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The outlook for America, 1940-1941.

In Buffalo,
Pres. Church
1940

THE OUTLOOK FOR AMERICA

Address delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio, ~~before the National Conference of Social~~
~~Work on Thursday evening, May 30, 1940 at Grand Rapids, Michigan.~~

It would be difficult even in normal times to discuss the subject ~~which~~
~~has been assigned to me~~ - "The Outlook for America". ^{Today} ~~Tonight~~ it is quite
impossible. The outlook for the entire world is being determined today, and for
decades to come, on the battlefields of ^{Europe + Africa.} ~~France and Flanders.~~ Destiny now waits
upon military decisions. There is no way of formulating a world outlook without
reference to these unpredictable military decisions. Should the Allies win, the
world will be one kind of place for men to live in; should they lose, it will be
an altogether different kind of place - radically and fundamentally different.

The outlook for America is likewise inextricably bound up with these fateful
military decisions now in the making. The American people have now realized this
fact, though somewhat belatedly. It took the frightening and shocking events of
the last few ^{months} ~~weeks~~ abroad to startle our people into a final realization of the
interlocking destiny of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, and into a final
surrender of those comfortable and beguiling notions of political and economic
isolationism. From now on we will not expect our foreign policy to be spun in an
international vacuum. The fiction of national security through strict neutrality
has been shattered forever. The nations which relied upon it have been destroyed.
Our defense program ~~now~~ now envisions an embattled America in a world of powerful
neighbors whose way of life and whose political and economic creeds are potential
enemies of America.

Suddenly we have discovered that ~~our national existence is not quite secure.~~
Neither our wealth nor our military establishment, nor the intervening oceans ^{are} ~~are~~
~~adequate~~ ^{for our} defense. Suddenly we have discovered that we are not quite
secure even from attack from within. We have become apprehensive of the menace of

subversive forces within the nation, which we chose to ignore heretofore, but which we now realize might, in a critical hour for our nation, undermine our strength and our strongholds, just as they have done in so many countries abroad. The old world has moved in upon us, unbidden and unwelcome. But it is here! The feverish eagerness with which we read every new edition of our newspapers and listen to broadcasts of international news, is an indication not merely of our interest in an historic struggle which is going on overseas, but of our profound and troubled concern with the implications of that struggle for us and our children. ~~We~~ suspect that the shifting lines on the maps of the battlefields of Europe which are so avidly seen are projections and extensions of our own national destiny in the approximate future.

If, therefore, you ask me what is the outlook for America, my answer would have to be that it depends, to a large extent, and for a considerable time to come, on the outcome of the present war. The outcome being uncertain, the American people must prepare itself for either eventuality, for a victory or a defeat of the Allies.

If the Allies win, victory can come only after a prolonged and exhausting war which will shake the very foundations of the social, political and economic life of Europe. Much will be destroyed besides material wealth and cities, towns and provinces. A colossal effort will have to be made at the conclusion of the

war to reconstruct Europe, and this time it must be made according to a saner and
a pattern which will take into account not only pol. wide perspective of the
juster pattern than that which followed the first World War one that will carry
with it the promise of a more lasting peace. America will have to share in the
not from motives of altruism, but because
responsibility for this gigantic task of reconstruction; its own economic and
political fortunes will be vitally involved. To do that, we shall have to
reconcile ourselves to the necessity of assuming definite obligations and
responsibilities for any international order which we shall help to bring into

existence. We shall not dare to repeat the folly of 1919. We shall make no proposals and offer no counsel without at the same time indicating our readiness to assume our full and just share of responsibility for the carrying out of these proposals and for the embodiment of these counsels into concrete social structures. We shall not again deposit any of our brain children upon the door-steps of Europe - and precipitously abscond.

✓ It is, of course, doubtful whether our advice will be heeded by the victorious Allies if we deny them, in this their bitter struggle and in these their dark days of agony and suffering and sacrifice maximum aid. If we cannot help them to win the war, they will feel free to dispense with our advice to fix the peace. Americans who counsel non-involvement in the European struggle, even in a non-military sense, ought not to be thinking in terms of our involvement in European affairs after the war, by way of our unsolicited counsel and gratuitous moral scolding and curtain lecturing from the side-lines at the peace conference.

One thing is becoming crystal clear to us, though we were slow to come to it. This, too, should be clearly grasped. If we wish to make secure our way
of life for ourselves and our children, we must help to make it secure in the world. A victory for the Allies will help to make it secure. A victory for the

Nazis will destroy it in Europe and will endanger it on this Hemisphere. This is realism. All else is wishful and addled thinking. *The hope of maintaining ourselves intact as a free democracy in a Nazi-Fascist dominated world is NO.*

thing short of fantastic
The question today is not one of praise or blame, of Allied innocence or guilt in the past or in the present. ~~France and~~ England ^{is} not without blame for many of the moral disasters of the last twenty years. ~~Their~~ ^{its} leaders committed gross ^{almost} criminal follies. Fundamentally they neither worked for peace nor

prepared for war. They failed to rise to the spiritual exigencies of the new order which the World War made inevitable. They ^{together with the leaders of France} destroyed with their own hands the ideals of collective security, disarmament, and the rich promise of the League of Nations. But all that does not lessen by one whit the present Nazi ^{- Fascist} menace to civilization, the imminent threat to all the precious values which Western

civilization evolved through long centuries of intellectual and spiritual struggle

and aspiration. The Nazis have clearly defined their own creed and their program. *With amazing fool-hardiness we have refused to take them at their word.* They have not been reticent about their true intentions. *They mean to destroy*

the culture of the Western World, as it has evolved ever since the American and French Revolutions - a culture based on the inalienable rights of man to life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness, the importance of the individual, the restricted authority of the state, religious and racial tolerance, brotherhood and universal peace, and to substitute for it a neo-pagan culture of their own, based on a conscious and thorough-going revolt against liberty, on the concepts of a monolithic state, the submergence of the individual, dictatorship, racialism, and *materialist enforced by the Police* war as a national policy and destiny. The Nazis have *incorporated* that philosophy ruthlessly within their own borders and *this* are imposing it upon other countries where ~~ever~~ their military prowess entrenches them. They intend to destroy the independence of all the small peoples, and to build up an empire which their vaulted ambitions refuse to circumscribe, in which all subjugated peoples will toil in serfdom to maintain in affluence and in mastery the elite of the Germanic race.

The delinquencies, mistakes and sins of the Allies in the past cannot be held to condone these vicious doctrines, nor the brutal and inhuman actions of the *Fascists* Nazis *since* they came into power. They do not atone for the rape of Austria, *Ethiopia, Albania, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Luxembourg, and Belgium,* nor for the shameless and unspeakable persecutions of a helpless and honorable racial minority within their own countries *and wherever they impose their regime.*

It is therefore not consistent with the facts, or a contribution to clear thinking, or a service to humanity, to popularize the idea that in the European struggle now raging there are no basic issues involved with which the American people need at all be concerned, or that both sides are equally culpable, or that America stands to lose nothing if Hitlerism succeeds in destroying the last *strong* outpost of democracy and freedom in the Western World. Such reasoning at this

a co-ordinated continental
slave-labor economy upon
our free economy

-5-

Late date has all the earmarks of Fifth Column propaganda.

^{England}
If ~~the Allies~~ lose, Europe will be turned over ^{for centuries} to the moral anarchy of this streamlined barbarism of the twentieth century, and the rest of the world will not long escape the effects of it.

If the Nazis win, the outlook for America and the American way of life ^{will be} grave indeed. We need not fear any imminent invasion, but our American world will ^{Particularly the economic pressure.} become closely encircled by a hostile world, and the pressure upon it will increase

^{with Slavery in the South - Missouri Conference -}
as the years go by. It is in the very nature of dictatorships to be aggressive and missionary. The last few years have given ample proof of it. In a world in which there will no longer be a British ^{Empire} ~~or a French empire~~, the United States will find itself alone, pledged to defend with inadequate resources the whole Western Hemisphere in the face of four powerful imperial dictatorships, grown strong and arrogant with the greatest spoils of all time. We shall have to arm ourselves to the teeth and increasingly to pour our reserves of wealth into our defense program. We shall have to gear up our national economy to a war-time footing and keep it there. Conceivably, our industrial organization will come steadily under added forms of central planning and control, and ~~a system utterly approximating the emergency forms adopted recently by England will come to pass in our country.~~ ^{A lower standard of living will be inevitable.}

There will come about an attenuation of the democratic processes and a lessening of the latitude of liberalism. An intensified nationalism, more suspicious and less tolerant will emerge. The American way of life will undergo slow, unconscious, but quite definite changes.

But our greatest dangers will come from within. A Nazi victory abroad, which will lay the world at their feet, will hearten and inspire their agents, friends and admirers here. Nothing succeeds like success. Fascists and Nazi sympathizers, adventurers and would-be-Hitlers will spring up like mushrooms all over our country. They will attempt to do here what the Nazis will have succeeded

so brilliantly and so swiftly in doing abroad. They will, of course, receive guidance and support from what will then be the greatest empire on earth - the victorious Third Reich. The Americas will be over-run by Nazi agents, ^{if it is not already} and the United States, the richest country in the world, will become their special stamping ground. There will not be lacking powerful industrialists here who will be willing to play the role of American Fritz Thyssens to would-be American Hitlers. *Some of them have already been singled out & decorated by the Nazis.*

What role the Nazis have prescribed for the United States in their political Welt-anschauung is not clear at the moment, but certainly when they make known their program, there will not be wanting within our borders a powerful Fifth Column prepared to help them realize it. The members of this Fifth Column will not be recruited exclusively or even principally from the ranks of aliens, but, as in England, Holland, Belgium, Denmark and Norway, from the blue-bloods who always escape finger-printing and surveillance, from people prominent in the public eye, lay and cleric, from the circles of high government officials and the military, from reactionaries who hate progressive social legislation and organized labor so bitterly that they will not hesitate to sacrifice all our free institutions in a desperate gambler's throw to save their special privileges. ~~Some of these highly-placed personages have already been decorated by the Nazis.~~ Not all who belong to the Fifth Column are necessarily paid spies, agents and traitors. In that Column are also the far more dangerous gentry who have superseding loyalties, and who have no use for American free institutions when they thwart their special interests or prejudices.

The outlook for the United States in case of a Nazi military triumph is thus a very serious one indeed. ~~Nevertheless, we ought not to fill our minds with thoughts of doom or resign ourselves to defeat.~~ Not all of these things may come to pass, or even many of them. There are always the unforeseen and incalculable elements in every historic constellation. No one can plot the future with any degree of certainty. Chance, accident, unforeseen personal and impersonal



Also our position towards the problems of the Far East needs clarification & sharper definition. Are we prepared to maintain status quo over there at all costs? What are our commitments there, our political responsibilities, our real interests? What Allies are we relying on in that area? And to what extent are they reliable? ... It is clear that we cannot single-handed undertake the policing of half the globe, and it is questionable whether we should if we could.

~~Forces may give the direction of events a sharp turn one way or another. Never-~~
~~theless,~~ ^{therefore} we should prepare ourselves, as far as possible, for all eventualities.
We should build up our national defenses to a point consistent with the definite
commitments and responsibilities which we intend to assume in connection with
our foreign policy. ~~also,~~ They should be built up ~~seasonably~~ to a degree where
they ^{will} ~~shall~~ be a strong deterrent to any would-be aggressor.

A clear definition of our foreign policy in relation to the twenty-one
countries on this Hemisphere is clearly indicated and most urgent. If we mean to
enforce the Monroe Doctrine, it is important that the nations which we are to
protect from foreign invasion shall, knowingly and willingly, share with us in a
well defined and concerted program for the collective military defense of this
Hemisphere. ^(And we should not bribe them into cooperation.) We should not plan for them. We should plan with them. They must
assume their clear share of responsibility for joint diplomatic action involving
the fate of this Hemisphere, and for military defense measures. For the nations of
South and Central America to maintain formal and separate neutrality status, to act
independently, unrelated to a central Hemisphere policy, or to carry on independent
diplomatic negotiations which might unwittingly entangle them in the imperialistic
machinations of foreign nations, or to tolerate Fifth Columns in their midst and
the establishment of centers of powerful alien influence, is to create dangers on
this Hemisphere for the United States which might involve us in war against our
will. Time should not be lost in implementing the Declaration of the Solidarity
of America adopted by the Eighth Pan American Conference held in Lima in
^{and the Havana agreements}
December, 1938, in bringing about a stronger federation of the peoples of the
Western Hemisphere, and in formulating specific agreements and covenants among
them on all matters involving their collective security.

~~again~~ ^{however} We should not forget, ~~however~~, that a strong military defense for our
nation, in itself, is not sufficient. A greater defense for a nation is the
loyalty of its citizens and their essential spiritual unity. There are two ways

in which these can be conserved. The forces hostile to our form of government and to our free institutions must be continuously exposed and their power broken. No democracy is immune, or can hope to remain immune, as long as it is a democracy, from anti-democratic propaganda, either native or foreign. Forces opposed to democracy will use the very technique and machinery of democracy, as well as its abundant tolerance, to destroy it. In the face of this, democracy must not remain naive or complacent. It must aggressively and relentlessly expose and harass every form of propaganda which is hostile to our basic conceptions of life and government. The agents of foreign dictatorships and their native born kinsmen must be kept under constant surveillance. Those who wish to destroy free America should not be permitted the glamour of putting their followers in uniform or of parading our public thoroughfares.

But, no hysteria! No witch hunting! No mass stampede away from the Bill of Rights and the constitutional guarantees of a free people. We should not in our great concern, ~~and~~ and impatience, permit ourselves to resort to extra-legal and unconstitutional methods to obtain even worthy and desirable objectives. To destroy liberty in an effort to preserve it, is the height of folly. The detection, arrest and punishment of spies, saboteurs, and plotters against our domestic peace and security should be left to our legally constituted authorities who are charged with the enforcement of our laws and the defense of our free institutions.

It should be borne in mind that education still remains the strongest bulwark of a free people. The American people should be educated in the techniques of modern propaganda which have been so skillfully elaborated in our day. They should be made aware of the methods which are ^{being} employed and the true character of the organizations and governments which employ them. They should be informed as to how racial and religious antagonism are aroused and exploited, ~~in order~~ to

divide a people, disrupt its unity, confuse its counsels, and undermine its national resistance to an aggressor. Systematic courses in the detection of and the prophylaxis against false propaganda should be introduced into the curriculum of every high school and college. Furthermore, we have long assumed that education in democracy will somehow take care of itself, as an unconscious by-product of our day-by-day living. This is no longer true. Democracy is under fire today and on the defensive. Both its theoretic soundness and its practical value have been denied. Many peoples have rejected it as antiquated, inefficient and distinctly harmful. Anti-liberalism and Anti-democracy have today a passionate and heroic zeal behind them. Totalitarianism has millions of enthusiastic devotees in all parts of the world. Quite deliberately and specifically we must begin to educate our people anew, and especially our youth, in the principles, practices ^{and obligations} and advantages of democracy.

In the school, the home, the church, through the written and the spoken word, an educational crusade, in defense of democracy, must be launched. And the time is very short! In this connection, we ought to bear in mind that the source of all political democracy in the Western World is fundamentally religion, and that the basic charter of man's dignity and freedom is God. Friends of democracy have forgotten the religious origin of the democratic dogma in the modern world. They have forgotten that political freedom came to the Western World as a result of the struggle for religious freedom and not vice versa. Religion kindled the torch of political freedom in the world, and irreligion is extinguishing it.

The reason why the democratic movements are perishing in the Western World today is because of an increasing pessimism due to a loss of confidence in the reality of ^{spirit} God in the life of man. Man has become frightfully small in our day, reduced in stature, stripped and spiritually cowered, because his kinship with God, which crowned him with glory and honor and made him "a little lower than the angels," has been contemptuously rejected by a world which has tried to build its

① De Ry
② Resistance
③ Ball
④ Seal

When Found
Faker

life upon the foundations of pseudo-scientific materialism. No society can long remain Godless and free. If our crusade to redeem democracy is to succeed, it must draw its inspiration from the inexhaustible ^{spring} ~~source~~ of religious faith, from the classic religious dogmas that God created man in His image, and that man was endowed by his Creator with inalienable rights of which no state, no bureaucracy, no majority and no class has the right to deprive him. Heine

The loyalty and unity of our citizens can be enhanced still more if they are made to feel that the American way of life is the best way of life, because in it they find security and happiness. Democracy cannot long survive wide-spread and prolonged economic suffering. All dictatorships have risen to power upon the economic miseries of their people. A generation of young men and women denied the opportunity to work and to build careers, consigned to demoralizing idleness and frustration is dangerous explosive material. Even the brutalities and indecencies of dictatorship become less repugnant and the ways of freedom appear less appealing in the presence of democracy's tragic failure to care for its people and to safeguard them against frequent and disastrous periods of unemployment and suffering.

Sound American patriotism must quickly translate itself into an intelligent and ardent program for social justice, for a fairer distribution of the social goods, for a larger measure of protection of our people against the hazards of unemployment, sickness and old age. Sound patriotism will look upon the disease-and-crime-breeding slums of our land, the blasted areas, the under-privileged children, the jobless and hopeless youth, the unemployed man, the underpaid worker, the unsheltered aged, as the real Trojan Horse which traps a free people into destruction. People who feel that they have a stake in their country, that the institutions of their land are being used to the utmost to help them to a more secure and abundant life, and who can see in them the promises of even greater happiness and well-being for their children, will not be inveigled by the propaganda for a

F. Naz. Govt - brag - world, we
know - but if you
can not -

Totalitarian Millennium, and will not be led into revolutionary adventures

On the other hand the individual citizen should ^{be taught} ~~not~~ unload all his responsibilities upon his government or blame it for all his misfortunes or to expect all salvation from it. Nor should he sponge upon it for all manner of hand-outs. Those who wish government to provide them at all times with bread and circuses must be prepared to surrender to it all their liberties. Total dependence upon government means total control by government. The danger to a free society is not so much the encroachment by government, as the encroachment of citizens upon their government with all manner of demands which are rightly the responsibilities of private citizens or of associations of private citizens. The individual citizen must discipline himself against the temptation to become the happy-go-lucky ward of what he hopes will be a generous and tolerant and never-failing provider -- called the State. Our youth must be trained to regard government as the defense of a free people which must be served and safe-guarded through sacrifice, not ^{weakened through} ~~exploitation~~ and excessive demands.

In our effort to maintain our way of life here, we will be strongly helped by some important factors which are uniquely our own.

Ours is a long-established democracy. We have gone through severe crises before, including a Civil War, without sacrificing our democratic apparatus. No long-established democracy has collapsed, even in Europe. ^{The story of Rome has not yet been fully told.} We prefer to govern ourselves. The idea of being ruled by a Fuehrer, a Duce, or a Commissar is hateful to our very souls.

We have a wholesome capacity for self-criticism. We are ready to acknowledge our mistakes and to take the blame. We can and do reverse ourselves. We are not hostile to experimentation.

We have vast natural resources. Ours is not a country, but a continent. This is not a starved or crowded land, and our people are not doomed by circumstance to a low standard of living. Poverty is one of the bitterest enemies of

democracy. There need be no poverty in our country.

We are a young nation. We are not handicapped by Old-World animosities. We have no threatening neighbors on our frontiers. More than any other people on earth, we can, if so we will, pursue our chosen way of life with confidence and with high hopes.

What is this American way of life? What are the classic elements which give uniqueness and distinction to it?

