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Reel  
148

Box  
52

Folder  
171

The Rising Tide of Choler, 1923.

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"THE RISING TIDE OF CHOLER."

RABBI ABBA H. SILVER.

THE TEMPLE, SUNDAY MORNING,  
DECEMBER <sup>16</sup>~~10~~, 1923, CLEVELAND.

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There are two possible ways by which a man may gain his objective in life. One is the competitive, and the other is the cooperative. Assuming that every man and every group wants certain things, there are two ways of getting them: one is by taking them, and the other is by sharing them. You may either kill off your rival or subject him, or you may invite him to pool his energies with your own for the sake of a common enterprise.

In other words, conquest or alliance are the two means of gaining what we are after. Now, in private life and in business life men have long ago learned the value of cooperation. Men have long ago realized that it is much more profitable to pool energies than to dissipate them in ruthless competition. Business men organize today to protect their common interests, knowing that a benefit which may accrue to one will accrue to all.

Now, this simple, elemental, natural law already accepted in private life as a guiding principle has not yet received credence and acceptance in international life and inter-racial life. There the old slogans and the old standards, the jungle standards, still dominate, and there you will hear the old, old voices prophesying war; the old, old voices warning this people or that people against the menace of the competition of this other people or that other people.

Since the War these voices have increased in



number and in volume. Everywhere in Europe, and in America, for that matter, you will hear the voices of these narrow, centripetal racial or national protagonists proclaiming the doctrine of racial isolation or racial superiority, or the menace of extra-racial groups. ( Of course humanity is still in a state of shock as a result of the War, and because of it it is very easily thrown into a panicky frame of mind by the most preposterous and fantastic reports.

The human race at the present time is very easily scared. A nervous man is easily terrified. And so these spokesmen of the old order have, in recent years, had a ready ear and a responsive mind everywhere. And of course the War undermined the mind of the human race. Official propaganda poisoned our thinking, and we have not yet freed ourselves from the spell of the war complex. We cannot think clearly because we do not as yet wish to think clearly. We prefer the intense and passionate feeling to the cool and reasoning thought. It is easier to feel, it is easier to grow excited, it is easier to have a passion and an emotion than it is to think one's way through a difficult problem. And that is why you have a Swastika in Germany, and the Klan in America, and the Hortas in Hungary, and that is why you have all over the world the fear of the foreigner, of the man who is not yourself but differs from you.

Now, the most colossal scare of the Western world today is the rising tide of color; the fear that the colored races--the yellow and the brown and the black and the



red, may soon unite and rise and sweep over the white race and inundate it and subject it. This fear, of course, is not altogether groundless. The War brought Europe very near destruction. The War turned one nation in Europe against another and set them upon the road of mutual annihilation. The War impoverished Europe in substance and in man-power, leaving these vast colored races undiminished in man power and biding their time until the European nations will be sufficiently debilitated fighting one another that they would become the easy prey to a colored invasion.

One may adduce startling figures to confirm this fear. While it is true that the European races rule seven-eighths of the habitable world, it is also true that the white race is only one-third of the races of the world. For every white man there are two of the colored races--yellow, brown, black or red. These colored races, it is maintained live in over-crowded areas, in thickly populated countries, and they are seeking expansion. They must expand. By the law of self-preservation they have to expand, and it is the white races that are holding them in, that are denying them, that have thrown a ring of steel around them to keep them from expanding. Now when that ring of steel breaks through the physical collapse of Europe, these colored races will overflow the dykes and sweep over the lands of the white races.

This of course actually happened four times. Since the fall of Rome in the last fifteen hundred years Asia



invaded Europe four times. You have heard of Attila, the Hun. Well, Attila, coming out of Asia with his wild hordes, swept across Europe to the very gates of France, and it was only at Chalon that Attila and his Huns were halted. And you also know that the Arabs coming out of the Arabian desert swept over the whole of northern Africa, crossed the Gibraltar, and conquered Spain, and invaded and conquered southern France, and it was only at Tours, in 732, that the Asiatic hosts were halted; and a few centuries later Genghis Khan, the most ruthless, the most blood-thirsty, the most destructive conqueror who ever afflicted the human race, came out of the plains of central Asia--China, swept into Europe right across the plains of Russia and Austria-Hungary, right to the very heart of Germany; and not so very, very long ago the Turks, an Asiatic people, were knocking at the gates of Vienna, and it was only by sheer luck that Vienna resisted the onslaught of the Turks in 1683.

So that the possibility of an Asiatic invasion is not a fantastic or an impossible one; and so these protagonists of the white race warn the peoples of Europe to prepare for the next war; the next war will be a war between the primary races of mankind, and it will be a war to the finish. And so they urge the European nations to forget their internecine strife, and their local difficulties, capital and labor--to forget their troubles and unite and organize for the next great conflict--the war of the West against the East, or the East against the West.



This is the burden of books such as Madison Grant's book, "The Passing of the Great Race;" Mr. Stoddard's book, "The Rising Tide of Color"; and Mr. Charles Josey's latest book, "Race and National Solidarity."

