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Prejudice - How to Meet It, 1920.

LECTURE BY RABBI ABBA H. SILVER, ON

"PREJUDICE--HOW TO MEET IT,"

AT THE TEMPLE, SUNDAY MORNING, MARCH

7, 1920, CLEVELAND, OHIO. * * * * *

After every social upheaval there follows a wave of anti-Semitism. When the fine fittings of social life are wrenched apart, there inevitably results a certain amount of friction-~~heat~~. The latent and submerged prejudices and antipathies of races surge to the top. And where there is a storm there is a great deal of scum; where there is fever there are fever sores. ~~(and these sporadic outbreaks of anti-Jewish propaganda are the direct results of social unrest and upheaval.)~~

The terrible black plague of the thirteenth century was followed and was attended by persecution. The crusades, which stirred the whole of Europe, left trails of exterminated Jewish communities ~~after them~~ and behind them. The Cossack rebellions in the seventeenth century destroyed close onto three hundred thousand Jews; the rise of nationalism in the Balkan states in the early and middle half of the last century stirred the embers of tribalism in the souls of these small nationalities of Europe and resulted in anti-Jewish legislation and disabilities. And so has this last and greatest of wars resulted in opening up the sluices of vile anti-Jewish propaganda the world over, especially in

eastern Europe and among the defeated powers,-- in Russia and Poland, in Hungary, in Austria and in Germany. I understand that organizations have been formed in Germany with vast capital, whose purpose is principally to disseminate vile libels and slanders against the Jews among the children of Germany so as to poison the minds from infancy. A day hardly passes but that some new crime against the Jews is committed in Hungary, where the Jew had heretofore held a position exalted and splendid.

And an echo of that same anti-Jewish propaganda has been heard upon our own shores here in America. Anti-Semitism here does not, fortunately, express itself in legislation, in political discrimination, but you find occasionally traces of it in press and pulpit, and in writings and newspapers and magazines, and in social relations. Now, men often ask: what is the cause of it? And men often give various explanations for anti-Semitism. There is no one single explanation of anti-Semitism extant,--one that would explain it all. It is too complex and involved a phenomenon to be explained by one fact. ^{TP} To be sure, the racial element enters into it.

You must remember that the nations of Europe pride themselves upon their racial homogeneity, upon their racial purity, their racial self-identity. The Jew constitutes a distinct and alien racial unit among most of them. He is like an intruder and stranger in a family circle, and his intrusion is resented. It is only in America

that this passion for racial homogeneity does not exist, because no one single race entered into the early composition of America. But in Europe that is the common and accepted standard of nationalities--race. And the Jew is regarded ~~therein~~ as a foreigner.

To be sure, the religious element enters. It is folly to think that all the religious contentions and wars have passed ~~beyond recall~~ ^{away}. We must not permit ourselves to live in ^{the} beatific state of a fool's paradise. The monster of religious intolerance is only slumbering, and may be stirred into action at any moment. There is such a thing as religious imperialism and religious autocracy just as much as there is political imperialism; and just as political imperialism and autocracy found its symbol in the gallows, and revolutionary autocracy found its symbol in the guillotine, and racial intolerance found its symbol in ~~the~~ lynchings, so religious intolerance ~~and autocracy and imperialism~~ ^{and} finds its symbol in the stake ~~and the auto-da-fé, and in persec-~~
~~ution.~~

~~To be sure,~~ cultural elements enter into the make-up of anti-Semitism. The Jew is distinct culturally. That sub-conscious deposit ~~in his soul~~, that aggregate of centuries of ~~a~~ unique experience, that accumulation of ~~the~~ ages, have given to the Jew a cultural uniqueness, ~~and~~ which is ~~some times~~ frequently out of harmony with the culture of the people among whom he lives.

~~And to be sure~~ ^{to} Economics enter into anti-Semitism.

The Jew in most lands of Europe is a merchant and a small tradesman, and he is therefore looked upon with suspicion ^{as an exploiter} by the farmer and by the workingman. And aristocracy always hates the merchant and the burgeoise. That is why, when the working class becomes restive, they turn against the Jew; and that is why the farming class, almost the world over, is anti-Jewish.

And to be sure the spiritual element enters into anti-Semitism. The Jew has been, fortunately or unfortunately, ^{for him,} the leaven of European civilization. Coming from a civilization that was older than any civilization in Europe, that was rich and ripe when Europe was in a state of semi-barbarism, and having a tradition that fostered intellect^{ual}, inquiry and criticism, and possessing sort of a detachment in every land in Europe, the Jew was by tradition and by position able to be the pioneer in intellectual emancipation, in scientific investigation, in religious criticism, ^{and} in economic reforms in Europe. Because the Jew was scattered all over Europe and traveled extensively, he could become the channel through which new ideas passed from one land into another. And so the Jew became the intellectual pioneer and pathfinder in Europe; and because of that he invited the hostility of the privileged classes, that hate ^d new ideas, and that still hate new ideas and innovations. ¹¹ Because of his intellectual individuality, his very life, his very existence in Europe, was a constant challenge to religious orthodoxy; his very presence in Europe disturbed the peace and the slumbering

quiet of Europe. And he was hated for that.

So ~~that~~ you see that no one single explanation can adequately and completely explain anti-Semitism. It is rather foolish to think ^{as} ~~that~~ some of the more timid among us think that the Jews themselves are responsible for anti-Semitism,-- or at least some of the Jews. ~~But~~ Some Jews, they say, are vulgar and dishonest and climbing, and therefore anti-Semitism. Well, ~~I believe it would be an insult to our non-Jewish neighbors to say that they have a monopoly of vulgarity and dishonest and of viciousness.~~ ^{Of course} We have our rascals and fools. I know a goodly number myself. Every nation deserves to have some.

When a nation begins to speak of its unparalleled and unexcelled integrity, like Germany did before the war, then you may be sure that it has something up its sleeve. ~~Just like~~ When a city administration begins to speak of the wonderful cleanness of the city, and of its efficiency, you may know that election time is near. The prophets of Israel never gave the people a clean bill of health; they never white-washed the people of Israel; and the ~~Sons~~ ^{with Master} of Christendom ~~and~~ and the reformers of Christendom never claimed perfection for Christendom. We strike a pretty close average, we Jews and Christians,-- just enough virtue to keep us out of hell and just enough vice to keep us out of heaven. . . .