First - the importance of the individual. Every man is possessed of certain inalienable rights. The state cannot veto them. No majority can abrogate them. All men, regardless of race and religion, are equal before the law. Any attempt to subjugate the individual to the state, or to discriminate against him in law because of race or creed, is a frontal and deadly attack upon the American Ideal.

Second - government by consent and not by constraint; government from within and not from without. Dictatorship is government imposed from without. Democracy is government self-imposed from within. The American genius strives to achieve the best possible way of life for the largest possible number of citizens through their own voluntary enterprises, through free experimentation, and step by step, through the evolutionary processes of trial and error. The American genius rejects all proffers of ready-made millenniums at the spear-point of revolution and dictatorship. It prefers the slower and less glamorous way of government. But it also avoids all the horrors of government by purges and liquidations, by terrorism and expropriation, by espionage and slavery.

Third - the grace of tolerance. We are a composite people. Many races had a hand in the discovery, exploration, colonization and development of this great country. Ours is a nation made up from its very inception entirely of immigrants. Our American life is a fine mosaic in which many separate race and

and religious identities are grouped into one noble pattern. Despite occasional lapses, there has prevailed a wholesome attitude of good will, tolerance and cooperation among our people. The genius of America has manifested itself in steadily dissolving the hard concretion of groups and reducing them to their individual human components. Europe is concerned with the rights of minorities. America is concerned with the rights of men.

Those people, therefore, in our midst who would break up American life into hostile racial or religious groups, and who would persuade others to judge American citizens not on the basis of individual worth, character or achievement, but on the basis of the race to which they belong, or the religion to which they subscribe, are the deadliest foes of the spirit as well as the peace of the American people.

This true vision of American life should be kept undimmed in these darkening days. It is our sole hope for the future. It is our one chance to keep our dear country free from the ravages of the hates, bitterness and conflicts which have disfigured the Old World. For the last twenty years the desperate peoples of Europe have tried a way of life which is the very opposite of the American way of life - the suppression of the individual, government by ukase and dictatorship, and race and religious intolerance - and it has led them, as inevitably it must, to the blood-soaked battlefields of war.

Let us not follow in their tragic footsteps.

← ~~Memorial Day reminds us that in every hour of grave national crisis there~~
were found brave men in our land who were prepared to die that America might live.
Let us, their descendants, prepare ourselves to live in such a way that America
may not die.

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THE OUTLOOK FOR AMERICA

by

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Rabbi, The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

"Church of the Air", December 15, 1940

The outlook for America is inextricably bound up today with the fateful military decisions now in the making in the old world. The American people have now realized this fact, though somewhat belatedly. It took the frightening events of the last few months abroad to startle our people into a final realization of the interlocking destiny of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, and into a final surrender of those comfortable notions of political and economic isolationism. From now on we will not expect our foreign policy to be spun in an international vacuum. The fiction of national security through strict neutrality has been shattered forever. The nations which relied upon it have been destroyed.

Suddenly we have discovered that our cherished way of life is not quite secure. Neither our wealth nor our military establishment, nor the intervening oceans now seem to be adequate defense. Suddenly we have discovered that we are not quite secure even from attack from within. We have become apprehensive of the menace of subversive forces within our nation, which we chose to ignore heretofore. The old world has moved in upon us again, unbidden and unwelcome. But it is here!

Most Americans now understand that if the Allies are defeated, the outlook for America and the American way of life will be grave indeed. Not that we shall have to face an imminent invasion, but our American world will become closely encircled by a hostile world, and the pressure upon it, particularly the economic pressure of a co-ordinated continental slave-labor economy upon our free economy, will increase as the years go by.

But our greatest danger we suspect will come from within. A Nazi victory abroad, will hearten and inspire their agents, friends and admirers here. Nothing succeeds like success. Fascists and Nazi sympathizers, adventurers and would-be Hitlers will spring up like mushrooms all over our country. They will attempt to do here what the Nazis will have succeeded so brilliantly and so swiftly in doing abroad. There will not be lacking powerful industrialists here who will be willing to play the role of American Fritz Thyssens to would-be-American Hitlers.

The outlook for the United States in case of a Nazi military triumph is thus a very serious one indeed. We should, therefore, along with rendering maximum aid to the free peoples now fighting for survival, build up our national defenses expertly, adequately and swiftly to a point where they will be a strong deterrent to any would-be aggressor.

(12/15/40)

We should not forget, however, that a strong military defense in itself, is not sufficient. A greater defense for a nation is the loyalty of its citizens and their essential spiritual unity. There are two ways in which these can be conserved. The forces hostile to our form of government and to our free institutions must be continuously exposed. No democracy is immune, as long as it is a democracy, from anti-democratic propaganda, either native or foreign. Forces opposed to democracy will use the very technique and machinery of democracy, as well as its abundant tolerance, to destroy it. In the face of this, democracy must not remain naive, complacent or doctrinaire. It must aggressively expose and harass every form of propaganda which is hostile to its basic conceptions of life and government.

But, no hysteria! No witch hunting! No mass stampede away from the Bill of Rights and the constitutional guarantees of a free people. We should not in our great concern and impatience, permit ourselves to resort to extralegal and unconstitutional methods to obtain even worthy and desirable objectives. To destroy liberty in an effort to preserve it, is the height of folly.

It should never be forgotten that education still remains the strongest bulwark of a free people. The American people, and especially our youth, should be educated in the techniques of modern propaganda which have been so skillfully elaborated in our day. They should be made aware of the methods which are employed and the true character of the organizations and governments which employ them. They should be informed as to how racial and religious antagonisms are aroused and exploited, in order to divide a people, disrupt its unity, confuse its counsels, and undermine its resistance to aggression.

Our people should also be re-educated in the philosophy and science of democracy. We have long assumed that education in democracy will somehow take care of itself, as an unconscious by-product of our day-by-day living. This is no longer true. Democracy is under fire today and on the defensive. Many people have rejected it as antiquated, inefficient and distinctly harmful. Totalitarianism has millions of enthusiastic devotees in all parts of the world. Quite deliberately and specifically we must begin to educate our people anew, and especially our youth, in the principles, practices, advantages and obligations of democracy.

In the school, the home, the church, through the written and the spoken word, an educational crusade, in defense of democracy, must be launched. And the time is very short! In this connection, we ought to bear in mind that the source of all political democracy in the Western World is fundamentally religion, and that the basic charter of man's dignity and freedom is God. Friends of democracy have forgotten the religious origin of the democratic dogma in the modern world. They have forgotten that political freedom came to the Western World as a result of the struggle for religious freedom and not vice versa. Religion kindled the torch of political freedom in the world, and irreligion is extinguishing it. When the Founding Fathers of our country wrote into the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights", or when they declared that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God, or when they engraved upon the Liberty Bell the Biblical mandate: "Proclaim ye freedom throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," or when they placed upon the first seal of the new-born republic the Biblical figure of Moses leading the children of Israel out of Egypt - they were summoning religious truth, religious authority, religious tradition to sanction political revolution. The American Revolution kindled its torches at the flame of a religious dogma that men were created by God to be free and equal. The long protracted struggle in this country to emancipate the slaves received its powerful momentum not from economics, or from any materialistic conception of history, but from deep religious convictions, which

(12/15/40)

which revolted against the enslavement of human beings, children of God, and which saw in the Civil War a divine retribution for the sins which the nation committed against the black man, and which heard in the tramp of men marching to battle the footsteps of God. "His truth is marching on!".....

The reason why the democratic movements are perishing in the Western World today is because of an increasing pessimism due to a loss of confidence in the reality of spirit, of the spiritual order of God. Man has become frightfully small in our day, reduced in stature, stripped and spiritually cowered, because his kinship with God, which crowned him with glory and honor and made him "a little lower than the angels", has been contemptuously rejected by a world which has tried to build its life upon foundations of pseudo-scientific materialism. No society can long remain Godless and free. If our crusade to redeem democracy is to succeed, it must draw its inspiration from the inexhaustible springs of religious faith, from the classic religious dogmas of the sanctity of human life, man's inviolable personality, and his God-given rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, of which no state, no majority, no class, no party has the right to deprive him.

The loyalty and unity of our citizens will be enhanced still further if they are made to feel that the American way of life is the best way of life, because in it they find security and happiness. Democracy cannot long survive widespread and prolonged economic suffering. All dictatorships has risen to power upon the economic miseries of their people. A generation of young men and women denied the opportunity to work and to build careers, consigned to demoralizing idleness and frustration, unhappy and lost, is the dictator's workshop. Even the brutalities and indecencies of dictatorship become less repugnant and the ways of freedom appear less appealing in the presence of democracy's tragic failure to care for its people and to safeguard them against frequent and disastrous periods of unemployment and suffering.

Sound American patriotism must therefore quickly translate itself into an intelligent and ardent program for social justice, for a fairer distribution of the social goods, for a larger measure of protection of our people against the hazards of unemployment, sickness and old age, for economic stability, not cycles of boom and collapse. Sound patriotism will look upon the disease-and-crime-breeding slums of our land, the blasted areas, the under-privileged children, the jobless and hopeless youth, the unemployed man, the underpaid worker, the unsheltered aged, as the real Trojan Horse which traps a free people into destruction. People who feel that they have a stake in their country, that the institutions of their land are being used to the utmost to help them to a more secure and abundant life, and who can see in them the promises of even greater happiness and well-being for their children, will not be inveigled by the propaganda for a Totalitarian Millennium, and will not be led into disastrous revolutionary adventures.

In our effort to defend our way of life here, we will be strongly helped by some factors which are uniquely our own.

Ours is a long-established democracy. We have gone through severe crises, before, including a Civil War, without sacrificing our democratic apparatus. We prefer to govern ourselves. The idea of being ruled by a Fuehrer, a Duce, or a Commissar is hateful to our very souls.

We have a wholesome capacity for self-criticism. We are ready to acknowledge our mistakes and to take the blame. We can and do reverse ourselves. We are not hostile to experimentation.

We have vast natural resources. Ours is not a country, but a continent. This is not a starved or crowded land, and our people are not doomed by circumstance to a low standard of living. Poverty is one of the bitterest foes of democracy. There need be no poverty here.

We are a young nation. We are not handicapped by Old World animosities. Better than any other people on earth, we can preserve our distinctive way of life if we build up its essential social, military and spiritual defences.

What is this American way of life? What are the classic elements which give uniqueness and distinction to it?

First - the importance of the individual. Every man is possessed of certain inalienable rights. The state cannot veto them. No majority can abrogate them. All men, regardless of race and religion, are equal before the law. Any attempt to subjugate the individual to the state, or to discriminate against him in law because of race or creed, is a frontal and deadly attack upon the American way of life.

Second - government by consent and not by constraint; government from within and not from without. Dictatorship is government imposed from without. Democracy is government self-imposed from within. The American genius strives to achieve the best possible way of life for the largest possible number of citizens through their own voluntary enterprises, through free experimentation, and step by step through the evolutionary processes of trial and error. It rejects all proffers of ready-made millenniums at the spear-point of revolution and dictatorship. It prefers the slower and less glamorous way of government. But it also avoids all the horrors of government by purges and liquidations, by terrorism and expropriation, by espionage and slavery.

Third - the grace of tolerance. We are a composite people. Many races had a hand in the discovery, exploration, colonization and development of this great country. Ours is a nation made up from its very inception almost entirely of immigrants. Our American life is a fine mosaic in which many separate racial and religious identities are grouped into one noble pattern. Despite occasional lapses, there has prevailed a wholesome attitude of good will, tolerance and cooperation among our people. The genius of America has manifested itself in steadily dissolving the hard concretion of groups and reducing them to their individual human components. Europe is concerned with the rights of minorities. America is concerned with the rights of man.

Those people, therefore, in our midst who would break up American life into hostile racial or religious groups, and who would persuade others to judge American citizens not on the basis of individual worth, character of achievement, but on the basis of the race to which they belong, or the religion to which they subscribe, are the deadliest foes of the spirit as well as the peace of the American people.

This true vision of American life should be kept undimmed in these darkening days. It is our sole hope for the future. It is our one chance to keep our dear country free from the ravages of the hates, bitterness and conflicts which have disfigured the Old World. For the last twenty years the desperate peoples of Europe have tried a way of life which is the very opposite of the American way of life - the suppression of the individual, government by ukase and dictatorship, and race and religious intolerance - and it has led them, as inevitably it must, to the blood-soaked battlefields of war.

God grant that we do not follow in their tragic footsteps.....

*The author is Rabbi at
The Temple in Cleveland.*

THE OUTLOOK FOR AMERICA

By Abba Hillel Silver, D.D.) - 10E-21-27 Center

8/13/43
2 lines
It would be difficult even in normal times to discuss the subject which has been assigned to me - "The Outlook for America." Tonight it is quite impossible. The outlook for the entire world is being determined today, and for decades to come, on the battlefields of France and Flanders. Destiny now waits upon military decisions. There is no way of formulating a world outlook without reference to these unpredictable military decisions. Should the Allies win, the world will be one kind of place for men to live in; should they lose, it will be an altogether different kind of place - radically and fundamentally different.

The outlook for America is likewise inextricably bound up with these fateful military decisions now in the making. The American people have now realized this fact, though somewhat belatedly. It took the frightening and shocking events of the last few weeks abroad to startle our people into a final realization of the interlocking destiny of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, and into a final surrender of those comfortable and beguiling notions of political and economic isolationism. From now on we will not expect our foreign policy to be spun in an international vacuum. The fiction of national security through strict neutrality has been shattered forever. The nations which relied upon it have been destroyed. Our defense program must now envision an embattled America in a world of powerful neighbors whose way of life and whose political and economic creeds are potential enemies of America.

Suddenly we have discovered that our national existence is not quite secure. Neither our wealth nor our military establishment, nor the intervening oceans now seem to be adequate defense. Suddenly we have discovered that we are not quite secure even from attack from within. We have become apprehensive of the menace of subversive forces within the nation, which we chose to ignore heretofore, but which we now realize might in a critical hour for our nation undermine our strength and our strongholds, just as they have done in so many

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countries abroad. The old world has moved in upon us, unbidden and unwelcome. But it is here! The feverish eagerness with which we read every new edition of our newspapers and listen to broadcasts of international news, is an indication not merely of our interest in an historic struggle which is going on overseas, but of our profound and troubled concern with the implications of that struggle for us and our children. We suspect that the shifting lines on the maps of the battlefields of Europe which we so avidly scan are projections and extensions of our own national destiny in the proximate future.

If, therefore, you ask me what is the outlook for America, my answer would have to be that it depends, to a large extent, and for a considerable time to come, on the outcome of the present war. The outcome being uncertain, the American people must prepare itself for either eventuality, for a victory or a defeat of the Allies.

If the Allies win, victory can come only after a prolonged and exhausting war which will shake the very foundations of the social, political and economic life of Europe. Much will be destroyed besides material wealth and cities, towns and provinces. A colossal effort will have to be made at the conclusion of the war to reconstruct Europe, and this time it must be made according to a saner and juster pattern than that which followed the first World War - one that will carry with it the promise of a more lasting peace. America will have to share in the responsibility for this gigantic task of reconstruction; *not from motives of altruism but because* for its own economic and political fortunes will be vitally involved. To do that, we shall have to reconcile ourselves to the necessity of assuming definite obligations and responsibilities for any international order which we shall help to bring into existence. We shall not dare to repeat the folly of 1919. We shall make no proposals and offer no counsel without at the same time indicating our readiness to assume our full and just share of responsibility for the carrying out of these proposals and for the embodiment of these counsels into concrete social structures. We shall

not again deposit any of our brain children upon the doorsteps of Europe - and precipitously abscond.

It is, of course, doubtful whether our advice will be heeded by the victorious Allies if we deny them, in this their bitter struggle and in these their dark days of agony and suffering and sacrifice maximum aid. If we cannot help them to win the war, they will feel free to dispense with our advice to fix the peace. Americans who counsel noninvolvement in the European struggle, even in a nonmilitary sense, ought not to be thinking in terms of our involvement in European affairs after the war, by way of our unsolicited counsel and gratuitous moral scolding and curtain lecturing from the sidelines at the peace conference.

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This, too, should be clearly grasped. If we wish to make secure our way of life for ourselves and our children, we must help to make it secure in the world. A victory for the Allies will help to make it secure. A victory for the Nazis will destroy it in Europe and will endanger it on this Hemisphere. This is realism. All else is wishful and addled thinking.

The question today is not one of praise or blame, of Allied innocence or guilt in the past or in the present. France and England are not without blame for many of the moral disasters of the last twenty years. Their leaders committed gross and criminal follies. Fundamentally they neither worked for peace nor prepared for war. They failed to rise to the spiritual exigencies of the new order which the World War made inevitable. They destroyed with their own hands the ideals of collective security, disarmament, and the rich promise of the League of Nations. But all that does not lessen by one whit the present ^{Fascist} Nazi menace to civilization, the imminent threat to all the precious values which Western civilization evolved through long centuries of intellectual and spiritual struggle and aspiration. The Nazis have clearly defined their own creed and their program. They have not been reticent about their true intentions. They mean to destroy the culture of the Western World, as it has evolved ever since the American and

French Revolutions - a culture based on the inalienable rights of man to life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness, the importance of the individual, the restricted authority of the state, religious and racial tolerance, brotherhood and universal peace, and to substitute for it a neo-pagan culture of their own, based on a conscious and thoroughgoing revolt against liberty, on the concepts of a monolithic state, the submergence of the individual, dictatorship, racialism, and war as a rational policy and destiny. The Nazis have incorporated that philosophy ruthlessly within their own borders and are imposing it upon other countries wherever their military prowess entrenches them. They intend to destroy the independence of all the small peoples, and to build up an empire which their vaulted ambitions refuse to circumscribe, in which all subjugated peoples will toil in serfdom to maintain in affluence and in mastery the elite of the Germanic race.

The delinquencies, mistakes and sins of the Allies in the past cannot be held to condone these vicious doctrines, nor the brutal and inhuman actions of the Nazis since they came into power. They do not atone for the rape of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Luxembourg, and Belgium, nor for the shameless and unspeakable persecutions of a helpless and honorable racial minority within their own country.

It is therefore not consistent with the facts, or a contribution to clear thinking, or a service to humanity, to popularize the idea that in the European struggle now raging there are no basic issues involved with which the American people need at all be concerned, or that both sides are equally culpable, or that America stands to lose nothing if Hitlerism succeeds in destroying the last few outposts of democracy and freedom in the Western World. Such reasoning at this late date has all the earmarks of Fifth Column propaganda.

If the Allies lose, Europe will be turned over to the moral anarchy of this streamlined barbarism of the twentieth century, and the rest of the world will not long escape the effects of it.

*of a centralized communist
slave-labor economy up at
our fire economy*

If the Nazis win, the outlook for America and the American way of life is grave indeed. We need not fear any imminent invasion, but our American world will become closely encircled by a hostile world, and the pressure upon it will increase as the years go by. It is in the very nature of dictatorships to be aggressive and missionary. The last few years have given ample proof of it. In a world in which there will no longer be a British or a French empire, the United States will find itself alone, pledged to defend with inadequate resources the whole Western Hemisphere in the face of four powerful imperial dictatorships, grown strong and arrogant with the greatest spoils of all time. We shall have to arm ourselves to the teeth and increasingly to pour our reserves of wealth into our defense program. We shall have to gear up our national economy to a war-time footing and keep it there. Conceivably, our industrial organization will come steadily under added forms of central planning and control, and a system ultimately approximating the emergency forms adopted recently by England will come to pass in our country. *A lower standard of living* There will come about an attenuation of the democratic processes and a lessening of the latitude of liberalism. An intensified nationalism, more suspicious and less tolerant will emerge. The American way of life will undergo slow, unconscious, but quite definite changes.

