaiah. The chapter was spoken by an unknown prophet some time in exilic or post-exilic times and defines the true fast sought by God.

Is not this the fast that I have chosen
To loose the fetters of wickedness
To undo the bands of the yoke
To let the oppressed go free
And that ye break every yoke.

David Einhorn seized on this text: to break every yoke meant to end the cruelty and this indignity of the yoke of slavery which had for too long afflicted the society of men.

We touch here not only a challenge to the rabbinic consensus; but we have come upon the beginning of a different way of going about the business of defining and determining a Jewish value. The old way, which had operated for two thousand years, accepted the letter of the law and worked within the language of the law. The old way was wise, rich

in experience, prudential, clear; but, obviously, there comes a time in the affairs of men when change comes so swiftly that one must go to the spirit rather than to the letter of the constitution. In a revolutionary society one must break with the past and concern itself with the thrust of tradition rather than its specifics. Raphael was a good halachist. What Raphael said about the Jewish tradition was accurate. Einhorn was not such a good halachist or theologian. He was never able to develop out of the thrust of the tradition a really strong case for his abolitionist position. He could find texts, but always they were vague and construed out of context, but he was obviously in tune with the new impatience and he spoke directly to one of the great moral issues of the day.

And we come now to the question of the issue with which I would conclude this brief lecture. Obviously, I'm not making a plea for the return of slavery. Obviously, I have no patience with all of the forced pilpul, the legal hairsplitting, which might, given generations, find a way to reinterpret the ancient texts so that they might not be understood as they were for centuries. I do think it is important that we recognize that the position that Einhorn took in 1861, however noble it sounds to us today, was a position that was not morally self-validating, that given the realities of the day abolition led to civil war and the horrors of the Reconstruction Period. It led to terrible chaos, economically, socially, humanistically. It led to the abolition of the institution of slavery, to be sure, but it led also to the re-imposition of the slavery of poverty upon the black man in the south. He was not legally without rights any longer, but he had no opportunity for he had no economic rights. In the 1860's, 1870's and the 1880's, the south imposed apartheid by a series of racist laws based on a non-slave reality. If the issue had only been slavery and not race the Civil War might have ended the problem, but the issue, I am afraid, is race and the popularity of Roots remains that today. We who are concerned with the dignity of each individual, we who respond to the prophetic passion of a David

Einhorn, had best recognize that passion alone cannot achieve the end that we desire. We must approach all the problems involved in the issue of race, both prophetically and prudentially, and that the issue must be met and must be faced with a respect for the dignity and inalienable rights of every man and with some concern for what is possible within the context of the real world. Judaism, my friends, is not pristine. It is people. Judaism is a great tradition, but it is not a pure tradition. We have had our sinners and we have had failures of vision. In the 18th and 19th century we did not rouse ourselves sufficiently to the new demands which were being made by basic changes in the economy and all that it represents. Are we doing so today?



³⁹If your brother under you continues in straits and must give himself over to you, do not subject him to the treatment of a slave. ⁴⁰He shall remain under you as a hired or bound laborer; he shall serve with you only until the jubilee year. ⁴¹Then he and his children with him shall be free of your authority; he shall go back to his family and return to his ancestral holding.—⁴²For they are My servants, whom I freed from the land of Egypt; they may not give themselves over into servitude.—⁴³You shall not rule over him ruthlessly; you shall fear your God. ⁴⁴Such male and female slaves as you may have—it is from the nations round about you that you may acquire male and female slaves. ⁴⁵You may also buy them from among the children of aliens resident with you, or from their families that are among you, whom they begot in your land. These shall become your property: ⁴⁶you may keep them as a possession for your children after you, for them to inherit as property for all time. Such you may treat as slaves. But as for your Israelite brothers, no one shall rule ruthlessly over the other.