No, it is not the shortcomings of the Jew that are in the main responsible for prejudice. Were we of the majority our shortcomings would not be noticed. ^{TP} What, then, is

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the solution for anti-Semitism? The first one who tried a solution was our old friend, ^{Haman} ~~Hymen~~,-- the first interesting anti-Semite. ^{Haman} ~~Hymen~~ had a very simple solution-- ~~to~~ kill them off. ^{if} For a boy that was quite a solution. Unfortunately, or fortunately, it ^{does} ~~is~~ not work. But ^{Haman} ~~Hymen~~ has his Jewish disciples today. There is a group of Jewish ^{Hamanites} ~~Hymenites~~ among us who have somehow stumbled across a similar solution, and these ^{Hamanites} ~~Hymenites~~ disciples ^{belong to a rather} ~~are rather of~~ a high social plane among us-- away up in our social life. They say the ^{Causes} Jew is responsible for anti-Semitism; the solution is therefore very simple. Let us cease to be Jews. Our friend A has a toothache; it irritates him excessively. Why, the solution is very simple-- off with his head. . . .

The trouble with that solution ^{to} is that it does not work ~~easy~~. The world refuses to take ^{them} ~~men~~ seriously. ~~The world, that is unaccustomed to such lightening-change transformations, and the world that does not relish the idea of self-denial and self-annihilation, refuses to take them at their word and to credit them.~~

Assimilation has never worked. Assimilation has been experimented with ^{on a large scale} to the largest extent in Germany, and Germany today is a veritable cesspool of anti-Jewish iniquity.

What is the solution? Education? Yes, ultimately,-- and the right kind of education. Do you realize that anti-Semitism very frequently finds its strongest champions amongst the most educated classes of Europe? That prejudice finds its home among the intellectual as well as, and some-

Even more than
times ~~more so~~, among the ignorant? A certain type of education, a humanistic type of education, an education that trains the soul, that refines and purifies human affections and sentiments and emotions *along with* ~~equally with the education~~ and the training of the mind; an education that purges a man of all the dross and narrowness and bigotry and selfishness and intolerance-- the education that broadens,-- that is the education that will ultimately help to solve the problem of prejudice. But ~~it~~ *that* is a matter of ~~thousands of years~~ *not of a day nor of a decade but of generations*. It is ~~not of tomorrow nor of the day after.~~

Democracy-- would that help? Yes, a certain kind of democracy,-- and ultimately. Do you realize that the democracy which France possessed twenty years ago did not save France from that iniquitous scandal of the Dreyfus affair? And that democracy here or in other lands may not save us from these recurring waves of anti-Jewish prejudice? Public opinion may become a terrible menace, a terrible tyrant. Democracy that means more *mobocracy* democracy that feeds on mass sentiment and mass psychology, democracy that is ~~formed~~ *is* by rumor, is just as dangerous *as autocracy* and frequently more so.

I recall ~~that~~ *the* statement of Thomas Jefferson in a letter which he wrote to Mordecai Immanuel Noah. He said, "Public opinion sometimes erects itself into an inquisition and exercises its offices with as much fanaticism as fans the flames of an auto~~safe~~afe." There must be a development along the right lines of democracy-- democracy which teaches

tolerance and sympathy and appreciation of all the diverse elements that go into the make-up ~~of a people~~ or of a nation-- democracy that is enlightened. Enlightened democracy will help to solve the problem of anti-Semitism ultimately. But that, too, is a matter of generations and centuries, and not a question of a day or a year. /bey

For all practical purposes, my friends, anti-Semitism, in some form or another, is here to stay for a good, long while, because anti-Semitism is co-extensive with every form of intolerance, and intolerance dies hard. Do not fool yourselves. One year of glowing sentiments of brotherhood and one fine phrase and one fine book will not scotch forever the serpent of intolerance. It is a slow process of attrition, of corrosion, of undermining,--of education, of democracy,-- the work of ages!

If my conclusions are true, how are we to meet it. How are we to meet prejudice? Why, in exactly the same ~~manner~~ ^{way} as we have met it for two thousand years. We have evolved a strategy, we have evolved a campaign of defense and offense. We succeeded in meeting it in its most loathsome and hurtful form for two thousand years, and we shall be able to continue to meet it if we remain true to our program and to our strategy. What is ~~it~~ ^{this program}? First of all comes vigilance. Organize for defense. We must not, we dare not, permit prejudice to make invasions upon our legal, political rights; we must safe-guard these with all the power that is within us. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." We

must be organized and sufficiently alert to defend our rights, ~~in this matter.~~

And secondly, we must scotch lies and beard falsehoods and pocket no slurs and swallow no gratuitous insults. We must be ready for a dignified but a determined defense of our position, in this land as everywhere else. An attitude of indifference, or of cringing, or of mute submission will yield us no beneficent results. (Organize for life, for liberty-- vigilance!)

And, thirdly, we must retain-- and this is very important-- our ancient spirit of pride. We must curry no favor, we must not worm ~~and yield~~ and maneuver ourselves into places where we are not wanted; we must maintain, and more especially must we inculcate, in the souls of our children, that precious sense of Jewish dignity; we must inspire our selves and our young ones with the thought that no people on God's earth has the heritage, the ~~precious~~ ~~legacy~~ and culture, the civilization, the ancestry, the records of seers and martyrs and heroes that Israel has. / We ^{our will} must ~~make~~ ourselves fully and consciously ~~convinced~~, ~~and~~ ~~more especially our children, of the thought that two-thirds~~ of mankind are worshiping our God and reading our literature. *shp*

You must have your young men and women, your sons and your daughters, realize with a sense of infinite pride that their people had produced a culture that was rich and ripe and noble when the English and the Germans and the

French were half-naked barbarians. So that when your boy goes to college he will not ^{go}/shamefacedly, and that ~~the~~ fine, stalwart manhood of him will not be dragged through the mire of self-debasement for the sake of a certain ^{preference} ~~performance~~ in some one fraternity or another. You must teach your child to believe as he ought to believe-- that no fraternity pin and no club insignia is as dignified, as noble, as worth while as the badge of Jewish loyalty.

