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Why do the heathen rage?, 1928-1931.

# THE MENORAH JOURNAL



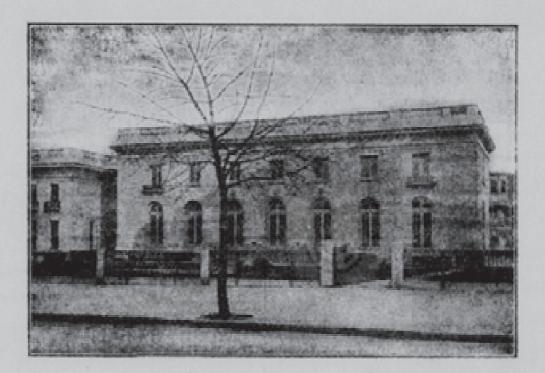
# SEPTEMBER 1928

Frontispiece: In the Synagogue ZYGMUNT MENKES
Paul among the Jews FRANZ WERFEL
Government Cooperation in Palestine JOSIAH C. WEDGWOOD
Eight Paintings Moise Kisling Art Insert
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# Chronicles

#### The Vindication of Jewish Idealism

BY HERBERT SOLOW

VER since the 1926 crisis in Palestine, there has been increasing dissatisfaction among Zionists with the achievements and policies of the Weizmann Administration of the World Zionist Organization. The Administration attitude towards labor in Palestine has been unsatisfactory to some, its attitude towards capital has displeased others. From many sides has come the complaint that it has adopted an over-timid policy towards the Mandatory Power. Others, especially during the last six months, have become critical of the various démarches towards a Jewish Agency, feeling that too much was being given up for too little in return from the non-Zionists whom the Administration has been trying to entice into an Agency. And since the Lipsky Administration of the Zionist Organization of America had lent its unflagging support to Er. Weizmann, it was open to the same criticisms which could be made against the World Administration.

Yet none of these considerations of broad Zionist policy entered into the struggle which reached its climaz at the Pittsburgh Convention of the Z. O. A. in July, and ended with the reflection of Louis Lipsky and his entire Administration. It was of course difficult for the united front of Opposition (old-time Brandeisists, ex-Lipsky men, Hadassah women and Revisionists) to agree on specific points of policy and put forward a detailed program. Furthermore, certain Opposition leaders argued, questions of policy had become secondary inasmuch as no matter what policy might be urged upon and adopted by the Z. O. A., an efficient, trustworthy administration with a high morale was needed to carry it out, and this, they unanimously agreed, the Lipsky organization had ceased to be. In support of this view they charged that the Administration had been guilty of extravagant and wasteful expenditures, commingling of funds properly destined for specific Palestinian purposes but diverted from them, lending Z. O. A. credit without proper authorization, and the creation of a Tammany machine designed to perpetuate itself in office.

A plan of campaign to dislodge Lipsky based on such complaints possessed manifold weaknesses. In the first place, it laid the Opposition open to the charge that they had neither intellectual content nor principles, but were a mere agglomeration of hardheaded legalists endowed with no vision beyond a statute book or dream beyond a balanced budget. Moreover, the fact that a number of Opposition leaders were known to be in disagreement with Weizmann laid the entire group open to attack on the ground that, under cover of the charges against Lipsky, they were plotting to overthrow

the world leader. Thus they were likely to lose the support of all who were devoted to Weizmann, without necessarily gaining the support of those dissatisfied on grounds of principle with the latter's Administration.

Furthermore, since their fight began and ended with a denunciation of the competence: reliability and morale of the Administration group, the Opposition enabled the latter to relegate the whole argument to a purely personal level. The Admiristration could stamp the Opposition as vengeful Brandeisists, still sore and unrepentant after their defeat of 1921. They could charge that these men had done nothing since 1921 for Zionism, a charge whose validity is still open to question and modification. With the discussion on such a purely persenal level, many who might otherwise have seriously considered the complaints brought forward by the Opposition were now likely to respond to appeals of personal loyalty.

DMINISTRATION strategists im-A mediately showed their awareness of the weakness of the Opposition's position. They plastered the columns of the New Palestine with denunciations of the Opposition, and with exhortations to loyalty to Lipsky in return for his thirty years' service to Zionism. From this it was an easy step to identify the fate of Lipsky with the future of Zionism. But, going even beyond this, the Administration spokesmen soon began to suggest that the Lipsky Administration and Jewish idealism were one and the same thing Instead of making convincing denial of the Opposition's charges argument was largely in rhetorical terms.

Morris Rothenberg, Vice-President of the Z. O. A., stated in the New Palestine (May 11) that the Opposition tactics were "against the Jewish tradition." Abraham Goldberg, member of the Administrative Committee, phrased it thus in the same organ (June 8): "Their program is to break up the concerted effort for the rebuilding of Palestinesegregate it from the whole renascent movement, from the rebirth of the Jewish nation. It is a Zionism without soul, a Zionism with a predominating element of assimilation." Gershon Agronsky, in the New Palestine of June 15, divided all Zionists into two parts: western and eastern, between whom there exists an unbridgeable mental gap, and damned the western as half-hearted, disloyal, worthless Zionists. In an address to the Convention itself, Maurice Samuel was later to say:

You must have as the representatives of Zionism men who are Zionists not merely by conviction but by construction, men who have not reached Zionism by a method of logic, not logical Zionists, but biological Zionists, men who can be trusted instinctively to react correctly to any assault, intended or unintended, upon that form of Judaism which is contained in Zionism and which we consider to be he essence of Judaism. I submit that, on the whole, those who have kept the Zionist Organization of America intact these last seven years . . . are the structural, constitutional and unchangeable Zionists . . .

In short, the Administration's main line of defense (as it was more passionately put in the Convention lobby and caucus rooms) was this: "The Opposition have no principles—only charges. Besides, they hate Weizmann. They are no: East European Jews; they are a sort of Goyim. We—Weizmann, Lipsky, and you delegates—are instinctive Zionists. Therefore, no matter what the Opposition say, they are not to be heeded. Biologically speaking, the only real Zionists are those who sup-

port Lipsky; all others are wrongheaded, untrustworthy and treacherous. We stand for Jewish idealism; they stand for Golus corruption."

WITH the Convention only a few weeks off, the Administration had as yet offered no concrete or convincing refutation of the various Opposition charges. Reports of these charges had been printed in the American daily press as well as in most Jewish journals, and the Zionist world was seriously disturbed by them, as well as puzzled by the failure of the Administration to offer detailed disproof. In view of this disturbance and puzzlement, The Meno-RAH JOURNAL offered to provide accountants to conduct an investigation into the Z. O. A. books and to publish its findings of fact. The offer was accepted verbally by Lipsky, only to be turned down by his Administrative Committee. The Committee was apparently, however, by this time seriously troubled by the circulation of the charges, and it now asked Weizmann to appoint investigators. Weizmann, who would need Lipsky's support in the Actions Committee meeting scheduled for July 19, had already given the Administration his public blessing. He now appointed as a committee to investigate the charges five Judges-Lazansky, Moscowitz, Rosalsky, May and Fisherfour of whom had been prominent U. P. A. officials, and at least one of whom was a close friend of Lipsky.

From such a committee the "realistic" might well have expected a complete whitewash of the Administration. It was, therefore, a genuine surprise when, a few days before the Convention, the publication of the Judges' report to Weizmann substantiated many of the charges of the Opposition and even re-

vealed further Administrative lapses. The Judges had discovered that Lipsky had lent Z. O. A. credit to a private person without authorization; that he had without authority endorsed the note of a private person that she might obtain a loan from the Commodore Corporation, a lending concern in which several Administration employees and officers were stockholders; that the Administration had delayed for meonscionably long periods transferring to the Hebrew University trust funds due it; that Lipsky had without authority guaranteed on behalf of the Z. O. A. the indebtedness (\$185,000) of the American Zion Commonwealth; that an Administration employee had sent to the Zionist Districts of the country a telegram over the signature of Louis Lipsky which would have the effect of causing wholesale misconduct of elections; that while Mr. Lipsky "asserted that he knew nothing about the sending of the telegram" and had later issued a letter correcting the impropriety, "he does not, however, repudiate the telegram."

Just before the report was made public, and presumably because of the unfavorable impression the Administration was making on the Judges, Lipsky announced his intention not to run again for the presidency of the Z. O. A. Despite this announcement, the Judges' report contained, in addition to the findings of fact, the recommendation "that no one responsible for the irregularities pointed out should be continued as an officer or a member of any Committee of the Z. O. A."

This recommendation, on its face so favorable to the Opposition, was, however, in the end to prove extremely costly to their cause. Administration leaders immediately pointed out that Weizmann had asked for facts and not for recommendations. "These Judges are just another bunch of Nordie Jews," the argument ran. "They are trying to dictate to the Convention. The delegates must not submit to such dictation." As a matter of fact the report was made not to the Convention but to Weizmann, but this fact was hardly to be considered. Undoubtedly the Judges' report was properly open to the interpretation that it was, in part at least, a message, however indirect, to the Convention.

Yet despite the obvious danger of an explosive backfire from the report, the Opposition leaders were optimistic as they arrived in Pittsburgh for the Convention. "The Judges' report," they argued, "has driven Lipsky from office. It could have been worse, but it is bad enough. He will not run." "But if he does?" one asked. "We will beat him," was the reply. Apparently their lawyers' minds could not imagine that the Convention would throw out the findings of five Judges.

As for the Administration managers, they might have been hoping that the Convention would do just that. Nevertheless their morale was patently low. The usually inscrutable face of Lipsky was tenser, more haggard than ever; the usually etullient Samuel hardly concealed hysteria beneath his suave exterior; the usually hearty Weisgal moved surreptitiously through the hotel lobby. The whole Administration camp was touched with the chill of death. Then as the delegaces drifted in, the Administration leaders trutted out their stock argument: "The Opposition is Nordic; we are Jewish. Let us throw them out!" As delegates from all over the country responded, avowing their love for Lipsky and their hate for the Opposition, the atmosphere underwent a sudden change. Lipsky perked up, Samuel bounded from group to group in anxious excitement, Weisgal found again his bluff confidence.

IT was already apparent to anyone with half an eye that the defeat of the Opposition would not be an unusually difficult task. Questionable election tactics (counting in U. P. A. contributors without their consent as Z. O. A. members in deciding the apportionment of delegates, and sending out misleading instructions by wire and contradicting them by letter) had already been tried. Such tactics, plus the supremely Tammanyesque trick of disfranchising a large section of Hadassah lest its delegates vote with the Opposition, had cut down the Opposition forces and swollen the Lipsky ranks. Now the machine boomed into action at the sessions of the Credentials Committee. This body refused to go behind the returns presented it by the Elections Board, thereby abdicating the major part of its functions, and seated the Lipsky delegations in four contested and highly suspicious cases.

Such cevelopments threw the Opposition into a panic, especially when it was learned that the Administration leaders were planning to make Lipsky Honorary Chairman of the Convention, thus foreing a test of strength at the first session of the Convention. Though Lipsky stated that there was no power in the world strong enough to make him accept the post, a few of the more realistic Opposition leaders were frightened. And rightly so. For Lipsky accepted the Honorary Chairmanship, though he might essily have secured the organization of the Convention praesidium on traditional lines, which did not include such ar office at all. The Lipsky

lieutenants might assure one that the delegates had forced the honor on their leader; even if that were true, the belief persisted that if they had truly loved him they would not have embarrassed him by such tactics.

Thus at the very outset the Opposition came face to face with stark defeat. So astounded were they by Lipsky's acceptance of the nomination for the Honorary Chairmanship, that they seemed to be thrown into a disorder from which they never fully recovered during the Convention. Out-maneuvered at the very beginning, they reverted to dilatory tactics (points of order, requests for adjournment, demands for rollcalls). Partly the filibuster was calculated, for the Opposition were anxious to postpone debate until their chief speaker should recover his lost voice. But partly, one felt, the Opposition seemed to have lost their head. Lpsky had been too canny, what with his refusal to run for this and his refusal to run for that. They had been too nalve. It was a strange sight, indeed, to see the reputed Nordic Jews, old hands at Golus politics, so utterly routed by the supposedly inexperienced Yiddish intellectuals, who now proved themselves masters of ward polities.

The filibustering tactics of the next few hours served only to irritate into a blind passion those who had come to stand or fall with Lipsky, and to alienate from the Opposition a bare handful who might otherwise have been open to conviction. It was under cover of this irritation that the Administration forces put through a rule limiting debate on the Administrative Committee report (the crucial debate of the Convention) to ten minutes per speaker. Later this ruling was ignored, when the Opposition threatened not to participate in any discussion unless they be given more time to present their case.

WHEN the debate finally got under way, almost nobody talked about the Administrative Committee report, although the vote on it would be in the nature of a vote of confidence in the Lipsky regime. Mrs. Robert Szold discussed the relations of Hadassah to the Z. O. A. Maurice Samuel rehashed in complex and elegan: language the "I, the Jew versus You Gentiles" argument. Abraham Goldberg swelled with pride because nobody had been able to prove Lipsky a thief. At this point the sheep in the Administration ranks rose to cheer the good news.

As a matter of fact, Abraham Tulin had been at specific pains publicly to deny on a number of occasions that either he or any other Oppositionist had ever thought, said or insinuated that any member of the Administration was guilty of dishonesty for personal profit. In the debate on the Administrative Committee report he now made that point clear again. His speech, marred as it was by occasional tactical blunders (as when he said something suspiciously like Ma yomru ha-Goyim), was nevertheless calculated to win attention in a meeting swayed by reasonable processes-not, that is, in the Pittsburgh Zionist Con-He argued that the five vention. Judges were Dr. Weizmann's appointees, that they were not Nordies, that they included friends of Lipsky and Zionist workers, and that their report (at the request of Judge Mack and other Opposition leaders) had been earefully phrased "to do as little harm and as much good as possible" to the Z. O. A. and Zionism. The Judges have not attempted to dictate to this Convention, he said in effect. They have reported to Dr. Weizmann. But can you ignore their findings?

Insofar as the Administration had any public reply to make to that argument, it was made by Morris Rothenberg. His point was simply and lucidly put: the Administration has been guilty of errors, but those errors are two years old; furthermore they are insignificant compared to the great work done by the Lipsky regime in seven years. Are you going to turn us out because of these ancient and unimportant lapses?

The statement that the incidents were all two years old was a bit disingenuous. Many delegates must have known that a number of the incidents ran down into 1928. But most delegates were not interested in checking such points. Rather they were evolving in their minds (with generous guidance from Lipsky leaders) the following process of reasoning: "The Judges' report means nothing. We have a Judge too, Judge Gustave Hartmann, a Jewish Jew and a goodhearted man; he runs an orphan asylum. Now unser Judge says the conclusions don't follow from the findings. Yet the Opposition says Lipsky will not rundare not run. They also say the report is milder than it could have been. They mean by this that facts have been concealed which would prove Lipsky to have been personally dishonest for personal gain. This is patently impossible because Lipsky is a Jewish Jew. Therefore, the Opposition are slanderers who must be repudiated. Therefore the Judges' report must be thrown out. Lipsky vindicated, and Zionist idealism saved from the Nordie Jews who do not hesitate to sling mad at our great hero in order to gain power."

The acceptance of the Administrative Committee report, while it was achieved by only eight more votes than needed, was, nevertheless, conclusive. At this point if the Lipsky lieutenants could have had their wish, they would have steam-rellered the Opposition without further ado and proceeded to the election of Lipsky as President. They were held back by one influence: a few important Administration delegates (devoted Zionists from the provinces with a deep affection for their leader) still insisted that for the sake of harmony and decency Lipsky should not accept the presidency, which he had already specifically renounced. As long as these men held out, Lipsky could not accept, and the real war-horses of the Administration were faced by the possible necessity of making concessions to the Opposition or to "public opinion."