⁴⁷If a resident alien among you has prospered, and your brother, being in straits, comes under his authority and gives himself over to the resident alien among you, or to an offshoot of an alien's family, ⁴⁸he shall have the right of redemption even after he has given himself over. One of his brothers shall redeem him, ⁴⁹or his uncle or his uncle's son shall redeem him, or anyone of his family who is of his own flesh shall redeem him; or, if he prospers, he may redeem himself. ⁵⁰He shall compute with his purchaser the total from the year he gave himself over to him until the jubilee year; the price of his sale shall be applied to the number of years, as though it were for a term as a hired laborer under the other's authority. ⁵¹If many years remain, he shall pay back for his redemption in proportion to his purchase price; ⁵²and if few years remain until the jubilee year, he shall so compute: he shall make payment for his redemption according to the years involved. ⁵³He shall be under his authority as a laborer hired by the year; he shall not rule ruthlessly over him in your sight. ⁵⁴If he has not been redeemed in any of those ways, he and his children with

Did not He that made me in the womb make him?
And did not One fashion us in the womb? (Job 31: 13, 15).

Cruelty and effrontery are not frequent except with heathen who worship idols. The children of our father Abraham, however, i. e., the Israelites, upon whom the Holy One, blessed be He, bestowed the favor of the Law and laid upon them statutes and judgments, are merciful people who have mercy upon all.

Thus also it is declared by the attributes of the Holy One, blessed be He, which we are enjoined to imitate: *And His mercies are over all His works* (Pss. 145: 9).

Furthermore, whoever has compassion will receive compassion, as it is said: *And He will show thee mercy, and have compassion upon thee, and multiply thee* (Deut. 13: 18).

IS NOT THIS THE FIRST THAT I HAVE CHOSEN
TO LOOSE THE BOND OF MICKLEMS
TO UNDO THE BOND OF NO YOKES
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8. It is permitted to work a heathen slave with rigor. Though such is the rule, it is the quality of piety and the way of wisdom that a man be merciful and pursue justice and not make his yoke heavy upon the slave or distress him, but give him to eat and to drink of all foods and drinks.

The Sages of old were wont to let the slave partake of every dish that they themselves ate of and to give the meal of the cattle and of the slaves precedence over their own. Is it not said:

~~As the eyes of slaves unto the hand of their master, as the eyes of a female servant unto the hand of her mistress (Pss. 123: 2)?~~

Thus also the master should not disgrace them by hand or by word, because scriptural law has delivered them only unto slavery and not unto disgrace. Nor should he heap upon the slave oral abuse and anger, but should rather speak to him softly and listen to his claims. So it is also explained in the good paths of Job, in which he prided himself:

If I did despise the cause of my manservant,

Or of my maidservant, when they contended with me . . .

TV VIEW

JOHN LEONARD

'In Search Of the Real America' Opts For Optimism

Feisty is the word for "In Search of the Real America," a six-part monthly public affairs series that starts its run on Channel 13 Tuesday night at 9 o'clock. The feistiness belongs to Ben J. Wattenberg, the creator and narrator of the half-hour programs, who mounts his thesis as though it were a motor scooter and his mustache were the handle-bars: Vrooom. According to Mr. Wattenberg, things in America are just peachy keen, thank you, and he's tired of hearing otherwise from what he calls "the Chorus of Failure and Guilt."

Mr. Wattenberg will be remembered as the coauthor, with Richard M. Scammon, of "The Real Majority" back in 1970. "The Real Majority" gave us the "Middle Voter" who worried about the "Social Issue" and yearned for a "centrist" in the White House. The Middle Voter was "unyoung, unpoor and unblack," typified by "a 47-year-old housewife from the outskirts of Dayton, Ohio, whose husband is a machinist." The Social Issue was more or less everything of which the Middle Voter didn't approve: crime, racial unrest, campus nihilism, drugs, sexual license. A centrist, at least in 1970, was not a Barry Goldwater or a Robert Kennedy, but a Hubert Humphrey, for whom Mr. Wattenberg labored.

In 1976, Mr. Wattenberg labored for Senator Henry M. Jackson, Jimmy Carter, who lusted in his heart for Dayton, sneaked up and took over the downtown district of Wattenberg. Right now he labors, as co-chairman of A Coalition for a Democratic Majority, against the Senate confirmation of Paul C. Warnke as director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The Coalition suspects Mr. Warnke of wanting to control arms.