When your daughter goes to boarding school, or to a finishing school, let her not go in a spirit of shame because of the misfortune which is hers in being a Jewess. Let her not go through her college days apologizing, explaining, ~~hesitating~~, but let her go as a proud Jewess.

Why, it is not the fault of the children. When I visit universities and I meet these fine, young Jewish boys, that somehow are lost--miserably unhappy because they know not their own people and are not received or welcomed by others, I know the fault is not theirs but that of their parents.

So many of us, unfortunately, have lost our spirit of Jewish pride and dignity.

I read a few days ago a manifesto that was issued by the Jewish deputies in the parliament of Poland. Poland has discovered a new way of destroying the Jews in Poland. The majority of the three million Jews in Poland are orthodox-- observant Jews, and the Sabbath is their day of rest; and from time immemorial their places of business have been

closed on the Sabbath and open on the Sunday, and the religious life of Poland did not suffer in consequence of it. Now that Poland has become a republic, a free Poland has suddenly received a religious revival and has decided that keeping the places of business open on Sunday is destructive of public morals, and so a law was passed that the Jew must keep his place of business closed on a Sunday; which means that the Jew must keep his place of business closed two days a week, which means his economic ruin.

These deputies signed a statement to their co-religionists of Poland narrating in detail what had transpired in parliament-- that not one of the Poles had the courage to stand up to defend Jewish rights; and they conclude their manifesto, which is bound to become historic in Jewish annals, with this immortal phrase-- "They can break us but they can't bend us." Now, that is what I call a spirit of Jewish pride-- they can break us, crush us, but they can't bend the spirit that is ours.

In this land of ours I know of Jewish social organizations and social clubs, the great majority of whose members are loyal Temple members, who, for the sake of five or ten per cent of Jews, have not enough of religious pride or racial pride to abstain from the ordinary amusements of their days on the high holy days of the Jewish calendar. These social organizations are open when the millions of their members are in moments of the holiest ecstasies of their lives, fasting and praying to their Father who is in Heaven. And these same

broad-minded, tolerant, emancipated Jews, who can afford publicly to degrade the holy days of the Jews, would be the first to howl if their Jewish neighbor would clean his sidewalk on a Sunday. Unfortunately, there is a miserable lack of pride, of dignity in us, the descendants of the prophets and the Maccabees. That is the second defense against prejudice,-- vigilance, pride.

And thirdly, discipline-- knowledge, loyalty to our faith, loyalty to the fine practices and beautiful observances of our people, and knowledge of the life, of the literature, of the history of our people, so that we shall know the worth of our continuous existence as a separate and distinct people. I am frequently asked why I insist upon keeping Hebrew classes in my school here, that it is a dead language. I very frequently say, "Hebrew is dead to those who do not know it." I frequently say that Hebrew cannot be translated in terms of dollars and cents. But man does not live by bread alone. A language is the soul of a people, a language is the reflex of the people's life. And I want the Jewish boy and girl to feel that contact with the eternal soul of his people; I want him to get a bit of the shachien^a, of the holy spirit of his people, through the language of his people. I want ^{him} to go into life armored, protected against the slings and the arrows of hate and prejudice. I do not want him to ^{be} thin-skinned so that he will come back to you broken hearted and miserable; I want him to go out with his mind filled with the glories of his people and his

soul thrilled with the wonderful promises of his people.
Vigilance, pride and discipline.

And, finally, faith. Faith, my friends, in the ultimate triumph of our cause, faith in the ultimate acknowledgement which we shall receive from the world, and faith that our ideals will ultimately receive universal sanction-- faith in ourselves, in our cause, in our missions, in our life, in our ideals, in our institutions-- faith in the nobility of Jewish life, faith in the dignity of Jewish life, faith in the worth-whileness of Jewish life. That is what we mean.

And, lastly, faith in this, which to my mind is the all-important creed of Jewish life.-- we are an eternal people. Nothing can destroy us. All the enemies of iniquity could not break us, the hosts of Edom and Philistia, of Moab and Aram, swirled around us and over us, but receded broken and discomfited.

We are an eternal people. Thus hath it been declared by the prophets and seers of old, and thus hath it been established throughout all the revolving cycles of the ages. Babylon and the wrath of God, Assyria, ~~and~~ the warriors of Memphis, and Thebes and the flying hosts of the Scythians, and the ~~aggravated and armored~~ ^{hoplites} Hippolites of the Greeks, and the iron legions of the Romans. were hurled in mighty cohorts against us. They triumphed for a moment and in their triumph perished.

We are an eternal people. The Cross and the Cresc

cent could not prevail against us. The fury of intolerance, the violence of fanaticism, the studied cruelties of fifteen centuries-- the rack and the stake and the yellow badge, the Crusades and the mobs and the massacres, could not bring us low, for we are an eternal people. Many of us shall fall by the wayside, and many of our members shall perish for want of faith; some of our members may grow cold, and many shall chase after some will-o-the-wisp and be lost to us, but a remnant shall always remain-- the seed of a new resurrection. We are an eternal people.

When the first light broke upon struggling mankind, we were there, and when the last night shall fall on a dying world in the ultimate cycle of time, we shall be there. We were nomads and slaves and conquerors and princes and outcasts and vagabonds and kings. We are humble servants of the great God. We are an eternal people. For thus saith the Lord, who created thee. But Jacob and the God who fashioned thee, O Israel, fear not, for I am with thee. I have called thee by name. Thou art mine. When thou shalt pass through the waters, I shall be with thee. And the rivers shall not overflow thee. When thou walketh through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, and the flames will not be kindled against thee. For thou art an eternal people.

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Rabbi Silver's Sermon File

March 7, 1920

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PREJUDICE

HOW TO MEET IT

By

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver



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PREJUDICE—HOW TO MEET IT

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER, CLEVELAND, O.

After every social upheaval there follows a wave of anti-Semitism. When the fine fittings of social life are wrenched apart, there inevitably results a certain amount of friction. The latent and submerged prejudices and antipathies of races surge to the top. And where there is a storm there is a great deal of scum; where there is fever there are fever sores. And these sporadic outbreaks of anti-Jewish propaganda are the direct results of social unrest and upheaval.