How much truth is there in this thesis? I believe that Europe may well face such a contingency. Races, like individuals, are subject to the same laws of growth and decay. No race endures forever, and no race remains permanently superior. One may like this fact or not like it. But it is a law of nature. Europe has become masterful and dominating only in comparatively recent times. The great expansion of the white race, the modern expansion of the white race, began in the year 1500, just four hundred years ago. Up to that time and for a thousand years the white races of Europe were on a lower level commercially, culturally, artistically, politically, than the great races of Asia. It was only with the discovery of America by Columbus, and the discoveries of Vasco da Gama--both, by the way, not Nordics but Mediterranean individuals,--it was through the discoveries of these men and their followers, through the opening up of the new world, that the great era of discovery and conquest and expansion began, which in four hundred years placed the white race in complete mastery of this continent.

In 1500 Europe was not one-sixth the size it is now. There were perhaps no more than sixty or seventy millions of white people in the world in 1500. Today there



are over five hundred millions of the white race. The conquest of the world for the white race was comparatively easy, and the white race came to believe that because of the ease of conquest and subjection, that it must be in possession of certain superior mental or spiritual qualities, that it must be a superior race or else these great races would not have yielded so readily and so easily to the subjection. And that was the common thought of Europe until the Russo-Japanese War, and then they were staggered. The Russo-Japanese War checked the expansion of the white race. Asia hit back and hit back in a staggering fashion. Asia showed that it was not dead, it was only slumbering, and that it intended to awaken, and when it does it awaken it can hit furiously. And the conquering passions which drove four tides of invasion into Europe may not yet be dead in Asia.

And then came the War--the war which nearly destroyed the civilization of the West; the war which revealed all the corruption and all the rottenness which were undermining the civilization of Europe, and as a result of it the whole of Asia became one seething caldron of unrest, and as a result of it the colored races grew self-conscious, and you have the Pan-Islamic movement, the awakening of the Mohammedan world today; and you have a reborn and a victorious Turkey today which defied the combined powers of Europe; and you have the restless and rebellious India today; and you have a revolutionary Egypt today; and you have a conquering and expanding Japan today. The whole of Asia and



the whole of Africa are today challenging the domination and mastery of the white races.

Now, it is quite clear to my mind, and it is quite clear to an impartial observer, that if Europe will continue in the way it has up to the present time, if Europe will continue its imperialistic policies, which lead to war, and its competitive armaments, which lead to revolution, and its diplomatic intrigues, which lead to chaos, it is inevitable, it is as certain as doom, that Europe some day-- it may not be tomorrow or the next generation--but some day, through a process of undermining and internal corruption, that the mastery will be wrested from the hands of the white races and placed into the hands of the less corrupt, less exhausted, less imperialistic peoples, and the course of empire will be turned back. It is possible.

But the trouble is that the very men - the Grants and the Stoddards and the Joseys in America, those in England and those in Germany, who warn Europe, who call the attention of the peoples of Europe to these distressing facts, are the very people who by their counsel are hastening the day of reckoning and the day of defeat. In all their writings, in all the writings of these racialists and defenders of European culture, you nowhere find the simple, elemental, logical program for the salvation of Europe. Instead of counseling the peoples of Europe to forego their imperialistic dreams which lead to war, and their competitive armaments which lead to revolution, and their diplomatic



intrigues which lead to chaos,--instead of counseling the peoples of Europe to stay at home and reconstruct their own political and social and economic lives, to work more and to spend less, to create higher standards of life and conduct among their citizens; instead of urging the peoples of Europe to regain the simple, invigorating, preserving ideals of national life, and to forego the enervating, destroying obsessions of power and conquest and luxury,-- I say, instead of offering this counsel of salvation, this simple, logical, elementary program, which alone can save Europe, or any people, these racialists offer the very program which is today wrecking Europe.

What do they do? Why, in the face of this menace, or of what they believe to be a menace, of Asia, they begin to emphasize the racial differences among the European peoples themselves. They make solidarity and cooperation among the peoples of Europe, looking towards this ultimate struggle, impossible by stressing the fundamental racial barriers and differences between northern European peoples and between southern and southeastern European peoples, and they build up a divisive wall in the face of an ultimate task which requires unity of purpose and solidarity of sentiment.

And so these Grants and Stoddards and Joseys, and your Saturday Evening Post and your World's Work, and your New England pseudo-sociologists, and your secretary of labor, are today announcing the gospel of Nordic superiority. I have no objection to anybody claiming he is better than



the next fellow. That is his own prerogative. Any man can make a fool of himself if he so wishes. But when you are facing an enemy and you need unity of counsel and action, then such sentiments turn brother against brother and destroy discipline and cooperation, and then they become not alone a nuisance but a menace.

The Nordics, then, according to this new annunciation, are of the chosen people of the Lord. They are the salt of the earth. And the Corollary is the damnable thing - that all other races must serve the purposes of this race. That is the dangerous corollary to this theory. All other peoples--south and southeastern Europe, the colored races, must be made to serve the destiny, the manifest destiny, the exalted destiny of these chosen peoples. You recall that Germany based its argument upon this very theory during the war: there is only one people that is truly Nordic and that is the German people. The English think they are Nordics but they are mongrels; and the French think that they are Nordics but they are outcasts; they are tainted with the influx of Oriental and Asiatic blood. We alone are the Nordics.

Mr. Grant, who is an American, and therefore had to fight Germany and hate Germany, does not like that, and so he says that is a monstrous thing to say. "Why, I can prove," he says, "that only nine million out of the seventy millions in Germany are Nordics." The Anglo-Saxons are the pure Nordics. Of course. And so among the Nordics



themselves there is that same competition, that same rivalry for this imaginary excellence which has been created out of a spirit of chauvinism, egoism and racial pride.