But our greatest dangers will come from within. A Nazi victory abroad, which will lay the world at their feet, will hearten and inspire their agents, friends and admirers here. Nothing succeeds like success. Fascists and Nazi sympathizers, adventurers and would-be-Hitlers will spring up like mushrooms all over our country. They will attempt to do here what the Nazis will have succeeded so brilliantly and so swiftly in doing abroad. They will, of course, receive guidance and support from what will then be the greatest empire on earth - the victorious Third Reich. The Americas will be overrun *if it is not already* by Nazi agents, and the United States, the richest country in the world, will become their special stamping ground. There will not be lacking powerful industrialists here who will be willing to play the role of American Fritz Thyssens to would-be American Hitlers.

Some of them have already been singled out and decorated

By the Nazis.

What role the Nazis have prescribed for the United States in their political Welt-anschauung is not clear at the moment, but certainly when they make known their program, there will not be wanting within our borders a powerful Fifth Column prepared to help them realize it. The members of this Fifth Column will not be recruited exclusively or even principally from the ranks of aliens, but, as in England, Holland, Belgium, Denmark and Norway, from the blue bloods who always escape fingerprinting and surveillance, from people prominent in the public eye, lay and cleric, from the circles of high government officials and the military, from reactionaries who hate progressive social legislation and organized labor so bitterly that they will not hesitate to sacrifice all our free institutions in a desperate gambler's throw to save their special privileges. ~~Some of these highly placed personages have already been decorated by the Nazis.~~ Not all who belong to the Fifth Column are necessarily paid spies, agents and traitors. In that Column are also the far more dangerous gentry who have superseding loyalties and who have no use for American free institutions when they thwart their special interests or prejudices.

The outlook for the United States in case of a Nazi military triumph is thus a very serious one indeed. Nevertheless, we ought not to fill our minds with thoughts of doom or resign ourselves to defeat. Not all of these things may come to pass, or even many of them. There are always the unforeseen and incalculable elements in every historic constellation. No one can plot the future with any degree of certainty. Chance, accident, unforeseen personal and impersonal forces may give the direction of events a sharp turn one way or another. Nevertheless, we should prepare ourselves, as far as possible, for all eventualities. We should build up our national defenses to a point consistent with the definite commitments and responsibilities which we intend to assume in connection with our foreign policy. Also, they should be built up reasonably to a degree where they would be a strong deterrent to any would-be aggressor.

Start here

Also our position towards the problem, the Far East needs clarification and sharper definitions. Are we prepared to maintain status quo over there at all costs? What are our commitments there, our political responsibilities, our real interests? For what allies are we relying on in that area - and to what extent are they reliable?... It is clear that we cannot single-handedly undertake the policing of half the globe, and it is questionable whether we should if we could.



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A clear definition of our foreign policy in relation to the twenty-one countries on this Hemisphere is clearly indicated and most urgent. If we mean to enforce the Monroe Doctrine, it is important that the nations which we are to protect from foreign invasion shall, knowingly and willingly, share with us in a well defined and concerted program for the collective military defense of this Hemisphere. We should not plan for them. We should plan with them. They must assume their clear share of responsibility for joint diplomatic action involving the fate of this Hemisphere and for military defense measures. For the nations of South and Central America to maintain formal and separate neutrality status, to act independently, unrelated to a central Hemisphere policy, or to carry on independent diplomatic negotiations which might unwittingly entangle them in the imperialistic machinations of foreign nations, or to tolerate Fifth Columns in their midst and the establishment of centers of powerful alien influence, is to create dangers on this Hemisphere for the United States which might involve us in war against our will. Time should not be lost in implementing the Declaration of the Solidarity of America adopted by the Eighth Pan American Conference held in Lima in December, 1938, in bringing about a stronger federation of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere, and in formulating specific agreements and covenants among them on all matters involving their collective security.

Again

We should not forget, however, that a strong military defense for our nation, in itself, is not sufficient. A greater defense for a nation is the loyalty of its citizens and their essential spiritual unity. There are two ways in which these can be conserved. The forces hostile to our form of government and to our free institutions must be continuously exposed and their power broken. No democracy is immune, or can hope to remain immune, as long as it is a democracy, from anti-democratic propaganda either native or foreign. Forces opposed to democracy will use the very technique and machinery of democracy, as well as its abundant tolerance, to destroy it. In the face of this, democracy must not remain

naive or complacent. It must aggressively and relentlessly expose and harass every form of propaganda which is hostile to our basic conceptions of life and government. The agents of foreign dictatorships and their native born kinsmen must be kept under constant surveillance. Those who wish to destroy free America should not be permitted the glamour of putting their followers in uniform or of parading our public thoroughfares.

But, no hysteria! No witch hunting! No mass stampede away from the Bill of Rights and the constitutional guarantees of a free people. We should not in our great concern, zeal and impatience, permit ourselves to resort to extra-legal and unconstitutional methods to obtain even worthy and desirable objectives. To destroy liberty in an effort to preserve it, is the height of folly. The detection, arrest and punishment of spies, saboteurs, and plotters against our domestic peace and security should be left to our legally constituted authorities who are charged with the enforcement of our laws and the defense of our free institutions.

It should be borne in mind that education still remains the strongest bulwark of a free people. The American people should be educated in the techniques of modern propaganda which have been so skillfully elaborated in our day. They should be made aware of the methods which are employed and the true character of the organizations and governments which employ them. They should be informed as to how racial and religious antagonism are aroused and exploited, in order to divide a people, disrupt its unity, confuse its counsels, and undermine its national resistance to an aggressor. Systematic courses in the detection of and the prophylaxis against false propaganda should be introduced into the curriculum of every high school and college. Furthermore, we have long assumed that education in democracy will somehow take care of itself, as an unconscious by-product of our day-by-day living. This is no longer true. Democracy is under fire today and on the defensive. Both its theoretic soundness and its practical value have been denied. Many peoples have rejected it as antiquated, inefficient and

distinctly harmful. Anti-liberalism and Anti-democracy have today a passionate and heroic zeal behind them. Totalitarianism has millions of enthusiastic devotees in all parts of the world. Quite deliberately and specifically we must begin to educate our people anew, and especially our youth, in the principles, practices and advantages of democracy.

In the school, the home, the church, through the written and the spoken word, an educational crusade, in defense of democracy, must be launched. And the time is very short. In this connection, we ought to bear in mind that the source of all political democracy in the Western World is fundamentally religion, and that the basic charter of man's dignity and freedom is God. Friends of democracy have forgotten the religious origin of the democratic dogma in the modern world. They have forgotten that political freedom came to the Western World as a result of the struggle for religious freedom and not vice versa. Religion kindled the torch of political freedom in the world, and irreligion is extinguishing it. The reason why the democratic movements are perishing in the Western World today is because of an increasing pessimism due to a loss of confidence in the reality of God in the life of man. Man has become frightfully small in our day, reduced in stature, stripped and spiritually cowered, because his kinship with God, which crowned him with glory and honor and made him "a little lower than the angels," has been contemptuously rejected by a world which has tried to build its life upon the foundations of pseudo-scientific materialism. No society can long remain Godless and free. If our crusade to redeem democracy is to succeed, it must draw its inspiration from the inexhaustible fires of religious faith, from the classic religious dogmas that God created man in His image, and that man was endowed by his Creator with inalienable rights of which no state, no bureaucracy, no majority and no class has the right to deprive him.

The loyalty and unity of our citizens can be enhanced still more if they are made to feel that the American way of life is the best way of life, because

in it they find security and happiness. Democracy cannot long survive widespread and prolonged economic suffering. All dictatorships have risen to power upon the economic miseries of their people. A generation of young men and women denied the opportunity to work and to build careers, consigned to demoralizing idleness and frustration is dangerous explosive material. Even the brutalities and indecencies of dictatorship become less repugnant and the ways of freedom appear less appealing in the presence of democracy's tragic failure to care for its people and to safeguard them against frequent and disastrous periods of unemployment and suffering.

Sound American patriotism must quickly translate itself into an intelligent and ardent program for social justice, for a fairer distribution of the social goods, for a larger measure of protection of our people against the hazards of unemployment, sickness and old age. Sound patriotism will look upon the disease- and crime-breeding slums of our land, the blasted areas, the underprivileged children, the jobless and hopeless youth, the unemployed man, the underpaid worker, the unsheltered aged, as the real Trojan Horse which traps a free people into destruction. People who feel that they have a stake in their country, that the institutions of their land are being used to the utmost to help them to a more secure and abundant life, and who can see in them the promises of even greater happiness and well-being for their children, will not be inveigled by the propaganda for a Totalitarian Millennium, and will not be led into revolutionary adventures.

On the other hand the individual citizen should not unload all his responsibilities upon his government or blame it for all misfortunes or expect all salvation from it. Nor should he sponge upon it for all manner of handouts. Those who wish government to provide them at all times with bread and circuses must be prepared to surrender to it all their liberties. Total dependence upon government means total control by government. The danger to a free society is not so

much the encroachment by government, as the encroachment of citizens upon their government with all manner of demands which are rightly the responsibilities of private citizens or of associations of private citizens. The individual citizen must discipline himself against the temptation to become the happy-go-lucky ward of what he hopes will be a generous and tolerant and never-failing provider - called the State. Our youth must be trained to regard government as the defense of a free people which must be served and safeguarded through sacrifice, not *weakened* exploited.

In our effort to maintain our way of life here, we will be strongly helped by some important factors which are uniquely our own.

Ours is a long-established democracy. We have gone through severe crises before, including a Civil War, without sacrificing our democratic apparatus. No long-established democracy has collapsed, even in Europe. *has not yet been fully told* We prefer to govern ourselves. The idea of being ruled by a Fuehrer, a Duce, or a Commissar is hateful to our very souls.

We have a wholesome capacity for self-criticism. We are ready to acknowledge our mistakes and to take the blame. We can and do reverse ourselves. We are not hostile to experimentation.

We have vast natural resources. Ours is not a country, but a continent. This is not a starved or crowded land, and our people are not doomed by circumstance to a low standard of living. Poverty is one of the bitterest enemies of democracy. There need be no poverty in our country.

We are a young nation. We are not handicapped by Old-World animosities. We have no threatening neighbors on our frontiers. More than any other people on earth, we can, if so we will, pursue our chosen way of life with confidence and with high hopes.

What is this American way of life? What are the classic elements which give uniqueness and distinction to it?

First - the importance of the individual. Every man is possessed of certain inalienable rights. The state cannot veto them. No majority can abrogate them. All men, regardless of race and religion, are equal before the law. Any attempt to subjugate the individual to the state, or to discriminate against him in law because of race or creed, is a frontal and deadly attack upon the American Ideal.

Second - government by consent and not by constraint; government from within and not from without. Dictatorship is government imposed from without. Democracy is government self-imposed from within. The American genius strives to achieve the best possible way of life for the largest possible number of citizens through their own voluntary enterprises, through free experimentation, and step by step, through the evolutionary processes of trial and error. The American genius rejects all proffers of ready-made millenniums at the spear-point of revolution and dictatorship. It prefers the slower and less glamorous way of government. But it also avoids all the horrors of government by purges and liquidations, by terrorism and expropriation, by espionage and slavery.

Third - the grace of tolerance. We are a composite people. Many races had a hand in the discovery, exploration, colonization and development of this great country. Ours is a nation made up from its very inception entirely of immigrants. Our American life is a fine mosaic in which many separate race and religious identities are grouped into one noble pattern. Despite occasional lapses, there has prevailed a wholesome attitude of good will, tolerance and cooperation among our people. The genius of America has manifested itself in steadily dissolving the hard concretion of groups and reducing them to their individual human components. Europe is concerned with the rights of minorities. America is concerned with the rights of men.

Those people, therefore, in our midst who would break up American life into hostile racial or religious groups, and who would persuade others to judge

American citizens not on the basis of individual worth, character or achievement, but on the basis of the race to which they belong, or the religion to which they subscribe, are the deadliest foes of the spirit as well as the peace of the American people.

This true vision of American life should be kept undimmed in these darkening days. It is our sole hope for the future. It is our one chance to keep our dear country free from the ravages of the hates, bitterness and conflicts which have disfigured the Old World. For the last twenty years the desperate peoples of Europe have tried a way of life which is the very opposite of the American way of life - the suppression of the individual, government by ukase and dictatorship, and race and religious intolerance - and it has led them, as inevitably it must, to the blood-soaked battlefields of war.

Let us not follow in their tragic footsteps.

Memorial Day reminds us that in every hour of grave national crisis there were found brave men in our land who were prepared to die that America might live. Let us, their descendants, prepare ourselves to live in such a way that America may not die.

THE OUTLOOK FOR AMERICA

Address delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of The Temple, Cleveland, before the National Conference of Social Work on Thursday evening, May 30, 1940 at Grand Rapids, Michigan.

It would be difficult even in normal times to discuss the subject which has been assigned to me - "The Outlook for America". Tonight it is quite impossible. The outlook for the entire world is being determined today, and for decades to come, on the battlefields of France and Flanders. Destiny now waits upon military decisions. There is no way of formulating a world outlook without reference to these unpredictable military decisions. Should the Allies win, the world will be one kind of place for men to live in; should they lose, it will be an altogether different kind of place - radically and fundamentally different.

The outlook for America is likewise inextricably bound up with these fateful military decisions now in the making. The American people ^{have now} realized this fact, though somewhat belatedly. It took the frightening and shocking events of the last few weeks abroad to startle our people into a final realization of the interlocking surrender of those comfortable and beguiling notions of political and economic destiny of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, and into a final isolationism.

From now on we will not expect our foreign policy to be spun in an international vacuum. The fiction of national security through strict neutrality has been shattered forever. The nations which relied upon it have been destroyed. Our defense program must now envision an embattled America in a world of powerful neighbors whose way of life and whose political and economic creeds are ~~the~~ potential enemies of America.

Suddenly we have discovered that our national existence is not quite ^{now seem to be} secure. Neither our wealth nor our military establishment, nor the intervening oceans ~~are an~~ adequate defense. Suddenly we have discovered that we are not quite ^{when} secure ^{from} attack from within. We have become apprehensive of the menace of ~~these~~ subversive forces within the nation, which we chose to ignore heretofore, but which we now realize might in a critical hour for our nation undermine our strength and our strongholds,

just as they have done in so many countries abroad. The old world has moved in upon us, unbidden and unwelcome. But it is here! The feverish eagerness with which we read every new edition of our newspapers and listen to broadcasts of international news, is an indication not merely of our interest in an historic struggle which is going on overseas, but of our profound and troubled concern with the implications of that struggle for us and our children. We suspect that the shifting lines on the maps of the battlefields of Europe which we so avidly scan are projections and extensions of our own national destiny in the proximate future.

If, therefore, you ask me what is the outlook for America, my answer would have to be that it depends, to a large extent, and for a considerable time to come, on the outcome of the present war. The outcome being uncertain, the American people must prepare itself for either eventuality, for a victory or a defeat ~~for~~ ^{of} the Allies.

If the Allies win, victory can come only after a prolonged and exhausting war which will shake the very foundations of the social, political and economic life of Europe. Much will be destroyed besides material wealth and cities, towns and provinces. A colossal effort will have to be made at the conclusion of the war to reconstruct Europe, and this time it must be made ^{according to} ~~after~~ a saner and juster pattern than that which followed the first World War - one that will carry with it the promise of a more lasting peace. America will have to share in the responsibility for this gigantic task of reconstruction; for its own economic and political fortunes will be vitally involved. To do that, we shall have to reconcile ourselves to the necessity of assuming definite obligations and responsibilities for any international order which we shall help to bring into existence. We shall not dare to repeat the folly of 1919. We shall make no proposals and offer no counsel without at the same time indicating our readiness to assume our full and just share of responsibility for the carrying out of these proposals and for the embodiment of these counsels into

concrete social structures. We shall not again deposit any of our brain ^{children} ~~off-springs~~ upon the door-steps of Europe - and precipitously abscond.

It is, of course, doubtful whether our advice will be heeded by the victorious Allies if we deny them, in ^{this} their bitter struggle and in ^{these} their dark days of agony and suffering and sacrifice maximum aid. If we cannot help them to win the war, they will feel free to dispense with our advice to fix the peace. Americans who counsel non-involvement in the European struggle, even in a non-military sense, ought not to be thinking in terms of our involvement in European affairs after the war, by way of ^{our} unsolicited counsel and gratuitous moral scolding and curtain lecturing from the side-lines at the peace conference.

This, too, should be clearly grasped. If we wish to make secure our way of life for ourselves and our children, we must help to make it secure in the world. A victory for the Allies will help to make it secure. A victory for the Nazis will destroy it in Europe and will endanger it on this hemisphere. This is realism. All else is wishful and addled thinking.

The question today is not one of praise or blame, of Allied innocence or guilt in the past or in the present. France and England are not without blame for many of the moral disasters of the last twenty years. Their leaders committed gross and criminal follies. Fundamentally they neither worked for peace nor prepared for war. They failed to rise to the spiritual exigencies of the new order which the World War made inevitable. They destroyed with their own hands the ideals of collective security, disarmament, and the rich promise of the League of Nations. But all that does not lessen by one whit the ^{present} Nazi menace to civilization, the imminent threat to all the precious values which western civilization evolved through long centuries of intellectual and spiritual struggle and aspiration. The Nazis have clearly defined their own creed and their program. They have not been reticent about their true intentions. They mean to destroy the culture of the Western World,

as it has evolved ever since the American and French Revolutions - a culture based on the inalienable rights of man to life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness, the importance of the individual, the restricted authority of the state, religious and racial tolerance, brotherhood and universal peace, and to substitute for it a neo-pagan culture of their own, based on a conscious and thorough-going revolt against liberty, on the concepts of a monolithic state, the submergence of the individual, dictatorship, racialism, and war as a national policy and destiny. The Nazis have incorporated that philosophy ruthlessly within their own borders and are imposing it upon other countries wherever their military prowess entrenches them. They intend to destroy the independence of all the small peoples, and to build up an empire which their vaulted ambitions refuse to circumscribe, in which all subjugated peoples will toil in serfdom to maintain in affluence and in mastery the elite of the Germanic race.

The delinquencies, mistakes and sins of the Allies in the past cannot be held to condone these vicious doctrines, nor the brutal and inhuman actions of the Nazis since they came into power. They do not atone for the rape of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium, nor for the shameless and unspeakable persecutions of a helpless and honorable racial minority within their own country.

It is therefore not consistent with the facts, or a contribution to clear thinking, or a service to humanity, to popularize the idea that in the European struggle now raging there are no basic issues involved with which the American people need at all be concerned, or that both sides are equally culpable, or that America stands to lose nothing if Hitlerism succeeds in destroying the last few outposts of democracy and freedom in the Western World. Such reasoning at this late date has all the earmarks of Fifth Column propaganda.

If the Allies lose, Europe will be turned over to the moral anarchy of this barbarism of the streamlined/ twentieth century, and the rest of the world will not long

escape the effects of it.