The terrible black plague of the thirteenth century was followed and was attended by persecution. The crusades, which stirred the whole of Europe, left trails of exterminated Jewish communities behind them. The Cossack rebellions in the seventeenth century destroyed close onto three hundred thousand Jews; the rise of nationalism in the Balkan states in the early and middle half of the last century stirred the embers of tribalism in the souls of these small nationalities of Europe and resulted in anti-Jewish legislation and disabilities. And so has this last and greatest of wars resulted in opening up the sluices of vile anti-Jewish propaganda the world over, especially in eastern Europe and among the defeated powers—in Russia and Poland, in Hungary, in Austria and in Germany. I understand that organizations have been formed in Germany with vast capital whose purpose is principally to disseminate vile libels and slanders against the Jews among the children of Germany so as to poison the minds from infancy. A day hardly passes but that some new crime against the Jews is committed in Hungary, where the Jew had heretofore held a position exalted and splendid.

And an echo of that same anti-Jewish propaganda has been heard upon our own shores here in America. Anti-Semitism here does not, fortunately, express itself in legislation, in political discrimination, but you find occasionally traces of it in press and pulpit, and in social relations. Now, men often ask:

what is the cause of it? And men often give various explanations for anti-Semitism. **There is no one single explanation of anti-Semitism extant**—one that would explain it all. It is too complex and involved a phenomenon to be explained by one fact.

To be sure, the racial element enters into it. You must remember that the nations of Europe pride themselves upon their racial homogeneity, upon their racial purity, their racial self-identity. The Jew constitutes a distinct and alien racial unit among most of them. He is like an intruder and stranger in a family circle, and his intrusion is resented. It is only in America that this passion for racial homogeneity does not exist, because no one single race alone entered into the early composition of America. But in Europe that is the common and accepted standard of nationalities—race. And the Jew is regarded therein as a foreigner.

To be sure, the religious element enters. It is folly to think that all the religious contentions and wars have passed beyond recall. We must not permit ourselves to live in a beatific state of a fool's paradise. The monster of religious intolerance is only slumbering, and may be stirred into action at any moment. There is such a thing as religious imperialism and religious autocracy just as much as there is political imperialism; and just as political imperialism and autocracy found its symbol in the gallows, and revolutionary autocracy found its symbol in the guillotine, and racial intolerance found its symbol in the lynchings, so religious intolerance and autocracy and imperialism find their symbol in the stake and the auto-da-fé and in persecution.

To be sure, cultural elements enter into the makeup of anti-Semitism. The Jew is distinct culturally. That sub-conscious deposit in his soul, that aggregate of centuries of a unique experience, that accumulation of the ages, have given to the Jew a cultural uniqueness, and which is frequently out of harmony with the culture of the people among whom he lives.

And to be sure economic causes enter into anti-Semitism. The Jew in most lands of Europe is a merchant and a small tradesman, and he is, therefore, looked upon with suspicion by the farmer and

by the workingman. And aristocracy always hates the merchant and the burgeoise. That is why, when the working class becomes restive, they turn against the Jew; and that is why the farming class, almost the world over, is anti-Jewish.

And to be sure the spiritual element enters into anti-Semitism. The Jew has been, fortunately or unfortunately, the leaven of European civilization. Coming from a civilization that was older than any civilization in Europe, that was rich and ripe when Europe was in a state of semi-barbarism, and having a tradition that fostered intellect, inquiry and criticism, and possessing a sort of detachment in every land in Europe, the Jew was by tradition and by position able to be the pioneer in intellectual emancipation, in scientific investigation, in religious criticism and in economic reforms in Europe. Because the Jew was scattered all over Europe and traveled extensively, he could become the channel through which new ideas passed from one land into another. And so the Jew became the intellectual pioneer and pathfinder in Europe; and because of that he invited the hostility of the privileged classes, that hate new ideas, and that still hate new ideas and innovations. Because of his intellectual individuality, his very life, his very existence in Europe was a constant challenge to religious orthodoxy; his very presence in Europe disturbed the peace and the slumbering quiet of Europe. And he was hated for that.

So that no one single explanation can adequately and completely explain anti-Semitism. It is rather foolish to think as some of the more timid among us think that the Jews themselves are responsible for anti-Semitism—or at least some of the Jews. Some Jews, they say, are vulgar and dishonest and climbing, and therefore anti-Semitism. Well, to be sure, we have our rascals and fools. I know a goodly number myself. Every nation deserves to have some.

When a nation begins to speak of its unparalleled and unexcelled integrity, like Germany before the war, then you may be sure that it has something up its sleeve. When a city administration begins to speak of the wonderful cleanness of the city, and of its remarkable efficient administration, you may

know that election time is near. The prophets of Israel never gave the people a clean bill of health; they never whitewashed the people of Israel; and the saints of Christendom and the reformers of Christendom never claimed perfection for Christendom. We strike a pretty close average—we Jews and Christians—just enough virtue to keep us out of hell and just enough vice to keep us out of heaven.

No, it is not the shortcomings of the Jew that are in the main responsible for prejudice. Were we of the majority our shortcomings would not be noticed.

What, then, is the solution for anti-Semitism? The first one who tried a solution was our old friend, Haman—the first interesting anti-Semite. Haman had a very simple solution—kill them off! For a Haman that was quite a solution. Unfortunately, or fortunately, it did not work. But Haman has his Jewish disciples today. There is a group of Jewish Hamanites among us who have somehow stumbled across a similar solution, and these Hamanitish disciples are rather on a high social plane among us—away up in our social life. The Jew, they say, is responsible for anti-Semitism; the solution is therefore very simple. Let us cease to be Jews. Our friend A has a toothache; it irritates him excessively. Why, the solution is very simple—off with his head! . . .

The trouble with that solution is that it does not work. The world refuses to take these men seriously. The world, that is unaccustomed to such lightening change transformations, and which does not relish the idea of self-denial and self-annihilation, refuses to take them at their word and to credit them.

Assimilation has never worked. Assimilation has been experimented with to the largest extent in Germany, and Germany today is a veritable cesspool of anti-Jewish iniquity.