One wonders upon what meat these peoples on the fringe of the Baltic fed to have become so proud and to think so much of themselves. Up to 1400 the Prussians - who, by the way, have a large element of the Asiatic in them - were barbarians, heathens; they were not even Christianized. Up to the twelfth century England was unknown, as far as civilization was concerned. England and Scandanavia and northern France and the Netherlands and Germany were a negligible quantity. They may not have existed at all. These superior peoples, who through the ages have groaned and sweated, were unknown absolutely; and when Christ and Aristophanes and Socrates and Plato and Aristotle were gone to the world, and when Rome was giving Virgil and Juvenal and Horace to the world, and when it was organizing civilization and giving a law unto the world, these chosen children of the human family were barbarians living in forests, producing absolutely nothing of cultural value; and at a time when that little Asiatic people, the Judeans were involving a God idea and a religion which is now the religion of two-thirds of mankind. All that north Europe has today of art, of literature, of religion, of the essential values of social existence, has come to northern Europe from the Mediterranean peoples.

Northwestern Europe has produced nothing that is



indispensable to civilization; and in modern times it was the Renaissance, born in Italy, that ushered in the modern era; it was southern Europe--Italy and Spain--that discovered the New World and largely exploited it; that gave the name to the New World. It was a Pole - Copernicus - who revolutionized the whole astronomic thinking of the world and prepared the way for our new ideas about the solar system. It is a supreme arrogance of one group to think that it is the repository and the safeguard of civilization.

I remember reading last month a magazine which is devoted itself to the Nordic gospel. It contained a vicious article about these "inferior mongrel races" from the south and the southeast of Europe, and urged their exclusion; and in the very front of that magazine, which is usually devoted to the people of importance who are occupying the stage of the world at that particular time, in that section, in front of this very article, there was one picture, a full page photograph of Eleonora Duse, an Italian, the greatest exponent of the supreme art of the stage; and on the next page was a full page photograph of the greatest living master of the English style, Joseph Conrad, a Pole, who, up to the age of twenty, could neither read nor write English; and on the next page was a photograph of Israel Zangwill, an English Jew of Russian-Jewish parentage.

These were the people that this magazine singled out for honor and distinction--an Italian, a Pole, and a Russian Jew; and at the same time it was arguing for



the inferiority of these races.

It is a very moot question whether the art and the literature and the music of Italy today is inferior to the art and the music and the literature of England today. It is a very moot question whether the literature of Russia, from Tolstoy, from Dostoievski, is inferior to the literature of Germany. It is a startling thing that the most dramatic and the most perfect, the most artistic stage in America today is the Russian Theatre in the City of New York.

In other words, it is not only folly but supreme insolence for any race or any group of peoples to arrogate to themselves selection, preferment and excellence. But this pseudo-scientific fallacy, if it is permitted to gain ground, will, to my mind, ultimately destroy Europe, because it leads to pride, and pride leads to exploitation, and exploitation leads to annihilation. You cannot subject two-thirds of mankind permanently and eternally to the will of one-third of mankind. The subject races of Asia will not remain content to be exploited for the sake of confirming a small Nordic group in their pretensions and in their pretenses. As these nations are being developed industrially for purposes of exploitation, they are being developed intellectually and culturally, and their race consciousness and their national consciousness and their demand for self-determination will ultimately drive them to revolution, will ultimately drive them to cast out the white race; and no amount of armies and battleships can permanently perpetuate an immoral condition



of exploitation.

If the white race wishes to serve itself, to serve humanity; if it wishes to preserve its marvelous cultural values and to continue as a creative race in the world, then it must do so not at the expense of other races, not at the expense of subjecting other peoples, but rather, through co-operation and helpfulness, lead those backward races into the society of civilized people, help them to independence, and thereby help them to benefit the white races and all the races of the earth.

Asia need never invade Europe. There is no country on the face of the earth so over-crowded but what improved methods of agriculture and machinery can be made adequately to take care of its great population but even of a greater population. If China would have improved methods of agriculture and an industrial life, and India similarly, the Chinese would never have to immigrate, nor the Indians. And there are vast spaces in Siberia and in Central Asia which can take care of ten times the present population of Asia.

Invasions come only when there is a need and a drive, an economic urge, and when you can solve the economic problem at home people do not migrate; and if Europe wishes to be saved the menace of an Asiatic invasion, the thing to do is to assist the Asiatic peoples to economic independence in their own homes. But they do not want that. These racialists want exploitation and not cooperation. They want these people to remain illiterate and unintelligent and



subjected, so that a luxury class at home may feed off of them. / And if you think that I am exaggerating, I advise you to read this book, "Race and National Solidarity" - the most cynical and at the same time the most frank exposition of racial exploitation that I have ever read. It was written by an American, of the land of the free and the home of the brave, a professor at Dartmouth. And this man says capital and labor are needlessly fighting in the white races today, and through these contests they are debilitating themselves. Let capital give labor all that labor wants. Ah, but you will maintain if that is so then everybody will have to go to work. There would be no luxury class; and no culture is possible without a luxury class; we must have a large luxury class, and how can we have a luxury class if everybody has to work, if labor is to gain equality and justice.