Anyway, Mr. Wattenberg has taken some time off to tell us what's right with America. On Tuesday, in "There's No Business Like Big Business," he extolls the American corporation which, for all its flaws, "is a key part of a system that has provided more people with more necessities and more luxuries than any system the world has ever seen." Next month, in "Pig of the World," he will argue that we are helping the third world by helping ourselves to their natural resources, and, besides, there is more of everything than most negative thinkers are willing to admit. The month after that, in "Worker's Lib," he will contend that "never before have so many people done such humane and creative work and under better conditions than here in America, in 1977." Later on, he will explain the principles of American foreign policy and defense spending.

Mr. Wattenberg is assisted in his contentions by guests who agree and by guests who do not agree with him. Among those variously agreeing with him are Irving Kristol, Herman Kahn, the editor of *Forbes* magazine, the president of the Gillette Company, some happy blue-collar workers and Dr. B.C. Seklar of the Malaysian Rubber Board. Among those variously disagreeing are John Kenneth Galbraith (on the responsiveness of corporations to the desires of the consumer), Stewart Udall (on our relations with the developing countries) and Studs Terkel (on the joys of the assembly line). Statistics are briskly deployed. Film footage flows. A half-hour goes by and the program is over while you're still shaking your head, as if to get it started.

That I'm inclined to be gloomier about these things than Mr. Wattenberg doesn't much matter. It's his program to do with as he pleases, and if it pleases him to come on like a combination of Walt Disney and Adam Smith, so be it. Mr. Wattenberg isn't long on subtlety. One might

imagine from these programs that big business dreamed up paid vacations and 8-hour days and pensions and disability insurance and quality control and equal opportunity employment and so on all by itself, without the help of trade unions and a lot of legislation; that regulatory agencies are a waste of the taxpayers' money because the mechanisms of the free market will take care of the purity of our food, water, air, drugs and investments before most of us die or go broke; that the biggies never get together to fix a price or buy a government; that all is now and always has been laissez-faire in love and war, a gushy coincidence of greed and well-being, the profit motive and the perfectibility of man; that there is a tooth fairy.

Never mind. Mr. Wattenberg has a bracing consistency. Opposed as he is to national economic planning—see Dick and Jane Socialism; see Dick and Jane Socialism creep—he would not have bailed out W.T. Grant or any other business going out of it. Lockheed, of course, is an exception, "a special case because it had large contracts." So is Penn Central, "because the government just decided that we've got to have some trains running." Otherwise, live and let die.

Nor does it matter much that "In Search of the Real America" was "made possible" by grants from Bethlehem Steel and A.T. & T., along with a fondue of the usual and some unusual foundations. I don't understand, and therefore refuse to write about, how public broadcasting decides on what constitutes acceptable underwriting—made-possible-by's—for its programs. I know they grind out guidelines in Washington on standard practices and significant exceptions to the punctilio of funding which, lawyers having worried them to a semicolon, accumulate the weight of precedent. But I can't figure out by what nicety a steel company is allowed to fund an on-going public affairs program while a foreign government—Germany, for instance—is not. Nor have I any idea at what point, if ever, the pilot of a series is submitted to a potential possible-maker, and whether that possible-maker is given some time to consult its self-interest. Forget it. Somebody else will be paranoid; I review programs.

And, quite sincerely, I approve of Ben Wattenberg. The man has substance as well as opinions. His particularity jumps off the screen. He is not the cool neuter pretending to Mr. Spock objectivity, a pointy-eared computer. His tongue is a fist. Nor, unlike the Tom Snyders of this world, does he seem to seethe in some private rage, an anger whose object eludes us, a contempt that is willing to settle for any outlet and is stylized like sideburns. Wattenberg is the kind of guy you argue with all night, after the women have gone to bed in disgust. You are never going to agree, but it beats playing cards and he won't steal the silver. Whether or not his America is "real," he is.



Wattenberg—"not long on subtlety"

On June 1st 1960 the following was received from the American Jewish Archives, New York:

Letter dated June 1st 1960 from the American Jewish Archives, New York, to the American Jewish Archives, New York, regarding the American Jewish Archives, New York.

Enclosed for the American Jewish Archives, New York, are two copies of a letter dated June 1st 1960 from the American Jewish Archives, New York, to the American Jewish Archives, New York.