What is the solution? Education? Yes, ultimately—and the right kind of education. Do you realize that anti-Semitism very frequently finds its strongest champions amongst the most educated classes of Europe? That prejudice finds its home among the intellectual as well as, and sometimes

more so, among the ignorant? A certain type of education, a humanistic type of education, an education that trains the soul, that refines and purifies human affections and sentiments and emotions; an education that purges a man of all the dross and narrowness and bigotry and selfishness and intolerance—the education that broadens—that is the education that will ultimately help to solve the problem of prejudice. But it is a matter of thousands of years. It is not of tomorrow nor of the day after.

Democracy—would that help? Yes, a certain kind of democracy—and ultimately. Do you realize that the democracy which France possessed twenty years ago did not save France from that iniquitous scandal of the Dreyfus affair? And that democracy here or in other lands may not save us from these recurring waves of anti-Jewish prejudice? Public opinion may become a terrible menace, a terrible tyrant. Democracy that means more license; democracy that feeds on mass sentiment and mass psychology; democracy that is informed by rumor is just as dangerous as autocracy and frequently more so.

I recall that statement of Thomas Jefferson in a letter which he wrote to Mordecai Immanuel Noah. He said, "Public opinion sometimes erects itself into an inquisition and exercises its offices with as much fanaticism as fans the flames of an auto-da-fé." There must be a development along the right lines of democracy—democracy which teaches tolerance and sympathy and appreciation of all the diverse elements that go into the make-up of a people or of a nation—democracy that is enlightened. Enlightened democracy will help to solve the problem of anti-Semitism ultimately. But that, too, is a matter of generations and centuries, and not a question of a day or a year.

For all practical purposes, my friends, **anti-Semitism, in some form or another, is here to stay for a good, long while**, because anti-Semitism is co-extensive with every form of intolerance and intolerance dies hard. Do not fool yourselves. One year of glowing sentiments of brotherhood and one fine phrase and one fine book will not scotch forever the serpent of intolerance. It is a slow process of

attrition, of corrosion, of undermining, of education, of democracy—the work of ages.

If my conclusions are true, how are we to meet it? How are we to meet prejudice? **Why, in exactly the same manner as we have met it for two thousand years.** We have evolved a strategy, we have evolved a campaign of defense and offense. We succeeded in meeting it in its most loathsome and hurtful form for two thousand years, and we shall be able to continue to meet it if we remain true to our program and to our strategy. What is it?

First of all comes vigilance. Organize for defense. We must not, we dare not, permit prejudice to make invasions upon our legal, political rights; we must safeguard these with all the power that is within us. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." We must be organized and sufficiently alert to defend our rights in this matter.

And secondly, we must scotch lies and beard falsehoods and pocket no slurs and swallow no gratuitous insults. We must be ready for a dignified but a determined defense of our position, in this land as everywhere else. An attitude of indifference, or of cringing, or of mute submission will yield us no beneficent results. Organize for life, for liberty—vigilance. There is of course the danger of making mountains out of mole hills, of elevating a matter of purely local significance to national importance by too much publicity. It is unnecessary to use a sledge-hammer to kill a roach

And, thirdly, we must retain—and this is very important—our ancient spirit of pride, which comes from an intimate acquaintance with the spirit and history of our people. We must curry no favor, we must not worm and eel and maneuver ourselves into places where we are not wanted; we must maintain, and more especially must we inculcate, in the souls of our children that precious sense of Jewish dignity; we must inspire ourselves and our young ones with the thought that no people on God's earth has the heritage, the precious legacy and culture, the civilization, the ancestry, the records of seers and martyrs and heroes that Israel has. We must convince ourselves fully and vividly,

and more especially must we convince our children, of the thought that two-thirds of mankind are worshipping our God and reading our literature. You must have your young men and women, your sons and your daughters, realize with a sense of infinite pride, that their people had produced a culture that was rich and ripe and noble when the English and the Germans and the French were half-naked barbarians. So that when your boy goes to college he will not go shamefacedly, and the fine, stalwart manhood of him will not be dragged through the mire of self-debasement for the sake of a certain preferment in some one fraternity or another.

When I visit universities and I meet these fine, young Jewish boys, that somehow are lost—miserably unhappy because they know not their own people and are not received or welcomed by others, I know the fault is not theirs but that of their parents.

So many of us, unfortunately, have lost our spirit of Jewish pride and dignity.

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this immortal phrase—"They can break us but they can't bend us." Now, that is what I call a spirit of Jewish pride—they can break us, but they can't bend the spirit that is ours.

In this land of ours I know of Jewish social organizations and social clubs, the great majority of whose members are Temple members, who, for the sake of five or ten per cent of atheistic Jews who may belong to them, have not enough of religious pride or racial pride to abstain from the ordinary amusements of daily life on the high holy days of the Jewish calendar. These social organizations are wide open when millions of their fellow-Jews are performing their devotions, fasting and praying to their Father who is in Heaven. And these same broad-minded, tolerant, emancipated Jews, who can afford publicly to degrade the holy days of the Jew, would be the first to howl if their Jewish neighbor would venture to clean his sidewalk on a Sunday! Unfortunately, there is a miserable lack of pride, of dignity in us, the descendents of the prophets and the Maccabees.

And then comes discipline—loyalty to our faith, loyalty to the fine practices and beautiful observances of our people, and knowledge of the life, of the literature, of the history of our people, in order that we may know the reason for our continuous existence as a separate and distinct people. I am frequently asked why I insist upon keeping Hebrew classes in my school here. Is it not a dead language? I very frequently answer, "Hebrew is dead to those who do not know it." I frequently say that the value of a Hebrew education cannot be translated in terms of dollars and cents. But man does not live by bread alone. A language is the soul of a people, a language is the reflex of the people's life. And I want the Jewish boy and girl to feel that contact with the eternal soul of his people; I want him to get a bit of the Shechina, of the holy spirit of his people, through the language of his people. I want him to go into life armored, protected against the slings and the arrows of hate and prejudice. I do not want him to be thin-skinned so that he will come back to you broken hearted and miserable; I want him to go out with his mind filled with the glories of his

people and his soul thrilled with the wonderful promises of his people.

And, finally, faith! Faith, my friends, in the ultimate triumph of our cause, faith in the ultimate acknowledgment which we shall receive from the world, faith that our ideals will ultimately receive universal sanction—faith in ourselves, in our cause, in our missions, in our life, in our ideals, in our institutions—faith in the nobility of Jewish life, faith in the dignity of Jewish life, faith in the worth-whileness of Jewish life.