If the Nazis win, the outlook for America and the American way of life is grave indeed. We need not fear any imminent invasion, but our American world will become closely encircled by a hostile world, and the pressure upon it will increase as the years go by. It is in the very nature of dictatorships to be aggressive and missionary. The last few years have given ample proof of it. In a world in which there will no longer be a British or a French empire, the United States will find itself alone, pledged to defend with inadequate resources the whole ^{Western} ~~Eastern~~ Hemisphere in the face of four powerful imperial dictatorships, grown strong and arrogant with the greatest spoils of all time. We shall have to arm ourselves to the teeth and increasingly to pour our reserves of wealth into our defense program. We shall have to gear up our national economy to a war-time footing and keep it there. Conceivably, our industrial organization will come steadily under added forms of central planning and control, and a system ultimately approximating the emergency forms adopted recently by England will come to pass in our country. There will come about an attenuation of the democratic processes and a lessening of the latitude of liberalism. An intensified nationalism, more suspicious and less tolerant will emerge. The American way of life will undergo slow, unconscious, but quite definite changes.

But our greatest dangers will come from within. A Nazi victory abroad, which will lay the world at their feet, will hearten and inspire their agents, friends and admirers here. Nothing succeeds like success. Fascists and Nazi sympathizers, adventurers and would-be-Hitlers will spring up like mushrooms all over our country. They will attempt to do here what the Nazis will have succeeded so brilliantly and so swiftly in doing abroad. They will, of course, receive guidance and support from what will then be the greatest empire on earth - the victorious Third Reich. The Americas will be over-run by Nazi agents, and the United States,

the richest country in the world, will become their special stamping ground. There will not be lacking powerful industrialists here who will be willing to play the role of American Fritz Thyssens to would-be American Hitlers.

What role the Nazis have prescribed for the United States in their political Welt-ansehauung is not clear at the moment, but certainly when they make known their program, there will not be wanting within our borders a powerful Fifth Column prepared to help them realize it. The members of this Fifth Column will not be recruited exclusively or even principally from the ranks of aliens, but, as in England, Holland, Belgium, Denmark and Norway, from the blue-bloods who always escape finger-printing and surveillance, from people prominent in the public eye, lay and cleric, from the circles of high government officials and the military, from reactionaries who hate progressive social legislation and organized labor so bitterly that they will not hesitate to sacrifice all our free institutions in a desperate gambler's throw to save their special privileges. Some of these highly placed personages have already been decorated by the Nazis. Not all who belong to the Fifth Column are necessarily paid spies, agents and traitors. In that Column are also the far more dangerous gentry who have superseding loyalties and who, have no use for American free institutions when they thwart their special interests or prejudices.

The outlook for the United States in case of a Nazi military triumph is thus a very serious one indeed. Nevertheless, we ought not to fill our minds with thoughts of doom or resign ourselves to defeat. Not all of these things may come to pass, or even many of them. There are always the unforeseen and incalculable elements in every historic constellation. No one can plot the future with any degree of certainty. Chance, accident, unforeseen personal and impersonal forces may give the direction of events a sharp turn one way or another. Nevertheless, we should prepare ourselves, as far as possible, for all eventualities. We should

build up our national defenses to a point consistent with the definite commitments and responsibilities which we intend to assume in connection with our foreign policy. Also, they should be built up reasonably to a degree where they would be a strong deterrent to any would-be aggressor.

A clear definition of our foreign policy in relation to the twenty-one countries on this Hemisphere is clearly indicated and most urgent. If we mean to



enforce the Monroe Doctrine, it is important that the nations which we are to protect from foreign invasion shall, knowingly and willingly, share with us in a well defined and concerted program for the collective military defense of this Hemisphere. We should not plan for them. We should plan with them. They must assume their clear share of responsibility for joint diplomatic action involving the fate of this Hemisphere and for military defense measures. For the nations of South and Central America to maintain formal and separate neutrality status, ^(to act independently) unrelated to a central Hemisphere policy, or to carry on independent diplomatic negotiations which might unwittingly entangle them in the imperialistic machinations of foreign ^{or to} nations, ^{to} tolerate Fifth Columns in their midst and the establishment of centers of powerful alien influence, is to create dangers on this Hemisphere for the United States which might involve us in war against our will. Time should not be ^{in implementing the declaration of the solidarity of America adopted by the Eight Latin American Conference held in Lima, Peru, January 1938} lost in bringing about a stronger federation of the peoples of the ~~Eastern~~ ^{Western} Hemisphere and in formulating specific agreements and covenants among them on all matters involving their collective security.

We should not forget, however, that a strong military defense for our nation, in itself, is not sufficient. A greater defense for a nation is the loyalty of its citizens and their essential spiritual unity. There are two ways in which these can be conserved. The forces hostile to our form of government and to our free institutions must be continuously exposed and their power broken. No democracy is immune, or can hope to remain immune, as long as it is a democracy, from anti-democratic propaganda either native or foreign. Forces opposed to democracy will use the very technique and machinery of democracy, as well as its abundant tolerance, to destroy it. In the face of this, democracy must not remain naive or complacent. It must aggressively and relentlessly expose and harass every form of propaganda which is hostile to our basic conceptions of life and government. The agents of foreign dictatorships and their native born kinsmen must be kept under constant

surveillance. Those who wish to destroy free America should not be permitted the glamour of putting their followers in uniform or of parading our public thoroughfares.

But, no hysteria! No witch hunting! No mass stampede away from the Bill of Rights and the constitutional guarantees of a free people. We should not in our great concern, zeal and impatience, permit ourselves to resort to extra-legal and unconstitutional methods to obtain even worthy and desirable objectives. To destroy liberty in an effort to preserve it, is the height of folly. The detection, arrest and punishment of spies, saboteurs, and plotters against our domestic peace and security should be left to our legally constituted authorities who are charged with the enforcement of our laws and the defense of our free institutions.

It should be borne in mind that education still remains the strongest bulwark of a free people. The American people should be educated in the techniques of modern propaganda which have been so skillfully elaborated in our day. They should be made aware of the methods which are employed and the true character of the organizations and governments which employ them. They should be informed as to how racial and religious antagonism are aroused and exploited, in order to divide a people, disrupt its unity, confuse its counsels, and undermine its national resistance to an aggressor. Systematic courses in the detection of and the prophylaxis against false propaganda should be introduced into the curriculum of every high school and college. Furthermore, we have long assumed that education in democracy will somehow take care of itself, as an unconscious by-product of our day-by-day living. This is no longer true. Democracy is under fire today and on the defensive. Both its theoretic soundness and its practical value have been denied. Many peoples have rejected it as antiquated, inefficient and distinctly harmful. Anti-liberalism and Anti-democracy have today a passionate and heroic zeal behind them. Totalitarianism has millions of enthusiastic devotees in all parts of the world. Quite deliberately and specifically we must begin to educate

our people anew, and especially our youth, in the principles, practises and advantages of democracy.

In the school, the home, the church, through the written and the spoken word, an educational crusade, in defense of democracy, must be launched. And the time is very short. In this connection, we ought to bear in mind that the source of all political democracy in the Western World is fundamentally religion, and that the basic charter of man's dignity and freedom is God. Friends of democracy have forgotten the religious origin of the democratic dogma in the modern world. They have forgotten that political freedom came to the Western World as a result of the struggle for religious freedom and not vice versa. Religion kindled the torch of political freedom in the world, and irreligion is extinguishing it. The reason why the democratic movements are perishing in the Western World today is because of an increasing pessimism due to a loss of confidence in the reality of God in the life of man. Man has become frightfully small in our day, reduced in stature, stripped and spiritually cowered, because his kinship with God, which crowned him with glory and honor and ~~which~~ made him "a little lower than the angels," has been contemptuously rejected by a world which has tried to build its life upon the foundations of pseudo-scientific materialism. No society can long remain Godless and free. If our crusade to redeem democracy is to succeed, it must draw its inspiration from the inexhaustible fires of religious faith, from the classic religious dogmas that God created man in His image, and that man was endowed by his Creator with inalienable rights of which no state, no bureaucracy, no majority and no class has the right to deprive him.

The loyalty and unity of our citizens can be enhanced still more if they are made to feel that the American way of life is the best way of life, because in it they find security and happiness. Democracy cannot long survive wide-spread

and prolonged economic suffering. All dictatorships have risen to power upon the economic miseries of their people. A generation of young men and women denied the opportunity to work and to build careers, consigned to demoralizing idleness and frustration is dangerous explosive material. Even the brutalities and indecencies of dictatorship become less repugnant and the ways of freedom appear less appealing in the presence of democracy's tragic failure to care for its people and to safeguard them against frequent and disastrous periods of unemployment and suffering.

Sound American patriotism must quickly translate itself into an intelligent and ardent program for social justice, for a fairer distribution of the social goods, for a larger measure of protection of our people against the hazards of unemployment, sickness and old age. Sound patriotism will look upon the disease-and crime-breeding slums of our land, the blasted areas, the under-privileged children, the jobless and hopeless youth, the unemployed man, the underpaid worker, the unsheltered aged, as the real Trojan Horse which traps a free people into destruction. People who feel that they have a stake in their country, that the institution of their land are being used to the utmost to help them to a more secure and abundant life, and who can see in them the promises of even greater happiness and well-being for their children, will not be inveigled by the propaganda for a Totalitarian Millennium, and will not be led into revolutionary adventures.

On the other hand the individual citizen should not unload all his responsibilities upon his government or blame it for all his misfortunes or expect all salvation from it. Nor should he sponge upon it for all manner of hand-outs. Those who wish government to provide them at all times with bread, ^{in case} ~~in crises~~ must be prepared to surrender to it all their liberties. Total dependence upon government means total control by government. The danger to a free society is not so much the encroachment by government, as the encroachment of citizens upon their government with all manner of demands which are rightly the responsibilities

of private citizens or of associations of private citizens. The individual citizen must discipline himself against the temptation to become the happy-go-lucky ward of what he hopes will be a generous and tolerant and never-failing provider-- called the State. Our youth must be trained to regard government as the defence of a free people which must be served and safe-guarded through sacrifice, not exploited.

In our effort to maintain our way of life here, we will be strongly helped by some important factors which are uniquely our own.

Ours is a long-established democracy. We have gone through severe crises before, including a Civil War, without sacrificing our democratic apparatus. No long-established democracy has collapsed, even in Europe. We prefer to govern ourselves. The idea of being ruled by a Fuehrer, a Duce, or a Commissar is hateful to our very souls.



We have a wholesome capacity for self-criticism. We are ready to acknowledge our mistakes and to take the blame. We can and do reverse ourselves. We are not hostile to experimentation.

We have vast natural resources. Ours is not a country, but a continent. This is not a starved or crowded land, and our people are not doomed by circumstance to a low standard of living. Poverty is one of the bitterest enemies of democracy. There need be no poverty in our country.

We are a young nation. We are not handicapped by Old-World animosities. We have no threatening neighbors on our frontiers. More than any other people on earth, we can, if so we will, pursue our chosen way of life with confidence and with high hopes.

What is this American way of life? What are the classic elements which give uniqueness and distinction to it?

First - the importance of the individual. Every man is possessed of certain inalienable rights. The state cannot veto them. No majority can abrogate them. All men, regardless of race and religion, are equal before the law. Any attempt to subjugate the individual to the state, or to discriminate against him in law because of race or creed, is a frontal and deadly attack upon the American Ideal.

Second - government by consent and not by constraint; government from within and not from without. Dictatorship is government imposed from without. Democracy is government self-imposed from within. The American genius strives to achieve the best possible way of life for the largest possible number of citizens through their own voluntary enterprises, through free experimentation, and step by step, through the evolutionary processes of trial and error. The American genius rejects all proffers of ready-made millenniums at the spear-point of revolution and dictatorship. It prefers the slower and less glamorous way of government. But it *also* avoids all the horrors of government by ~~purges~~ ^{purges} and liquidations, by terrorism and

expropriation, by espionage and slavery.

Third - the grace of tolerance. We are a composite people. Many races had a hand in the discovery, exploration, colonization and development of this great country. Ours is a nation made up from its very inception entirely of immigrants. Our American life is a fine mosaic in which many separate race and religious identities are grouped into one noble pattern. Despite occasional lapses, there has prevailed a wholesome attitude of good will, tolerance and cooperation among our people. The genius of America has manifested itself in steadily dissolving the hard concretion of groups and reducing them to their individual human components. Europe is concerned with the rights of minorities. America is concerned with the rights of men.

Those people, therefore, in our midst who would break up American life into hostile racial or religious groups, and who would persuade others to judge American citizens not on the basis of individual worth, character or achievement, but on the basis of the race to which they belong, or the religion to which they subscribe, are the deadliest foes of the spirit as well as the peace of the American people.

This ~~is~~ true vision of American life should be kept undimmed in these darkening days. It is our sole hope for the future. It is our one chance to keep our dear country free from the ravages of the hates, bitterness and conflicts which have disfigured the Old World. For the last twenty years the desperate peoples of Europe have tried a way of life which is the very opposite of the American way of life - the suppression of the individual, government by ukase and dictatorship, and race and religious intolerance - and it has led them, as inevitably it must, to the blood-soaked battlefields of war.

Let us not follow in their tragic footsteps.

Memorial Day reminds us that in every hour of grave national crisis there were found brave men in our land who were prepared to die that America might live. Let us, their descendants, prepare ourselves to live in such a way that America may not die.

THE OUTLOOK FOR AMERICA

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland, Ohio

The outlook for America is inextricably bound up today with the fateful military decisions now in the making in the old world. The American people have now realized this fact, though somewhat belatedly. It took the frightening events of the last few months abroad to startle our people into a final realization of the interlocking destiny of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, and into a final surrender of those comfortable notions of political and economic isolationism. From now on we will not expect our foreign policy to be spun in an international vacuum. The fiction of national security through strict neutrality has been shattered forever. The nations which relied upon it have been destroyed.

Suddenly we have discovered that our cherished way of life is not quite secure. Neither our wealth nor our military establishment, nor the intervening oceans now seem to be adequate defense. Suddenly we have discovered that we are not quite secure even from attack from within. We have become apprehensive of the menace of subversive forces ~~within~~ within our nation, which we chose to ignore heretofore. The old world has moved in upon us again, unbidden and unwelcome. But it is here!

Most Americans now understand that if the Allies are defeated, the outlook for America and the American way of life will be grave indeed. Not that we shall have to face ^a imminent invasion, but our American world will become closely encircled by a hostile world, and the pressure upon it, ~~will~~ particularly the economic pressure of a co-ordinated continental slave-labor economy upon our free economy, will increase as the years go by.

But our greatest danger we suspect will come from within. A Nazi victory abroad, will hearten and inspire their agents, friends and admirers here. Nothing

succeeds like success. Fascists and Nazi sympathizers, adventurers and would-be-Hitlers will spring up like mushrooms all over our country. They will attempt to do here what the Nazis will have succeeded so brilliantly and so swiftly in doing abroad. There will not be lacking powerful industrialists here who will be willing to play the role of American Fritz Thyssens to would-be-American Hitlers.

The outlook for the United States in case of a Nazi military triumph is thus a very serious one indeed. We should, therefore, along with rendering maximum aid to the free peoples now fighting for survival, build up ^{our} national defenses expertly, adequately and swiftly to a point where they will be a strong deterrent to any would-be aggressor.

We should not forget, however, that a strong military defense in itself, is not sufficient. A greater defense for a nation is the loyalty of its citizens and their essential spiritual unity. There are two ways in which these can be conserved. The forces hostile to our form of government and to our free institutions must be continuously exposed. No democracy is immune, as long as it is a democracy, from anti-democratic propaganda, either native or foreign. Forces opposed to democracy will use the very technique and machinery of democracy, as well as its abundant tolerance, to destroy it. In the face of this, democracy must not remain naive, complacent or doctrinaire. It must aggressively expose and harass every form of propaganda which is hostile to its basic conceptions of life and government. The agents of foreign dictatorships and their native born kinsmen must be kept under constant surveillance. Those who wish to destroy free America should not be permitted the glamour of putting their followers in uniform or of parading our public thoroughfares.

But, no hysteria! No witch hunting! No mass stampede away from the Bill of Rights and the constitutional guarantees of a free people. We should not in our great concern and impatience, permit ourselves to resort to extralegal and unconstitutional methods to obtain even worthy and desirable objectives. To destroy

liberty

in an effort to preserve it, is the height of folly.

It should never be forgotten that education still remains the strongest bulwark of a free people. The American people, and especially our youth, should be educated in the techniques of modern propaganda which have been so skillfully elaborated in our day. They should be made aware of the methods which are employed and the true character of the organizations and governments which employ them. They should be informed as to how racial and religious antagonism are aroused and exploited, in order to divide a people, disrupt its unity, confuse its counsels, and undermine its resistance to aggression. ^P Our people should also be re-educated in the philosophy and science of democracy. We have long assumed that education in democracy will somehow take care of itself, as an unconscious by-product of our day-by-day living. This is no longer true. Democracy is under fire today and on the defensive. Many people have rejected it as antiquated, inefficient and distinctly harmful. Totalitarianism has millions of enthusiastic devotees in all parts of the world. Quite deliberately and specifically we must begin to educate our people anew, and especially our youth, in the principles, practices, advantages and obligations of democracy.

In the school, the home, the church, through the written and the spoken word, an educational crusade, in defense of democracy, must be launched. And the time is very short! In this connection, we ought to bear in mind that the source of all political democracy in the Western World is fundamentally religion, and that the basic charter of man's dignity and freedom is God. Friends of democracy have forgotten the religious origin of the democratic dogma in the modern world. They have forgotten that political freedom came to the Western World as a result of the struggle for religious freedom and not vice versa. Religion kindled the torch of political freedom in the world, and irreligion is extinguishing it. When the Founding Fathers of our country wrote into the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are

endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights", or when they declared that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God, or when they engraved upon the Liberty Bell the Biblical mandate: "Proclaim ye freedom throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," or when they placed upon the first seal of the new-born republic the Biblical figure of Moses leading the children of Israel out of Egypt -- they were summoning religious truth, religious authority, religious tradition to sanction their political revolution. The American Revolution kindled its torches at the flame of a religious dogma that men were created by God to be free and equal. The long protracted struggle in this country to emancipate the slaves received its powerful momentum not from economics, or from any materialistic conception of history, but from deep religious convictions, which revolted against the enslavement of human beings, children of God, and which saw in the Civil War a divine retribution for the sins which the nation committed against the black man, and which heard in the tramp of men marching to battle the footsteps of God. "His truth is marching on!.."

The reason why the democratic movements are perishing in the Western World today is because of an increasing pessimism due to a loss of confidence in the reality of spirit, of the spiritual order, of God. Man has become frightfully small in our day, reduced in stature, stripped and spiritually cowered, because his kinship with God, which crowned him with glory and honor and made him "a little lower than the angels", has been contemptuously rejected by a world which has tried to build its life upon foundations of pseudo-scientific materialism. No society can long remain Godless and free. If our crusade to redeem democracy is to succeed, it must draw its inspiration from the inexhaustible springs of religious faith, from the classic religious dogmas of the sanctity of human life, ^{of man's} ~~his~~ inviolable personality, and his God-given rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, of which no ^{minority} state, [^] class or party has the right to deprive him.

The loyalty and unity of our citizens will be enhanced still further if they are made to feel that the American way of life is the best way of life, because in it they find security and happiness. Democracy cannot long survive widespread and

prolonged economic suffering. All dictatorships have risen to power upon the economic miseries of their people. A generation of young men and women denied the opportunity to work and to build careers, consigned to demoralizing idleness and frustration, unhappy and lost, is the dictator's very workshop. Even the brutalities and indecencies of dictatorship become less repugnant and the ways of freedom appear less appealing in the presence of democracy's tragic failure to care for its people and to safeguard them against frequent and disastrous periods of unemployment and suffering.