T this moment there appeared to A guide the Convention a pillar of cloud out of the West, in the person of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Rabbi of The Temple of Cleveland. Rabbi Silver immediately on his arrival began a oneman personal investigation. He approached one after another the chief leaders of the Opposition and asked them: "Did Lipsky steal anything?" Shortly after Tulin had made his speech, Silver put the question to him. Later, Silver spoke with Jacob Fishman of the New York Morning Journal. Late that night Fishman reported to a caucus of Lipsky delegates that Silver had told him that Tulin had said that Lipsky would not dare to run for President because if he did the District Attorney would undertake an examination of the Z. O. A. books. Immediately the Administration whips were among the delegates spreading the news. "They are slandering our leader! Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver has told us! We must vindicate him!"

Now, whether Silver really told such a thing to Fishman or not will probably never be known. We know only that Silver now denies that he gave Fishman any such report of Tulin's statement, while Fishman insists that he did. Furthermore, after his conversation with Tulin, but before the news became public, Silver spent some time with Judge Mack, Tulin's party leader, without once mentioning to Mack that Tulin had slandered Lipsky. We also know this, that Maurice Samuel says he obtained the report from Fishman, received confirmation of it from Silver, and then, without troubling to question Tulin as to its veracity, spread the news among the delegates. And this further statement is vouched for by two Opposition delegates: that they arranged with Silver a meeting between himself and Tulin at which they were to discuss together what Tulin had really said so that a true version might be given to the Convention . . . whereupon Dr. Abba Hillel Silver left the hotel-a few minutes before the appointment and fully an hour before his train left for Cleveland.

The entire Silver incident had, of course, a distinctly unsavory air. Nor did the willingness of six Connecticut. delegates to testify that Tulin had said something similar to them seem unusually impressive. Long ago a Connecticut delegate had said as much, referring to a two-months' old speech by Tulin in which the latter predicted that the "Opposition charges would drive Lipsky from public life." While the Administration tried to interpret this as a charge of criminal dishonesty against Lipsky, Tulin explained in quite a different and easily credible fashion this and all similar statements, including that made at an

Opposition caucus and later reported in the New York Day: they referred only to the charges eventually considered by the Judges, proven before the Judges, made public by the Judges, and on the basis of which the Judges themselves had stamped Lipsky as unfit for further office in the Z. O. A. These, Tulin naïvely believed, would "drive Lipsky from public life."

Certainly Tulin had on more than one occasion talked about "maximum and minimum" in relation to the Judges' report. Did he mean by this or did he mean to insinuate by this that the Judges had suppressed facts which, if made public, would prove Lipsky a thief? Such was the contention of Administration leaders and such, apparently, was the belief of numberless delegates. Tulin, however, constantly attempted to explain that he meant no such thing. What he claims was in his mind was this: that had the Judges been less careful of the good reputation of the Z. O. A., they might have phrased their report in a much harsher manner. They might, for example, have referred to the way in which certain important testimony was dragged out of an Administration witness; they might have mentioned the tardiness with which other Administration men offered material information; they might have mentioned the fact that Lipsky's admitted motive in endorsing without authority a note for a private person (Mrs. Lefkowitz of Hadassah) was that she "was in opposition . . . and it would be a good thing . . . to help her out at this juncture"; \* they might have disclosed the fact that a large number of

<sup>\*</sup> Later Mr. Lipsky medified this admission, saying he took the action because he thought it was his duty to do so, and in order to encourage better relations with Hadassah.

private funds given to the Z. O. A. for transfer to Palestine were, at a time when the Organization was not solvent. temporarily diverted and mixed with funds used for general Zionist purposes; they might have disclosed the fact that between the time of announcement of the Judges' hearings and their first session, the 1928 Z. O. A. balance sheet was changed to give the impression that the delayed transference of University trust funds had been made good before anyone knew that hearings were to be held. And though their chief blow (the recommendation that Lipsky be cropped from the Z. O. A.) was directed at a vital spot, it might have been delivered with less padding in the way of apologetic phrases.

No one could, of course, know for a certainty that the Judges had softened the blow with a view to preventing any damage to public confidence in the Z. O. A. or in the Zionist cause, while eliminating those implicated in the discredited practices. Yet it was not entirely preposterous to believe that they had done so. Especially might members of the Opposition have believed that, since they themselves had urged such action upon the Judges. Hence it may well have been that Tulin meant when he talked loosely about "maximum and minimum" what he later repeatedly said he meant: not that charges of dishonesty had been suppressed, but that the tenor of language and use of detail in the report had been deliberately mitigated. In this event, it was clear that, for a good lawyer, Tulin had been singularly irept in his use of language. It was not, however, clear that he had been insinuating slanders against Lipsky.

In the light of such reasoning—which, apparently was beyond the competence or patience of most delegates—the Silver-

Fishman incident took on an additionally fishy odor, and one could hardly avoid the suspicion that someone was rubbing on the red herring pretty thickly. Certainly the Administration leaders leaped joyously at their opportunity when Fishman reported his conversation with Rabbi Silver to them. High rage, deep sorrow, threats of violence, vows of undying vengeance, affronted innocence—Lipsky and Samuel and Weisgal and Silverman and all the small and large Administration hacks played on the emotions of the delegates. When the Convention assembled on Tuesday for its last sessions, it was as clear as the nose or your face that Lipsky was to be reflected President. The news was out that, exhorted by his indignant friends who only yesterday had urged him not to accept, he would now take the office lest his honor become suspect. again Samuel proclaimed that "the Convention was in the hands of the delegates, running away from its leaders," apparently forgetful of the fact that it was he, among others, who administered the stimulant which was making it run so fast.

It was too late now for the Opposition to catch up. Judge Mack rose for the first time, to make a statement explanatory of the position of Tulin and the Opposition. It was poetically just, if sad, that the leader of the Opposition, who had sat in the back benches lest his ermine be sullied by parliamentary wrangings, should have to rise now in an effort to clean up such a filthy mess. He read a statement by Tulin denying the truth of Silver's statement as reported by Fishman. He ventured a guess as to what was behind that statement. (Silver had not yet given the lie to Fishman; he had merely left town.) The Rabbi, Mack said, had been "pumped full

from the soles of his feet to the crown of his head" with red herring juice by Administration leaders on his arrival at the Convention. He had then asked questions until he heard something which sounded to him like what he expected to hear, i.e., a charge of personal dishonesty for profit against Lipsky. What he had actually heard from Tulin, Judge Mack suggested, were a number of statements such as this: "The Atterney-General could look into the books of the Commodore Trading Company." Now, a Rabbi, Judge Mack explained, need not know the difference between a District Attorney who makes a criminal investigation and an Attorney-General who makes a merely formal investigation with a view to determining fact. Nor need he be over-clear as to how looking into the books of the Commodore would be related to a question of Lipsky's honesty in connection with the Z. O. A. He might simply jump to the mystical conclusion that he had heard a charge of dishonesty for profit.

All this sounded logical enough, yet Judge Mack's explanation seemed to drop among the delegates like so many words without meaning. There was simply nothing to be said in the situation, nor did the delegates hear Mack, however silently they listened. His manner of speech was hardly theirs; here surely was no leader for the masses; whatever faults he had, they were the reverse of the demagogue's.

THE end was now in sight. Already a disorderly physical invasion of the platform by a gang of shouting Administration men (generaled by the Hon. Elihu D. Stone and Robert Silverman of Boston, and a New York office hangeron who was no delegate but wore a delegate badge), had caused the adjourn-

ment in extreme disorder of a session at which the Peace Committee (a neutral body headed by Professor Mordecai M. Kaplan) was trying to present a plan of harmony which included the elimination of Lipsky from the presidency and the Administrative Committee. Now the machine rolled on, ruthless, triumphant. Judge William M. Lewis, who had served as Chairman during the earlier sessions with decent impartiality, gave over the gavel with increasing frequency to Max Shulman of Chicago. The latter was either downright and deliberately unfair or else grossly incompetent as a Chairman. Whichever the case was, the effect was the same. The wings of the platform became more crowded than ever with Lipsky lieutenants, Lipsky delegates, and paid workers. Lipsky intimates directed the Administration's tactics from the platform itself. Meyer Weisgal, for example-a paid worker and delegate who was on the platform without invitation but theoretically in order to supply to the Chairman information which he, as Secretary of the Z. O. A., had ready to hand-was constantly beside the tribune, and often waved his instructions to the Administration forces on the loor: "Call for the motion," he would shout, and from the floor would come the echoing call. Wild-eyed delegates pressed to the front of the room, stood on the seats reserved for the press, sat on the steps leading to the platform, shouted at speakers, dissolved into tears at the mention of Lipsky's name, hardened into curses at the sight of an Opposition face.

One consoled oneself by saying that these people had passions, convictions, individuality. One argued that they were superior to the docile delegates at a Republican National Convention who, stirred for a moment to express such views as they may hold, subside at the fishy glance of a shyster Senator into ignominious silence. The fact remained that if many of the delegates were not what Dr. Wise called them—rowdies their behavior was too frequently downright rowdyish.

One last riece of business remained: the crowding through of an Administration slate. The chief officers were elected without contest. It was a foregone conclusion that the Lipsky regime was to be reinstated, and the Opposition saw no use in further protest. Then the Nominating Committee brought forward the name of the Hon. Elihu D. Stone as Chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Z. O. A. That gentleman had been the leader of the disorderly elements when they interrupted Professor Kaplan's plea for peace the night before. It was at his door that the death of the Peace Committee plans was largely laid. When he was now mentioned for honor, there seemed to sweep through the Convention a sudden nausea. Administration as well as Opposition ranks filled the hall with booes and hisses. It was at this point that Dr. Wise, who thus far had given the somewhat ludicrous impression of a man carrying water on both shoulders and dissipating all his power in doing so, achieved undignified, impolitic and altogether delightful heights. Cupping his hand orer his ear, he boomed: "There is so much noise here that I cannot hear very well. Such an incredible name seems to me to have been mentioned that Lask you to name it again." Amid mingled Opposition laughter and booes from Lipsky stalwarts, someone on the floor nominated Dr. Wise to oppose the Honorable Stone. Taking the platform, Dr. Wise informed the Administration orces that they might "in

the heat of passion and in the drunkenness of triumph" scuttle the Peace Committee and their plan "which would
have brought peace with honor." "But,"
he added, "there are limits which even
you cannot transgress. I might have
accepted, I might have been unutterably
grateful for the nomination to the office
of Chairman of the Executive Committee. But after the nomination that has
been made by the Committee on Nominations, I consider a nomination of me
an insult to a Jew and a Zionist."

But apparently Dr. Wise, like the Opposition, was too naïve. There were no limits which the Convention would not transgress. Professor Mordecai Kaplan was nominated from the floor to oppose Stone. His name was greeted with enthusiasm as near unanimous as had been seen in the entire three days. Thereupon Rabbi Max Heller, the Administration's patriarch, rose and stated to the Convention that Professor Kaplan, who had already left for New York, had expressed to him "sentiments which made it absolutely certain that if we elected him, he would decline." He added that it was customary, in cases where a refusal seemed probable, not to elect a man. This latter was patent balderdash; even a Louisiana Rabbi must have heard of the nomination of Governor Lowden by the Republican Party in 1924-a nomination consistently refused by him and given, after final rejection, to General Dawes. It is of more than incidental interest that Professor Kaplan has since stated to the writer the following:

Rabbi Heller had no authority to speak for me. I never told Rabbi Heller that I would decline effice, because I had never dreamed of being mominated to any office. Although Rabbi Heller had overheard me saying to someons else in a moment of discouragement that I did not see how I could get my friends to contribute money to an Asiministration which rode rough-shod over the Judges' report. I did not say that I would advise my friends to withhold their cooperation, but ven refused an opportunity to so advise them before leaving the Convention, when some of my friends asked me whether they should accept office under the present Administration.

Rabbi Heller's statement to the Convention, however, went uncontradicted, since he said that it was based on a conversation with Professor Kaplan himself. Now a whispered conference between Chairman Shulman and a few of the war-horses on the platform was followed by one more gross and flagrant violation of the rights of the Convention. Although the only business properly on the floor was the election of a Chairman of the Executive Committee from among those nominated (the Honorable Stone had offered to withdraw if Kaplan would accept—a disingenuous offer since Rabbi Kaplan was at that moment on a train between Pittsburgh and New York), the Nominations Committee Chairman astonishingly announced that he would take back the names for reconsideration. A delegate protested against such high-handed procedure, and was ruled out of order. He appealed from the decision of the Chair, and he was told that no appeal would be heard.\* A few minutes later the leaders of the Opposition and scores of delegates from both sides left for New York on the night train. No sooner had they departed than the name of the Honorable Stone was again reported back to the Convention. Professor Kaplan was again nominated from the floor, and Stone was elected, 136 to 79, out of a possible vote of some 600. There can be little doubt, if the booes for Stone and the applause for Kaplan at their first nomination are any indication, that Professor Kaplan would have been overwhelmingly elected.

NOW the Convention wandered off into the night, with a diminishing quorum and an apathetic discussion of formal, uninspired resolutions. Louis Lipsky's closing address carried out the chief motif of the Convention: he accused the Opposition of being afflicted with Golus morality and, simultaneously, a lack of American sportsmanship. This was hardly a complete explanation of what defeated the Opposition. Apart from the Opposition's own tactical blunders, the Convention had been underlaid by habitual devotion to Lipsky on the part of large numbers of delegates. permeated by a highly conscious notion of group solidarity contra Gentiles, and dominated by a political machine adept in the use of trickery, canards, red herrings and railroading.

The question arises, of course, were the services of Rabbi Silver and the emotional capital he provided essential to the reflection of Lipsky and the triumph of the Administration?\* It is

<sup>\*</sup>It is of interest that in this portion of the story of the Convention as princed in the New Palestine, of July 13-20, material which might throw light on machine tactics has been smitted. Mr. Weisgal, editor of the New Palestine, says that the official minutes contain no mention of a protest and appeal against the high-handed tactics of the Chairman. The fact remains that this writer was present, not fifteen feet removed from the protesting delegate and the Chairman, when the incident occurred. Other observers correborate his impression. It is of further interest that the same issue of the New Palestine contains articles touched by inaccurate reporting of fact. Mr. Weisgal, for example, who incited the delegates to disserder by his own shouted commands from the platform itself, says that the disorder "was the method of expression that an inarticulate group used to repudiate those who rose to flout its will."

<sup>&</sup>quot;In an article in the august Reflex entitled "The Unforgettable Night," Maurice Samuel fails to answer this question cat-gorically. At first he says that "there has been much exaggeration of the influence" of the incident, and then goes further than has anyone else toward proving that it was decisive, in that it induced certain of Lipsky's friends to ask him to run for the presidency.

hard to guess just what other reason might have been given for his acceptance of the office he had so irrevocably declined "in the interests of peace and harmony." Yet doubtless some reason could have been found, and perhaps the Lipsky men are correct today when they boast that even had not the pillar of cloud appeared out of Cleveland, the delegates would have thrown out the Judges' report, repudiated the Opposition, and vindicated Jewish idealism.

At any rate, the Administration triumphed. Their followers went home morally uplifted, for they had fought the good fight. As for the Opposition, defeated and embittered, they retired with a heightened determination to defeat Lipskyism. To them the Pittsburgh Convention was, apparently, a lesson. They have reformed their lines of battle and are planning another assault all along the line. This time principles are promised as well as charges, no quarter will be given, and the fight will be to the death.

As for the neutral observer, he went home, too—to rest, and to contemplate the lefty idealism which Zionism, as embodied in the Z. O. A., has brought into the Golus.



## WHY DO THE HEATHEN RAGE? - PART TWO.

Abba Hille Vilver.