Why very simply, says Mr. Josey. There are a billion people belonging to inferior races. Let us take the burden off the shoulder of our own working people and put it on the shoulder of those people. Let us exploit them. Race is the supreme virtue. Loyalty to one's own race is a supreme loyalty. Brotherhood and brotherly love are wishy-washy sentimentalities. They are even ethical, says this writer. Ah, but you say if you exploit those other races and help them to become industrialists, so that you can derive great revenue from them, they may become numerically even more powerful than they are now, and they will threaten you. That can be avoided, says the writer. In the first



place, squeeze them so hard that they will not increase and multiply, and in the second place, make the having of children unprofitable - I am quoting his words - and in the third place, teach those heathens the doctrine which we must not teach our own people--teach those heathens birth control!

Now, this is the newest interpretation of the doctrine of Love thy neighbor as thyself. And this is all done under the cloak of evangelism. I would not be surprised if some day this man becomes a preacher. Here is what he says: "In order to free our minds of the racial and religious prejudices that make it hard for us to see clearly the moral issues involved, and the necessity of using our intelligence in effecting a solution, it is necessary that we emphasize that the way to please God is to do good. Hence our task is always to discover the good and to act accordingly. When we do this we may be sure that God will be pleased. In the present case, for instance, if it can be shown that an intelligent and controlled exploitation of backward races will make for the greater good of mankind, we may be sure that God, who is interested in men, and who desires their good, will surely approve."

That is what Rome thought. Rome tried it. These people are so naive and so blinded by their little petty knowledge. Rome lived off the labors of other people. A Roman patrician never worked; it was a disgrace for him to work. He could go to Syria, to Babylon, and to Egypt, and have millions working for him. With what result? That



indolence, that luxury, corrupted him and ate at his vitals as a cancer would, until Rome collapsed.

We tried it in this country. Down in the South people decided not to work. It was too warm. And they could buy a slave very cheaply and put him to work; and as Thomas Jefferson describes in "The Early Colonists of Virginia," they would rather stay in their taverns and drink themselves to death rather than work. And they thought it was fine. They could have culture, a refined class and an exalted civilization when somebody was doing the hard work for them. And then the day of reckoning came. Ah, Abraham Lincoln knew it. "For every drop of blood taken with the lash from the back of the slave, we shall have to pay with a drop of blood taken from the bodies of our own children." He knew it. And we did. Five hundred thousand of the white race fell on the battle fields to pay the price of this exploitation of backward races.

Nature is a terrible taskmaster, and keeps strict accountability. The debit and the credit columns are always footed, and the bill must be paid.

And this is the counsel of these racialists offer to a confused world today. Had I the time I would go into greater detail and show how this thing affects us in this country. For here, too, these fallacies, these theories, of North and South, of preferred races and preferred stocks, are being disseminated and propagated and are roiling the clear thought of American life. Immigration laws are being



passed on the basis not on the qualifications of the individual, on his mental and physical tests, on his ability to earn a living and to become a good citizen, but on these false, imperfect, subjective, imaginary standards of superior races and inferior races. If we have too many immigrants in the United States let us restrict immigration. Any nation is justified in doing it if it finds that it has too many immigrants. I am of the opinion that we need hundreds of thousands more of immigrants to exploit this continent, which is nine-tenths unexploited. But if we are convinced that we no longer need foreign blood, foreign labor, foreign brains, Steinmetz would have been excluded. If we no longer need them let us shut the gates to all and everyone alike.

But this idea of selecting immigrants, assuming you know what immigrant has those subtle, indefinable, impalpable racial qualities that would make him a desirable member of your community, and what individual has not, is a vicious doctrine, because it makes only for dissention among the racial groups here in America.

Mr. Grant, in his book, says, "Watch out for those people who come to you under the guise of beggars from corrupt stock. They are the Asiatic invasion of America." Well, they may come as beggars. Some of the earliest of the colonists came not in the guise of beggars but in the guise of convicts; and that did not keep these convicts from later on becoming very respectable slave holders in the South. When they tell you about the marvelous qualities of the



earliest colonists, as this Mr. Grant does.--Mr. Grant maintains that these colonial settlers were of the finest that nature evolved since classic times.--tell them to read Thomas Jefferson, and Adams. Here is what John Adams, who lived in those days, said about the people of his time. This is in Massachusetts. # "In most country towns," says Mr. John Adams in his diary describing a New England county, "You will find almost every other house with a sign of entertainment before it. If you sit the evening you will find the house full of people drinking drams, flip and toddy, carousing and swearing for all they are worth." These are of the earliest of the settlers in this country.

# Thomas Jefferson says of the Virginian colonists: "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this and learn to imitate it. Those owners daily exercise their tyranny. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved. Of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion of them are ever seen to work."

✓ And a minister, Bishop Meade, tells us: "that horse racing, cock-fighting and gambling were the daily amusements of these (the finest stocks since the days of the classic Greeks.) <sup>all</sup> Drinking and its attendant diversions were universal and extreme. This, however, was the case in all the colonies." Bishop Meade tells us that even the clergy



~~and~~ indulged in the prevailing customs to the neglect of their sacred calling, and the church itself was all but abandoned in the disrepute which the conduct of its ministers brought upon the house of God.

And so when you hear them talk about the pious, devout, super-upright, hundred percent, choice colonists of the dim, distant past days, tell them to read Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and a few other references that I can give them, and they will learn a few things about human nature, which is more or less the same in southern Europe as in Copenhagen.