Sound American patriotism must therefore quickly translate itself into an intelligent and ardent program for social justice, for a fairer distribution of the social goods, for a larger measure of protection of our people against the hazards of unemployment, sickness and old age, for economic stability, not cycles of boom and collapse. Sound patriotism will look upon the disease-and-crime-breeding slums of our land, the blasted areas, the under-privileged children, the jobless and hopeless youth, the unemployed man, the underpaid worker, the unsheltered aged, as the real Trojan Horse which traps a free people into destruction. People who feel that they have a stake in their country, that the institutions of their land are being used to the utmost to help them to a more secure and abundant life, and who can see in them the promises of even greater happiness and well-being for their children, will not be inveigled by the propaganda for a Totalitarian Millennium, and will not be led into disastrous revolutionary adventures.

In our effort to defend our way of life here, we will be strongly helped by some factors which are uniquely our own.

Ours is a long-established democracy. We have gone through severe crises, before, including a Civil War, without sacrificing our democratic apparatus. ~~Our~~ ~~long-established democracy has collapsed, even in Europe.~~ We prefer to govern ourselves. The idea of being ruled by a Fuehrer, a Duce, or a Commissar is hateful to our very souls.

We have a wholesome capacity for self-criticism. We are ready to acknowledge our mistakes and to take the blame. We can and do reverse ourselves. We are not

hostile to experimentation.

We have vast natural resources. Ours is not a country, but a continent. This is not a starved or crowded land, and our people are not doomed by circumstance to a low standard of living. Poverty is one of the bitterest foes of democracy. There need be no poverty here.

We are a young nation. We are not handicapped by Old World animosities. Better than any other people on earth, we can preserve our distinctive way of life if we build up its essential social, military and spiritual defences.

What is this American way of life? What are the classic elements which give uniqueness and distinction to it?

First -- the importance of the individual. Every man is possessed of certain inalienable rights. The state cannot veto them. No majority can abrogate them. All men, regardless of race and religion, are equal before the law. Any attempt to subjugate the individual to the state, or to discriminate against him in law because of race or creed, is a frontal and deadly attack upon the American way of life.

Second -- government by consent and not by constraint; government from within and not from without. Dictatorship is government imposed from without. Democracy is government self-imposed from within. The American genius strives to achieve the best possible way of life for the largest possible number of citizens through their own voluntary enterprises, through free experimentation, and step by step through the evolutionary processes of trial and error. It rejects all proffers of ready-made millenniums at the spear-point of revolution and dictatorship. It prefers the slower and less glamorous way of government. But it also avoids all the horrors of government by purges and liquidations, by terrorism and expropriation, by espionage and slavery.

Third -- the grace of tolerance. We are a composite people. Many races had a hand in the discovery, exploration, colonization and development of this great country. Ours is a nation made up from its very inception almost entirely of

immigrants. Our American life is a fine mosaic in which many separate racial and religious identities are grouped into one noble pattern. Despite occasional lapses, there has prevailed a wholesome attitude of good will, tolerance and cooperation among our people. The genius of America has manifested itself in steadily dissolving the hard concretion of groups and reducing them to their individual human components. Europe is concerned with the rights of minorities. America is concerned with the rights of man.

Those people, therefore, in our midst who would break up America life into hostile racial or religious groups, and who would persuade others to judge American citizens not on the basis of individual worth, character of achievement, but on the basis of the race to which they belong, or the religion to which they subscribe, are the deadliest foes of the spirit as well as the peace of the American people.

This true vision of American life should be kept undimmed in these darkening days. It is our sole hope for the future. It is our one chance to keep our dear country free from the ravages of the hates, bitterness and conflicts which have disfigured the Old World. For the last twenty years the desperate peoples of Europe have tried a way of life which is the very opposite of the American way of life -- the suppression of the individual, government by ukase and dictatorship, and race and religious intolerance -- and it has led them, as inevitably it must, to the blood-soaked battlefields of war.

God grant that we do not follow in their tragic footsteps...

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Daily Bulletin

NATIONAL CONFERENCE of SOCIAL WORK

67th Year — No. 5

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.

THURSDAY, MAY 30, 1940

TONIGHT — GENERAL SESSION

9:00 P. M. — Civic Auditorium

8:15 P. M. Concert

Grand Rapids' WPA Symphony Orchestra,
Laurence Powell, Conductor

8:30 P. M. Drum and Bugle Corps

Grand Rapids' Camp Fire Girls,
Leon Knapp, Director

9:00 P. M. Opening Color Ceremony

Grand Rapids' Council, Boy Scouts of America
Music — Creston High School Choir,
Frank Goodwin, Conductor

"Jerusalem".....C. H. H. Parry
"Lift Every Voice and Sing".....J. R. Johnson
"Emitte Spiritum Tuum".....Fr. Jos. Schuetky
"How Blest Are They".....P. Tschaikowsky
"The Music of Life".....Noble Cain
"Alleluia" (From a Graduate to St. Cecilia)
Scarlatti-Ross
"Roll, Chariot!" (Spiritual).....Arr. by Noble Cain

"The Outlook for America"

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio

"America — The Beautiful"

The choir and audience

Prayer for America

Rev. John A. Dykstra
Minister, Central Reformed Church

Daily Bulletin

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Issued Daily During the Conference

CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS
CIVIC AUDITORIUM
GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN

DAILY BULLETIN NOTICES

The Daily Bulletin will be published each evening, beginning today through Friday, May 31. The Bulletin will carry the official notices of the Conference, changes in program or location of meetings or notices of meetings not scheduled in the official program, and other important items. Please read the Bulletin carefully. Programs printed in the official program will not be reprinted inasmuch as the Bulletin is for the handy reference of all Conference attendants. It cannot be used for reports of meetings or other non-official business.

Persons wishing to have notices printed in the Daily Bulletin should file them at the Information Service, on blanks provided. Such material should be typewritten, if possible, and must be filed not later than 9 a. m. for inclusion in the day's edition. Copies of the Bulletin will be available at Information Service, Conference Headquarters.

ADMITTANCE CARD

Carry your "admit" card for the morning meetings of the Conference with you, as you will be asked by the doorman to show it at the door. The young men are carrying out their orders and are not assuming any authority when they ask you to show your card.

OFFICIAL SCHEDULE

Civic Auditorium

This is the official schedule when Headquarters, National Conference of Social Work, Civic Auditorium, will be open. All headquarters services will be staffed during these hours.

Friday, May 31....8:30 A.M.— 5 P.M.
Saturday, June 1....8:30 A.M.— 1 P.M.

OFFICIAL CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENTS

EXECUTIVE OFFICE of the Conference will be maintained at Conference Headquarters, lower floor, Civic Auditorium. Office hours: 10 a. m. to 3 p. m.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE: Joseph Moss, chairman, will meet at 3 p. m. Friday, May 31, at the Executive Booth, Conference Headquarters, Civic Auditorium.

APPRAISAL COMMITTEE: Paul Benjamin, chairman, will meet at 3 p. m. Friday, May 31, Room 128, Pantlind Hotel.

LOST AND FOUND

Uncalled for articles at the Information Desk include man's gray topcoat, umbrellas, gloves, packages and programs.

BACK COPIES of the Conference Bulletins are available at the Information Desk.

IMPORTANT—Telegrams and registered letters and packages being held at Post Office in Civic Auditorium, Exhibit Hall.

FIRST AID ROOM

The first aid room will be maintained by the Grand Rapids Chapter of the American Red Cross in Room "A," Civic Auditorium, main floor.

FRIDAY MEETINGS

To the Members of the American Association for the Study of Group Work:

Your attention is called to an important luncheon meeting of the Association to be held Friday noon in Room 211, Y. M. C. A. from 1 to 3:30 p. m.

There will be one meeting only and not a luncheon, and subsequent group meetings as announced in the Conference program. The committee reports and discussions listed will be presented at the luncheon following the business meeting.

The meeting of Section III, Community Organization, scheduled for Friday, May 31, at 11 a. m.-12:30 p. m. in the Civic Auditorium, Black and Silver room, has been cancelled due to the temporary illness of Mr. Kellogg, which has made it impossible for Mr. Kellogg and Miss Hall (Mrs. Paul Kellogg) to attend the conference.

Four current novels and plays are announced for review in the program on "The Art of Writing and the Story of Social Work," to be given by the Social Work Publicity Council Friday at 2 p. m. in the Fountain Street Church. Titles and reviewers include the following: "Native Son," Frank Bancroft, editor of Social Work Today; "Christ in Concrete," James D. Gamble, Detroit Community Fund; "The Triumph of Willie Pond," Alice J. Webber, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington; "Two on An Island," Louis Towley, Department of Social Security, Division of Social Welfare, St. Paul, Minn. Gertrude Springer, of The Survey, will interview the speakers.

The Alumnae of the Smith College School for Social Work will meet at 4:00 p. m., Friday, May 31, Civic Auditorium, Directors' Room.

The dinner meeting of the Committee on Current Problems and Practices in the Professional Education of Group Workers of America Association for the Study of Group, will be held on Friday at 6 p. m. at the Y. M. C. A., Room 211.

Please make reservations at the Y. M. C. A. Booth 6, in Civic Auditorium by noon Thursday.

The University of Washington Graduate School of Social Work Students cordially invite all persons from the state of Washington to have breakfast at 8:00 a. m., Friday morning in the Pantlind Hotel Cafeteria.

QUIZ YOURSELF

Delegates are invited to participate in a study of attitudes and opinions about venereal diseases being conducted by the U. S. Public Health Service and the American Social Hygiene Association at the booths in the Civic Auditorium.

Material obtained by this testing of the "I.Q." of social workers and their attitudes will be used as a guide in developing the venereal disease educational program. The study is being conducted by means of questionnaires which are available at the consultation booths of the U. S. Public Health Service and the American Social Hygiene Association. (Booths 21 and 22.)

A. D. C. WORKERS

Use the consultants who are here for your benefit. They will help you to understand and solve some of your problems. Make your appointment at the A. D. C. booth, Civic Auditorium.

Consultants are: Miss Ruth Blakeslee, Social Security Board (Administration Problems); Mr. Charles Zunker, Desertion Bureau, N. Y. C. (Desertions); Miss Vocille Pratt, Western Reserve Univ., Cleveland (Budgeting); Mrs. Genevieve Bishop, Vocational Guidance, Cleveland, Ohio (Vocational Guidance).

Miss Martha Davis, A. D. C., Louisville, Ky. (Self-Help Projects); Miss Joan Ortelle, Health Consultant, Ohio Health. These people are here to assist you.

AMERICA, THE BEAUTIFUL

O beautiful for spacious skies,
For amber waves of grain,
For purple mountain majesties
Above the fruited plain.
America! America! God shed His grace on thee,
And crown thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea.

O beautiful for pilgrim feet
Whose stern impassioned stress
A thoroughfare for freedom beat
Across the wilderness.
America! America! God mend thine ev'ry flaw,
Confirm thy soul in self-control,
Thy liberty in law.

O beautiful for heroes proved
In liberating strife,
Who more than self their country loved,
And mercy more than life.
America! America! May God thy gold refine,
Till all success be nobleness
And ev'ry gain divine.

O beautiful for patriot dream
That sees beyond the years
Thine alabaster cities gleam
Undimmed by human tears.
America! America! God shed His grace on thee
And crown thy good with brotherhood,
From sea to shining sea.

ANNOUNCING

The Second Annual Public Welfare Conference

Sponsored by the

Council of Public Health and Welfare Agencies of the
County of Cuyahoga

Tuesday and Wednesday — October 29 and 30
HOTEL CLEVELAND

Tuesday — October 29 — 6:45 P. M. — DINNER MEETING

ADDRESS: "THE OUTLOOK FOR AMERICA"
by
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

Wednesday — October 30

9:30 A. M. — General Session:

"Public Responsibility for Social Work"

1:30 P. M. — Panel Discussions:

1. "Services for the Aged"
2. "Children"
3. "General Relief"
4. "Health"
5. "Vocational Guidance and Placement"
6. "Recreation"

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Exhibits on display at Hotel Cleveland on Tuesday and
Wednesday — October 29 and 30, 1940

PUBLIC INVITED!

PUBLIC INVITED!

PUBLIC INVITED!

The First Presbyterian Church

The Circle - Buffalo, New York

Organized February 2, 1812

December 1, 1940



Ralph Blake Hindman

Minister

O God, who art to be found by those who truly seek Thee, known by those who love, seen by those whose heart is pure; Thy Spirit possesses all things, speaks in the holy dawn, calls in the quiet even, broods on the deep, and dwells in the heart of man. Forgive us if we, made to commune with Thee, whose lives were ordered to walk with Thee, have grown insensible to Thy presence, have rested in the things that appear, grown careless of the eternal and the holy. Send now some word of Thine to make a highway to our hearts, and Thyself draw near. Shut us in gathered here, in with Thyself, alone, until every heart burns and each spirit moves toward Thee. May the Spirit of Jesus come upon us and make us at home with Thee. Amen.

—William E. Orchard.

Morning Worship

Eleven o'clock

Organ Prelude: "Intermezzo" on Psalm xxxvii: 38 Whitlock

Choral Introit: Psalm xcvi ANGLICAN

The Call to Worship Congregation seated

The Prayer of Invocation

Hymn: The King of love my Shepherd is 99
omit stanza five

Responsive Reading: Selection 32

The Gloria Patri

The Scripture Lesson: Acts xviii: 16-29

Anthem: O Blessed Spirit Whithead
O Blessed Spirit, be Thou our Teacher; let Thy wisdom
counsel us; shine upon us, enlighten us, prepare our hearts
and make us wise unto salvation; through Jesus Christ our
Lord.

Prayer with The Lord's Prayer

The Offertory: And the glory of the Lord Handel
And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all
flesh shall see it together; for the mouth of the Lord hath
spoken it.

The Doxology

The Prayer of Dedication

Hymn: Watchman, tell us of the night 109

The Sermon: The Second Commandment

Text: Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image . . .
thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them nor serve them.
—Exodus xx: 4-6.

Prayer and Choral Response

Benediction and Choral Amen

The Community Vesper Service

Five o'clock

AIM: Through the free discussion of vital themes by thoughtful men and women of experience, to promote understanding, tolerance, good will, unity of purpose, and courage to meet personal and community responsibilities, according to the spirit and purpose of Jesus.

Organ: Prelude and Fugue in D minor Mendelssohn

Prayer with The Lord's Prayer Congregation stated

Choir:

Anthem—O Brightness of the Eternal Father's Face Andrews

Anthem—Gloria in excelsis Deo Mozart

The Offertory: Trio—Lift thine eyes Mendelssohn

Hymn: O beautiful for spacious skies 411

The Address: The Outlook for America

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Dr. Silver is Rabbi of The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio, one of the largest Jewish congregations in America. In his many visits here we have come to know him as a progressive thinker and an analyst and interpreter of social, economic and political movements influencing our world today.

Prayer and Benediction

Choral Response

In the Future

December 8—"American Democracy in the Present World Crisis." Dr. Frank Porter Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Dr. Graham has frequently been selected for symposiums when a voice from the South was in demand regarding political, educational, and moral issues. He possesses a keen, analytical mind, free from prejudice and deeply interested in the welfare and progress of humanity everywhere. When America's Town Meeting of the Air decided to take their meeting into the South, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill was selected as the place and Dr. Graham was invited to speak along with two United States Senators on a question of vital import to the North and the South. His message is always forthright and the result of thoughtful conviction.

After graduate work at the University of Chicago, Brookings Institution, and the University of London, England, Dr. Graham returned to the University of North Carolina in 1915 as Professor of History. He has served the university as president since 1930.

December 13—Choral Vesper Service—Mr. Haskin and the Choir, assisted by members of the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra, will present a program of Bach Cantatas.

December 22—The Christmas Vesper Service.

Announcements

SUNDAY

- 10:00—The Senior Classes
- 11:00—The Church School: Nursery through the Intermediate Departments
- 11:00—Morning Worship
- 3:30—The Society of Friends
- 5:00—Community Vesper Service.
- 6:30—Young People's Society
- 6:30—The Foursquares

MONDAY

- 1:00—Service Guild
- 4:00—Girl Scouts, Troop 5
- 6:30—The Cubs, Pack 52
- 7:30—Boy Scouts, Troop 52

TUESDAY

- 10:30—Women's Circle
- 11-12—Dr. Hindman's conference hour

TUESDAY

- 4:00—Brownie Scout Troop 300
- 7:00—Choir rehearsal

WEDNESDAY

- 11-12—Dr. Hindman's conference hour
- 8:00—Dramatic Group

THURSDAY

- 11-12—Dr. Hindman's conference hour
- 12:30—The Session: Luncheon and business meeting at the Buffalo Athletic Club
- 7:30—Choir rehearsal

FRIDAY

- 11-12—Dr. Hindman's conference hour
- 2:00—Dr. Efros lecture
- 8:00—The Couples Club

SATURDAY

- 11-12—Dr. Hindman's conference hour

At the meeting of the Young People's Society this evening Mrs. Charles Roth, a member of the Board of Education of Buffalo, is to speak on the subject, "Personality."

The Service Guild meets for luncheon and a business session tomorrow at one o'clock. It will be "Donation Day for Friendship House of Lattawanna." Members are to bring canned goods and articles for kitchen equipment. The kitchen is greatly in need of all kinds of utensils.

Friday afternoon at two o'clock Dr. Israel Efros will give the third address in his series on "The Lamps and Lutes of Israel." He will discuss "Judah Halevi—Spain 1085-1140—Greatest Hebrew Poet Since Biblical Times." This series is sponsored by the In-Between Group.

Young married people of the congregation will find a special interest in the Couples Club which meets Friday evening at eight o'clock. A group of the members have planned a bowling party. Those not interested in bowling are to have a program of games. All will meet in the parish house for refreshments. Any couples interested are requested to communicate with Mr. and Mrs. Maynard T. Adams, the co-chairmen (Lincoln 3622).

The sewing and Red Cross work being done by the Women's Circle is greatly aiding our local hospitals and the Buffalo Red Cross. All women of the congregation are invited to share in these projects and the fellowship of the meeting on Tuesday at half past ten in the morning. Luncheon will be served at one. The National Missions committee of which Mrs. John E. Morgan is chairman, will display the articles to be sent in the Christmas box for the James Island School, James Island, South Carolina.

All who love liberty and believe in democracy will be interested in attending the meeting at Kleinhans Music Hall at 8:15 Tuesday evening, December 3rd. It is held in the interest of men and women who have fled from Nazi Germany sacrificing their homes, their professions, and their business because of their love of the democratic ideal. Some of the best blood and brains of Europe is to be found in this group who have been driven into exile by the German Secret Police. They are now in Portugal or Southern France awaiting opportunity to come to this country before it is too late. Their only hope is America. More than two-thirds of them are Gentiles and about one-third Jews. On Tuesday evening Miss Erika Mann, herself an exile, will give the address on the subject, "Wanted by the Gestapo—Underground Workers Against the Hitler Terror." There will be no admission fee. A free-will offering will be taken.