And, also, faith in this, which to my mind is the all-important creed of Jewish life—that we are an eternal people. Nothing can destroy us. All our enemies of antiquity could not break us. The hosts of Edom and Philistia, of Moab and Aram, swirled around us and over us, but receded broken and discomfited.

We are an eternal people! Thus hath it been declared by the prophets and seers of old, and thus hath it been established throughout all the revolving cycles of time. Babylon and the wrath of God, Assyria, and the warriors of Memphis, and Thebes and the flying hosts of the Scythians, and the greaved and armored hoplites of the Greeks, and the iron legions of the Romans were hurled in mighty cohorts against us. They triumphed for a moment and in their triumph perished.

We are an eternal people. The Cross and the Crescent could not prevail against us. The fury of intolerance, the violence of fanaticism, the studied cruelties of fifteen centuries—the rack and the stake and the yellow badge, the Crusades and the mobs and the massacres could not bring us low. For we are an eternal people. Many of us shall fall by the wayside, and many of us shall perish for want of faith; some of us may grow cold, and many shall chase after some will-o-the-wisp and be lost to us, but a remnant shall always remain—the seed of a new resurrection. We are an eternal people!

When the first light broke upon struggling mankind we were there, and when the last night shall fall on a dying world in the ultimate cycle of time, we shall be there. We were nomads and slaves and conquerors and princes and outcasts and vagabonds and kings! We are humble servants of the

great God? We are an eternal people. "For thus saith the Lord, who created thee, O Jacob and the God who fashioned thee, O Israel, fear not, for I am with thee. I have called thee by name. Thou art mine. When thou shalt pass through the waters I shall be with thee. And the rivers shall not overflow thee. When thou walketh through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, and the flames will not be kindled against thee."



Prejudice—How to Meet It

By Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, Ohio

AFTER every social upheaval there follows a wave of anti-Semitism. When the fine fittings of social life are wrenched apart, there inevitably results a certain amount of friction. The latent and submerged prejudices and antipathies of races surge to the top. And where there is a storm there is a great deal of scum; where there is fever there are fever sores. And these sporadic outbreaks of anti-Jewish propaganda are the direct results of social unrest and upheaval.

The terrible black plague of the thirteenth century was followed and was attended by persecution. The crusades, which stirred the whole of Europe, left trails of exterminated Jewish communities behind them. The Cossack rebellions in the seventeenth century destroyed close onto three hundred thousand Jews; the rise of nationalism in the Balkan states in the early and middle half of the last century stirred the embers of tribalism in the souls of these small nationalities of Europe and resulted in anti-Jewish legislation and disabilities. And so has this last and greatest of wars resulted in opening up the sluices of vile anti-Jewish propaganda the world over, especially in eastern Europe and among the defeated powers—in Russia and Poland, in Hungary, in Austria and in Germany. I understand that organizations have been formed in Germany with vast capital whose purpose is principally to disseminate vile libels and slanders against the Jews among the children of Germany so as to poison the minds from infancy. A day hardly passes but that some new crime against the Jews is committed in Hungary where the Jew had heretofore held a position exalted and splendid.

And an echo of that same anti-Jewish propaganda has been heard upon our own shores here in America. Anti-Semitism here does not, fortunately, express itself in legislation, in political discrimination, but you find occasionally traces of it in press and pulpit, and in social relations. Now, men often ask: what is the cause of it? And men often give various explanations for anti-Semitism. There is no one single explanation of anti-Semitism extant—one that would explain it all. It is too complex and involved a phenomenon to be explained by one fact.

To be sure, the racial element enters into it. You must remember that the nations of Europe pride themselves upon their racial homogeneity, upon their racial purity, their racial self-identity. The Jew constitutes a distinct and alien racial unit among most of them. He is like an intruder and stranger in a family circle, and his intrusion is resented. It is only in America that this passion for racial homogeneity does not exist, because no one single race alone entered into the early composition of America. But in Europe that is the common and accepted standard of nationalities—race. And the Jew is regarded therein as a foreigner.

To be sure, the religious element enters. It is folly to think that all the religious contentions and wars have passed beyond recall. We must not permit ourselves to live in a beatific state of a fool's paradise. The monster of religious intolerance is only slumbering, and may be sitred into action at any moment. There is such a thing as religious imperialism and religious autocracy just as much as there is political imperialism; and just as political imperialism and autocracy found its symbol in the gallows, and revolutionary autocracy found its symbol in the guillotine, and racial intolerance found its symbol in the lynching, so religious intolerance and autocracy and imperialism find their symbol in the stake and the atuo-da-fé and in persecution.

To be sure, cultural elements enter into the makeup of anti-Semitism. The Jew is distinct culturally. That sub-conscious deposit in his soul, that aggregate of centuries of a unique experience, that accumulation of the ages, have given to the Jew a cultural uniqueness, which is frequently out of harmony with the culture of the people among whom he lives.

And to be sure economic causes enter into anti-Semitism. The Jew in most lands of Europe is a merchant and a small tradesman, and he is, therefore, looked upon with suspicion by the farmer and by the workingman. Aristocracy always hates the merchant and the bourgeoisie.

That is why, when the working classes become restive, they turn against the Jew; and that is why the farming class, almost the world over, is anti-Jewish.

And to be sure the spiritual element enters into anti-Semitism. The Jew has been, fortunately or unfortunately, the leaven of European civilization. Coming from a civilization that was older than any civilization in Europe, that was rich and ripe when Europe was in a state of semi-barbarism, and having a tradition that fostered intellect, inquiry and criticism, and possessing a sort of detachment in every land in Europe, the Jew was by tradition and by position able to be the pioneer in intellectual emancipation, in scientific investigation, in religious criticism and in economic reforms in Europe. Because the Jew was scattered all over Europe and traveled extensively, he could become the channel through which new ideas passed from one land into another. And so the Jew became the intellectual pioneer and pathfinder in Europe; and because of that he invited the hostility of the privileged classes, that hate new ideas, and that still hate new ideas and innovations. Because of his intellectual individuality, his very life, his very existence in Europe was a constant challenge to religious orthodoxy; his very presence in Europe disturbed the peace and the slumbering quiet of Europe. And he was hated for that.