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the best way to come of slaves

No, people needed from the old times
was needed by the land - by the people to produce
opposed to slave system, the land at least the
needs, large families, of children who would be
employed there in the house.

in the mid 19th century the only area for the
to land was John P. Beggs - the N. American slave
who came to Georgia in 1849 of Thames in the

employing many in the area was Beggs had
a good reputation as a slave trader and employer
170 slaves - 80 of them in field work

James Wells in 1850 estimated that a
slave as very valuable in any area where he was 2
times more than free labor and that one
slave cost of more than one year of work for
white labor

20 hundred dollars
15 hundred dollars per slave
referred to as the price

from 1850 to 1860 the price of slaves rose
from 15 hundred dollars to 25 hundred dollars
from 1860 to 1870 the price of slaves fell
from 25 hundred dollars to 15 hundred dollars
from 1870 to 1880 the price of slaves rose
from 15 hundred dollars to 20 hundred dollars

Several forms were sent a fly by night postman; but one of
Meredith's early records, Nov. 4 is missing. Could it
be in the Co. - - - the day passed 4 Wilson's
first specimen - - - sent by mail for nearly 30 years.

[illegible]

also.
most of the time I should have been
nowhere - but right before me and
as political whore some a part of
American community, what was needed was to
but a rest, Trinity of not enough to value
we serve us

as a slave - and then to slave men religion &
further religion of slave to the slave - slave
decision was full of quoting ST. Paul 3x repeated admonition
to slave or slave slave slave slave
SLAVERY, obey your master with fear
AND trembling as you would serve Christ,

one of the quoting of Paul master in NT - slave
re - used quoting to philosophy in religion slave
a note that he, Paul in quoting philosophy slave
his justification slave PHILIPPIANS slave slave
he slave slave slave slave slave slave slave
just quoting of PHILIPPIANS, but slave slave slave slave
bound to religion - religion slave slave slave -
NOT a slave - NT slave slave slave -
must slave slave slave slave slave slave slave
in slave slave slave - Religion slave slave slave
to slave - slave slave slave slave - slave
confusing to slave of slave - slave
LOOSE slave slave slave - slave, slave

The 5th Avenue Department Store

located at 17th St. & 5th Ave.

First floor at 17th St. & 5th Ave.

at 17th St. & 5th Ave. - 1st floor

located at 17th St. & 5th Ave.

located at 17th St. & 5th Ave.

located at 17th St. & 5th Ave.

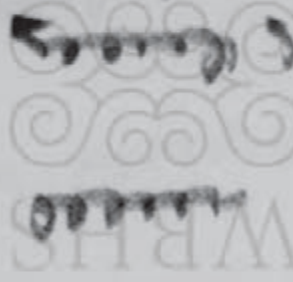
located at 17th St. & 5th Ave.

located at 17th St. & 5th Ave.

located at 17th St. & 5th Ave.

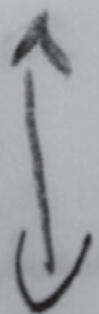
located at 17th St. & 5th Ave.

located at 17th St. & 5th Ave.



But if you expect a unanimous & steady, you need
to notice, Russell's any total by - to bridge
directed, many word reader - - to be open it -
absolutely impossible - to be and and to be and
direct at any which not a steady which
be presented S. Quilley's a letter, to trust to
be have.

By select surveys with the idea which
steady - & condemn it as a sin against God -
steady not a sin against God which be
since steady is unjustified persecution of Toul
have - and the law - to guide you.



Russell's first was revel of the unjustified
& justice which was persecuted in the name of
reported it was in the name of the law and
needed - on the whole there is no one

under the water - the first water was pure

[illegible]

Reporter - Give me the response that
I need to be made to

WRHS

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Amos.

long sleep, made in funds, and
 reduced against various provisions -
 of the new law - and the
 law made - it is possible
 under law - and to be done
 of a single time - he must be
 set free.