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PROGRAM

P. 10



OHIO
EDUCATION
ASSOCIATION

NINETY-THIRD YEAR

JAN. 3-4, 1941---COLUMBUS

DEPARTMENTAL PROGRAMS January 3-4	Page No.	Jan. 3	Jan. 4 9:30	Jan. 4 2:00
Adult Education, Hall of Mirrors, Deshler	9			x
City Superintendents, Ballroom, Deshler (Fri.) Jr. Ballroom, Neil House (Sat.)	5	2:00	x	
Classroom Teachers, Ballroom, Deshler	10			1:30
County Supts., Red Room, Neil House	7	10:00		
Dinner & Business Session, Colonnade Room, Fort Hayes Hotel	7	5:45		
Curriculum (Will join other groups)				
Elementary Principals, Ballroom, Neil House (Morning) Parlors A, B, C, Deshler (Afternoon)	10		x	1:30
Exempted Village Superintendents (Will join City Superintendents)		2:00		
Business Session, Parlors A, B, C, Deshler	6	4:30		
Higher Education, Birch Rm., Neil House	11		x	
Industrial Arts Education, Council Chamber, City Hall	12		x	
Ohio Health and Physical Education Association, Parlors A, B, C, Deshler	13		x	
Ohio Music Education, Fort Hayes Hotel and Central High School	7	9:30 2:00		
Ohio Vocational Association, Junior Ballroom, Neil House	15		12:00	
Agriculture, Red Room, Neil House	14		x	
Home Economics, Parlor A, Neil House	16		x	
State Vocational Ass'n for Trades and Industries, Garden Rm., Neil House	16		x	
Ohio Vocational Ass'n Business Session, Parlor A, Neil House	15		11:30	
Research—Reading Program, Parlors H, I, J, Deshler			x	
Arithmetic Program, Rm. 1440, Deshler	17		x	
General Program, Rs. 1210-12, Deshler	18			x
Visual Instruction, Hearing Room 2, State Office Building	19		x	
Vocational Guidance, Hall of Mirrors, Deshler	20		x	

Nineteenth Annual Meeting

Representative Assembly

Friday Evening, January 3, 8:00 o'clock
Ballroom, Deshler-Wallick Hotel

Note—All members of the Association are welcome to attend Assembly sessions, but only accredited delegates, or alternates duly seated in place of delegates, are permitted to vote, offer motions, or make nominations of officers.

Election of Committee on Credentials

Introductory Remarks—President E. J. Ashbaugh,
Miami University, Oxford.

Report of Committee on Credentials

Nomination of Officers

Positions to be filled are: President; Vice-President; Executive Committee member, classroom teacher; Executive Committee member, superintendent, supervisor, or principal; member Reading Circle Board of Control; ten members of Educational Council who may be nominated either by petition or from the floor; N.E.A. Director for Ohio; choice is made by the Assembly as an expression of opinion to N.E.A. delegates in whose hands the election rests.

Report of Tenare Planning Committee — Evangeline Lindsley, Roosevelt High School, Dayton, Chairman.

Report of Building Commission—E. J. Ashbaugh, Miami University, Oxford, Chairman.

Report of Educational Council Divisions—Prin. C. W. Ricksecker, Chaney High School, Youngstown, President of Educational Council, in charge. Only reports with definite recommendations for action will be presented at this session. These reports are as follows:

1. LEGISLATION DIVISION—Supt. E. J. Arnold, Nelsonville, Chairman.
2. PROFESSIONAL PROBLEMS DIVISION—John H. Herriek, Director of Research, Shaker Heights, Chairman.
3. PLANS AND PROGRAMS DIVISION — Supt. R. H. Waterhouse, Akron, Chairman.

Recommendations of Executive Secretary and Presentation of Budget—W. B. Bliss.

Introduction of Business or Presentation of Resolutions. Resolutions will be referred to the Resolutions Committee, Carl H. Shanks, Wilmington, Chairman.

Second Assembly Session

Saturday Afternoon, January 4, 4:00 o'clock

Ballroom, Deshler-Wallick Hotel

Disposition of Business Introduced at First Assembly Session

Introduction of New Business

Report of the Executive Committee—Supt. U. E. Diener, Fremont.

Educational Council Reports—The Assembly will decide as to hearing the additional Council reports which do not carry recommendations for Assembly action.

Report of Resolutions Committee—Co. Supt. Carl H. Shanks, Wilmington, Chairman.

Report of the Executive Secretary—W. B. Bliss.

Third Assembly Session

Saturday Evening, January 4, 7:45 o'clock

Ballroom, Deshler-Wallick Hotel

Unfinished Business from Afternoon Session

Report of State Teachers' Retirement System—George M. Pogue, Secretary, Columbus.

Report of Ohio Teachers and Pupils Reading Circle—Prin. W. H. Vance, Eighth Avenue School, Columbus, President of Board of Control.

Report of N.E.A. Director for Ohio—Supt. L. W. Reese, Washington Court House.

Announcement of Election Results and Introduction of New Officers.

Delegates' Expenses

Part payment of delegates' expenses is authorized in amounts of \$2.50, \$5.00, and \$7.50, according to distance from Columbus. Specific exception was made, however, of Franklin County units, so no payments will be made to delegates from Columbus, Bexley, Grandview Heights, Upper Arlington, Westerville, Ohio State

University, State Department of Education, School for Blind, School for Deaf, and the Franklin County School District.

Each delegate's credential card indicates in the receipt form the amount of money to be paid. It is to be understood that payment will be made only to delegates in attendance throughout the Representative Assembly sessions. Each delegate will therefore present his credential card at the door when he enters for each of the business sessions. This card will be punched by the doorkeepers to indicate attendance.

Payment to delegates will be made in cash at the conclusion of the sessions of the Representative Assembly.

Balloting for Officers

Saturday, January 4, 9:30 A.M. to 3:30 P.M.

Deshler-Wallick Hotel, West Side of Lobby

Each delegate whose credentials have been validated by the Assembly will exchange credential card stub for a ballot. The offices, the present incumbents, and the term of office are as follows:

President—E. J. Ashbaugh, Oxford, one year.

Vice-President—C. D. Van Tassel, Toledo, one year.

Member Executive Committee—Classroom Teacher, Evangeline Lindsley, Dayton, three years.

Member Executive Committee—Superintendent, Supervisor, or Principal, S. A. Frampton, Bellefontaine, three years.

Ten Members of Educational Council—A. C. Allison, Massillon; E. J. Arnold, Nelsonville; E. W. Bash, Lorain; L. L. Disher, Toledo; Mary Hannabery, Springfield; John H. Herrick, Shaker Heights; C. W. Ricksecker, Youngstown; H. F. Vallance, Oxford; C. D. Van Tassel, Toledo; one vacancy. All terms three years.

Member Reading Circle Board of Control—Mrs. Rachael O. Davidson, East Cleveland, four years.

N.E.A. Director for Ohio—L. W. Reese, Washington C.H., three years. This constitutes an expression of the will of the Assembly and not an actual election, since that is lodged with Ohio's delegates to the N.E.A. meeting at Boston in June.

Departmental Programs . . .

City Superintendents

President—Supt. H. L. Sullivan, Marietta.

Vice-President—Supt. P. C. Bunn, Lorain.

Secretary-Treasurer—Supt. M. M. Berry, Chillicothe.

Friday Afternoon, January 3, 2:00 o'clock

Ballroom, Deshler-Wallick Hotel

EXEMPTED VILLAGE SUPERINTENDENTS JOINING

The Schools' Relation to Recreation in Ohio—William G. Robinson, District Representative, National Recreation Association, Ann Arbor, Michigan (2:00-2:30).

Roundtable Discussion (2:30-4:30)—This will be an informal discussion of questions submitted in advance by superintendents. All superintendents are invited to participate and to submit discussion topics to the president or secretary.

The Aims and Purposes of the N.Y.A.—C. A. Hudson, Director Division Student Work, N.Y.A., Columbus.

Business and Election of Officers

Saturday Morning, January 4, 9:30 o'clock
Junior Ballroom, Neil House

Some of the Problems and Opportunities of Secondary Schools in the Occupational Adjustment of American Youth—L. H. Dennis, Executive Secretary, American Vocational Association, Washington, D.C. (9:30-10:15).

Questions and Discussion (10:15-10:30).

The Evaluative Criteria in Ohio Secondary Schools—E. E. Morley, Principal Heights High School, Cleveland Heights (10:30-11:15).

Questions and Discussions (11:15-11:30).

Exempted Village Superintendents

President—Supt. N. P. Blatt, New Lexington.

Vice-President—Supt. John W. Robison, Eaton.

Secretary—Supt. W. O. Moore, Upper Sandusky.

Business Session, Friday, January 3, 4:30 o'clock
Parlors A and B, Deshler-Wallick Hotel

Business and Election of Officers.

County Superintendents

President—Co. Supt. J. E. Way, Waverly.

Vice-President—Co. Supt. D. T. Mills, Marion.

Secretary—Co. Supt. H. E. Ryder, Toledo.

Friday Morning, January 3, 10:00 o'clock
Red Room, Neil House

This is a general conference program and will be followed by a luncheon in the Neil House Junior Ballroom.

Friday Evening, January 3, 5:45 o'clock
Colonnade Room, Fort Hayes Hotel

Address—Dr. Harry A. Jager, Chief Occupational Information and Guidance Service, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

Business and Election of Officers

Ohio Music Education Association

ANNUAL MEETING AND MUSIC CLINIC

President—Ralph E. Rush, Heights High School, Cleveland Heights.

Program Committee—Evelyn Ross, North High School, Columbus; George Hardesty, Ohio State University, Columbus; Arthur Huff, Denison University, Granville; Ellis Snyder, Capital University, Columbus.

Friday Morning, January 3rd

9:00 *Registration*—Lobby, Fort Hayes Hotel

9:30 *All State Chorus*—Gold Room, Fort Hayes Hotel.

Chairman: Ellis Snyder, Columbus.

Director: Morten J. Luvaas, Allegheny College,
Meadville, Pennsylvania.

9:30 *All State Orchestra*—Auditorium, Central High School.

Chairman: George Hardesty, Columbus.

Guest Conductor: Karl Grossman, Cleveland.

10:00 *Junior High School Chorus*—Crystal Room, Fort Hayes Hotel.

Chairman—Arthur Huff, Granville.

Director: Joseph A. Leeder, Ohio State University, Columbus.

Friday Afternoon, January 3, 2:00 o'clock

All State Chorus—Gold Room, Fort Hayes Hotel.

All State Orchestra—Auditorium, Central High School.

Junior High School Chorus—Crystal Room, Fort Hayes Hotel.

Panel Discussion.

January 3, 6:30 o'clock

Crystal Room, Fort Hayes Hotel

O.M.E.A. Dinner Meeting.

Saturday Morning, January 4, 9:30 o'clock

All State Chorus—Gold Room, Fort Hayes Hotel.

All State Orchestra—Auditorium, Central High School.

Elementary Chorus—Crystal Room, Fort Hayes Hotel.

Chairman: Faye Rees, Wooster.

Director: Herbert Huffman, Boys' Choir School,
Columbus.

Panel Discussion

Saturday Afternoon, January 4, 2:00 o'clock

All State Chorus—Gold Room, Fort Hayes Hotel.

All State Orchestra—Auditorium, Central High School.

Vocal and Instrumental Ensembles—Crystal Room, Fort
Hayes Hotel.

Chairman: Clark Haines, Dayton.

Panel Discussion

Adult Education

President—J. Gordon Crowe, State Supervisor WPA
Education, Columbus.

Secretary—L. C. Turner, Prin. South High School,
Akron.

Saturday Afternoon, January 4, 2:00 o'clock

Hall of Mirrors, Deshler-Wallick Hotel

PANEL: EDUCATION, THE COMMUNITY
AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

Participants—Dr. H. W. Nisonger, Ohio State University; Supt. George E. Carr, Logan; Director E. N. Dietrich, State Department of Education; Evelyn Eastman, Specialist in Parent Education, Toledo; Harrison Sayre, American Education Press, Columbus; Harry Culbreth, Farm Security Administration, Washington, D.C.; J. Gordon Crowe.

Business and Election of Officers

Classroom Teachers

President—H. C. Roberson South High School, Lima.

Vice-President—Russell Huston, Hamilton High School,
Hamilton.

Secretary—Ruth Runyan, Rothenberg Junior High
School, Cincinnati.

Luncheon Meeting, January 4, 11:30 o'clock
Ballroom, Deshler-Wallick Hotel

The Outlook for America—Abba Hillel Silver, D.D.,
Rabbi, The Temple, Cleveland.

Saturday Afternoon, January 4, 1:30 o'clock
Ballroom, Deshler-Wallick Hotel

Business and Election of Officers

Address—Dr. A. K. Loomis, Superintendent of Schools,
Shaker Heights.

Committee Reports—Public Relations, Equal Oppor-
tunity, Tenure, Interstate Relations Resolutions.

Elementary School Principals

President—Prin. Wilbur A. Yauch, Roosevelt School,
Euclid.

Vice-President—Prin. Ben R. Evans, Washington
School, Gallipolis.

Secretary—Prin. Edna Morgan, Paul Revere School,
Cleveland.

Treasurer—Prin. E. B. Graham, John Barroughs School,
Columbus.

Saturday Morning, January 4, 9:30 o'clock
Ballroom, Neil House

Open Meeting of the Policies Commission on Elementary Education.

Saturday Afternoon, January 3, 1:30 o'clock
Parlors A, B, C, Deshler-Wallick Hotel

Business Meeting (1:30-2:00)

The Problems of Elementary Principals—Dr. E. J. Ashbaugh, Dean School of Education, Miami University, Oxford.

Discussion Panel—Dr. E. A. Hansen, Ohio University, Leader.

Participating Principals—Ben R. Evans, Gallipolis; F. A. Sheridan, Columbus; Edna Cefft, Marietta; Edna Morgan, Cleveland; O. C. Martin, Cincinnati.

Higher Education

President—Philip C. Nash, University of Toledo, Toledo.

Vice-President—W. A. Westhaver, Wooster College, Wooster.

Secretary—Frank B. Dilley, Ohio University, Athens.

Saturday Morning, January 4, 9:30 o'clock
Birch Room, Neil House

Accrediting—Dr. Herman G. James, President, Ohio University, Athens.

Discussion—Dr. H. E. Simmons, President, University of Akron, Akron.

Business and Election of Officers

Industrial Arts Education

President—Leslie E. Frye, Edison Occupational School, Cleveland.

Vice-President—Willis A. Whitehead, High School, Newark.

Secretary-Treasurer—Philip R. Anderson, Union-Scioto School, Chillicothe.

Saturday Morning, January 3, 9:30 o'clock

Council Chamber, City Hall

**THEME: PATHS TO INDUSTRIAL ARTS LEADERSHIP
IN OHIO**

A Dynamic Program for Industrial Arts Teacher Education in Ohio—Dr. William D. Stener, Miami University, Oxford, Inspector for Industrial Arts Teacher Education in Ohio.

Vitalizing the Industrial Arts Curriculum (A Critical Analysis of Areas in the Arts and Industries Laboratories)—William B. Mason, Instructor in Charge of Curriculum Construction, Cleveland.

Personalizing Industrial Arts Leadership—Philip R. Anderson, Instructor in the Arts and Industries Laboratories, Union-Scioto High School, Chillicothe.

Business and Election of Officers

Luncheon Program 12:15 o'clock

Ballroom, Y.M.C.A.

Professor H. G. Palmer, Presiding, State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa.

VAUGHN BLANCHARD

*Supervisor of
Health Education*
PUBLIC SCHOOLS
DETROIT, MICHIGAN



Developing Democratic Ideas Through a National Defense Program—C. V. Courter, Superintendent of Schools, Cincinnati.

Ohio Health and Physical Education Association

President—Harriet Fitchpatrick, Cleveland.

Vice-President—Charles Mileham, Cincinnati.

Treasurer—Charlotte Bell, Portsmouth.

Saturday Morning, January 4, 9:30 o'clock

Parlors A, B, C, Deshler-Wallack Hotel

Dr. Delbert Oberteuffer, Professor of Physical Education, Ohio State University, presiding.

The Organization of a Graded Course of Study in Health Instruction—P. C. Bechtel, West Liberty High School, West Liberty.

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEM

The Organization and Outcomes of Coeducational Physical Education—Jean Seidel, Chairman, Garfield Heights; I. J. Geiger, Van Buren Rural Schools, Van Buren; Walter Williams, High School, Garfield Heights; Clarence Swackhamer, Shore High School, Euclid; Adele Benes, John Adams High School, Cleveland.

Hallmarks of Democracy in Physical and Health Education—Vaughn Blanchard, Supervisor of Health Education, Public Schools, Detroit, Michigan.

Vocational Agriculture

President—C. H. Clary, Versailles.

Secretary—Ralph Burdick, Fremont.

Saturday Morning, January 4, 9-30 o'clock
Red Room, Neil House

THEME: VITALIZING AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

We are Learning How to Educate—Dr. Ray Fife, Agricultural Education, Ohio State University.

Discussions—Leslie Nelson, Teacher Trainer, Agricultural Education, Brigham City, Utah. Prof. H. S. Brunner, Department of Agricultural Education, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.

Business and Election of Officers

L. H. DENNIS
Executive Secretary
American Vocational
Association
WASHINGTON, D.C.



Ohio Vocational Association

President—C. S. Hutchison, Agricultural Education,
Ohio State University, Columbus.

Secretary-Treasurer—Mrs. Elizabeth Moore, Ohio State
University, Columbus.

Saturday Morning, January 4, 11:30 o'clock
Business Session, Parlor A, Neil House

Reading of Minutes

Business and Election of Officers

Luncheon Program, 12:00 o'clock
Junior Ballroom, Neil House

Our Place in National Defense—L. H. Dennis, Execu-
tive Secretary, American Vocational Association,
Washington, D.C.

Vocational Home Economics

President—Elizabeth Amos, Vandalia.

Secretary—Frances Tapscott, Fairport Harbor.

Saturday Morning, January 4, 9:30 o'clock

Parlor A, Neil House

Let's Put on a Play—Bruce Tom, Extension Rural Sociologist, Ohio State University. An address and demonstration on use of dramatic production techniques in home economics programs.

Discussion

State Vocational Association for Trades and Industries

President—E. B. Studebaker, Alliance.

Secretary—Nolde Wilt, Troy.

Saturday Morning, January 4, 9:30 o'clock

Garden Room, Neil House

Business and Election of Officers

Labor's Contribution to the Program of Vocational Education—Leo J. Mahoney, Chairman Apprenticeship Committee, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Toledo.

Industry's Contribution to the Program of Vocational Education—George Schiele, Supervisor Apprentice Training, Cincinnati Milling Machine Company, Cincinnati

Research

President—Josephine MacLatchy, Ohio State University, Columbus.

Vice-President—Glenn S. Long, Cincinnati.

Secretary-Treasurer—Edgar Dale, Ohio State University, Columbus.

Saturday Morning, January 4, 9:30 o'clock

Reading Program, Parlors II, I, J, Deshler-Wallick

G. H. Reavis, Cincinnati Public Schools, presiding.

Children's Interests and Reading Readiness—Mary G. Waite, University of Cincinnati.

Adjusting Books to Children's Interests—Bernice L. Leary, Chicago, Illinois.

Outcomes of Voluntary Reading in High School—Lou LaBrant, Ohio State University, Columbus.

Appraising Pupil Growth in Reading—Dr. W. S. Gray, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Saturday Morning, January 4, 9:30 o'clock

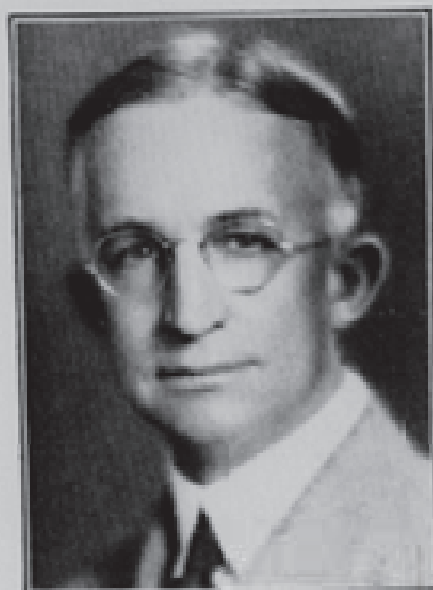
Arithmetic Program, Room 1440, Deshler-Wallick

R. L. Morton, Ohio University, presiding.

Pupils' Procedures in the Solution of Verbal Problems—Roy A. Doty, Ohio State University.