The above title may require some explanation. Six years ago "Why do the Heathen Rage?" Part I appeared. Some of my readers may recall it and the episode connected with it. It was written originally for the Menorah Journal at the request of its editor, Mr. Henry Hurwitz. A series of vicious attacks on American Rabbis and American Judaism had appeared in the Journal. To allay the widespread resentment stirred up by this article and as a concession to those Rabbis who had been beguiled into giving financial aid to the Journal, Mr. Hurwitz thought it expedient to print a reply favorable to the point of view of the Rabbis. He asked me, may he entreated me, to write this reply. I begged off at first but finally consented. Mr. Hurwitz was "very glad to received the article, glad even after reading it" best "would make the article the leader in our June issue." The galley proofs were later on sent to me for correction. But in the June issue the article did not appear, nor had Mr. Hurwitz taken the trouble to advise me of the fact.

When I called upon Mr. Hurwitz and requested the return of my manuscript he spoke long and confusedly in explanation of its suppression. Out of the maze of his pitiful circum-locution I could understand but one thing; he was afraid that my article would discourage the young writers who had been desporting themselves in the columns of the Menorah Journal with such joyous abandon, attacking everyone and everything

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they did not seem to like. The article had exposed them and made them ridiculous.

"Why do the Heathen Rage" was of course printed that summer serially in the Jewish Tribune. Mr. Hurwitz attempted to intercept its publication, but without success. The publication of the article and especially the story of its suppression did not do the Menorah Journal any good.

Ever since that time the Journal has been "laying for me". From time to time I was treated to its chrip and claw and the the poisonous drippings. To betty Vergence,

In 1928 Mr. Herbert Solow the "political expert" of the Journal, who recently demolished the whole of Zionism with two fell swoops, in reporting the Pittsburgh Zionist Convention of that year devoted considerable space to the role which he believed I played at that Convention - all written of course in that slurring cynicism which, in the Memorah, takes the place of style and erudition, and printed a downright falsehood which was calculated to put me in the light of a man running away from the consequences of his own action. Mr. Sclow, after much wriggling, was compelled to publish a retraction of that story in his own Memorah Journal.

for another chance and its opportunity came with the publication of my recent book "Religion in a Changing World."

It was through the medium of literary criticism that the Journal was going to pay off an old score. It is a well known device

At a given signal the flood-gates of filth were opened wide and through thirteen muddy columns the criticism of my book runs on with a certain Felix Monroe in charge of the oracala maxima.

characterizations voiced in Monroe's review of my book. "Speaking futilely and irrelevantly from his lofty perch...that kind of stuff....don't you risk making an ass of yourself....that is a nice dodge....the things you sprouted from the pulpit....it would take more than your intelligence and capacity....will you never cease your bromides....the old middle of the road togsh...."

This, you must know, is considered brilliant writing by the exponents of the new Judaic civilization, in the Memorah Journal.

Mr. Monroe begins his diatribe by referring to the illustration on the cover of my book - the conventional figure of a religious leader stancing on the top of a mountain and surveying the simple moving word of today. Monroe pounces on that. "The figure decries aloud and is cunningly suggestive of Rabbi Silver." How he arrives at his conclusion is rather puzzling, for this figures has his back turned to the writer... But the detective-critic has rare gifts of analysis. The figure is tall and has two hands and is not Rabbi Silver also tall and has he not also two hands?...

Having established this fatal identity, the critic proceeds to point out that there are no heads sticking out of the buildings and towers enthe drawing and therefore nobody is paying any attention to what the man on the mountain - i.e. Rabbi Silver -

delightful morrow is saying. Monroe gloats over this pleasing discovery. He forgets however that at least one nan stopped to listen with wide allertion open ears and with rapt vindictive anticipations - Mr. Monroe himself - and that the latter thought the utterances of such that she importance as to hasten back to the editorial office of the Menorah Journal and fill thirteen valuable columns of the Journal with a furious rebuttal of what the man on the mountain had to say. and At least 150 other reviewers also stopped to listen, though not being possessed of any obsessive hatred of Rabbis, these reviewers recorded their impressions in hundreds of columns of newspapers and magazines in a totally different vein. Also a reading public of thousands was on hand to call for three editions of the book in the first ninety days of its publication - so interested were they to discover what "the tall lowly Priest, or shall we call him Rabbi, had to say. Not so bad thinkent the lowly man on the mountain, especially when he recalls how consistently and conspicuously the cruel unheathing world has failed to stampede the subscription department of the Menorah Journal itself whose writers never speak "futilely and irrelevantly" and whose intelligence and capacity are sufficient for the most gigantic tasks of secial reconstruction.

The critic even proceeds to remind the writer of the book i.e. Rabbi Silver - that he is not running "the big show spread
out in panorama before him". What a disillusionment! And here
I have been thinking of the time that I was actually managing
the whole show myself, that I was personally responsible for

sadder and a wiser man today as a result of Mr. Montal's startling information. I know now that I was deluded. It was after all not to my voice that Stalin and Mussolini and Macdonald and Wall.

Street have been listening all this while, but to the powerful and commanding voice of the Menorah Journal freighted with the wisdom of the ages, the rulers of the earth seam with reverence and trepidation every month (now unfortunately only every two and three months)

Here perhaps a word should be said about Mr. Monroe's Monroe's scholastic qualifications to review my book or any other book, for that matter. Towards the close of my essay on "Science and Religion" I state:

"Startlingly new discoveries in religion as in art are extremely rare and progress in these fields could have but a very limited connotations. Peaks of perfection were reached long ago in the realm of art, religion and philosophy and beyond the peaks one cannot climb.....

We can invent a machine today that will run thirty miles an hour and tomorrow one that will run sixty, and the next day one that will fly in the air instead of running on the ground. Such rhopplic, linear progression in technological skill and efficiency is possible in the material world, but not in the artistic or spiritual world....Art and Religion are very ancient enterprises of the human spirit. They have their cycles of growth and decay, as well as their definite organic limits....

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Little that is really new can be added to the basic inventory of religion and morality. Little can be added to the racial wisdom which crystallized itself through the ages in 'Love they neighbor as theyself' or 'Justice Justice, shalt though pursue' or 'Ye shall do no unrighteousness in Judgment' or 'Nation shall not lift up sword against Nation.'"

To which the critic rejoins: "You know well enough that the ancientness (sie of these platitudes about justice and peace does not make them any less platitudes and I need not remind you that if it is ancientness you are looking for you will find them in the civil code of Hammulrabi." Not only did the critic fail to understand the clear and simple meaning of my statement - it was not "ancientness" that I was emphasizing, but the fact that certain truths once having been adequately formulated cannot be improved upon by later ages - but he dragged in a bit of "learning" to adorn his criticism which betrays that he is not only an "irnocent by-stander" but an ignorant one as well. Mr. Monroe simply never read the code of Hammulrabi, for no where in the 2500 lines of inscription is there anything which in the remotest approximates the prophetic utterances referred to in my statement, nor would anyone who was acquainted with the code have spoken of it as a "civil code" in country ter-distinction to the religious code of the Bible. The code of Hammulrabi is no less a religious code than the Book of the Convenant. In the first hundred lines of the code are enormous references to diety and to cult, and as the obverse of the block of black diorite upon which the code is inscribed

is a representative of King W receiving his laws from the seated sun-God Shamash, "the Judge of Heaven and Earth".

So much for Mr. Monroe's scholarship and now for a sample of his method of criticism.

In my first essay on the role of meligion and the changing world, I state that to my mind religion has a fourfold function to perform in modern society: (1) To uphold the spiritual versus the material interpretation of the Universe. (2) To safeguard the vital and indispensable hopes of the human race as long as they are not controverted by surer knowledge and as long as they serve the advancing needs of human life. (3) To nurture the spirit of hopefulness among men, for religion alone can proclaim the dogma of human progress and the value of human ideals, and (4) to resist unintelligent, uninformed change in the realms of basic humand relationships, such as the home, marriage, sex standards, etc. and to act as a balance wheel when new and unrectified theories throw mankind into great intellectual commotion.

Now, one may agree with this thesis or not. One may be religious or not. Religion has had its proponents and opponents since the beginning and will continue to have them until the end. But Mr. Momon Monroe has a brand new way of answering the arguments of religion. The first statement that religion champions the spiritual versus the material view of the universe is countered with a dramatic outcry, twice repeated lest the full crushing force of it be lost on the reader; "What does your God do?" You see, the Menorah boys will not permit even God to have a hand in "running the show". Short of running the universe God for course has nothing

My second statement is passed over in silence. The third is answered by declaring that there are **Theists** and Bolsheviste who are hopeful fellows, and the fourth is interpreted as a sop to the president of my congregation, who would be dreafully shocked if he discovered that religion favored change.

But it is on the deared essay "The Church and Social Justice" and the "Church and World Peace" that the critic vents himself of his bile. The paper "The Church and Social Justice" when first delivered before the National Conference of Social Work in 1926. In it I attempted to define the fundamental attitudes of organization religion with the problems of social justice. Clearly, only the central thesis could be stated, not the detailed application to every possible contingency in the economic field. I took the position of the economic liberal. This position is damned by Mr. Tenree as "The old middle of the road posh - when there isn't a middle of the road". This is the ipse digit of this new oracle, the latest addition to the safety-first long-distance Bolshevick romance in our land.

But decidedly there is a middle of the road and I choose to follow it. Had the critic taken the trouble to read further on in my book insteading of stopping when he thought he had enough ammunition for his barrage, he would have come upon a definition and a defense of the very middle of the road which the economic liberal chooses to take:

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"The Liberal here will have a hard road to travel. His way must always be the groping way, the way of experimentation, compromise and moderation - the accustomed way of progress. He has no simple and appealing formula - no panacea for all economic ills. His philosophy must always be the unheroic philosophy of the half loaf, rather than the extremist's philosophy of the whole or nothing. He will be damned alike by radical and reactionary...But the Liberal's way is nevertheless the sure way of social salvation."

in a Changing World" is a defender of the present economic system intoto including all of its patent evils. According he quoted from the essay:

"The Church must rise above the prevalent economic system. It must not attempt in doctrinaire fashion to substitute another system for it."

and he stops dead right there. Evidently he did not have wind enough left to go on to the very next sentence: "Meither should it commit itself to the role of defender and apologist of the existing system." Priceless, isn't it?.,,

Elsewhere in the essay on the "Church and Social Justice"

I define the role of the Church in the following terms:

"It must labor for a social reconstruction which will afford all men a better chance of security and happiness. The church must summon its adherents to a close scrutiny of social ills.

It must stimulate research and inquiry into their possible

remedies. It must place the social responsibility for amelicrating these conditions squarely upon the shoulders of its devotees...It must voice the maximum idealism of life, calling for a condition of society in which man will at all times be primary, and the satisfaction of his legitimate needs superior to profit or the accumulation of wealth, in which rewards will be commensurate with service, and in which none shall partake of social goods who does not contribute to the social weal."

I indicate the economic ills with which the Church ought to concern itself continuously:

"Untold millions are starved by poverty and physically and spiritually drained by exploitation. Millions of children are broken upon the wheels of industry. The burdens of our economic order lie heavily upon the shoulders of our womanhood. The dread of unemployment, old age and disability hang like a pall over the working classes."

point to a definite program of action. Singly and collectively many of us have for years attempted in our given spheres of influence, to give concrete expression to these ideals. In pursuit of them some of us have been branded as agitators and radicals. Epithets quite the opposite of those which Mr. Montes would pin on us.

We have championed many a project of advanced social legislation.

We have fought for the minimum wage, for employers compensation, for child labor legislation, for old age pensions, for unemployment insurance, for the right of collective bargaining and

against the yellow dog contract and the abuse of the injunction.

One personal reference here may not be amiss. I speak of it because it occurred recently. I am sure that many of my colleagues have had similar activities to report. The unemployment insurance bill, which was introduced in the last session of the Chio State Legislature, was drafted in my own Temple, by a Committee representing all the elements of our community, meeting, under my chairmanship, regularly for a period of two years and studying in great detail the problem of unemployment insurance. I appeared before the Legislature of Columbus in advocacy of the bill. Like many offer of my colleagues I have championed, during my Winistry, many a strike in which the interests of Labor were involved, Strikes, in some of which many of the influential members of my Congregation were involved as employers. Some of my friends may recall my prolonged controversy with the powerful Chamber of Commerce in Cleveland on the subject of the open shop and collective bargaining. Recently the "Church Management", a Christian Religious periodical published in Cleveland, in a review of my book declared; "While Christian Ministers are debating among themselves whether or not it is good strategy to speak out in Jabor disputes, Rabbi Silver speaks and the city listens." To insinuate therefore, as does Mr. Morroe, that all that Rabbis do in the matter of social justice is to "utter Fromides" is to stand self-accused of Lythen ignorance or mendacity or both.

My essay "The Church and World Peace" serves Mr. Monroe as an excuse to belabor me and my colleagues on our War records.

This is a favorite passtime of the Menorah Journal. In the

March 1931 issue of the Journal, all the prominent rabbis who were active in the War as Chaplains or as private citizens are signalled out by name and enumerated in a terrifying new Black List - all the rabbis except those who are on the Boards of the Menorah Journal or who are contributing financial assistance to the periodical. These latter are immune and it is the only way by which to gain immunity from the scurrillous attacks of this Journal. Incidentally, one notices with amazement that not one conservative rabbi is includes in this Black List. Were there no army Chaplains among them? Have conservative rabbis been spared because they are more liberal financial contributors to

the Menorah Journal or because they are less religious as Mr.

The Fabbis (Reform) are raked over the coals for not having been pacifists during the War. One wonders why the Pacifist Menorah itself was silent during the War. The Menorah Journal was founded in 1915. Why did not this post-bellum Pacifist Journal have anything to say in its columns about the War while the War was going on? Why did it wait thirteen years before it found its woice to speak and then not in contrition and sorrow, but in bitter denunication of others who were also caught up in the maelstrom of War enthusiasm? And actually believed that I was a way to describe the state of the state

Where was the Editor-in-Chief of the Mendrah Journal, Chancellor Hurwitz in 1917? Was he perhaps a conscientious objector languishing in prison for his "Pacifist" views? No gentle reader. Read and weep.

In October 1917 Mr. Henry Hurwitz writes in the Menorah

Journal "If for America now, in common with the rest of the world, the great war is a war for the preservation of democracy, then the very life-breath of the Menorah movement is at stake....The Menorah Organization is called upon - not luke warmly in platonic loyalty to a far away ideal, but for absolute self-preservation, to enter the lists and help in the struggle for human freedom. Though an organization like ours cannot clothe itself in Khaki and repair to the firing line - for its broadest service must be of another kind - it is worth stating that Menorah men individually have rallied to the colors in large numbers. Even last Spring there was hardly a Menorah meeting in every part of the country without the generous presence of members in Khaki....We may be confident that whether as officers or in the ranks, Menorah men will give the account of themselves that is expected of all upstanding American fouth."

And In the December 1917 issue Mr. Henry Hurwitz actually
waxes homiletical, cuite the of those Rabbis who he so
heartily despises, the article is the leading article of that issue
and is entitled "The Maccabaean Summons", and In it we are told that
"The treat was struggle in which America is now assuming so important a role, has an extraordinary parallel in Jewish History.
Twenty centuries ago a Wilhelm Holhenzollern, whose Greek rame was
Antiochus Epiphanes, attempted to dominate the world and to
impose his fulture over all peoples. The little Hebrew nation
alone inspired by Mattathias and brilliantly led by Judas the
Hammer, challenged the overwhelming military power. With unexampled valor and strategy a small citizen army fought on the

hills and fields of Palestine against the trained legionaires of the ancient Frussian....So new by the dream-like romance of history, puritan and Hebrew recross the seas from America to Europe, and have been to the very scene of the ancient Maccabaean struggle, to save anew this human rights and ideals that the Hebrew profilets preach and the Maccabeaean soldier preserved."