Race is good for only one thing, and that is that it makes you conscious of a great heritage and makes you live up to it. Race is not a measure of a man's worth. You can be a Nordic and be a scoundrel; and you can be a Slav and be a Tolstoy. But if you are conscious of coming from a great Nordic stock, or from a great Slavic stock, or from a great Mediterranean stock, which gave Raphael and Angelo and Dante to the world, or that you came from a stock that gave Moses and David and Isaiah and Jesus to the world, and if you try to live up to their ideals, and to the greatness and the promise of your race, without trying to exploit another race, without trying to subject another race, or without looking with contempt upon the achievements of another race, then race becomes a stepping stone to the higher life; otherwise it becomes a corrupting influence.

It is up to us in this land, which is made up



of a hundred races, to keep this fact in mind: that we shall  
of  
become a crazy quilt, wrangling, contending and mutually-  
hating groups that such a gospel of the Nordics is bound to  
encourage. Let us think more of America and less of race,  
more of principle and less of body, more of soul and less  
of blood.

Let us try to make a success of this  
experiment in inter-racial sympathy and international  
cooperation.

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*Sermon 131*

# The Rising Tide of Choler

—BY—

**RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER**



**THE TEMPLE  
CLEVELAND, OHIO**

**Vol. 4 No. 3**

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## **"THE RISING TIDE OF CHOLER"**

**RABBI ABBA H. SILVER**

There are two possible ways by which a man may gain his objective in life. One is the competitive, and the other is the co-operative. Assuming that every man and every group wants certain things, there are two ways of getting them: one is by taking them, and the other is by sharing them. You may either kill off your rival or you may invite him to pool his energies with yours for the sake of a common enterprise.

In other words, conquest or alliance are the two means of gaining what we are after. In private life and in business life, men have long ago learned the value of co-operation. Men have long ago realized that it is much more profitable to join resources than to dissipate them in ruthless competition. Business men organize today to protect their common interests, knowing that a benefit accruing to one will accrue to all.

This simple, elemental law accepted in private life as a guiding principle has not yet received credence and acceptance in international life and inter-racial life. There the old slogans and the old standards,—the jungle standards,—still dominate; there you will hear the ancestral voices prophesying war; the old, old voices warning this people or that people against the menace of this people or that people.

Since the war these voices have increased in number and in volume. Everywhere in Europe, and for that matter in America, you will hear the voices of these narrow, centripetal racial or national protagonists proclaiming the doctrine of racial isolation or racial superiority, or the menace of extra-racial groups.



Humanity is still in a state of shock as a result of the war, and it is very easily thrown into panic by the most preposterous and fantastic reports. The human race at the present time is very easily scared. A nervous man is easily terrified. And so these spokesmen of the old order have had in recent years, a ready ear and a responsive mind everywhere. Then, too, the war undermined the mind of the human race. Official propaganda poisoned our thinking, and we have not yet freed ourselves from the spell of the war complex. We cannot think clearly because we do not as yet wish to think clearly. We prefer the intense and passionate feeling to the cool and reasoned thought. It is easier to feel; it is easier to have a passion and an emotion than it is to think one's way through a difficult problem. And that is why you have a Swastika in Germany, and a Klan in America, and a Horty in Hungary, and that is why you have all over the world today paralyzing fear and wild suspicion and intense hate.

The most recent and colossal scare of the Western world is the rising tide of color; the colored races—the yellow and the brown and the black and the red—may soon unite and rise and sweep over the white race and inundate and submerge it.

This fear, of course, is not altogether groundless. The war brought Europe very near to destruction. The war turned the nations in Europe one against the other and set them upon the road of mutual annihilation. The war impoverished Europe in substance, in man-power, and in moral resources, while it left the vast colored races of the earth intact, undiminished in man-power and resources. If the process of self-exhaustion is continued, Europe may very well become the prey of an alien civilization, fresh, vigorous and aggressive.

One may adduce startling figures to confirm this fear. While it is true that the European races rule seven-eighths of the habitable world, it is also true that the white race constitutes only one-third of the population of the world. For every white man there are two colored—yellow, brown, black or red. These colored races, it is maintained, live in overcrowded areas, in thickly populated centres, and they are seeking expansion. By the law of self-



preservation they must expand, and it is the white race which has thrown a ring of steel around them and keeps them from expanding. When that ring of steel breaks, through the physical collapse of Europe, these colored races will overflow the dykes and sweep over the lands of the white peoples.

This, of course, actually happened four times in the past. Since the fall of Rome, in the last fifteen hundred years, Asia has four times invaded Europe. Attila, and his wild hordes, came out of Asia and swept across Europe to the very heart of France, and it was only at Chalons that Attila and his Huns were halted. The Arabs came out of the Arabian desert, swept over the whole of northern Africa, crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, conquered Spain, and invaded southern France, and it was only at Tours, that the Asiatic hosts were stopped. A few centuries later Genghis Khan, the most ruthless, and most destructive conqueror that ever afflicted the human race, gathering his hosts from out of the plains of Central Asia—swept over Europe right across the plains of Russia and Austria and Hungary into the very heart of Germany. And not so very long ago the Turks were knocking at the gates of Vienna, threatening the whole of Europe.

The possibility then of an Asiatic invasion is not a fantastic one; the protagonists of the white race therefore, warn the peoples of Europe to prepare for the next war which will be a war between the primary races of mankind,—a war to the finish. They urge upon the European nations to forge their internecine struggles, and their mutual rivalries, and unite for the great Armageddon—the war of the East against the West.

This is the burden of the books of the type of Madison Grant's, "The Passing of the Great Race"; Mr. Stoddard's, "The Rising Tide of Color"; and Mr. Charles Josey's recent work, "Race and National Solidarity."