So that no one single explanation can adequately and completely explain anti-Semitism. It is rather foolish to think as some of the more timid among us think that the Jews themselves are responsible for anti-Semitism—or at least some of the Jews. Some Jews, they say, are vulgar and dishonest and climbing, and therefore anti-Semitism. Well, to be sure, we have our rascals and fools. I know a goodly number myself. Every nation deserves to have some.

When a nation begins to speak of its unparalleled and unexcelled integrity, like Germany before the war, then you may be sure that it has something up its sleeve. When a city administration begins to speak of the wonderful cleanness of a city, and of its remarkable efficient administration, you may know that election time is near. The prophets of Israel never gave the people a clean bill of health; they never whitewashed the people of Israel; and the saints of Christendom and the reformers of Christendom never claimed perfection for Christendom. We strike a pretty close average—we Jews and Christians—just enough virtue to keep us out of hell and just enough vice to keep us out of heaven.

No, it is not the shortcomings of the Jew that are in the main responsible for prejudice. Were we of the majority our shortcomings would not be noticed.

What, then, is the solution for anti-Semitism? The first one who tried a solution was our old friend, Haman—the first interesting anti-Semite. Haman had a very simple solution—kill them off! For Haman that was quite a solution. Unfortunately, or fortunately, it did not work. But Haman has his Jewish disciples today. There is a group of Jewish Hamanites among us who have somehow stumbled across a similar solution, and these Hamanish disciples are rather on a high social plane among us—away up in our social life. The Jew, they say, is responsible for anti-Semitism; the solution is therefore very simple. Let us cease to be Jews. Our friend A has a toothache; it irritates him excessively. Why, the solution is very simple—off with his head!

The trouble with that solution is that it does not work. The world refuses to take these men seriously. The world, that is unaccustomed to such lightning change transformations, and which does not relish the idea of self-denial and self-annihilation, refuses to take them at their word and to credit them.

Assimilation has never worked. Assimilation has been experimented with to the largest extent in Germany, and Germany today is a veritable cesspool of anti-Jewish iniquity.

What is the solution? Education? Yes, ultimately—and the right kind of education. Do you realize that anti-Semitism very frequently finds its strongest cham-

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our legal, political rights; we must safeguard these with all the power that is within us. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." We must be organized and sufficiently alert to defend our rights in this manner.

And secondly, we must scotch lies and beard falsehoods and pocket no slurs and swallow no gratuitous insults. We must be ready for a dignified but a determined defense of our position, in this land as everywhere else. An attitude of indifference, or of cringing, or of mute submission will yield us no beneficent results. Organize for life, for liberty—vigilance. There is of course the danger of making mountains out of mole hills, of elevating a matter of purely local significance to national importance by too much publicity. It is unnecessary to use a sledge-hammer to kill a roach.....

And, thirdly, we must retain—and this is very important—our ancient spirit of pride, which comes from an intimate acquaintance with the spirit and history of our people. We must curry no favor, we must not worm and eel and maneuver ourselves into places where we are not wanted; we must maintain, and more especially must we inculcate, in the souls of our children that precious sense of Jewish dignity; we must inspire ourselves and our young ones with the thought that no people on God's earth has the heritage, the precious legacy and culture, the civilization, the ancestry, the records of seers and martyrs and heroes that Israel has. We must convince ourselves fully and vividly, and more especially must we convince our children, of the thought that two-thirds of mankind are worshipping our God and reading our literature. You must have your young men and women, your sons and your daughters, realize with a sense of infinite pride, that their people had produced a culture that was rich and ripe and noble when the English and the Germans and the French were half-naked barbarians. So that when your boy goes to college he will not go shamefacedly, and the fine, stalwart manhood of him will not be dragged through the mire of self-debasement for the sake of a certain preferment in some one fraternity or another.

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Heaven. And these same broad-minded, tolerant, emancipated Jews, who can afford publicly to degrade the holy days of the Jew, would be the first to howl if their Jewish neighbor would venture to clean his sidewalk on a Sunday! Unfortunately, there is a miserable lack of pride, of dignity in us, the descendants of the prophets and the Maccabees.

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PREJUDICE—AND HOW TO MEET IT.

(Continued from page 2.)

pions amongst the most educated classes of Europe? That prejudice finds its home among the intellectual as well as, and sometimes more so, than among the ignorant? A certain type of education, a humanistic type of education, an education that trains the soul, that refines and purifies human affections and sentiments and emotions; an education that purges a man of all the dross and narrowness and bigotry and selfishness and intolerance—the education that broadens—that is the education that will ultimately help to solve the problem of prejudice. But it is a matter of thousands of years. It is not of tomorrow nor of the day after.

Democracy—would that help? Yes, a certain kind of democracy—and ultimately. Do you realize that the democracy which France possessed twenty years ago did not save France from that iniquitous scandal of the Dreyfus affair? And that democracy here or in other lands may not save us from these recurring waves of anti-Jewish prejudice? Public opinion may become a terrible menace, a terrible tyrant. Democracy that means more license; democracy that feeds on mass sentiment and mass psychology; democracy that is informed by rumor is just as dangerous as autocracy and frequently more so.

I recall that statement of Thomas Jefferson in a letter which he wrote to Mordecai Immanuel Noah. He said, "Public opinion sometimes creeps itself into an inquisition and exercises its offices with as much fanaticism as fans the flames of an auto-da-fé." There must be a development along the right lines of democracy—democracy which teaches tolerance and sympathy and appreciation of all the diverse elements that go into the make-up of a people or of a nation—democracy that is enlightened. Enlightened democracy will help to solve the problem of anti-Semitism ultimately. But that, too, is a matter of generations and centuries, and not a question of a day or a year.

For all practical purposes, anti-Semitism, in some form or another, is here to stay for a good, long while, because anti-Semitism is co-extensive with every form of intolerance and intolerance dies hard. Do not fool yourselves. One year of glowing sentiments of brotherhood and one fine phrase and one fine book will not scotch forever the serpent of intolerance. It is a slow process of attrition, of corrosion, of undermining, of education, of democracy—the work of ages.