In his speech delivered before the quinquennial Convention of the Menorsh Association held in December 1917 and published in the Menorsh Journal, February 1918 Mr. Hurwitz stated "We live in stirring times. The first duty of the Menorsh men is to fight, fight for the principles for which all our allies are fighting.

The Menorsh men have not been backward in that. Our ranks today are depleted because the army of Menorsh men have answered 'The Maccabaean summons' in the straightest way."

vicariously through the scribbling o his Associate But was the same attitude to the War while the War was the second of the War while the War was the second on as the same attitude to the War while the War was

was Mr. Felix Morror. He was eleven years old when the was bit to help entered the World War and he was probably doing his bit to help win the War by singing the Star Spangled Banner at the head of his class in public school.

It requires a particular kind of Yiddisher Church for such a group to set itself up as judges and critics of other men.

The Ratbis of the 13. are not ashamed of an enthusiasm that

P and where was the Elder of zion- Mr. Elist E. Colen- whom who to the Heather Ray ? " Part on drove cuto probettors avenuagent to the arms one accordance of the star arms ....

was genuine and of a hope that proved vain. They did not advocate the War. Until the very last most of them opposed it. was declared they were confronted with a terrible What could they do? They were not conscientious objectors for aud Judaism is not a Pacifist religion. They performed their luties which were required of them to the best of their ability. It is the grossest infamy to suggest that "You rabbis whooped up the War, to end War, with the worst of them and hated your Gernan neighbor hard enough to suit any 100 percenter." They did not hate their German neighbors, they did not preach hate, they hoped, @ that millions of peoples both here and abroad - the intellectuals of Mr. Hurwitz's ilk included - that the War would be the last of World Wars and they resolved to do their utmost in the future to help destroy the war machine. Frequently during the World War I was called upon to explain to Federal Authorities statements which I made in my pulput which were interpreted by some as being impatriotic and pro-German because I refused to give way to the blind hate and furty which was spreading over the land. Immediately after the War, I Joined hands with other Ministers

and laymen in organized efforts for a just international peace.

and for the creation of instrumentalities for the amicable adjustment of international disputes. Together with my colleagues I

labored for the World Court for the outlawry of War and
disarmament. We have advocated the revision of Varsi treatles.

We have opposed military training in schools and are continually
endeavoring to educate our people into the real meaning of

patriotism and the real cause of War and the paramount importance of international cooperation.

For my peace activities I have been honored by the D.A.R. by being placed on their Black List even as the Menorah Journal has placed me on its Back List for my participation in the War.

The question then remains, "Why do the Heathen Rage?" The answer is what else could they do?

a scandal sheet.



August 20th, 1931.

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Sept. 17th, 1931.

Dear Henry Hurwitz:

You have now told me in detail what the new editorial policy is that you plan to institute with the next issue of the Journal, the newpolicy which is so completely to alter the spirit and the content of the Journal as to constitute, in your own words, a new epoch in the Journal's life. In brief, the new policy amounts to this: before, the Journal aimed to print what was good; now, it will print what is safe. The reason: "The Organization must be saved at all costs."

Since, as you very well know, the new policy violates every principle I hold as to what constitutes decent and effective journalism. I cannot possibly take any responsibility for the new direction of the Journal.

I therefore resign herewith as Managing Editor of the Journal, to take effect immediately.

(This is, of course, no surprise to you; you, yourself, even before you told me what the newpolicy was, stated your belief that, knowing me, you did not feel that I would wish to continue in any responsible position on the Journal under it.)

May I repeat, what I tried to make clear in our conversation, that my action is prompted by no slight or partial difference with you; my present disagreement with you is fundamental, thoroughgoing and complete.

In the past, for all the wide disparity between yourself and me in opinions, attitudes and belief, there was sufficient agreement between us as to the basic aims of the Journal to make it possible for us to work together. You shared with me certain fundamental views as to the present state of Jewish life, and as to what, in the premises, a magazine should set out to do. The organized Jewish life, we agreed, was by any decent standard chaotic, futile and sterile. Its leadership was ill-informed and imept; its ideology archaic and confused; its activities a hybrid of atavistic routine and puerile imitativeness; its culture abysmal. It had lost all real sense of the past, and it promised no future. Of course, no magazine, however excellent we agreed, could remake Jewish life - but a good Jewish magazine might have a certain influence. Let it avoid all attempts at panaceas, abstract programizing, ingenious organizational schemes; it would be doing its job well if it could offer American Jewry two simple but highly necessary, things. First, self-insight: by making available true knowledge of the actual state of Jewish life through accurate, realistic, factual descriptions of the Jewish scene. Second, the beginning of a search for a sound rationale of Jewish life: by an unsparing analysis of all current ideals and "values" offered by the various established sects, parties, movements and groups in Jewish life, and also of whatever new slogans might from time to time appear.

In brief, the Menorah Journal would try to approach Jewish life in the spirit of free, untrammeled inquiry, to bring to bear on Jewish problems all the resources of knowledge, thought and imagination that it could stimulate and muster, without external limitations of tradition, special interest, "public policy" or any of the other checks that persons and institutions in authority use to protect themselves. The Journal would strive to maintain a free field for the modern spirit in Jewish life: to encourage and make available the best possible writing on things of Jewish interest, without fear or favor,"

to use your own phrase; the Journal would be the rallying ground for fresh forces, fresh ideas, fresh vitality in Jewish life. The only standards of merit to be applied were to be intrinsic and primary - the logic, consistency, accuracy, reality, clarity, originality, etc. etc. of the work itself; there were to be no secondary considerations.

This editorial policy of the Journal was a quite different policy from that of the Journal's earlier years. Not that verbal formulations of the aims of the Journal had changed; it was rather that for the first time a serious attempt was made to give them content, to implement them, to carry them out concretely. They had been "ideals" now they became active processes. "Highthinking" and noble phrase-making gave way to realistic study of the actual contemporary life; resounding leaders voicing lofty aspiration and racial self-gratulation disappeared in favor of sharp, unsentimental inventory of Jews as they were. Of course, the magazine was by no means everything it might have been; it made mistakes; its achievement was not always first-rate; and there was no time when it was not handicapped by limited and uncertain financial resources. And there were serious internal difficulties. While there was complete accord in theory between the Editor and the Managing Editor on the policy of the magazine, in practice. in the application of the theory to actual cases, there was frequent friction, often violent disagreement. To the Managing Editor, it seemed as if the Editor often found his attachment to the policy of the Journal a yoke rather than a happy marriage; and felt the necessity of an occasional infidelity to ease a burdensome strain. At any rate, there were many lapses on the part of the Editor to be deplored and fought: efforts to soften the impact of reality in manuscripts by insistence on "detachment." "neutrality, " "Good taste; " messionic moods, in which the Menorah Movement became the Jew's sole path to salvation and the Journal the predestined organ of prophetic utterance; flights into purely verbal solutions of difficult problems, a predilection for rhetoric rather than analysis; a frequent squeemishness in the face of unpleasant facts; an attitude of carping censoriousness to prospective writers for the Journal whose work might have troublesome repercussions; efforts to use the concept"open forum" not to mean, as we had agreed, hospitality to all articles, of whatever point of view, so long as they met the literary standards of the Journal. but as a pretext to smuggle in articles that in no legree met our editorial requirements, and wose only possible reason for publication would have been to please or placate "substantial elements;" finally, the most serious of all willingness on numbers of occasions to defer to unreasonable demands of Jewish officials and functionaries, and to truckle to the financial supporters of the Menorah Association. Of course, it is clear that many of these lapses on your part were but reflections of responses to, pressure from individuals and institutions who found their interests menaced by the independent policy of the Journal. And since, unhappily, the Board of The Menorah Association included its quota of conservative, institionally-minded professional Jewish leaders (not to speak of their intimates and dependents) pressure was often exerted in a very positive, direct way. And there was always the fact, continuously menacing, and ominous for the future - that many of the important and influential supporters of The Menoral Association were frankly unfriendly to the policy of the Journal. some quite opposed to maintaining a magazine at all, of any kind.

Nevertheless, despite, difficulties and hostilities and dissensions, the Journal carried on; and carried on, on the whole, I believe, in accordance with its avowed policy. How good or how useful a magazine it was under that policy it is, of course, not for me to judge. But I believe that the magazine built a reputation for itself, that it made valuable contributions toward the better knowledge and understanding of Jewish life, and I believe that it clarified issues and made at least a good beginning toward the discovery of that rationale of Jewish life it sought, (If it never found the complete cure for the ills of Jewish life, it did expose much quackery, and every month it was pointing more and more clearly to the direction where sound medicine might be found.) And, undeniably, the Journal under the new policy brought to Jewish life a new group of writers of capacity, devotion and extraordinary promise.

But all this, you now tell me, must be changed. continue the policy of the Journal would be suicidal." The Journal must "pull in its horns;" it has "offended and alienated too many of its friends;" it must henceforth pursue a more "practical" course. It has been "destructive;" it must now become "constructive." It will no longer tear down, "slash at things," condemn, criticise; I take it, it will applaud, comfort, view with hope and satisfaction and console. No more articles likely to make enemies, more articles of a character likely to attract "substantial elements;" no more "radicalism;" no critical analysis of institutions (articles on institutions will in the future be submitted in advance to officials of these institutions for their soproval and, in order to counteract any possible harm, bureaucrats and their press agents are to find the pages of the Journal open to them to write whatever they may wish in rebuttal, free of all editorial scrutiny or limitation, in the same issue as the non-official article; no more realistic, "lewd," or depressing fiction; more laudatory book reviews; no more satire; a greater emphasis on historical articles and purely "cultural" essays (in this way avoiding the friction that discussion of current social problems tends to generate a general lowering of standards when advisable or necessary, in order that laymen, rabbis, etc. "who cannot be expected to produce work of the quality of writers, shall not be excluded from appearance in the Journal, in a word, the substitution of incluence for merit as a criterion for publication. In short, the Journal will quest no more - you say you are tired of searching, of experimenting, of intellectual adventuring - the Journal will settle down to be the kept tabby-cat on the hearthstone of the official Jewish community, and purr for a living.

In your own words to me, "The Journal, as you know it, is dead."

You are quite matter-of-fact about it; quite reconciled. But there will be many who will regret the passing of the Journal they

knew much more than you seem to; there will be many, too who will think it an amazing high-handedness that you could have talen an action so drastic without discussion or consultation with any of your associates - your decision, you say, was made quite on your own; without talking to Oko, to Wolfson or to the Managing Editor; or to Herbert Solow, or Irwin Edman, or Waldo Frank, or Marvin Lowenthal of the Board of Contributing Editors; or to the writers - whom the Journal has always considered, and asked them to consider themselves, associates. How, many will wonder, does one man in any avowedly cooperative enterprise take to himself the right to destroy at one stroke what many men working together have built? They will wonder, as I do, how you could bring yourself to so great a betrayal of everything decent and good that the Journal has been or has become - so complete and callous a dissipation of the store of intellectual and emotional and moral energy and achievement brought to the Journal through many years of men who saw in it a fit - and trustworthy - repository for the best they had to give to Jewish life.

You cannot plead that the financial crisis in which the Journal finds itself left you no other alternative. There is one simple alternative that other men in your position have found the courage to take. One can admit defeat, re-affirm the faith, and close up shop. There have been other magazines of high aim and first-rate achievement that came to a day when they could no longer carry on. I have not heard that they even considered the possibility of surviving by chucking their character and making themselves over into Women's Home Companions, Literary Digests, and Film Funs. They died and their death was honorable; their work is respectfully remembered. The society of our day being what it is, the Jewish community being what it is, and the times being what they are, maybe the hour had struck for The Menorah Journal to go down. Well, it would have gone down. And perhaps its name, too, would have remained for a blessing.

Instead - -

I cannot believe that you mean seriously what you told me, that you do not intend to announce the new policy of the Journal, but will proceed as if no change has taken place. I do not think you are capable of this indecency.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Elliot E. Cohen

Mr. Herbert Solow, Menorah Journal, 63 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Solow:-

I read with interest your article in the September issue of The Mencrah Journal, "The Vindication of Jewish Idealism" in which you give your version of what took place at the Pittsburgh Zionist Convention.

You devote considerable space to the role which you believe I played at that Convention. I do not wish to comment in detail upon that part of your article which refers to me. It is of course full of mis-statements and mis-interpretations. Had you taken the same trouble in verifying the reports concerning me by writing to me prior to the publication of your article, which you declare that you took in the case of the reports relating to Prof. Kaplan you might have perhaps obtained another version of the whole affair.

There is one statement, however, in your article to which I must take strenuous objection because it is an outright falsehood and one calculated to put me in the role of a man running away from the consequences of his own actions. You state: Ipage 265) "This further statement is vouched for by two Opposition delegates: that they arranged with Silver a meeting between himself and Tulin at which they were to discuss together what Tulin had really said so that a true version might be given to the Convention...whereupon Dr. Abba Hillel Silver left the hotel - a few minutes before the appointment and fully an hour before his train left for Cleveland."

No such meeting was ever arranged and I had no appointment with Tulin or with any other man which I did not keep. I was up all night in my room at the hotel, was visited by quite a number of men both of the Administration and the Opposition forces and left the hotel in time to get my breakfast and catch my train in order to arrive in Cleveland to officiate at a funeral of one of my members.

I would be very grateful to you if you would let me know the names of the two Opposition delegates who were your informants. If you should ever come to know me a bit better, you will learn that I am not in the habit of running away from unpleasant situations.

It might also interest you to know that I did not hold back Tulin's statement from the Opposition but that I in great detail and as accurately as I could informed Mr. Jacob DeHaas of what Tulin had said to me.

I am writing you this not in the hope that you will make a correction in your magazine, for the editors of The Menorah Journal seem to be anxious to impress the world with their omniscience and infallibility, but only that you may know that you have broadcast a false statement about a fellow Jew without taking the trouble to check up on it.

Sept. 18th,1928. Mr. Meyer W. Weisgal, 114 Fifth Ave., New York, N. T. My dear Mr. Weisgal:-I do not know whether it is your intention to comment on the article of Mr. Herbert Solow in the last issue of The Menorah Journal. I should however, like the enclosed letter which I addressed to Mr. Herbert Sclow, to be printed prominently in the columns of The New Palestine. With kindest regards, I am Very sincerely yours, AHS/IR

## The New Palestine

Official Organ of the
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
111 Fifth Avenue, New York
Telephone Algonquin 3600

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

September 21, 1928

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver The Temple East 105th Street at Ansel Road Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

We have no intention of making any comments in The New Palestine on Mr. Solow's article in the Menorah Journal. His article is as vile as the editing of the Menorah Journal is disreputable - and that according to the vote of the Authors' League of America. We shall, of course, publish your letter in The New Palestine.

I regret very much that you did not send us originally a copy of your New Year's message which you sent to the Israelite. Now, that it is already published, the best I can do is to quote only that part of it which is of direct interest to us. Why don't you put us on the mailing list and send us all the stuff that goes out from your office and I will then be able to choose what is of interest to us. It will be very helpful.

With kindest regards and best wishes for a happy New Year, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Meyer W. Weisgal

Edi tor

## Letters to the Editor

<del>}\*</del>

#### DR. SILVER NAILS A LIE

<del>X\*</del>

To the Editor of THE NEW PALESTINE:

I DO not know whether it is your intention to comment on the article of Mr. Herbert Solow in the last issue of The Menorah Journal. I should however, like the enclosed letter which I addressed to Mr. Herbert Solow, to be printed in the columns of THE NEW PALESTINE.

Yours, etc.,

ARBA HILLEL SILVER

Cleveland, September 18th.