How much truth is there in their argument? I believe that Europe may well face the possibility of conquest and subordination. Races, like individuals, are subject to the same law of growth and decay. No race endures forever, and no race remains permanently superior. One may like this fact or not; it is a fact. Europe has become master-



ful and dominating only in comparatively recent times. The great expansion of the white race, began in 1500 A. D., just four hundred years ago. Up to that time and for a thousand years prior to that time the white races of Europe were on a lower level commercially, culturally, politically, than some of the great colored races. It was only through the discoveries of Columbus, and Vasco da Gama—both, by the way, not Nordics but Mediterranean—and the opening of the new world, that the great era of exploration, conquest, colonization and expansion began, which magnificent enterprise in four hundred years, placed the white race in complete mastery of the world.

In 1500, the population of Europe was not one-sixth of the size it is today. There were perhaps not more than sixty or seventy millions of white people in the world in 1500. Today there are over five hundred millions. The conquest of the world proved a comparatively easy task, and, as a result of it, the white race came to believe itself exceptionally endowed, in possession of superior mental and moral qualities. This was the common thought of Europe until the Russo-Japanese war, and then Europe was staggered. The Russo-Japanese war checked the political expansion of the white race. Asia hit back and hit back hard. Asia demonstrated that it was not dead; it was only slumbering; that it intended to awaken, and that when it does it can strike back effectively; that the conquering strength which sent four tides of invasion into Europe may not yet be entirely spent.

Then came the war—the war which nearly destroyed the civilization of the West; the war which revealed all the corruption and rottenness which were undermining the civilization of Europe. As a direct result of it the whole of Asia became one seething caldron of unrest. The colored races became racially and politically self-conscious. There arose the Pan-Islamic movement which served notice upon the world that the Mohammedan peoples long broken and subjected meant to regain solidarity and independence. This was followed by a renascent and victorious Turkey, which was strong enough and hardy enough to defy the combined powers of Europe. India is furiously restless



and rebellious. Egypt is revolutionary. Japan has fed on the defeat of a great European power. The whole of Asia and the whole of Africa are today challenging the domination and mastery of the white races.

Now, it is quite clear to any student of history, that if Europe continues on its way of self-destruction, if Europe continues its imperialistic policies, which lead to war, and its competitive armaments, which lead to revolution, and its diplomatic intrigues, which lead to chaos, that some day—it may not be tomorrow or the next day—but some day, the mastery will be wrested from its hands and placed into the hands of peoples less corrupt, and less exhausted.

The sad thing is that the very men—the Grants and the Stoddards and the Joseys—who call the attention of the white peoples to these distressing facts, are the very people who, by their counsel, are hastening the day of reckoning and defeat. In all their writings, you fail to find the simple, elementary, logical program for the salvation of Europe. Instead of counselling the peoples of Europe to forego their imperialistic dreams which lead to war, and their competitive armaments which lead to revolution, and their diplomatic intrigues which lead to chaos,—instead of counseling the peoples of Europe to stay at home and reconstruct their own political, social and economic lives, to work more and to spend less, to create higher standards of life and conduct among their citizens; instead of urging the peoples of Europe to regain the simple, invigorating, preserving ideals of national life, and to forego the enervating, destroying obsessions of power and conquest and luxury,—instead of offering this program of salvation, which alone can save Europe, these racialists offer the very same program which is today wrecking Europe.

In the face of this menace, or of what they believe to be the menace, of Asia, they begin their work of unifying Europe by emphasizing the racial differences among the European peoples themselves. They make solidarity and co-operation among the peoples of Europe impossible by stressing the fundamental racial barriers between northern European peoples and southern and southeastern Euro-



pean peoples. Conscious of the fact that the ultimate struggle which they foresee will require unity of purpose and concordance of sentiment among all the races of Europe, they, nevertheless, fan the flames of mutually antagonistic racial passions and pretensions among these very races themselves.

Your Grants and Stoddards and Joseys, your Saturday Evening Post and your World's Work, your New England pseudo-sociologists, and your Secretary of Labor, are today preaching the gospel of Nordic superiority. I have no objection to anybody claiming that he is better than the next fellow. That is his prerogative. Any man has an inalienable right to make a fool of himself. But when you are facing an enemy and you need above all unity of counsel and action, then such sentiments which turn brother against brother and destroy discipline and co-operation, become not alone a nuisance but a menace.

The Nordics, according to this new annunciation, are the chosen people of the Lord. They are the salt of the earth. The corollary of this preposterous doctrine is—that all other races must serve the purposes of this chosen race. All other peoples—south and southeastern European peoples and all the colored races,—should be exploited for the sake of the manifest and exalted destiny of this superior race.

Germany you will recall, boldly proclaimed this doctrine before and during the war. It was the rallying cry of the All-Conquering Kultur. The Nordics have been singled out for leadership and therefore for mastery. There is only one truly Nordic people—the German people. The English think they are Nordics but they are only mongrels. The French think they are Nordics but they are tainted with Asiatic blood. The Germans alone are the Nordics.

Mr. Grant, who is an American, and therefore must hate Germany, resents this. This claim is monstrous, ridiculous! "Why, I can prove," he cries, "that only nine million out of the seventy millions in Germany are really Nordics." The Anglo-Saxons are the only pure Nordics. Of course! And so among the Nordics themselves this



stupid competition for an imaginary excellence born out of a spirit of chauvinism, egoism and racial pride, is carried on.