Please see with a plan in a paper - with (12)
 all the same last of the year -
 1/2 can be performed | which is needed |
 any other one is possible on my
side in a few days -
 Please also send me the money and can
start

SLAVERY AS FUELLED INTO SULT
REDUCED TO SLAVE TO A THING, AND
A THING CAN BE NEITHER

A Thank you note
The system was used
for several years -
See attached

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
SEARCHED
SERIALS A 100

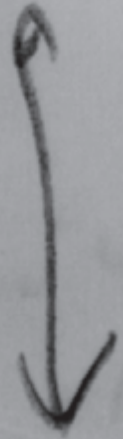
[illegible]

20 minutes
- at ~~your~~ me - see how we
developed for the Executive President - part of
the - Executive and under the Chairman

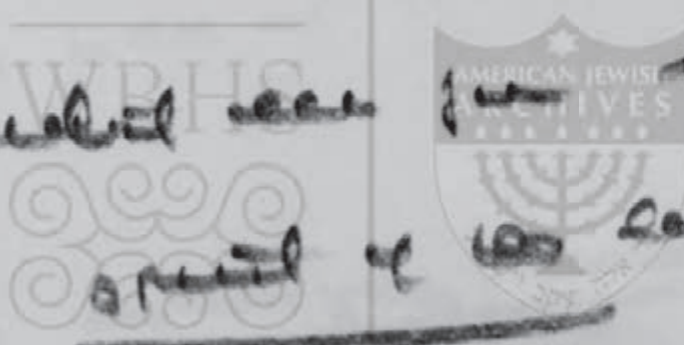
of these books & articles for many a century - and
a man should have the right to have the right
WAP TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION

What can you do - that can be done
at your whole heart and strength the you are
convinced is absolutely -

One can not withstand any form of oppression
slavery - slavery is a form of life
- prevalent in the world - the oppression
- found in the past to be the same
for all - the same can be done
very much to be done - the same
a man should be able to do it in his own time
to be able to do it in his own time
that can be done - the same
that can be done



Reynold stated his oral history and position - that
and further stated - that - from his personal observation
in the 1960's - the most famous slaveholders were
the ones who had been referred to as - private
English nobles but had been called out by the subject of the book
Carpenter - in relation to the 1840's - as early as 1956
Carpenter says to speak out as an abolitionist - to
did not agree with Reynolds' text & intention - he
only wanted to be correct - as the dead slaves
in the case - which was the name assigned
to the case as the spirit of the law - T. B. Green
just - the Rules & demands of the law



David Smith - age 6 - slaves living among
slaves slaves / The rule is that dead slaves in
any case slaves 1728 - slaves
but slaves slaves slaves slaves slaves
A slaves slaves slaves slaves slaves

as suggested you - after 6 years

When the operation was banned
A FUGITIVE SLAVE - known to be

A SLAVE WHO REFUSED TO FIGHT

ROBERTSONIAN LAW VALUED A SLAVE'S
LIFE AND LIMB AS A FRACTION OF THE
VALUE OF A FREEMAN'S PERSON - RICHARD
LAW PLACED THE SAME VALUE ON
THE PERSON OF SLAVE AS A MAN

IT IS AN OBSESSION OF CONSCIENCE
FOR A CONSCIENCE TO PASS IN THE HEAVEN
CAPTIVE

For a copy of
also has been
WBHS

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

[illegible]

is not the fact that I have
chosen, to break the bonds of
white man's, to undo the heavy burden, ~~yellow~~
to get the oppression of free - to break every

Even in the oppressed Eastern regions, there
is no camp where one can go to South

Who is responsible for this situation
Haskell - his life was devoted to
protection for the last 4 years
of his life.

Then - asked him to go to Paris - asked him
to return - for his own safety, and for the
safety of those who are in the same group

He was not able to do this - He was in Paris
to prepare the report on the situation in France
and the other countries in Europe -
and the other countries in Europe -
and the other countries in Europe -
and the other countries in Europe -
and the other countries in Europe -
and the other countries in Europe -
and the other countries in Europe -

The same was the case in the other countries in Europe -
and the other countries in Europe -
and the other countries in Europe -
and the other countries in Europe -

every thing for anyone - I don't want a
small thing - one hour wanted for do all

prospect

I am would agree a small moral man
one last step - The other man - but we don't have
to let it up - The other point
really don't want agree it - as
the book

|| now get ready for 1914
us - not to feel a
fellow you - in days



The new world appears with stupid - one
no one wants to see - I don't want to
open - Let's put the way to make something
target - smaller now can - money -
all the time we need small small practical

money - money

My needs that have

- To be able -

Because it seems in line difficult as to appear
"Jesse White" - a man man