Mr. Herbert Solow, Menorah Journal, 63 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Solow:

I read with interest your article in the September issue of The Menorah Journal, "The Vindication of Jewish Idealism" in which you give your version of what took place at the Pittsburgh Zionist Convention.

You devote considerable space to the role which you believe I played at that Convention. I do not wish to comment in detail upon that part of your article which refers to me. It is of course full of mis-statements and mis-interpretations. Had you taken the same trouble in verifying the reports concerning me by writing to me prior to the publication of your article, which you declare that you took in the case of the reports relating to Prof. Kaplan you might have perhaps obtained another version of the whole affair.

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No such meeting was ever arranged and I had no appointment with Tulin or with any other man which I did not keep. I was up all night in my mom at the hotel, was visited by quite a number of men both of the Administration and the Opposition forces and left the hotel in time to get my breakfast and catch mytrain in order to arrive in Cleveland to officiate at a funeral of one of my members.

I would be very grateful to you if you would let me know the names of the two

Opposition delegates who were your informants. If you should ever come to know me a bit better, you will learn shat I am not in the habit of running away from unpleasant situations.

It might also interest you to know hat I did not hold back Tulin's statement from the Opposition but that I in great detail and as accurately as I could informed Mr. Jacob DeHaas of what Talin had said to me.

I am writing you this not in the hope that you will make a correction in your magazine, for the editors of The Menorah Journal seem to be anxious to impress the world with their omniscience and infallibility, but only that you may know that you have broadcast a false statement about a fellow Jew without taking the trouble to check up on it.

Very sincerely,
ABBA HILLEL SILVER



Among Our Contributors

CHARLES A. BEARD H. N. BRAILSFORD LOUIS D. BRANDEIS MORRIS R. COHEN BENEDETTO CROCE JOHN DEWEY IRWIN EDMAN L. FEUCHTWANGER WALDO FRANK LOUIS GOLDING PHILIP GUEDALLA R.TRAVERSHERFORD MAURICE G. HINDUS NATHAN ISAACS M. M. KAPLAN LUDWIG LEWISOHN C. G. MONTEFIORE GEO. FOOT MOORE LEWIS MUMFORD GILBERT MURRAY FLINDERS PETRIE D. de SOLA POOL BERTRAND RUSSELL ANDRE SPIRE FRANZ WERFEL

## THE MENORAH JOURNAL

63 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

ADOLPH S. OKO
HARRY A. WOLPSON
Associate Edition
ELLIOT E. COHEN
Managing Editor
HERSIRT SOLOW
Assistant Editor



Cable Address "MENORAH"

September 26, 1928

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, The Temple, East 105th Street at Ansel Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I do not doubt that if I had asked everyone concerned to give me his opinion about every detail of what occurred at the Pittsburgh Convention, I might have obtained another, or twenty other, versions of what occurred. I did what any reporter must do in a situation of that kind: relied on my own knowledge and observation as frequently as I could, and supplemented those with what I considered fairly trustworthy information.

You say that I have made a number of misstatements and misinterpretations with regard to your actions at Pittsburgh. Since you do not specify, except in two cases, what these are, I can discuss only these with you. I shall do so, making no pretense to omniscience, and The Menorah Journal will gladly undertake to publish your denial if you will notify me that you wish it to do so.

- l. I had the statement, the truth of which you deny, from a delegate to the Convention who spoke on behalf of himself and another delegate. Furthermore, a third delegate who, I had reason to believe, was both informed and trustworthy, substantiated in some part the statement made to me by delegate number one. I have now no way of settling the issue of veracity between yourself and my source of information.
- give you the name of any but the delegate who told me the full story. That person was Mr. Johan J. Smertenko.
- 2. With regard to what you say about your conversation with Mr. De Haas, there seems to be a difference of opinion between yourself and Mr. De Haas as to what actually occurred. I spoke to Mr. De Haas a few days ago, and he told me that while you did mention the statement attributed to Mr. Tulin in a discussion with him (Mr. De Haas),

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver September 26, 1928

you did not discuss it with him in any detail. He is also of the opinion that you did not mention it to him until after the Administration knew of it.

You say that should I ever come to know you better, I would learn that you are not in the habit of running away from unpleasant situations. I hope I did not suggest that you had such a habit, and I would be glad to know you better. When you come to New York, would you take lunch with me so that we could discuss these matters in detail?

Sincerely yours,

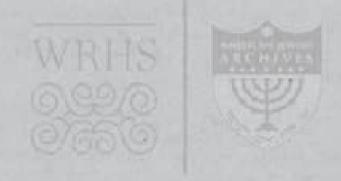
Horbert Solves

Herbert Solow MW

Sept. 27th,1928. Mr. Herbert Solow, Menorah Journal, 63 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. My dear Mr. Solow:-Permit me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of Sept. 26th. I regret to say that it impresses one with a considerable amount of evasiveness. In the first place you do not explain why you took the trouble to consult Dr. Kaplan on a matter which did not concern vitally the honor either of Dr. Kaplan or of Dr. Heller and did not take the trouble to consult me in a matter which you regard as having been of such importance as to determine to a large degree the outcome of the Convention. Your generalization in the first paragraph loes not meet the issue squarely. I am grateful to you for having given me the name of Mr. Johan J. Smertenko. I have this day written to him. You stated however, in your article that your statement concerning me was vouched by two Opposition delegates. You do not give me the name of the second delegate. In your letter you indicate that a third delegate whom you have reason to believe was both informed and trustworthy, had substantlated in some part the statement made to you by delegate number one. You do not give me the name of this person either. With regards to my conversation with Mr. DeHaas, I am glad to know that Mr. DeHaas remembers that I mentioned Tulin's statement to him. I discussed with Mr. DeHaas Tulin's statement late in the afternoon even prior to my mentioning it to Mr. Fishman. You say yourself, in your article 'that late that night Mr. Fishman reported to a caucus of Lipsky delegates that Silver had told him, etc." so that Mr. DeHaas's statement, that I did not mention it to him until after the Administration knew of it, is clearly false. I shall be pleased to send you a copy of Mr. Smertenko's reply. With kindest regards, permit me to remain Very sincerely yours, AHS/IR

continued.....Mr. Herbert Solow. Page #2.

I should of course appreciate very much if you would publish my letter in the Menorah Journal. Inasmuch as your entire case rests on the statements which you declare were made to you by Mr. Smertenko, I would suggest that his statement when and if received, be printed together with mine.



Sept. 27th.1928. Mr. Johan J. Smertenko, R. F. D. 4. Ballston Spa, N. Y. My dear Mr. Smertenko:-Mr. Herbert Solow in his article, "The Vindication of Jewish Idealism" which appeared in the September issue of the Menorah Journal made this statement which reflected upon my integrity: "This further statement is vouched for by two Opposition delegates, that they arranged with Silver a meeting between himself and Tulin at which they were to discuss together what Tulin had really said, so that a true version might be given to the Convention .... Whereupon Dr. Abba Hillel Silver left the hotel - a few minutes before the appointment and fully an hour before his train left for Cleveland." This statement contained such an outright falsehood that I was prompted to write to Mr. Solow and requested him to let me know the names of the two Opposition delegates who gave him the information. This morning I received a reply from Mr. Solow. He states: "I don't think it would be proper for me to give you the name of any but the delegate who gave me the full story. That person was Mr. Johan J. Smertenko." I had the pleasure of meeting you a few years ago, of entertaining you at the Temple and of presenting you to a Temple audience. I can not imagine that you would invent a story such as this involving the honor of a fellow Jew. I would appreciate hearing from you in this matter. With kindest regards, permit me to remain Very sincerely yours, AHS/IR

Johan J. Smertenko Kalamos Farm, Cady Hill Ballston Spa, New York.

(Exhibit B)

54 Morton St. New York, 10/2/28

My dear Rabbi Silver,

I have not read the September Menorah nor any copy of the magazine for a year so that I have not the slightest information as to the manner in which it vindicates Jewish idealism. I do recall now that Mr. Solow showed me a copy of ah article that he had prepared. I glanced at it and found nothing particularly striking either in its verity or in its untruth and returned it to him without comment. I did not realize in looking through it that I was being quoted as an authority nor did I note the quotation you sent me.

So much for that statement. As for Mr. Solow's reply to you, I can only say that returning from Pittsburgh I recounted to him and to Mr. Max Spelke the incidents of the night as I had witnessed them. Naturally I cannot recall the precise words I used but in substance what I said follows:

I came down to the lobby of the hotel about two a.m. after seeing Rabbi and Mrs. de Sola Pool off for wherever it was that they were staying, and found the place in an uproar. Weisgall button-holed me and proceeded to relate what you had said that Tulin had said and how your statement had found circulation. He was under a terrible emotional strain and talked of lynching Tulin etc., warning me that I had better get Tulin out of the hotel. A crowd had gathered and there was no doubt that he was exciting them. Thereupon I disclaimed unequivocally — without at the time having the facts — the statement attributed to Tulin. I offered to go up to Tulin's room and question him. At that moment Mesers. Berenson, Horvitz and Brodie appeared in the lobby. They had just been to see Tulin, awakened him from a sound sleep, demanded that he tell them what he had said to you, received a reply that did not tally with what you were purported to have reported, questioned him in detail about the statement you were alleged to have made, and finally roused him sufficiently to get an absolute denial of it to the effect that if you made such a statement it was "a damned lie."

These facts we made public to Weisgall and his crowd. They demanded that we bring about a public meeting between you and Tulin. Thereupon I called you up at your moom -- it was about 3:00 a. m. now -- and explained the situation. You declared that you absolutely must be left at peace; that you had a tentative engagement for a funeral in Cleveland which demanded that you take an early train; that you might manage to remain, however; and that you would see me in the morning. This I reported to the people waiting at the phone. At this time Seldin who had been tackling a similar problem with another hysterical crowd elsewhere in the lobby phoned you with a similar request. You told him that you would see him in the morning too.

Seldin and I waited up in the lobby all night. At five minutes of seven we started for your room but decided in the elevator that I had better get Tulin. Seldin continued for the seventeenth or

whichever floor it was that you were on and I got off at the fifteenth where Tulin's room was situated. I awoke Tulin and asked him to dress. We were about to leave his room en route for yours when Seldin arrived. He announced that you, after hearing his version of what Tulin claimed he had said to you, repeated the statement you had made to Fishman and declared, "Seldin what I am reporting is true."

at this Tulin was exceedingly and eloquently indignant and started for your room in a rush when Seldin informed him that you told him you were going in to see Lipsky but would be back in your room where he could get in touch with you. Thereupon I was asked to go to your room and see whether you had returned while Tulin called Lipsky's room on the telephone in order to get in touch with you. I went up to your room and waited for ten minutes thinking that some bags I saw there were yours. You did not return. I called Tulin's room and found out that Lipsky had answered the phone and said you did not come to see him. We called the desk and discovered that you had checked out. The time was about 7:20 a. m.

This is what I told Messrs. Spelke and Solow -- not for any essay on Jewish idealism but as my personal testimony of the behaviour of a lawyer, a rabbi, a number of professional Zionists and a Jewish mob. As you can see, the substance of what Solow claims is there although in his effort at brevity he makes it appear that there was a formal agreement to have you and Tulin meet for a public discussion. There was nothing more than the information which Seldin and I gave you over the phone that the mob would not be satisfied until you and Tulin had agreed upon what it was he had said to you, and that we were taking steps to have that clarified.

So you see I have not invented "a story such as this involving the honor of a fellow-Jew." But I think it ill becomes you, who have perpetrated one of the meanest tricks I have ever heard of and who have yet to explain your action honestly and completely, to use this phrase.

Yours truly,

(signed) Johan J. Smertenko.

October 5th, 1928. (EXHIBIT C) Mr. Johan J. Smertenko, 54 Morton St., New York, N. Y. My dear Mr. Smertenko:-From your verbose statement which you have sent to me in reply to a very simple question which could be answered by "yes" or "no" it is clear that you deliberately fabricated and circulated a lie. Your offense becomes even more serious when one reads your own confession that you saw Mr. Solow's article before it was printed and did not take the trouble to correct a statement which must have seared your eyeballs. It is very queer that an alert mind such as yours would not have noted the particular quotation in question. I do not recall your telephone conversation with me at all. But judging from your own letter you made no request that a meeting be arranged between Mr. Tulin and myself. Nor did Mr. Zeldin. Nor did Mr. Brody who was in my room that night. Nor did Mr. Tulin himself. It would have been a very simple matter for Mr. Tulin himself to have called me on the telephone or to have come to my room any time that night. Three or four groups of people interviewed me between the hours of two and seven. I made no statement to Mr. Zeldin that I was going to see Mr. Lipsky. There was no need for that. I had already spoken to Mr. Lipsky over the telephone in the presence of Mr. Brody and requested him not to permit the rumor which had spread to determine his actions. When I left my room to catch my train I was expecting absolutely nobody. I am glad that I have found you out. Very sincerely yours, (signed) Abba Hillel Silver AHS/IR

(Exhibit D)

October 5th, 1928.

Mr. Morris A. Zeldin, Zionist Organization of America, New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Zeldin:-

Herbert Solow of The Menorah Journal who in his article, "The Vindication of Jewish Idealism" made a statement which implicated my honor.

"This further statement is vouched for by two Opposition delegates that they arranged with Silver a meeting between himself and Tulin at which they were to discuss together what Tulin had really said so that a true version might be given to the Convention....whereupon Dr. Abba Hillel Silver left the hotel - a few minutes before the appointment and fully an hour before his train left for Cleveland."

I wrote to Mr. Solow and told him that the statement was an outright falsehood and demanded to know the names of the delegates who gave him the information. In reply he sent me the name of but one man, Mr. Johan J. Smertenko. I wrote to Mr. Smertenko and received a very verbose and incoherent letter in which he claims that you had phoned me that night and asked that I meet Mr. Tulin and that I told you that I could not be disturbed until the morning; that later in the evening you saw me in my room and that after our interview you told Mr. Tulin that what I had reported to Mr. Fishman was true and (now I am quoting Mr. Smertenko's letter) "at this Mr. Tulin was exceedingly and eloquently indignant and started for your room in a rush when Mr. Seldin informed him that you (Silver) told him you were going in to see Mr. Lipsky but that you would be back in your room where he could get in touch with you."

Now my dear Mr. Zeldin, I would appreciate very much if you would let me know whether you really made that statement to Mr. Smertenko. I recall that you said nothing to me about your intended return to my room or Mr. Tulin's intended call on me. I do not wish to be put in the light of having run away from an unpleasant situation. You know me too well for that. Has Mr. Smertenko lied or was he misinformed? I would appreciate an early reply from you.

With kindest regards and best wishes, permit me to remain

Very sincerely yours,

(signed) Abba Hillel Silver

Cotober 5th, 1928.

Mr. Morris A. Zeldin, Zionist Organization of America, New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Zeldin:-

with Mr. Herbert Solow of The Menorah Journal who in his article, "The Vindication of Jewish Idealism" made a statement which implicated my honor.

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Mr. Johan J. Smertenko,
54 Morton St.,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Smertenko:

From your verbose statement which you have sent to me in reply to a very simple question which could be answeded by "yes" or "no" it is clear that you deliberately fabricated and circulated a lie. Your offense becomes even more serious when one reads your own confession that you saw Mr. Solow's article before it was printed and did not take the trouble to correct a statement which must have seared your eyeballs. It is very queer that an alert mind such as yours would not have noted the particular quotation in question.

I do not recall your telephone conversation with me at all. But judging from your own letter you made no request that a meeting be arranged between Mr. Tulin and myself. Nor did Mr. Zeldin. Nor did Mr. Brody who was in my room that night. Nor did Mr. Tulin himself.

It would have been a very simple matter for Mr. Tulin himself to have called me on the telephone or to have come to my room any time that night. Three or four groups of people interviewed me between the hours of two and seven.