If my conclusions are true, how are we to meet it? How are we to meet prejudice? Why, in exactly the same manner as we have met it for two thousand years. We have evolved a strategy, we have evolved a campaign of defense and offense. We succeeded in meeting it in its most loathsome and hurtful form for two thousand years, and we shall be able to continue to meet it if we remain true to our program and to our strategy. What is it?

First of all comes vigilance. Organize for defense. We must not, we dare not, permit prejudice to make invasions upon

1. After every social upheaval —

- a. Plagues, Crusades, Corsican Rebellion, Balkan state, Church of State in H.
- b. This was - Esp. among defeated powers - in H.
- c. An echo of it in our own land.

2. What is the cause of it.

- 1 - No one single explanation - extant. Too complex.

3. The Racial Element. - Homog. in Europ. history.

- a. Nat. boundaries coincide now almost as well as closely with ethnic boundaries. As Austria-Hung. Empire is now impossible.

4. Religious Element.

- a. Rel. strife not yet ended. Folly to think that religious wars are over. Beatific state of a few paradise. Remembering marks. Rel. Imperialism. Struggle in politics, Rev. author. politics, Racial author. by acting in Religious author. in auto life, state and persecutions.

5. Cultural Element. Cultural precipitates of centuries, the social deposits of ages give him uniqueness. Out of Harmony.

6. Economic Element. - Middle class: Professional class preponderately. Used for it as distillative agency workmen farmers + authoritative habit

7. Spiritual Element. Jew - heaven of Am. Civil. ① Coming from older civil. ② Tradition which fostered intellect &

research. (3) Sort of attachment in every land was
able to become prince in intell. advancement, in
re. unrest; in int. Disheism, ~~the~~ in Econ. reform
(4) Scattered & extremely fractured - channels
for new ideas. (5) Challenge to orthodox
relg. - generally the disturbing factor.

8. No single Explanation. Foolish to think that Jews alone are
resp - "Some Jews are vulgar - True. But not if
Chr. would monopolize vulgarity. We have our
own Catholics & Protestants - I know a pretty nice myself.
+ Every nation deserves to have some.

A. When a nation speaks of his moral infirmity
like ferm. has something up its sleeve. City
administration - Election time is near.
1. Prohibit, & never saw perf. clean bill
of health
2. Reformers, Chr. were clown perf for them.
3. We strike a pretty close average we
Jews to be - just enough vice to keep us out
of Heaven, just enough virtue to keep us out
of Hell.

B. Were we not a minority - our shattering
would not be noticed..

9. Added to the above 5 Reasons, is present ^{among reactionaries} tendency to
make Jew scapegoat for all unrest. There are
carriers on extreme reactionaries

- 1- Who are back of it. Jew is in power - what
 are they after - To crush liberalism by
~~also~~ calling it Jewish. Trying to destroy Chr. Civil.
 in order then to dominate it.

1. The Ulster Case - American. Punjab -

10. Solutions.

~~1. Assimilation.~~ (It doesn't work)
 1. Washing them = Haman. (Eternal Reps). You cannot destroy
 them. "The fury of intolerance, the violence, persecution - the
 shocked earth, 15 Cent. - east, south, & yellow back, America,
 riots & massacres, ended not being in law." We were
nomads & slaves, conquerors, & prisoners. Things & vagabonds.
 We are the humble servants of God - we are an eternal
 people -

2. Self-destruction, what men without a creed not successful - men
 within would attempt - 71000 - let us cease being
 Jews - Too thick - antism. is civilizing problem -
 # suicide.

1. It has not worked - in Germany. Ref. denial of Jews
 is veritable cesspool of anti-Jew. iniquity -
 2. Since the many fall by the way side - few cold
 & those some will go with - a remnant always
 remains - the seed, & new generation.

3. Education - Ultimately - Right kind of Education. Culture
 strongest champion, but is Universities - Humanism.
Wages same. Matter of centuries.

4. Alleviation. Ultimately & the right. France. Tyranny
 # of Public Opinion. Mass action. Uninformed masses.
 # Suppression of free speech - Tolerance.

11. For all practical purp. Anti is here to stay. It die hard
like all evil empires. Wont let yourselves. One
w. of showing sentiments will not undo the work
of yes - a slow process of attrition.

12. How are we to meet it.

1. Same way as in past. strategy. Meet it in most luthane
forms.

2. Vigilance. Org. for defense. Our pol. rights etc.
a. Scotch line. No more submission.

~~3. Scotch line -~~

b. American charges. Conspiracy - Jews are arch conspirators

3. Education to the Jew.

1. How little average non Jew know abt. Jew.
1. West Va. 2. Crazy women -

2. Tell them - spend millions if necessary - abt. Jew. &
Judaism - abt in cont. to cont. to Am.

3. Tell him why their prop. are & how they
are degrading the 100 & 100 & Am. life.

4. Our Citizenship is not at

4. Educate Jew. into sense of Pride - loyalty Heritage

1. Not to go where he is not wanted. Our children
must be respected with know & history & the people

- like. They - if wanting are arrest our
first. He will not be arrested & his Jew it.

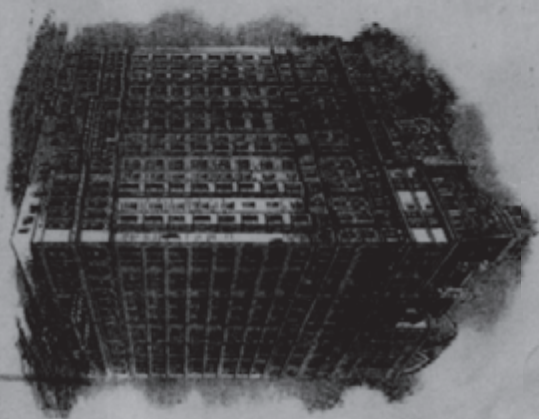
at College - above franchise. pin is back &
Jew. loyalty.

5. Fact in history of this People - history & Jew.
life Relig - Zionism -

ulipidity

Repetitive - How to meet it.





1. Ideal Still
remains —
2. Sent to the
proprietor — answer
to proprietor.
3. Cause of Split
1. Ben. of the Civil War
was an anaphor

Philadelphia

The Belleme-Sitratford