One wonders upon what meat these peoples on the fringe of Europe fed to have become so proud. Up to 1400 A. D. the Prussians—who, by the way, have a large element of the Asiatic in them—were barbarians, heathens; they were not even Christianized. Up to the twelfth century England, as far as civilization was concerned, was unknown. England and Scandinavia and northern France and the Neatherlands and Germany were, as far as human progress is concerned, up to the last millenium negligible. They need not have existed at all. These "superior" peoples were utterly unknown when Greece—a Mediterranean people of Oriental admixtures—was carving a highway for human thought, and was blessing mankind with the galaxy of poets, philosophers and artists whose gifts remain unmatched for excellence by any Nordic people. They were unknown when Rome organized the ancient world, and gave a law and a language to the peoples of Europe. They were unknown when that little Asiatic people, the Jews were evolving a God idea and a religion which are now the religion of two-thirds of mankind. They were unknown to civilization when the Arabs were building universities in Cairo, Cordova and Bagdad. All that northern Europe has today of art, of literature, of religion, of the essential values of social experience, has come to it from Asia and from Mediterrean peoples. Northwestern Europe has produced little that is indispensable to civilization. In modern times it was the Renaissance, born in Italy, that ushered in the modern era; it was southern Europe—Italy and Spain—that discovered the New World and largely explored it, that gave it its name. It was a Pole—Copernicus—who revolutionized the whole astronomic thinking of the world and prepared the way for our new ideas concerning the solar system. It is a supreme arrogance on the part of one group to think that it is the sole repository and safeguard of all civilization.

I recall reading last month a magazine—"The World's Work," which has devoted itself to this Nordic gospel. It contained a vicious article against



the inferior mongrel races from the south and the southeast of Europe, and urged their exclusion. In the very front section of that magazine, which is usually devoted to the people of importance who are occupying the stage of the world at the moment, there was a full page photograph of Eleonora Duse, an Italian, the greatest exponent of the supreme art of the stage; and on the next page was a full page photograph of the greatest living master of the English style, Joseph Conrad, a Pole, who, up to the age of twenty, could neither read nor write English; and on another page a photograph of Israel Zangwill, an English Jew of Russian-Jewish parentage. These were the people that this magazine singled out for honor and distinction—an Italian, a Pole, and a Russian Jew; and at the same time it was vehemently arguing to establish their inferiority.

It is a very moot question whether the art and the literature and the music of Italy today is inferior to the art and the literature and the music of England today. It is a very moot question whether the literature of Russia, of Tolstoy, and Dostoievski, is inferior to the literature of Scandinavia or Holland. It is a startling thing that the most perfect, and most artistic stage in America today is the Russian theatre in the City of New York. In other words, it is not only folly but supreme insolence for any race or any group of peoples to arrogate to itself selection, preferment and excellence.

This pseudo-scientific fallacy, if it is permitted to gain ground, will, to my mind, ultimately destroy Europe. It leads to pride, and pride leads to exploitation, and exploitation leads to self-annihilation.

You cannot subject two-thirds of mankind permanently and eternally to the will of one-third of mankind. The subject races of Asia will not remain content to be exploited for the sake of confirming a small Nordic group in its pretensions. When backward races are developed industrially for purposes of exploitation they soon develop intellectually and politically. Race and national self-consciousness awaken. When their legitimate demands for self-determination are denied they resort



to revolution. No amount of armies and navies can perpetuate an immoral condition of exploitation.

If the white race desires to serve and conserve itself, if it desires to preserve its marvelous cultural values and to continue as a great creative race in the world, it must do so, not at the expense of other races, but rather in co-operation with other races. It should help the backward people to independence and civilization and lead them into the society of civilized people.

Asia need never invade Europe. There is no country on the face of the earth so over-crowded but what improved methods of agriculture and machinery can make it adequate to take care of an even greater population. If China would introduce improved methods of agriculture and build up an industrial system as well, and India similarly, the Chinese would never need to emigrate, nor the Indians. And there are vast spaces in Siberia and in Central Asia which can take care of many times the present population of Asia.

Invasions come only with an economic urge. When you have solved the economic problem at home people do not emigrate. If Europe wishes to be relieved of the menace of an Asiatic invasion, it should assist the Asiatic peoples to economic independence in their own homes.

But these racialists want exploitation and not co-operation. They want these people to remain illiterate and subject, so that the Nordic leisure classes may feed off of them. And if you think that I am exaggerating, I advise you to read Josey's, "Race and National Solidarity"—the most cynical and at the same time the most frank exposition of racial exploitation that I have ever read. It was written by an American, of the land of the free and the home of the brave, a professor at one of our colleges. This man maintains capital and labor are needlessly at odds in the white world today. This class-struggle is debilitating the white race. Let capital give labor all that labor wants. That would mean, however, that everybody would have to go to work. There would be no leisure class; and no culture is possible without a leisure class.



The solution is very simple, according to Mr. Josey. There are a billion people belonging to inferior races. Let us take the burden off the shoulder of our own working people and put it on the shoulder of those people. Let us exploit them. Race is the supreme virtue. Loyalty to one's own race is a supreme loyalty. Brotherhood and brotherly love are wishy-washy sentimentalities. They are not even ethical. But, it may be argued, if you exploit those races and industrialize them, they may become numerous like the Israelites in Egypt, and even Pharaoh was far-sighted enough to dread such an eventuality. That can be avoided, says the writer. In the first place, squeeze them so hard that they will not increase and multiply. If you are morally squeamish and have compunctions about such a method, why then make the having of children unprofitable; and in the second place, teach those heathens the doctrine which we must not teach our own people—birth control!