I made no statement to Mr. Zeldin that I was going to see Mr. Lipsky. There was no need for that. I had already spoken to Mr. Lipsky over the telephone in the presence of Mr. Brody and requested him not to permit the rumor which had spread to determine his actions. When I left my room to catch my train I was expecting absolutely nobody.

I am glad that I have found you out.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHAN J. SMERTENKO KALAMOS FARM, CABY HILL BALLSTON SPA. NEW YORK

> 54 Morton street, New York, 10/2/28,

My dear Rabbi Silver,

I have not read the September Menorah nor any copy of the magazine for a year so that I have not the slightest information as to the manner in which it vindicates Jewish idealism. I do recall now that Mr. Solow showed me a copy of an article that he had prepared. I glanced at it and found nothing particularly striking either in its verity or in its untruth and returned it to him without comment. I did not realize in looking through it that I was being quoted as an authority nor did I note the quotation you sent me.

So much for that statement. As for Mr. Solow's reply to you, I can only say that returning from Pittsburgh I recounted to him and to Mr. Max Spelke the incidents of the night as I had witnessed them. Naturally I cannot recall the precise words I used but in substance what I said follows:

I came down to the lobby of the hotel about two a.m., after seeing Rabbi and Mrs. de Sola Pool off for wherever, it was that they were staying, and found the place in an uproar. Wesgall button-holed me and proceeded to relate what you had said that Tulin had your statement had found circulation. He was under a terrible emotional strain and talked of lynching Tulin etc., warning me that I had better get Tulin out of the hotel. A crowd had gathered and there was no doubt that he was exciting them. Thereupon I disclaimed unequivocally -- without at the time having the facts -- the statement attributed to Tulin. I offered to go up to Tulin's room and question him. At that moment Messrs. Berenson, Horvitz and Brodie appeared in the lobby. They had just been to see Tulin, awakened him from a sound sleep, demanded that he tell them, what he had said to you, received a reply that did not tally with you were purported to have reported, questioned him in detail about the statement you were alleged to have made, and finally roused him sufficiently to get an absolute denial of it to the effect that if you made such a statement it was "a damed lie".

These facts we made public to Weisgall and his crowd. They demanded that we bring about a public meeting between you and Tulin. Thereupon I called you up at your room -- it was about 3:00 a.m. now -- and explained the situation. You declared that you absolutely must be left at peace; that you had a tentative engagement for a funeral in Cleveland which demanded that you take an early train; that you might manage to remain, however; and that you would see me in the morning. This I reported to the people waiting at the phone. At this time Seldin who had been tackling a similar problem with another hysterical crowd elsewhere in the lobby phoned you with a similar request. You told him that you would see him in the morning too.

Seldin and I waited up in the lobby all night. At five minutes of seven we started for your room but decided in the elevator that I had better get Tulin. Seldin continued to the seventeenth or whichever floor it was that you were on and I got off at the fifteenth where Tulin's room was situated. I awoke Tulin and asked

him to dress. We were about to leave his room en route for yours when Seldin arrived. He announced that you, after hearing his version of what Tulin claimed he had said to you, repeated the statement you had made to Fishman and declared, "Seldin what I am reporting is true. "

At this Tulin was exceedingly and eloquently indignant and started for your room in a rush when Seldin informed him that you told him you were going in to see Lipsky but would be back in your room where he could get in touch with you. Thereupon I was asked to go to your room and see whether you had returned while Tulin called Lipsky's room on the telephone in order to get in touch I went up to your room and waited for ten minutes. with you. thinking that some bags I saw there were yours. You did not return. I called Tulin's room and found out that Lipsky had answered the phone and said you did not come to see him. We called the desk and discovered that you had checked out. The time was about \$:20 a.m.

This is want I told Messrs. Spelke and Solow -- not for any essay on Jewish idealism but as my personal testimony of the behaviour of a lawyer, a rabbi, a number of professional Zionista and a Jewish mob. As you can see, the substance of what Solow claims is there although in his effort at brevity he makes it appear that there was a formal agreement to have you and Tulin meet for a public discussion. There was nothing more than the information which Seldin and I gave you over the phone that the mob would not be satisfied until you and Tulin had agreed upon what it was he had said to you, and that we were taking steps to have that clarified.

So you see I have not invented ""a story such as this involving the honor of a fellow-Jew." But I think it ill becomes you. who have perpetrated one of the meanest tricks I have ever heard of and who have yet to explain youraction honestly and completely, to use this phrase.

That fiverlevello

Among Our Contributors

CHARLES A. BEARD H. N. BRAILSFORD LOUIS D. BRANDEIS MORRIS R. COHEN BENEDETTO CROCE JOHN DEWEY IRWIN EDMAN L. FEUCHTWANGER & WALDO FRANK LOUIS GOLDING PHILIP QUEDALLA R.TRAVERS HERFORD MAURICE G. HINDUS NATHAN ISAACS M. M. KAPLAN LUDWIG LEWISOHN C. G. MONTEFIORE GEO. FOOT MOORE LEWIS MUMFORD GILBERT MURRAY FLINDERS PETRIE D. de SOLA POOL BERTRAND RUSSELL ANDRE SPIRE FRANZ WERFEL

## THE MENORAH JOURNAL

63 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

ADOLPH S. OKO
HARRY A. WOLFSON
Amociate Editors
ELLIOT R. COHEN
Managing Editor
HERRERT SOLOW
Assistant Editor



Cable Address "MENORAH"

October 9, 1928.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, The Temple, Cleveland, O.

Sir:

Twelve days have now elapsed since you told me you would write to Mr. Smertekko, and I have not yet received from you a copy of his reply which you promised to send me. May I hope to receive this from you in the immediate future?

In your first letter to me you made a number of sarcastic generalizations, one of which implied your foregone
conclusion that The Memorah Journal would refuse to publish your denial of the actions attributed to you. I immediately wrote you that The Memorah Journal would gladly
publish your denial. In agreeing to do so The Memorah
Journal showed you considerable generosity, for your
letter contained a number of general statements entirely
unjustified by the facts. The sarcastic remark to which
I have referred was one of these.

Without waiting to learn how unjustified you were in assuming that The Menorah Journal would refuse to print your denial, you sent a copy of your first letter to the New Palestine. That letter has appeared, much to my astonishment, and now the readers of that magazine have been given the impression that The Menorah Journal would not print your denial. May I point out to you that your action cannot better be characterized than by your own phrase: "You have broadcast a false statement about a fellow-Jew without taking the trouble to check up on it."

Very truly yours,

HERBERT SOLOV

(Exhibit E)

27 Tapscott St., Brooklyn, N. Y. October 11th, 1928.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, E. 105th St. at Ansel Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:-

In answer to your letter of October 5th which I received on the 10, I want to state that I never made any kind of an appointment with you to meet Mr. Tulin. When I told Mr. Tulin that the statement which was repeated by many delegates in your name having been said to Mr. Fishman was stated to me by you to be correct, he really started for your room with a rush and then I told him that you told me you would see Lipsky immediately and ask him not to use this private talk of yours with Tulin for political purposes, and I supposed that you would be back in your room after the conversation with Lipsky to take your valise.

Mr. Tulin called Mr. Lipsky's room on the phone with the hope of getting you, but you were not there. Somebody, I believe Smertanko, went to your room but did not find you there either. This is the story as I know it to be correct.

Very truly yours,

(signed) M. A. Zeldin

October 11th, 1928.

Mr. Herbert Solow, The Menorah Journal, 63 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Solow:-

permit me to say that I received a reply from Mr. Smertenko on the 4th of this month. Mr. Smertenko likewise "passes the buck" to another gentleman whose name he gave me. I have written to this other party and as soon as I hear from him I shall present all the correspondence to you (and to others) so that the public may know how lies are manufactured by publicists and literati.

to you, permit me to call your attention to some of the choice bits of sarcasm and mis-statements in your own article:

"At this moment there appeared to guide the Convention a pillar of cloud out of the West."...(A fine smart-Alec phrase.)

"Rabbi Silver immediately on his arrival began a one-man personal investigation." (A lie.)

"He approached one after another of the chief leaders of the Opposition and asked them. Did Lipsky steal anything?" (Another lie.)

"Shortly after Tulin had made his speech Silver had put the question to him." (A third lie.)

Tulin but before the news became public, Silver spent some time with Judge Mack, Tulin's Party Leader, without once mentioning to Judge Mack that Tulin had slandered Lipsky." (A fourth lis.)

by two Opposition delegates, that they arranged with Silver a meeting between himself and Tulin." (A fifth lie - even Mr. Smertenko now claims, as you will see from his letter, that such a meeting had not been arranged, but according to

Oct. 11th, 1928. continued .... page 2 Mr. Herbert Solow him, was being arranged .... But about this more anon.) "The entire Silver incident had of course, a distinctly unsavory air." (Unsavory only to those who first sprinkled their malodorous interpretations upon it.) "The question arises of course, were the services of Rabbi Silver and the emotional capital he provided, essential to the re-election of Lipsky and the triumph of the Administration?" (A miserable invendo suggesting that I had lent myself to a dishonest scheme in order to insure the re-election of hipsky.) So that your whimper about my sercastic remarks is not very impressive. You do not come into court with clean hands. I trust that you do not believe me so naive as to be willing to let your gross mis-statements concerning me go unchallenged in the press of the country and content myself with the publication of my letter in some out-of-the-way corner in your magazine, probably followed by a disingenuous editorial note aimed to attenuate the force of the letter. My own personal experience with The Memorah Journal and its editors, (re-read the introduction to my article, "Why Do The Heathen Rage") as well as that of Mr. Silas Bent and others, have led me to adopt such methods as I deem necessary to vindicate my name, - which methods I shall employ also in the future. Very gincerely yours. AHS/IR

Cotober 11th, 1928. Mr. Herbert Bolow, The Menorah Journal, 63 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. My dear Mr. Bolow:-In reply to your letter of October 9th permit me to say that I received a reply from Mr. Smertenko on the 4th of this month. Mr. Smertenko likewise "passes the buck" to another gentleman whose name he gave me. I have written to this other party and as soon as I hear from him I shall present all the correspondence to you (and to others) so that the public may know how lies are manufactured by publiciate and literati. Concerning my sarcastic remarks in my letter to you, permit me to call your attention to some of the choice bits of sarcasm and mis-statements in your own article: "At this moment there appeared to guide the Convention a pillar of cloud out of the West." ... (A fine smart-Aleo phrase.) "Rabbi Silver immediately on his arrival began a one-man personal investigation." (A lie.) "He approached one after another of the chief leaders of the Opposition and asked them. Did Lipsky steal anything?" (Another lie.) "Shortly after Tulin had made his speech Silver had put the question to him." (A third lie.) "Furthermore after his conversation with Tulin but before the news became public, Silver spent some time with Judge Mack, Tulin's Party Leader, without once mentioning to Judge Mack that Tulin had slandered Lipsky." (A fourth lie.) "And this further statement is vouched for by two Opposition delegates, that they arranged with Silver a meeting between himself and Tulin." (A fifth lie - even Mr. Smertenko now claims, as you will see from his letter, that such a meeting had not been arranged, but according to

Oct. 11th,1928. continued....page 2 Mr. Herbert Solow him, was being arranged .... But about this more anon.) "The entire Silver incident had of course, a distinctly unsavory air." (Uneavory only to those who first sprinkled their malodorous interpretations upon it.) "The question arises of course, were the services of Rabbi Silver and the emotional capital he provided, essential to the re-election of Lipsky and the triumph of the Administration?" (A miserable inwendo suggesting that I had lent myself to a dishonest scheme in order to insure the re-election of Lipsky.) So that your whimper about my sercastic remarks is not very impressive. You do not come into court with olean hands. I trust that you do not believe me so naive as to be willing to let your gross mis-statements concerning me go unchallenged in the press of the country and content myself with the publication of my letter in some out-of-the-way corner in your magazine, probably followed by a disingenuous editorial note aimed to attenuate the force of the letter. My own personal experience with The Menorah Journal and its editors, (re-read the introduction to my article, "Why Do The Heathen Rage") as well as that of Mr. Silas Bent and others, have led me to adopt such methods as I deem necessary to vindicate my name, - which methods I shall employ also in the future. Very sincerely yours, AHS/IR

27 Tapacott Street Brecklyn, N. Y. Oct. 11, 1928.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silber E. 105th Street at Ansel Rd. Cleweland, Ohio.

Donr Rabbi Silber:-

which I received on the 10, I want to state that I never made any kind of an appointment with you to meet Mr. Tulin. When I teld Mr. Tulin that the statement which was repeated by many delegates in your name having been said to Mr. Fishmen was stated to me by you to be correct, he really started for your room with a rush and then I teld him that you teld me you would see Lipsky immediately and ask him not to use this private talk of yours with Tulin for pelicital purposes, and I supposed that you would be back in your room after the conversation with Lipsky to take your value.

Mr. Tulin called Mr. Lipsky's room on the phone with the hope of getting you, but you were not there. Somebody, I believe Smertanko, went to your room but did not find you there either. This is the story as I know it to be correct.

Very truly yours,

M. a. Blown

October 15th, 1928. Mr. Herbert Solow, The Menorah Journal, 63 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. My dear Mr. Solow:-As I promised you, I am enclosing herewith: My letter to Mr. Smertenko (b) Mr. Smertenko's reply My reply to Mr. Smertenko (a) My letter to Mr. Zeldin (d) (e) Mr. Zeldin's reply think the record is now clear. You stated in your Menorah article, "this further statement is vouched for by two Opposition delegates that they arranged with Silver a meeting between himself and Tulin at which they were to discuss to ether what Tulin had really said so that a true version might be given to the Convention ... Whereupon Dr. Abba Hillel Silver left the botel - a few minutes before the appointment and fully an hour before his train left for Cleveland." Under date of Sept. 17th I wrote to you branding this statement as a lie and requesting you to give me the names of the two Opposition delegates who were your informants. On September 26th you replied, "I don't think it would be proper for me to give you the name of any but the delegate who told me the full story. That person was Johan J. Smertenko." The following day I wrote to Mr. Smertenko, (Exhibit A). With much unnecessary circumlocution Mr. Smertenko replied under date of October 2d, (Exhibit B) that "there was no formul agreement for such a meeting ... that there was nothing more than the information which Mr. Zeldin and I gave you over the phone - that the mob would not be satisfied until you and Mr. Tulin had agreed upon what it was he had said to you. " ... that he (Smertenko) and Zeldin were on their way to my room. Mr. Smertenko stopped off to see Mr. Tulin and Mr. Zeldin went in to see me. That

Mr. Herbert Solow, October 15th, 1928.

upon his return to Mr. Tulin's room Mr. Zeldin informed him that I was going in to see Mr. Lipsky but would be back in my room where he could get in touch with me.

Under date of October 5th I wrote to Mr. Zeldin, (Exhibit D) putting the statement to him bluntly: "I recall that you said nothing to me about your intended return to my room or Mr. Tulin's intended call on me."

October 11th, (Tahibit E):- "In enswer to your letter of October 5th which I received on the 10th, E want to state that I never made any kind of an appointment with you to meet Mr. Tulin.... I supposed that you would be back in your room after the conversation with Mr. Lipsky to take your valise."

Smertenko. He read your article before it was published and he did not take the trouble to correct a statement which he knew to be a gross falsehood. He told you that a meeting had been arranged between Mr. Tulin and myself when no such meeting had been arranged either by Mr. Smertenko, or Mr. Zeldin or Mr. Tulin or anybody else, nor to my knowledge was any such meeting being arranged.

I must insist on a frank and uniquivocal retraction on your part of the statement made in your article. Please let me know what you propose to do in this matter so that I may guide myself accordingly.