Research in Teaching Methods of Instruction—H. G. Wheat, West Virginia University.

Students' Autobiographical Reports of Their Number Experiences as an Aid to Teacher Training in Arithmetic—Carmille Holley Rush, Miami University.



W. S. GRAY

*Professor of
Education*

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Saturday Afternoon, January 4, 2:00 O'clock
Rooms 1210-12, Deshler-Wallick Hotel

Harold P. Fawcett, Ohio State University, presiding.

An Emerging Interpretation of General Education—

A. N. Zechiel, Ohio State University, Columbus.

*Some Results from Studies in Visual Form and Their
Bearing on Learning to Read and to Spell—*

Samuel Renshaw, Ohio State University, Columbus.

Opportunity will be allowed for general discussion.

Business and Election of Officers

Annual Dinner, January 4, 6:00 o'clock

Colonnade Room, Fort Hayes Hotel

Josephine MacLatchy, president, presiding.

*Status of Research in Reading—*W. S. Gray, University
of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Visual Instruction

President—Supt. A. C. Pence, Coshocton.

Vice-President—Co. Supt. R. M. Eyman, Lancaster.

Secretary—Supt. E. E. Higgins, Gallipolis.

Saturday Morning, January 4, 9:30 o'clock

Hearing Room 2, State Office Building

Movies—(While audience is gathering)

A. Children of Japan

B. Bulgaria

Appointment of Committees

Demonstration of Geoscope—M. W. Hunter, Sharon Center

Movies—

A. Planters of Colonial Virginia

B. Vacation Safety.

Report of Visual Exchange — B. A. Aughinbaugh, Supervisor Visual Instruction, State Department of Education.

Report of Committees and Election of Officers

Pictures for Essay Contest—

A. A Perfect Tribute

B. Lincoln in the White House

A prize of \$25 will be given by the Department to the member of the O.E.A. who writes the best comparative essay on the merits of the last two pictures. Essays must not be more than 600 words and must be filed with program chairman not later than February 1. Judges' decision is final.



HARRY A. JAGER

*Chief Occupational
Information and
Guidance Service*

U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Vocational Guidance

President—H. W. Nisonger, College of Education, Ohio
State University.

Secretary—Vera Woods, Cincinnati.

Saturday Morning, January 4, 9:30 o'clock
Hall of Mirrors, Deshler-Wallack Hotel

Address—Vaughn Blanchard, Supervisor of Health
Education Public Schools, Detroit, Michigan.

Address—Dr. Harry A. Jager, Chief Occupational In-
formation and Guidance Service, U. S. Office of
Education Washington, D.C.

Business and Election of Officers



Breakfasts, Lunches, Dinners

January 3

COUNCIL CITY TEACHERS ASSOCIATIONS—Dinner 6:00 P.M., Parlors H. I. J. Deshler-Wallick Hotel. Floyd L. Carlisle, Columbus, president.

COUNTY SUPERINTENDENTS—Dinner, 5:45 P.M., Colonnade Room, Fort Hayes Hotel. Harry A. Jager, U. S. Office of Education, speaker.

NORTH CENTRAL ASSOCIATION—Dinner, 5:30 P.M., Hall of Mirrors, Deshler-Wallick. Dean Hland L. Stradley, Columbus, presiding. Speakers: G. H. Beavis, Cincinnati; F. M. Shelton, Columbus.

OHIO MUSIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION—Dinner, 6:30 P.M., Crystal Room, Fort Hayes Hotel.

January 4

CENTRAL OHIO SCHOOLMASTERS — Luncheon, 12:00 M., Century Room, Neil House. All visiting schoolmen invited. Speaker, Harry A. Jager, U. S. Office of Education. President W. E. Huffman, Alexandria, presiding.

CLASSROOM TEACHERS — Luncheon, 11:30 A.M., Ballroom, Deshler-Wallick. Rabbi A. H. Silver, The Temple, Cleveland, speaker.

INDUSTRIAL ARTS—Luncheon, 12:15 P.M., Ballroom, Y.M.C.A. Supt. C. V. Courter, Cincinnati, speaker.

LEGIONNAIRE SCHOOLMASTERS — Breakfast, 7:30 A.M., Room 218, Deshler-Wallick. President Hobart H. Bell, presiding.

OHIO VOCATIONAL ASSOCIATION — Luncheon, 12:00 M., Junior Ballroom, Neil House. "Our Place in National Defense"—L. H. Dennis, American Vocational Association, Washington, D.C.

PHI DELTA KAPPA—Dinner, 5:30 P.M., Y. M. C. A. Cafeteria. Panel-Roundtable discussion on the responsibilities of education in the program of national defense. Dr. H. B. Alherty, Ohio State University, Chairman.

RESEARCH—Dinner, 6:00 P.M., Colonnade Room, Fort Hayes Hotel. "Status of Research in Reading"—Dr. W. S. Gray, University of Chicago.

WITTENBERG ALUMNI—Luncheon, 12:15 P.M., Private Dining Room, Deshler-Wallick. Consult hotel bulletin board.

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The Outlook
for
America

—By—

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver



The Outlook For America

*Address delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of
The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio, before the National
Conference of Social Work on Thursday evening,
May 30, 1940 at Grand Rapids, Michigan.*

It would be difficult even in normal times to discuss the subject which has been assigned to me—"The Outlook for America." Tonight it is quite impossible. The outlook for the entire world is being determined today, and for decades to come, on the battlefields of France and Flanders. Destiny now waits upon military decisions. There is no way of formulating a world outlook without reference to these unpredictable military decisions. Should the Allies win, the world will be one kind of place for men to live in; should they lose, it will be an altogether different kind of place—radically and fundamentally different.

The outlook for America is likewise inextricably bound up with these fateful military decisions now in the making. The American people have now realized this fact, though somewhat belatedly. It took the frightening and shocking events of the last few weeks abroad to startle our people into a final realization of the interlocking destiny of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, and into a final surrender of those comfortable and beguiling notions of political and economic isolationism. From now on we will not expect our foreign policy to be spun in an international vacuum. The fiction of national security through strict neutrality has been shattered forever. The nations which relied upon it have been destroyed. Our defense program must now envision an embattled America in a world of powerful neighbors whose way of life and whose political and economic creeds are potential enemies of America.

Suddenly we have discovered that our national existence is not quite secure. Neither our wealth nor our military establishment, nor the intervening oceans now seem to be adequate defense. Suddenly we have discovered that we are not quite secure—even from attack from within. We have become apprehensive of the menace of subversive forces within the nation, which

we chose to ignore heretofore, but which we now realize might in a critical hour for our nation undermine our strength and our strongholds, just as they have done in so many countries abroad. The old world has moved in upon us, unbidden and unwelcome. But it is here! The feverish eagerness with which we read every new edition of our newspapers and listen to broadcasts of international news, is an indication not merely of our interest in an historic struggle which is going on overseas, but of our profound and troubled concern with the implications of that struggle for us and our children. We suspect that the shifting lines on the maps of the battlefields of Europe which we so avidly scan are projections and extensions of our own national destiny in the proximate future.

If, therefore, you ask me what is the outlook for America, my answer would have to be that it depends, to a large extent, and for a considerable time to come, on the outcome of the present war. The outlook being uncertain, the American people must prepare itself for either eventuality, for a victory or a defeat of the Allies.

If the Allies win, victory can come only after a prolonged and exhausting war which will shake the very foundations of the social, political and economic life of Europe. Much will be destroyed besides material wealth and cities, towns and provinces. A colossal effort will have to be made at the conclusion of the war to reconstruct Europe, and this time it must be made according to a sarer and juster pattern than that which followed the first World War—one that will carry with it the promise of a more lasting peace. America will have to share in the responsibility for this gigantic task of reconstruction; for its own economic and political fortunes will be vitally involved. To do that, we shall have to reconcile ourselves to the necessity of assuming definite obligations and responsibilities for any international order which we shall help to bring into existence. We shall not dare to repeat the folly of 1919. We shall make no proposals and offer no counsel without at the same time indicating our readiness to assume our full and just share of responsibility for the carrying out of these proposals and for the embodiment of these counsels into concrete social structures. We shall not again deposit any of our brain chil-

dren upon the door-steps of Europe—and precipitiously abscond.

It is, of course, doubtful whether our advice will be heeded by the victorious Allies if we deny them, in this their bitter struggle and in these their dark days of agony and suffering and sacrifice maximum aid. If we cannot help them to win the war, they will feel free to dispense with our advice to fix the peace. Americans who counsel non-involvement in the European struggle, even in a non-military sense, ought not to be thinking in terms of our involvement in European affairs after the war, by way of our unsolicited counsel and gratuitous moral scolding and curtain lecturing from the side-lines at the peace conference.

This, too, should be clearly grasped. If we wish to make secure our way of life for ourselves and our children, we must help to make it secure in the world. A victory for the Allies will help to make it secure. A victory for the Nazis will destroy it in Europe and will endanger it on this Hemisphere. This is realism. All else is wishful and addled thinking.

The question today is not one of praise or blame, of Allied innocence or guilt in the past or in the present. France and England are not without blame for many of the moral disasters of the last twenty years. Their leaders committed gross and criminal follies. Fundamentally they neither worked for peace nor prepared for war. They failed to rise to the spiritual exigencies of the new order which the World War made inevitable. They destroyed with their own hands the ideals of collective security, disarmament, and the rich promise of the League of Nations. But all that does not lessen by one whit the present Nazi menace to civilization, the imminent threat to all the precious values which Western civilization evolved through long centuries of intellectual and spiritual struggle and aspiration. The Nazis have clearly defined their own creed and their program. They have not been reticent about their true intentions. They mean to destroy the culture of the Western World, as it has evolved ever since the American and French Revolutions—a culture based on the inalienable rights of man to life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness, the importance of the individual, the restricted authority of the state, religious and

racial tolerance, brotherhood and universal peace, and to substitute for it a neo-pagan culture of their own, based on a conscious and thorough-going revolt against liberty, on the concepts of a monolithic state, the submergence of the individual dictatorship, racialism, and war as a national policy and destiny. The Nazis have incorporated that philosophy ruthlessly within their own borders and are imposing it upon other countries wherever their military prowess entrenches them. They intend to destroy the independence of all the small peoples, and to build up an empire which their vaulted ambitions refuse to circumscribe, in which all subjugated peoples will toil in serfdom to maintain in affluence and in mastery the elite of the Germanic race.

The delinquencies, mistakes and sins of the Allies in the past cannot be held to condone these vicious doctrines, nor the brutal and inhuman actions of the Nazis since they came into power. They do not atone for the rape of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Luxembourg, and Belgium, nor for the shameless and unspeakable persecutions of a helpless and honorable racial minority within their own country.

It is therefore not consistent with the facts, or a contribution to clear thinking, or a service to humanity, to popularize the idea that in the European struggle now raging there are no basic issues involved with which the American people need at all be concerned, or that both sides are equally culpable, or that America stands to lose nothing if Hitlerism succeeds in destroying the last few outposts of democracy and freedom in the Western World. Such reasoning at this late date has all the earmarks of Fifth Column propaganda.

If the Allies lose, Europe will be turned over to the moral anarchy of this streamlined barbarism of the twentieth century, and the rest of the world will not long escape the effects of it.

If the Nazis win, the outlook for America and the American way of life is grave indeed. We need not fear any imminent invasion, but our American world will become closely encircled by a hostile world, and the pressure upon it will increase as the years go by. It is

in the very nature of dictatorships to be aggressive and missionary. The last few years have given ample proof of it. In a world in which there will no longer be a British or a French empire, the United States will find itself alone, pledged to defend with inadequate resources the whole Western Hemisphere in the face of four powerful imperial dictatorships, grown strong and arrogant with the greatest spoils of all time. We shall have to arm ourselves to the teeth and increasingly to pour our reserves of wealth into our defense program. We shall have to gear up our national economy to a war-time footing and keep it there. Conceivably, our industrial organization will come steadily under added forms of central planning and control, and a system ultimately approximating the emergency forms adopted recently by England will come to pass in our country. There will come about an attenuation of the democratic processes and a lessening of the latitude of liberalism. An intensified nationalism, more suspicious and less tolerant will emerge. The American way of life will undergo slow, unconscious, but quite definite changes.

But our greatest danger will come from within. A Nazi victory abroad, which will lay the world at their feet, will hearten and inspire their agents, friends and admirers here. Nothing succeeds like success. Fascists and Nazi sympathizers, adventurers and would-be-Hitlers will spring up like mushrooms all over our country. They will attempt to do here what the Nazis will have succeeded so brilliantly and so swiftly in doing abroad. They will, of course, receive guidance and support from what will then be the greatest empire on earth—the victorious Third Reich. The Americas will be over-run by Nazi agents, and the United States, the richest country in the world, will become their special stamping ground. There will not be lacking powerful industrialists here who will be willing to play the role of American Fritz Thyssens to would-be American Hitlers.

What role the Nazis have prescribed for the United States in their political Weltanschauung is not clear at the moment, but certainly when they make known their program, there will not be wanting within our borders a powerful Fifth Column prepared to help them realize it. The members of this Fifth Column will

not be recruited exclusively or even principally from the ranks of aliens, but, as in England, Holland, Belgium, Denmark and Norway, from the blue-bloods who always escape finger-printing and surveillance, from people prominent in the public eye, lay and cleric, from the circles of high government officials and the military, from reactionaries who hate progressive social legislation and organized labor so bitterly that they will not hesitate to sacrifice all our free institutions in a desperate gambler's throw to save their special privileges. Some of these highly placed personages have already been decorated by the Nazis. Not all who belong to the Fifth Column are necessarily paid spies, agents and traitors. In that Column are also the far more dangerous gentry who have superseding loyalties and who have no use for American free institutions when they thwart their special interests or prejudices.

The outlook for the United States in case of a Nazi military triumph is thus a very serious one indeed. Nevertheless, we ought not to fill our minds with thoughts of doom or resign ourselves to defeat. Not all of these things may come to pass, or even many of them. There are always the unforeseen and incalculable elements in every historic constellation. No one can plot the future with any degree of certainty. Chance, accident, unforeseen personal and impersonal forces may give the direction of events a sharp turn one way or another. Nevertheless, we should prepare ourselves, as far as possible, for all eventualities. We should build up our national defenses to a point consistent with the definite commitments and responsibilities which we intend to assume in connection with our foreign policy. Also, they should be built up reasonably to a degree where they would be a strong deterrent to any would-be aggressor.

A clear definition of our foreign policy in relation to the twenty-one countries on this Hemisphere is clearly indicated and most urgent. If we mean to enforce the Monroe Doctrine, it is important that the nations which we are to protect from foreign invasion shall, knowingly and willingly, share with us in a well defined and concerted program for the collective military defense of this Hemisphere. We should not plan for them. We should plan with them. They must assume

their clear share of responsibility for joint diplomatic action involving the fate of this Hemisphere and for military defense measures. For the nations of South and Central America to maintain formal and separate neutrality status, to act independently, unrelated to a central Hemisphere policy, or to carry on independent diplomatic negotiations which might unwittingly entangle them in the imperialistic machinations of foreign nations, or to tolerate Fifth Columns in their midst and the establishment of centers of powerful alien influence, is to create dangers on this Hemisphere for the United States which might involve us in war against our will. Time should not be lost in implementing the Declaration of the Solidarity of America adopted by the Eighth Pan American Conference held in Lima in December, 1938, in bringing about a stronger federation of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere, and in formulating specific agreements and covenants among them on all matters involving their collective security.

We should not forget, however, that a strong military defense for our nation, in itself, is not sufficient. A greater defense for a nation is the loyalty of its citizens and their essential spiritual unity. There are two ways in which these can be conserved. The forces hostile to our form of government and to our free institutions must be continuously exposed and their power broken. No democracy is immune, or can hope to remain immune, as long as it is a democracy, from anti-democratic propaganda either native or foreign. Forces opposed to democracy will use the very technique and machinery of democracy, as well as its abundant tolerance, to destroy it. In the face of this, democracy must not remain naive or complacent. It must aggressively and relentlessly expose and harass every form of propaganda which is hostile to our basic conceptions of life and government. The agents of foreign dictatorships and their native born kinsmen must be kept under constant surveillance. Those who wish to destroy free America should not be permitted the glamour of patting their followers in uniform or of parading our public thoroughfares.

But, no hysteria! No witch hunting! No mass stampede away from the Bill of Rights and the constitutional guarantees of a free people. We should not in our

great concern, zeal and impatience, permit ourselves to resort to extralegal and unconstitutional methods to obtain even worthy and desirable objectives. To destroy liberty in an effort to preserve it, is the height of folly. The detection, arrest and punishment of spies, saboteurs, and plotters against our domestic peace and security should be left to our legally constituted authorities who are charged with the enforcement of our laws and the defense of our free institutions.

It should be borne in mind that education still remains the strongest bulwark of a free people. The American people should be educated in the techniques of modern propaganda which have been so skillfully elaborated in our day. They should be made aware of the methods which are employed and the true character of the organizations and governments which employ them. They should be informed as to how racial and religious antagonism are aroused and exploited, in order to divide a people, disrupt its unity, confuse its counsels, and undermine its national resistance to an aggressor. Systematic courses in the detection of and the prophylaxis against false propaganda should be introduced into the curriculum of every high school and college. Furthermore, we have long assumed that education in democracy will somehow take care of itself, as an unconscious by-product of our day-by-day living. This is no longer true. Democracy is under fire today and on the defensive. Both its theoretic soundness and its practical value have been denied. Many people have rejected it as antiquated, inefficient and distinctly harmful. Anti-liberalism and Anti-democracy have today a passionate and heroic zeal behind them. Totalitarianism has millions of enthusiastic devotees in all parts of the world. Quite deliberately and specifically we must begin to educate our people anew, and especially our youth, in the principles, practices and advantages of democracy.

In the school, the home, the church, through the written and the spoken word, an educational crusade, in defense of democracy, must be launched. And the time is very short. In this connection, we ought to bear in mind that the source of all political democracy in the Western World is fundamentally religion, and that the basic charter of man's dignity and freedom is God. Friends of democracy have forgotten the religious

origin of the democratic dogma in the modern world. They have forgotten that political freedom came to the Western World as a result of the struggle for religious freedom and not vice versa. Religion kindled the torch of political freedom in the world, and irreligion is extinguishing it. The reason why the democratic movements are perishing in the Western World today is because of an increasing pessimism due to a loss of confidence in the reality of God in the life of man. Man has become frightfully small in our day, reduced in stature, stripped and spiritually cowered, because his kinship with God, which crowned him with glory and honor and made him "a little lower than the angels," has been contemptuously rejected by a world which has tried to build its life upon foundations of pseudo-scientific materialism. No society can long remain Godless and free. If our crusade to redeem democracy is to succeed, it must draw its inspiration from the inexhaustible fires of religious faith, from the classic religious dogmas that God created man in His image, and that man was endowed by his Creator with inalienable rights of which no state, no bureaucracy, no majority and no class has the right to deprive him.