This is the latest interpretation of the doctrine of love thy neighbor as thyself. And this is all done under the cloak of evangelism. I would not be surprised if some day this man becomes a divine. Here is what he says: "In order to free our minds of the racial and religious prejudices that make it hard for us to see clearly the moral issues involved, and the necessity of using our intelligence in effecting a solution, it is necessary that we emphasize that the way to please God is to do good. Hence our task is always to discover the good and to act accordingly. When we do this we may be sure that God will be pleased. In the present case, for instance, if it can be shown that an intelligent and controlled exploitation of backward races will make for the greater good of mankind, we may be sure that God, who is interested in men, and who desires their good, will surely approve."

That is what Rome thought. Rome tried it. Rome lived off the labors of other people. A Roman patrician never worked; it was a disgrace for him to work. He could go to Syria, to Babylon, and to Egypt, and force millions to work for him. With what result? Luxury and idleness corrupted Rome and ate at its vitals as a cancer, until Rome collapsed.



We tried it in this country. Down in the South people decided not to work. It was too warm. And they could buy a slave very cheaply and put him to work. Thomas Jefferson describes the penchant of the early colonists of Virginia, for staying in their taverns and drinking themselves to death rather than working. And they thought it was fine and proper. They would produce a cultured and a refined class and an exalted civilization while somebody else was doing the hard work for them. And then the day of reckoning came. Abraham Lincoln grasped this law of life. For every drop of blood taken with the lash from the back of the slave, we shall have to pay with a drop of blood taken from the bodies of our own children. And we did. Five hundred thousand of the white race fell on the battle fields to pay the price of exploitation of a backward race.

Nature holds men and races to strict accountability. The debit and the credit columns are always footed, and the bill must be paid.

This, then, is the counsel which these racialists offer to a confused world. Had I the time, I would go into greater detail and show how this thing affects us in this country. For here, too, these fallacies, of North and South, of preferred races and preferred stocks, are being disseminated and propagated and are roiling the clear thought of American life. Immigration laws are being enacted on the basis not of the qualifications, of the ability of the immigrant to earn a living and to become a good citizen, but on the false, imperfect, imaginary standards of superior and inferior races. If we have too many immigrants in the United States let us restrict immigration. Any nation is justified in restricting immigration if it finds that it has too many immigrants. If we are convinced that we no longer need foreign labor, and foreign talent, let us shut the gates to all alike.

But the theory of selecting immigrants, on the basis of subtle, indefinable, impalpable racial qualities, is a vicious theory. It can make only for dissension among the racial groups now living in America.

Mr. Grant, in his book, says, "Watch out for



those people who come to you under the guise of beggars from corrupt stock. They are the Asiatic invasion of America." Well, they may come as beggars. Some of the earliest of the colonists came not in the guise of beggars but in the guise of convicts; and that did not keep these convicts from becoming very respectable slave holders later on. . . . When they tell you about the marvelous qualities of the earliest colonists,—Mr. Grant maintains that these colonial settlers were of the finest that nature evolved since classic times,—tell them to read Thomas Jefferson, and Adams. Here is what John Adams, who lived in those days, said about the people of his time and of his State of Massachusetts. "In most country towns," says Mr. John Adams in his diary describing a New England county, "You will find almost every other house with a sign of entertainment before it. If you sit the evening you will find the house full of people drinking drams, flip and toddy, carousing and swearing for all they are worth." These are the earliest settlers in this country.

Thomas Jefferson says of the Virginian colonists "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this and learn to imitate it. Those owners daily exercise their tyranny. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved. Of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion of them are ever seen to work."

And a minister, Bishop Meade, tells us: "that horse racing, cock-fighting and gambling were the daily amusements of these."—the finest stocks since the days of the classic Greeks.—"Drinking and its all attendant diversions were universal and extreme. This, however, was the case in all the colonies." Bishop Meade tells us that even the clergy indulged in the prevailing pastime, "to the neglect of their sacred calling, and the church itself was all but abandoned in the disrepute which the conduct of its ministers brought upon the house of God."



And so when you hear them talk about the pious, devout, super-upright, colonists of the dim, distant days, tell them to read Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and other eye witnesses, and they will learn a few things about human nature, which is more or less the same in Salem, Rome or Copenhagen.

Race is good for only one thing, to make you conscious of a great heritage and to inspire you to live up to it. Race is not a measure of a man's worth. You can be a Nordic and be a scoundrel; and you can be a Slav and be a Tolstoy. But, if you are conscious of coming from the great Nordic stock, or from the great Slavic stock, or from the great Mediterranean stock, which gave Raphael and Angelo and Dante to the world, or from the great Semitic stock that gave Moses and Amos and Isaiah and Jesus to the world, and if you try to live up to that privilege, to the greatness and the promise of your race, without trying to exploit another race, and without looking with contempt upon the achievements of another race, then race becomes a stepping stone to a higher life. Otherwise it proves a source of corruption and decay.

It is our duty in this land, which is composed of a hundred races, to keep this fact in mind. Else we shall become a crazy quilt of wrangling, contending and mutually hostile groups. Let us think more of America and less of race, more of principle and less of ancestry, more of soul and less of blood.