With kindest regards, permit me to remain

Very sincerely yours,

Among Our Contributors

Mark The said

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## THE MENORAH JOURNAL

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ADOLPH S. OKO
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Associate Editors
ELLIOT E. COMEN
Managing Editor
HERRIRT SOLOW
Assistant Editor



Cohk Address "MENORAH"

October 19, 1928

Rabbi Hillel Silver, The Temple, East 105th Street at Ansel Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I have received your communications of October 11th and October 15th, the latter with its enclosures. With regard to the first letter, I must repeat my conviction that you ected with undue haste in sending your communication to the New Palestine. You are surely aware that there are very few "obscure corners" in The Menorah Journal, and "if you knew me any better" you would know that a protest such as yours would not fail to receive my immediate and proper attention.

You seem to have discovered that Mr. Smertenko was aware of what I understood him to say to me several times at any after the Pittsburgh Convention. I repeat to you now that he stated to me exactly what I said in my article.

The attached letter will appear in the Chrcnicles department of the November Menorah Journal in a position as closely approximate to the position in which the original statement appeared as it is possible for me to arrange.

Very truly yours. Unkert Salous

yarace

Herbert Solow MW Enc. Mr. Herbert Solow, The Menorah Journal, 63 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Solow:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of October 13th and for a copy of the statement which you will print in the November issue of The Menorah Journal.

With the publication of your statement I shall regard this unpleasant incident as closed.

With kindest regards, pennit me to remain

Very sincerely yours, (signed) Abba Hillel Silver

. . . . . . . . .

(statement)

In my article, "The Vindication of Jewish Idealism," in the September Memorah Journal, I wrote that it had been stated to me that Rabbi Silver departed from the Elemist Convention at Pittsburgh at a time when he had an appointment to meet with Mr. Abraham Tulin and resolve publicly the different versions each gave of the important conversation in which they had earlier participated. I have since received from Rabbi Silver a categorical denial that any such meeting was ever arranged, or that he had any appointment with Mr. Tulin or anyons else which he did not keep.

I reported nothing in my article concerning which I did not have either personal knowledge or information which I considered to be trustworthy at the time I wrote the article. If, as now seems to be the case, I was misinformed with regard to this incident, and thus unwittingly did an injustice to Raboi Silver, I heartily regret it, and take this, my earliest opportunity, to make amend.

(signed) Herbert Solow

Oct. 23d, 1928. Mr. Herbert Solow, The Menorah Journal, 63 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. My dear Mr. Solow:-Permit me to thank you for your letter of October 19th and for a copy of the state-ment which you will print in the November issue of The Menorah Journal. With the publication of your statement I shall regard this unpleasant incident as closed. With kindest regards, permit me to remain Very sincerely yours, AHS/IR

Nov. 2d, 1931

Mr. Elliot E. Cohen, 46 Bank St., New York, N. Y.

Dear Elliot:-

Since you attached a slip marked "For the record" to your letter to me dated Sept. 17th, 1931, I suppose I should also note "for the record" that your letter was not received till Oct. 5th. I have been away a good deal since, as our office informed you. But chiefly I have hesitated to reply to you in my first flood of astonishment and outrage at your shocking performance.

I had hoped that we might dissolve our editorial relationship with unbroken friendship and continued collaboration on another basis. We had indeed come to a parting of the ways in our conception of how The Menorah Journal should express and advance the Menorah Movement, and how the Journal might best serve Jewish life today. Knowing your unarguable editorial views, which I respected but agreed less and less with, I came to feel, as I wrote you in the summer, that you would not wish to carry any managing-editorial responsibility for the Journal in the future. That means, naturally, the end of a period in the Journal.

To assume, however, that your retirement as Managing Editor means the abandonment of the editorial independence of the Journal, which it has enjoyed since its inception in 1915 (long before you came on) and will continue to exercise so long as I remain the Editor, is simply an assumption on your part of exclusive righteousness. No, Elliot, all editorial honor and wisdom will not pass with you. It is possible to disagree, as we do, regarding the best ways of editing the Journal, regarding even its function in present-day Jewish life, without calling in question the principles on which all real friends of the Journal I believe, agree.

When you pressed me for a statement of policy, I told you that I proposed to bring out the best possible journal under the present economic circumstances. I also said I was sick of the excessive jibing and sniping in our pages, of unceasing criticism without some compensating construction (my poor messianism, you would call it.) Let it be weakness on my part: my present mood is less in tune with First Issaiah (You rotten people!) and more in the spirit of Second Isaiah (Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people.) I proposed to stress the Jewish heritage of culture, giving to Jewish history and literature greater relative space than hitherto, without foregoing exposition and discussion of contemporaneous life in what seemed to me the proper proportion for our Journal. Certainly we would continue to encourage and bring out the creative work of young writers.

Willingly or unconsciously distorted what I said to you in our several hours' conversation when you returned from the country. I wish to heaven there had been a dictaphone around. You even presume to put within quotation marks words and phrases I never uttered. Your assumption of what I intend to put in or keep out of the Journal is unbelievably ludicrous. If, by the way, I said we would have no more critical analysis of institutions and no more satire, why should I have urged you to write more, not less, for the Journal in the future?

It is true that our conceptions of an "open forum" are somewhat different. When there is an analysis and attack in our pages, such as Herbert's articles on Zionism, you would not admit any reply unless it came up fully to the standard of the original articles. I, for my part, prefer in such a case to let down the editorial rigors in order to give a hearing to counter-criticism even if not expressed with equal skill. Your contention that Zionism has its own organs in which to answer Menorah articles has not, as you know, convinced me. I want so far as possible to give every side to our readers in our own pages. The Journal itself must not be, nor appear to be, the partisan of any side in controversial issues. Otherwise we would indeed be changing the established policy of the Journal.

You say: "maybe the hour had struck for The Menorah Joarnal to go down." I believe the hour had struck for the Journal of your conception to go down. You have done a brilliant and in many ways admirable job as Managing Editor. That will be to your lasting credit. But also there have been very serious defects, which I propose to correct. I do not believe that the Menorah Journal as it ought to be should go down. I believe, on the contrary, that The Menorah Journal should and can go on to greater achievements. I do not see why the Journal should agree to go down under colors which are not those of the vast majority of Menorah officers, members, editors and writers. I, for one, prefer to fight on with zest and good conscience, but not with recklessness, for the kind of Journal I believe the Menorah novement should have.

Your opinion of my competence as editor and writer, now expressed to me for the first time, is of course your own affair. But I cannot let pass your wild charges of infidelities, "carping censoriousness to prospective writers", and, above all, truckling to financial supporters. I had thought that I was rather notorious for not truckling. How in the world can you bring yourself to make such a charge against me in the face of the long record? The charge is to me all the more astounding in the light of the latest controversy in our pages. I deliberately wrote and published that editorial foctnote to Rosensohn's article with full appreciation of possible financial consequences, in order to make sure that my motive in publishing Rosensohn's article would not be misunderstood. I am censurable for that footnote on several counts; I may well have been imconsiderate of the best interests of The Menorah Association and the Journal itself in publishing that footnote; it was perhaps an indulgence of personal vanity on my part to show off a contempt for truckling, cost what it might, cost what it might in desperately difficult times for us like these. And yet you charge me with truckling!

If indeed I have truckled at any time in the course of our association together, are you not an accessory to my infidelities? Have you not taken the wages of sin? Why did you not rather resign, dear Gallahad?

As to my "censoriousness," I imagine you refer specially to that article on Boston where I insisted (as in the case of all other factual articles) on the close checking up of all statements made. As in that particular case it involved a longer process than usual, I may have seemed "carping" to you and the writer. Such a case happens occasionally. Can you name me any other where I was guilty of "carping censoriousness to prospective writers?" I am sincerely concerned to know.

In regard to "good taste," I must admit frequent guilt. I wish I had been more guilty. I shall be more guilty in the future. The nastier way of stating a fact or expressing an opinion may sometimes be more amusing, but it is not necessarily a more honest or effective vindication of freedom of thought. As I grow older, alas, I take less and less pleasure in cleverness that hurts, when truth and candor may be served no less faithfully with manners more orbane.

Whether there has been "so great a betrayal of everything decent and good that the Journal has been or has become," time will show. We shall also see whether your retirement as Managing Editor means "so complete and callous a dissipation of the store of intellectual and emotional and moral energy and achievement brought to the Journal through many years by men who saw in it a fit - and trustworthy repository for the best they had to give to Jewish life." These men - and other first-rate men whom the Journal has estranged - will still, I trust, have the Journal as their repository. This is why the Journal must go on and not go under.

You are quite ridiculous in assuming "The Journal will quest no more." I never said, as you allege, that I am "tired of searching, of experimenting, of intellectual adventuring." We have done a good deal of "realistic factual description of the Jewish scene," thanks to your extraordinary ability is teaching the writers. We shall not cease that necessary work. But more important now, it seems to me, is the achievement, if possible, of "a sound rationale of Jewish life." That cannot be achieved merely by analysis of current ideals and programs. Something far more is needed: a creative passion and knowledge and skill.

What is your rationale of Jewish life? That is a fair question, I whink to put to every one of us, editor or not, who professes devotion to Jewish interests. You have been enabled by The Menorah Journal for seven or eight years to read and think about Jewish life. What would you like Jewish life to be? Never mind for a little how other Jews carry on. Never mind what they think or argue, "What's your thought and goal? You will have reason to complain only when I refuse to publish any "rationale of Jewish life" from you or any one else who thinks and writes with competence.

kind of organic (some very decent people call it mystic or religious) sense of devotion to Jewish life. I do not say you do not yourself possess this devotion, contemptuous though you are of any but a purely rationalistic outlook in life. You have of course for a long time been aware of my divergence from you on this basic attitude; we have often discussed it in our almost daily confabs through several years. Be this as it may; possibly it is of that "messianism" and "rhetoric" with which you chide me. You will not deny, however, that knowledge is a sine qua non.

Which brings me to state quite frankly what I consider to have been your chief drawback as an editor of the Journal. You know no Hebrew and little Yiddish. So far as I am aware, you have not read extensively in Jewish history and literature. In short, you are not at home in Jewish sources. I had noped indeed, that you would feel prompted, if not impelled, by the opportunities of your association with the Journal for seven or eight years to grasp some substance of the Jewish heritage. Other men with far fewer opportunities and less intellect have mastered for example, the Hebrew language and some of its literature. You have not chosen to do so, or anything like it. That you have found it more

interesting to use your time in other fields, is, of course, no less honorable, and may well be far more useful to you. But the point is that, in my opinion at least, a responsible editorship of The Menorah Journal requires a certain immersion in Jewish studies, besides a sympathy with Jewish life far deeper than a critical interest in the contemporary Jewish scene. Hence, unless you are prepared to devote far more time to Jewish studies, your own life's vocation would seem to lie elsewhere, though I am sure that, in any case, you can serve brilliantly and effectively to illuminate some aspects of modern Jewish life.

Now let me reply to your note of the 8th ult. wherein you complain of my misrepresenting you. I can only say that the impression you have latterly given me has been one of growing intolerance to all other points of view but your own. You have been saying, unless I misunderstood you, that other organizations and groups had their own organs; we, on our part, must utilize our little precious space for our own analyses and views. You admit, indeed, in your "Sept. 17" letter that we had agreed to "hospitality to all articles, of whatever point of view, so long as they met the literary standards of the Journal." How do you reconcile with that general statement your unqualified answer to a categorical question I put to you during our last conversation? I asked you specifically whether you would admit an article on Orthodox Judaism, assuming it came up to our standards. Your answer was an unmistakable No; as soon allow an astrologer to teach at Yale.

But, if I have misunderstood you in any way, I'll be only too glad to make correction.

Finally, since you speak about protecting your reputation, quite properly though with acerbity, I cannot forbear adding a word apropos. Your reputation has not suffered at my hands. On the contrary, I have protected it, perhaps out of sheer quixotry. You will remember how horrified I was over the Silas Bent matter. I think your editorial action in that matter was indefensible, immoral. Bent had a perfect case against you. But you were not asked to resign. I took the full responsibility myself, at some considerable damage to my reputation but not to yours. I did not anticipate you would make return by so amiably branding me a prostitute and a purring tabby-cat.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) Henry Hurwitz

HH:ND

In my article, "The Vindication of Jewish Idealism," in the September Menorah Journal, I wrote that it had been stated to me that Rabbi Silver departed from the Zionist Convention at Pittsburgh at a time when he had an appointment to meet with Mr. Abraham Tulin and resolve publicly the different versions each gave of the important conversation in which they had earlier participated. I have since received from Rabbi Silver a categorical denial that any such meeting was ever arranged, or that he had any appointment with Mr. Tulin or anyone else which he did not keep.

I reported nothing in my article concerning which I did not have either personal knowledge or information which I considered to be trustworthy at the time I wrote the article. If, as now seems to be the case, I was misinformed with regard to this incident, and thus unwittingly did an injustice to Rabbi Silver, I heartily regret it, and take this, my earliest opportunity, to make ameni.

# Why Do the Heathen Rage?

PART 2

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D. D.



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# Why Do The Heathen Rage?

Part Two

## Abba Hillel Silver, D.D.

THE above title may require some explanation. Six years ago "Why lo the Heathen Rage?"-Part One appeared. Some of my readers may recall it and the episode connected with it. It was written originally for the Menorah Journal at the request of its editor, Mr. Henry Hurw tz. A series of vicious attacks on American Rabbis and American Judaism had appeared in the Journal. To allay the widespread resentment stirred up by those articles and as a concession to those Rabbis who llad been beguiled into giving financial aid to the Journal, Mr. Hurwitz thought it expedient to print a reply written from the point of view of the Rabbis. He asked me, rather, he entreated me, to write this reply. I begged off at first but finally consented. Mr. Hu witz was "very glad to receive the article, glad even after reading it." He would "make the article the leader in our June issue." The galley proofs were later sent to me for correction. But in the June issue the article did not appear, nor had Mr. Hurwitz taken

the trouble to advise me of the fact.

When I called upon Mr. Harwitz and requested the return of my manuscript he spoke long and confusedly in explanation of its suppression. Out of the maze of his pitiful circumlocution I could understand but one thing: he was afraid that my article would discourage the young writers who had been disporting themselves in the columns of the Menorah Journal with such joyous abandon, attacking everyone and everything they did not seem to like. My article had exposed them and made them ridiculous.

"Why do the Heathen Fage?"
was, of course, printed that summer, serially, in the "Jewish Tribune."
Mr. Hurwitz attempted to intercept its publication, but without success. The publication of the article and especially the story of its suppression did not do the Menorah Journal any good.

#### "Laying" for the Author

Ever since that time the Journal has been "laying for me." From time to time I was treated to its chir) and claw and the poisonous drippings of its petty vengeance.

in 1928, Mr. Herbert Solow, the "political expert" of the Journal, who recently demolished the whole of Zionism with two fell swoops, quite in the manner of the Russian Yevsektzia, in reporting the Pittsburgh Zionist Convention of that year devoted considerable space to the role which he believed I played at that Convention-all written of course in that slurring cynicism which, in the Menorah, takes the place of style and erudition. It included among other things, a fabrication which was calculated to put me in the light of a man running away from the consequences of his own action. Mr. Solow, after much wriggling, was compelled to publish a metraction of that story in his own Menorah Journal.

The Journal, however, was not discouraged. It lay in wait for another chance and its opportunity came with the publication of my recent book "Religion in a Changing World." It was through the medium of literary criticism that the Journal had resolved to pay off an old score. It is a well known device quite common with a certain type of periodical and a certain class of writers.

At a given signal the flood-gates of filth were opened wide and through eleven muddy columns the criticism of my book runs on, with a certain Felix Morrow in charge of the clouca maxima.

First let me treat the reader to a choice selection of literary characterizations found in this review of my book. "Speaking futilely and irrelevantly from his lofty perch... that kind of stuff... don't you risk making an ass of yourself... that is a nice dodge... the things you spouted from the pulpit... it would take more than your intelligence and capacity... will you never cease your bromides... the old middle-of-the-road tosh."

This, you must know, is considered brilliant writing by the newly arrived exponents of the lately discovered Judaic civil zation.

Mr. Morrow begins his diatribe by referring to the illustration on the cover of my book-the conventional figure of a religious leader standing on the top of a mountain and surveying the swift-moving world of today. Morrow pounces on that. "The figure," he cries aloud, "is cunningly suggestive of Rabbi Silver." How he arrives at his conclusion is rather puzzling, in as much as the figure has his back turned to the reade: . . . . But our detective-critic has rare gifts of analysis. The figure is tall and has two hands, and is not Rabbi Silver also tall and has be not also two hands? . . . .

#### One of 150 Reviews

Having established this fatal identity, the critic next proceeds to point out that there are no heads sticking out of the buildings and towers in the drawing and therefore nobody is paying any attention to what the man on the mountain—i.e. Rabbi Silver-is saving. Morrow gloats over this delightful ciscovery. He forgets however that at least one man stopped to listen, with wide open ears and with rapt, vindictive attention-Mr. Morraw himself-and that the latter regarded the utterances of such importance that he hastened back to the editorial office of the Menorah Journal to fill eleven valuable columns with a furious rebuttal of what the man on the mountain had to say. And at least 150 other reviewers also stopped to listen,

though not being possessed of any obsessive Rabbi-phobia, these reviewers recorded their impressions in hundreds of columns of newspapers and magazines in a totally different vein. Also a reading public of thousands was on hand to call for three editions of the book in the first ninety days of its publication—so interested were they to discover what "the tall, lonely Priest, or shall we call him Rabbi" had to say. Not so bad, thinks the lonely man on the mountain, especially when he recalls how consistently and conspicuously the cruel unheeding world has failed to stampede the subscription department of the Menorah Journal itself whose writers never speak "futilely and ir-relevantly" and whose "intelligence and capacity" are more than sufficient for the gigantic task of world reconstruction. . . .

The critic then pauses to remind the writer of the book-i.e. Rabbi Silver—that he is not running "the big show spread out in panorama before him." What a disillusionment! And here I have been thinking all the time that I was actually managing the whole show myself and that I was personally responsible for everything that was going on in this blissful world. I am a sadder and a wiser man today as a result of Mr. Morrow's startling disclosure. I know now that I was deluded. It was after all not to my voice that Stalin and Mussolini and MacDonald and Wall Street have been listening all this while, but to the powerful and commanding voice of the Menorah Journal whose pages, freighted with the wisdom of the ages, the rulers of the earth have been scanning with reverence and trepidation every month (new, unfortunately, only every two and three months. . . .)

#### A Reviewer Reviewed

Here, perhaps, a word should be said about Mr. Morrow's scholastic qualifications to review my book or, for that matter, any other book. Towards the close of my essay on "Science and Religion" I state:

"Startingly new discoveries in religion as in art are extremely rare and progress in these fields could have but very limited connotations. Peaks of perfection were reached long ago in the realms of art, religion and philosophy and beyond the peaks one cannot climb. . . . "Ve can invent a machine today that will run thirty miles an hour and tomorrow one that will run sixty, and the next day one that will fly in the air instead of running on the

ground. Such rhopalic, linear progression in technological skill and efficiency is possible in the material world, but not in the artistic or spiritual world. . . . Art and Religion are very ancient enterprises of the human spirit. They have their cycles of growth and decay, as well as their definite organic limits. . . . Little that is really new can be added to the basic inventory of religion and morality. Little can be added to the racial wisdom which crystallized itself through the ages in 'Love thy neighbor as thyself' or 'Iustice, Justice, shalt thou pursue' or 'Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment' or 'Nation shall not lift up sword agairst nation."

To which the critic rejoins: "You know well enough that the ancientness of these platitudes about justice and peace does not make them any less platitudes and I need not remind you that if it is ancientness you're looking for you'll find them in the civil code of Hammurabi." Not only did the critic fail to understand the clear and simple meaning of my statement-it was not "ancientness" hat I was emphasizing, but the fact that certain truths, once having been adequately formulated, cannot be improved upon by later ages-but he dragged in a bit of "learning" to adorn his criticism which betrays that he is not only an "innocent bystander" but an ignorant one as well. Mr. Morrow simply never read the code of Hammurabi, for nowhere in the 2,500 lines of inscription is there anything which in the remotest approximates the prophetic utterances referred to in my statement. Nor would anyone who was acquainted with the code have spoken of it as a "civil code" in contradistinction to the religious codes of the Bible. The code of Hammurabi is no less a religious code than the Book of the Covenant. In the first few hundred lines of the code are numerous references to the deities, and on the obverse of the block of black diorite upon which the code is inscribed is a representation of King Hammurabi receiving his laws from the seated sun-God Shamash. . . .

So much for Mr. Morrow's bootleg scholarship, and now for a
sample of his method of criticism.
In my first essay on the "Role of
Religion in a Changing World," I
state that to my mind religion has a
fourfold function to perform in
modern society: (1) To uphold the
spiritual versus the material interpretation of the Universe. (2) To
safeguard the vital and indispens-

able hopes of the human race, as

long as they are not controverted by surer knowledge and as long as they serve the advancing needs of human life. (3) To nurture the spirit of hopefulness among men,—for religion alone can proclaim the dogma of human progress and the value of human ideals, and (4) to resist unintelligent, uninformed change in the realms of basic human relationships, such as the home, marriage, sex standards, etc., and to act as a balance wheel when new and unrectified theories throw mankind into great intellectual commotion.

#### Religion and Justice

Now, one may agree with these theses or not. One may be religious or not. Religion has had its proponents and opponents since the beginning and will continue to have them until the end. But what shall we say of Mr. Morrow's new way of answering the arguments of religion? The first statement that religion champions the spiritual versus the material view of the universe is countered with a dramatic outcry, twice repeated, lest the full crushing force of it be lost on the reader: "What does your God do?" You see, the Menorah boys will not permit even God to have a hand in "running the show." Short of running the universe God really has nothing to do, unless it is to watch over fools, as the Psalmist suggests. . . . My second statement is passed over in silence. The third is answered by declaring that there are atheists and Bolsheviks who are hopeful fellows, and the fourth is interpreted as a sop to the president of my congregation, who would be dreadfully shocked if he discovered

But it is on the two essays, "The Church and Social Justice" and "The Church and World Peace" that the critic really vents his bile. The paper "The Church and Social was first delivered before the National Conference of Social Work in 1926. In it I attempted to define the fundamental attitudes of organized religion to the problems of social justice. Clearly, only the central theses could be stated, not their detailed application to every possible contingency in the economic field. I took the position of the economic liberal. This position is damned by Mr. Morrow as "The old middle-of-the-road tosh-when there isn't a middle of the road," Such is the ipse dirit of this new oracle, the latest addition to the safety-first, long-distance Bolshevik romancers in our land.

But decidedly there is a middle

of the road and I choose to follow it. Had the critic taken the trouble to read further on in my book instead of stopping when he thought he had enough annunition for his barrage, he would have come upon a definition and a defense of this very middle of the road which the economic liberal chooses to take:

"The liberal here will have a hard road to travel. His way must always be the groping way, the way of experimentation, compromise and moderation-the accustomed way of progress. He has no simple and appealing formula-no panacea for all economic ills. His philosophy must always be the unheroic philosophy of the half loaf, rather than the extremist's philosophy of the whole or nothing. He will be damned alike by radical and reactionary. . . . But the liberal's way is nevertheless the sure way of social salvation."

Mr. Morrow would have you believe that the author of "Religion in a Changing World" is a defender of the present economic system in toto, including all of its patent evils. Accordingly be quotes from the

"The Church must rise above the prevalent economic system. It must not attempt in doctrinaire fashion to substitute another system for it." and he stops dead right there. Evidently he did not have wind enough left to go on to the very next sentence: "Neither should it commit itself to the role of defender and apologist of the existing system." Priceless, isn't it?

Elsewhere in the essay on the "Church and Social Justice" I define the role of the Church in the following terms:

#### For Advanced Social Legislation

"It must labor for a social reconstruction which will afford all men a better chance of security and happiness. The church must summon its adherents to a close scrunity of social ills. It must stimulate research and inquiry into their possible remedies. It must place the social responsibility for ame-iorating these conditions squarely upon the shoulders of its devotees: . . . It must voice the maximum idealism of life, calling for a combition of society in which man will at all times be primary, and the satisfaction of his legitimate needs superior to profit or the accumulation of wealth, in which rewards will be commensurate with service, and in which none shall partake of social goods who does not contribute to the social-weal."

I indicate the economic ills with which the Church ought to concern itself continuously:

"Untold mill-ons are starved by poverty and physically and spiritually drained by exploitation. Millions of children are broken upon the wheels of industry. The burdens of our economic order lie heavily upon the shoulders of our womanhood. The dread of unemployment, old age and disability hang like a pall over the working classes."

To me and 'my kind' these are not mere words, mere "moral magic." They point to a definite program of action. Singly and collectively many of us have for years attempted, in our given sphere of influence, to give concrete expression to these ideals. In pursuit of them some of us have been branded agitators and radicals, epithets quite the opposite of those which Mr. Morrow would pin on us. We have championed many a project of advanced social legislation. have fought for the minimum wage, workmen's compensation, child labor legislation, old age pensions, unemployment insurance, the right of collective bargaining and against the "yellow dog" contract and the abuse of the injunction.

Many of my colleagues have championed strikes in which the interests of labor were involved and in which influential members of their congregations were involved as employers. One personal reference may be pardoned. Recently "Church Management," a Christian religious periodical published in Cleveland, in a review of my book, declared: "While Christian ministers are debating among themselves whether or not it is good strategy to speak out in labor disputes, Rabbi Silver speaks and the city listens." To insimuate therefore, as does Mr. Merrow, that all that Rabbis do in the matter of social justice is to "urter bromides," is to stand selfaccused either of ignorance or mendacity or both.

#### A Dose of Their Own Medicine

My essay, "The Church and World Peace" serves Mr. Morrow as an excuse to belabor me and my colleagues on our War records. This is a favorite pastime of the Menorah Journal. In the March, 1931, issue of the Journal, all the preminent rabbis who were active in the War as chaplains or as private citizens are singled out by name and enumerated in a terrifying new Black List—all the rabbis, except those who are on the Boards of the Menorah Journal or who are

contributing financially to it. These latter are immune, and it is the only way by which one may gain immunity from the scurrilous attacks of this Journal. Incidentally, one notices with amazement that not one conservative rabbi is included in this Black List. Were there no army chaplains among them? . . . Have conservative rabbis been spared because they are more generous in relieving the Journal of its chronic impecuniosity or because they are less religious, as Mr. Morrow suggests elsewhere? . . .

The Rabbis (Reform) are raked over the coals for not having been pacifists during the War. One wonders why the "pacifist" Menorah itself was silent during the War. The Menouah Journal was founded in 1915. Why did not this "post-bellum pacifist" Journal have anything to say in its columns about the War while the War was going on? Why did it wait fourteen years before it found its voice to speak, and then not in contrition and sorrow, but in bitter denunciation of others who were also caught up in the maelstrom of War enthusiasm and believed that it years a war for democracy and a war to end war?

Where was the Editor-in-Chief of the Menorah Journal, Chancellor Hurwitz, in 1917? Was he perhaps a conscientious objector, languishing in prison for his pacific views? No, gentle reader. Read what follows and weep.

In October, 1917, Mr. Henry Hurwitz wrote in the Menorah Journal:

"If for America now in common with the rest of the world the great war is a war for the preservation of democracy, then the very life-breath of the Menorah novement is at stake. . . . The Menorah Organization is called upon-not lukewarmly in platonic loyalty to a faraway ideal, but for absolute self-preservation,-to enter the lists and help in the struggle for human freedom. Though an organization like ours cannot clothe itself in khaki and repair to the firing line-for its broadest service must be of another kind-it is worth stating that Menorah men imlividually have rallied to the colors in large nambers. Even last Soring there was hardly a Menorah meeting in any part of the country without the generous presence of members in khaki. . . . We may be confi-lent that whether as officers or in the ranks, Menorah men will give the account of themse'ves that is expected of all upstanding American youth."

#### "The Maccabean Summons"

In the December, 1917, issue of the Journal, Mr. Henry Hurwitz in his exalted enthusiasm for the War actually waxes homiletical, quite in the style of the Rabbis whom he so heartily despises. The article is the leading one in that issue and is entitled, "The Maccabaean Summons." In it we are told that:

great world-struggle in which America is now assuming so important a role has an extraordinary parallel in Jewish History. Twenty centuries ago a Wilhelm Hohenzollern whose Greek name was Antiochus Epiphanes attempted to dominate the world and to impose his kulture over all peoples. The little Hebrew nation alone, inspired by Mattathias and brilliantly led by Judas the Hammer, challenged the overwhelming military power. With unexampled valor and strategy a small citizen army fought on the hills and fields of Palestine against the trained legionaires of the ancient Prussian. . . . So now, by the dream-like romance of history, Puritan and Hebrew recross the seas from America to Europe, and even to the very scene of the ancient Maccabaean struggle, to save anew those human rights and ideals that the Hebrew Prophets preached and the Maccabaean soldiers preserved."

In a speech delivered before the Quinquennial Convention of the Menorah Association held in December, 1917, and published in the Menorah Journal, February, 1918, Mr. Hurwitz again is glowing in his enthusiasm for the War:

"We live in stirring times. The first duty of the Menorah men is to fight, fight for the principles for which all our Allies are fighting. The Menorah men have not been backward in that. Our ranks today are depleted because the array of Menorah men who have answered 'The Maccabaean summons' in the straightest way."...

It is this self-same Hurwitz who now indulges himself, vicariously, through the writings of his ed torial staff, in sneers at Rabbis who had the same attitude towards the War that he himself had.

We now know where Mr. Hurwitz was during the War. Where was Mr. Felix Morrow? He was eleven years old when the United States entered the World War and he was probably doing his bit to help win the War by singing the Star Spangled Banner at the head of his class in school. . . . And where was the "Elder of Zion"—that courageous gentlemen whom "Why Do the Heathen Rage?" Part One, drove into protective anonymity? He, too, gentle reader was too joung to bear arms.

#### On Two Blacklists

It requires a particular brand of "Yiddishe Chuzpah" for such a group to set itself up as judges and critics of other men.

The Rabbis of America are not ashamed of an enthusiasm that was genuine and of a hope that proved vain. They did not advocate the War. Until the very last nearly all of them opposed it. When War was declared they were confronted with a terrible fait accompli. What could they do? They were not conscienticus objectors and Judaism is not a pacifist religion. They performed the duties which were required of them to the best of their ability. It is the grossest infamy to suggest that: "You Rabbis whooped up the War to end War-with the worst of them, and hated your German neighbor hard enough to suit any hundred-percenter." They did not hate their German neighbors. They did not preach hate. They boped, along with millions of other people, both here and abroad,-the "intellectuals" included-that the War would be the last of world wars, and they resolved to do their utmost in the inture to help destroy the war machine.

Immediately after the War, we joined hands with ministers of other decominations and with laymen, in organized efforts to bring about a just international peace. We labored for the creation of instrumentalities for the amicable adjustment of international disputes. We advocated the World Court, the outlawry of War and disarmament. We have been opposing military training in schools. We are continually endeavoring to educate our people, especially the youth, into the real meaning of patriotism and the real causes of war.

For my own peace activities I have been honored by the D. A. R. in being placed on its Black List, even as the Menorah Journal has placed me on its Black List for my war activities. . . .

The question then remains: "Why do the Heathen Rage?" The answer is: "What else could they do"

Having failed to become a movement, Menorah has now become a scandal sheet. . . .