The loyalty and unity of our citizens can be enhanced still more if they are made to feel that the American way of life is the best way of life, because in it they find security and happiness. Democracy cannot long survive wide-spread and prolonged economic suffering. All dictatorships have risen to power upon the economic miseries of their people. A generation of young men and women denied the opportunity to work and to build careers, consigned to demoralizing idleness and frustration is dangerous explosive material. Even the brutalities and indecencies of dictatorship become less repugnant and the ways of freedom appear less appealing in the presence of democracy's tragic failure to care for its people and to safeguard them against frequent and disastrous periods of unemployment and suffering.

Sound American patriotism must quickly translate itself into an intelligent and ardent program for social justice, for a fairer distribution of the social goods, for a larger measure of protection of our people against the hazards of unemployment, sickness and old age. Sound patriotism will look upon the disease-

and-crime-breeding slums of our land, the blasted areas, the under-privileged children, the jobless and hopeless youth, the unemployed man, the underpaid worker, the unsheltered aged, as the real Trojan Horse which traps a free people into destruction. People who feel that they have a stake in their country, that the institutions of their land are being used to the utmost to help them to a more secure and abundant life, and who can see in them the promises of even greater happiness and well-being for their children, will not be inveigled by the propaganda for a Totalitarian Millennium, and will not be led into revolutionary adventures.

On the other hand the individual citizen should not unload all his responsibilities upon his government or blame it for all his misfortunes or expect all salvation from it. Nor should he sponge upon it for all manner of hand-outs. Those who wish government to provide them at all times with bread and circuses must be prepared to surrender to it all their liberties. Total dependence upon government means total control by government. The danger to a free society is not so much the encroachment by government, as the encroachment of citizens upon their government with all manner of demands which are rightly the responsibilities of private citizens or of associations of private citizens. The individual citizen must discipline himself against the temptation to become the happy-go-lucky ward of what he hopes will be a generous and tolerant and never-failing provider—called the State. Our youth must be trained to regard government as the defense of a free people which must be served and safeguarded through sacrifice, not exploited.

In our effort to maintain our way of life here, we will be strongly helped by some important factors which are uniquely our own.

Ours is a long-established democracy. We have gone through severe crises before, including a Civil War, without sacrificing our democratic apparatus. No long-established democracy has collapsed, even in Europe. We prefer to govern ourselves. The idea of being ruled by a Fuehrer, a Duce, or a Commissar is hateful to our very souls.

We have a wholesome capacity for self-criticism. We are ready to acknowledge our mistakes and to take the blame. We can and do reverse ourselves. We are not hostile to experimentation.

We have vast natural resources. Ours is not a country, but a continent. This is not a starved or crowded land, and our people are not doomed by circumstance to a low standard of living. Poverty is one of the bitterest enemies of democracy. There need be no poverty in our country.

We are a young nation. We are not handicapped by Old World animosities. We have no threatening neighbors on our frontiers. More than any other people on earth, we can, if so we will, pursue our chosen way of life with confidence and with high hopes.

What is this American way of life? What are the classic elements which give uniqueness and distinction to it?

First—the importance of the individual. Every man is possessed of certain inalienable rights. The state cannot veto them. No majority can abrogate them. All men, regardless of race and religion, are equal before the law. Any attempt to subjugate the individual to the state, or to discriminate against him in law because of race or creed, is a frontal and deadly attack upon the American Ideal.

Second—government by consent and not by constraint; government from within and not from without. Dictatorship is government imposed from without. Democracy is government self-imposed from within. The American genius strives to achieve the best possible way of life for the largest possible number of citizens through their own voluntary enterprises, through free experimentation, and step by step, through the evolutionary processes of trial and error. The American genius rejects all proffers of ready-made millenniums at the spear-point of revolution and dictatorship. It prefers the slower and less glamorous way of government. But it also avoids all the horrors of government by purges and liquidations, by terrorism and expropriation, by espionage and slavery.

Third—the grace of tolerance. We are a composite people. Many races had a hand in the discovery, ex-

ploration, colonization and development of this great country. Ours is a nation made up from its very inception entirely of immigrants. Our American life is a fine mosaic in which many separate race and religious identities are grouped into one noble pattern. Despite occasional lapses, there has prevailed a wholesome attitude of good will, tolerance and cooperation among our people. The genius of America has manifested itself in steadily dissolving the hard concretion of groups and reducing them to their individual human components. Europe is concerned with the rights of minorities. America is concerned with the rights of men.

Those people, therefore, in our midst who would break up American life into hostile racial or religious groups, and who would persuade others to judge American citizens not on the basis of individual worth, character or achievement, but on the basis of the race to which they belong, or the religion to which they subscribe, are the deadliest foes of the spirit as well as the peace of the American people.

This true vision of American life should be kept undimmed in these darkening days. It is our sole hope for the future. It is our one chance to keep our dear country free from the ravages of the hates, bitterness and conflicts which have disfigured the Old World. For the last twenty years the desperate peoples of Europe have tried a way of life which is the very opposite of the American way of life—the suppression of the individual, government by ukase and dictatorship, and race and religious intolerance—and it has led them, as inevitably it must, to the blood-soaked battlefields of war.

Let us not follow in their tragic footsteps.

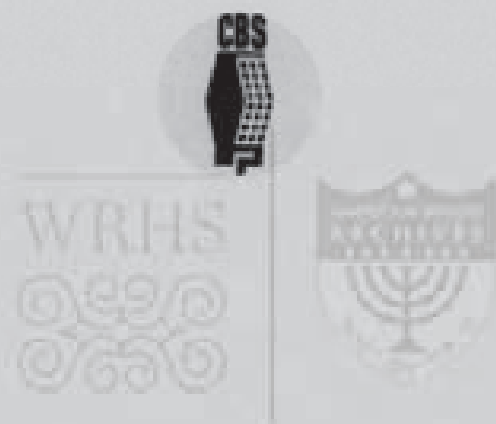
Memorial Day reminds us that in every hour of grave national crisis there were found brave men in our land who were prepared to die that America might live. Let us, their descendants, prepare ourselves to live in such a way that America may not die.

The Church of the Air



The Church of the Air

Tenth Anniversary Year, 1940-1941



THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Statement of Policy

WHEN the Columbia Broadcasting System, in September, 1931, offered its facilities for the creation of a Church of the Air, it was generally recognized that religious broadcasting should not be haphazard but, in fairness to all concerned, should follow a carefully predetermined policy. That policy, as it was then conceived, and as it stands today, is based on the simple premise of religious freedom.

It provides that the pulpit of Columbia's Church of the Air shall be made available, impartially, to all established religious faiths in America; that speakers who use this pulpit shall enjoy freedom of expression, so long as their messages in no way attack the religious faith of others; that no charge shall be made or payment accepted for religious broadcasts on the Columbia Network.

The reasoning behind our religious policy is, I believe, self-evident in its terms. Here is nothing more than a straightforward guarantee that the principle of religious liberty, so vital in the founding of this country, shall determine the course and character of religious programs on Columbia. It has worked well over a period of nearly ten years. I am confident that it will continue to be a satisfactory guide for the years ahead.



President, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Directors

STERLING FISHER, *Director of Education, Radio Talks and Religious Broadcasts*

RUTH LANGE, *Broadcast Director, CHURCH OF THE AIR*

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*Christian Science Committee on Publi-
cation for the State of New York,
New York*

RABBI JONAH B. WISE, LL.D.

Central Synagogue, New York

The History of the Church of the Air

TWICE each Sunday—at 10 A.M. and 1 P.M.*—Columbia's Church of the Air opens its doors to a nation-wide audience. Listening, are people of all faiths—men and women who are rich, poor, happy, unhappy, old, young, sick and well. A lonely student in a boarding school listens and is comforted; an aged couple remembers hearing the same truths long ago in a foreign land and their hearts are lightened; a patient priest in a small parish finds strength in the words of a co-worker he has never seen. Into the homes of anxious and restive people comes respite.

These regular weekly church services on the Columbia Network are today's answer to a problem that nine years ago seemed fraught with difficulties. For while it was admitted that religious programs were necessary in any well-balanced schedule of broadcasting, the programs themselves had to be built with full recognition of the religious rights and beliefs of a nation-wide audience. Radio's responsibility, it should be remembered, has grown, as a twin, with its influence. Today, that responsibility is measured in terms of more than 100,000,000 people who listen annually to programs broadcast over the Columbia Network.

Religious freedom is the cornerstone on which the Church of the Air has been built. But more than freedom was needed if these programs were to be as widely helpful as Columbia wanted them to be. Fair and proportionate representation was necessary, too—representa-

**Eastern Standard or Daylight Saving Time, whichever is in effect.*

tion of the many different faiths that exist separately, yet amicably, in this country where man, possessing God-given dignity, rights and responsibilities, enjoys freedom of speech, press and assembly, and freedom to worship his Creator according to the best lights of his knowledge and conscience.

Valuable assistance in keeping the Church schedule representative has been rendered by an advisory board consisting of members of the following faiths:—Baptist, Catholic, Christian Science, Congregational, Disciples of Christ, Episcopal, Jewish, Lutheran, Methodist, Mormon and Presbyterian. These, and other faiths with smaller congregations, have shared the Church of the Air periods in proportion to the numerical strength of each group in this country.

The pulpit of the Church of the Air has never been reserved for the exclusive use of recognized leaders in the various faiths. All members of the clergy are eligible for consideration as speakers on this program. An attempt has been made to present many of the younger men of the ministry, as well as today's leaders — men whose ideas and work have marked them, at least within their own parishes, as worthy of wider recognition. Some have applied directly for a place on the Church schedule. Others have been selected on the written recommendations of their local congregations.

Subject to the physical limitations of a half-hour period, most Church of the Air broadcasts are patterned after the customary service of the church that is represented. Wherever possible, church choirs join in the broadcast services. Speakers have full freedom of choice in their selection of subjects. Requests for contributions, however, are not per-

mitted, either for the support of the Church of the Air, or for any of the many faiths it presents.

With the passing of the years, we are gratified to find not only a sustained, but a growing, interest in the Church of the Air. Mail response, running as high as 14,000 letters a week, bears post-marks from all parts of the United States and Canada, and from short wave listeners in foreign lands. In quantity, it has often exceeded the amount received by any other Columbia "sustaining" program. In quality, this mail is unique: completely spontaneous and exceptionally encouraging. Because it reflects successful achievement of one of Columbia's aims, we have been particularly pleased to notice an increasing number of letters written in praise of individual services by people of quite different faiths.

The Church of the Air begins its tenth year of continuous activity on September 1st. During that year, it is scheduled to broadcast its 1,000th program. We have every confidence that the harmony and unselfish objectives that have marked the history of the Church of the Air will continue to guide it. The nine years of present existence, however, have seen an unhappy recurrence in world relations of intolerance, bigotry and fanaticism in many lands, until today America stands once again as one of mankind's strongest hopes for the continuance of religious freedom. Dedicated to the maintenance of that hope over as wide an area and before as many people as possible, Columbia's Church of the Air welcomes the opportunity—and the challenge—of its tenth anniversary. On the pages immediately following are listed the first 36 speakers who have consented to help in observance of the tenth anniversary year.



EARL FREDERICK ADAMS, D.D.

Sunday, September 1

10 A. M.

Dr. Earl Frederick Adams is General Director of the Council on Finance and Promotion, Northern Baptist Convention, N. Y. He came to his work from Delaware Avenue Baptist Church of Buffalo, a pastorate which had been his since 1931. His preparation for the ministry began at Denison University, and continued through the Biblical Seminary in New York, Rochester Theological Seminary, and the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. Dr. Adams' present position is one of the most responsible in the service of the Baptist Church. All donation funds for national, state and city societies, as well as for missionary work here and abroad, are collected and distributed by the Council on Finance and Promotion.



DANIEL A. LORD, S.J.

Sunday, September 1

1 P. M.

Father Daniel A. Lord of St. Louis has been Editor of "The Queen's Work" and National Director of the Sodality of Our Lady in America since 1926. Born in Chicago in 1888, he was educated at Holy Angels Academy, De La Salle Institute, and Loyola University, following which he entered the Society of Jesus at St. Stanislaus Seminary. Before his ordination in 1923, he was professor of English at St. Louis University. A prolific writer, Father Lord is author of many books and pamphlets, as well as plays and pageants. Summer Schools of Catholic Action under his direction have been held in Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, Milwaukee and New York in collaboration with St. Louis, Loyola, and Fordham Universities.



MARTIN E. ANDERSON, D.D.

Sunday, September 8

10 A. M.

Reverend Martin E. Anderson was ordained to the ministry over 31 years ago. A graduate of Chicago University and McCormick Theological Seminary, he first served the Church as University Pastor at the University of Illinois. This service was followed by five and a half years as pastor of the Rogers Park Presbyterian Church in Chicago, and seven years as pastor of the Immanuel Presbyterian Church, Detroit. Dr. Anderson has been pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church in Denver for the last thirteen years, and will continue there for at least another five years. During his Denver ministry, Central Presbyterian Church has grown to be the third largest Presbyterian Church in the United States.

RAPHAEL HARWOOD MILLER, D.D.

Sunday, September 8

1 P. M.

Dr. Raphael Harwood Miller, pastor of The National City Christian Church in Washington, is a graduate of Hiram College, Auburn Theological Seminary, Drake University, and Butler University. Before accepting his Washington pastorate in 1933, Dr. Miller had served the Disciples of Christ for thirty years in Buffalo, Cincinnati, and Kansas City. His present duties, in addition to those of his church, find him active as a director of the Christian Board of Publication, director of Unified Promotion of the Disciples of Christ, trustee of Lynchburg College, and President of the Board of Directors of Unified Promotion. The National City Christian Church is one of the architectural beauty spots of Washington.



ABDEL ROSS WENTZ, Ph.D., D.D.

Sunday, September 15

10 A. M.

Dr. Abdel Ross Wentz is President of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Gettysburg, Pa., where for the past 24 years he has been Professor of Church History. He was educated at the Universities of Leipzig, Berlin and Tübingen, and received his Ph.D. degree from George Washington University. In 1938, Dr. Wentz was a delegate to the International Missionary Council at Madras, India. The Lutheran Theological Seminary is the oldest theological seminary of the Lutheran Church in this country. For years after it opened in 1826, practically all American Lutheran ministers received their training there. Its buildings were used by both Confederate and Union forces during the Battle of Gettysburg.



JAMES W. GIBBONS, D.D.

Sunday, September 15

1 P. M.

Reverend James W. Gibbons, a native of Pennsylvania, received the major part of his theological training in Rome, where he attended lectures in the Urban University of Propaganda Fide for six years. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1923 in the Mother Church of the World—St. John Lateran, Rome. Following two church assignments in and near Philadelphia, Dr. Gibbons was appointed Diocesan Director of the Catholic Missionary Society of Philadelphia in 1932. Since April, 1936, he has served as Rector and Retreat Master of St. Joseph's-in-the-Hills, a Catholic retreat institution at Malvern, Pa. Father Gibbons receives 5,000 men each year who come to him and to St. Joseph's seeking spiritual solace.





JOSEPH R. SIZOO, D.D.

Sunday, September 22

10 A. M.

Dr. Joseph R. Sizoo, rector of the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas in New York, was born in The Netherlands. Chicago, however, was the scene of his childhood education, and later years saw him in Hope College, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, Rutgers, Columbia and Oxford Universities. His work for the Reformed Church of America has sent him on frequent preaching missions abroad as well as in this country. For some years, Dr. Sizoo was Chairman of the Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. His present church in New York is the oldest Protestant church in this country, tracing a continuous existence back to 1642.



FRANCIS J. SPELLMAN, D.D., LL.D.

Sunday, September 22

1 P. M.

His Excellency Most Reverend Francis J. Spellman, Archbishop of New York, will extend greetings to the Church of the Air on this program; Father Robert I. Gannon will deliver the sermon. Archbishop Spellman, a graduate of Fordham, has spent an important part of his Church career in Rome, where he was ordained in 1916. For nine years following his ordination, he served the Church in and around Boston, but was recalled to Rome in 1925 as Attache to the Secretary of State's Office in the Vatican. Following his episcopal consecration in Rome, he returned to America in 1932 as Auxiliary Bishop of Boston. His installation as Archbishop of New York took place on May 23, 1939.



ROBERT I. GANNON, S.J.

Sunday, September 22

1 P. M.

The Reverend Robert I. Gannon is President of Fordham University in New York. A graduate of Georgetown University, he entered the Society of Jesus in 1913, and from 1919 to 1923 was an instructor in English in Fordham College. After his ordination to the priesthood in 1926, Father Gannon studied educational methods at Oxford, Cambridge, the Sorbonne, and the Universities of Perugia and Louvain. In 1927 he received the S.T.D. degree of the Gregorian University, and in 1930 the M.A. degree of Christ's College, Cambridge. The celebration of the Centenary of the founding of Fordham University, headed by Father Gannon since 1936, will begin this Fall and continue until September, 1941.

FRANCIS J. McCONNELL, Ph.D., D.D.

Sunday, September 29

10 A. M.

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, a native of Ohio, has been a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church for 28 years. During the last twelve of these years, he has served as resident bishop of the New York Area, including New York, East New York, Troy, and Newark. Bishop McConnell was educated at Ohio Wesleyan, A.B. and D.D., Boston University, S.T.B. and Ph.D., and Yale University, D.D. and LL.D. He was ordained an elder in the Methodist ministry in 1894, and served pastorates in a number of Massachusetts communities and in Brooklyn. Prior to his election as bishop in 1912, he was for four years President of DePauw University. As bishop, he has served in Denver and Pittsburgh as well as in New York.



JONAH B. WISE, LL.D.

Sunday, September 29

1 P. M.

Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, prominent leader of the reform synagogue in America, came to New York City's Central Synagogue in 1926, assuming spiritual leadership of a temple his father, Isaac M. Wise, helped to dedicate in 1870. Following his graduation from the University of Chicago in 1903, Dr. Wise studied in Europe at the Universities of Berlin and Berne. As editor ("The American Israelite"), preacher, public speaker, and community leader, he has an unusually large personal acquaintanceship among the leaders of his people. Rabbi Wise has taken an active interest in Columbia's Church of the Air since its inception, and has been executive head of the United Jewish Laymen's Committee since it was organized.



ZE BARNEY T. PHILLIPS, D.D.

Sunday, October 6

10 A. M.

The Reverend Ze Barney T. Phillips is rector of Epiphany Episcopal Church in Washington, President of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Episcopal General Convention, and Chaplain of the United States Senate. He was ordained to the priesthood of the Episcopal Church in 1900. Nine years later, he resigned as rector of Trinity Church, Chicago, to engage in special work in Oriental languages and Biblical literature at Oxford University. From 1912 to 1924, when he was called to his present parish, Dr. Phillips served parishes in St. Louis and Philadelphia. Elected at the time of its organization in 1919, he was one of the first members of the National Council of the Church.





DAVID O. MCKAY

Sunday, October 6

1 P. M.

President David O. McKay of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, is by training an educator. Born in Utah, he was ordained a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles in 1906, and as a member served as Church Commissioner of Education, directing the extensive Mormon educational program. Prior to his appointment as Counselor in the First Presidency, the office which he now holds, he was the General Superintendent of the vast Sunday School organization of the Mormon Church. President McKay's activities in the missionary work of his Church have taken him to most of the countries of Europe, to Palestine, Australia, New Zealand and the south sea islands.



RUSSELL HENRY STAFFORD, D.D.

Sunday, October 13

10 A. M.

The Reverend Russell Henry Stafford, minister of Old South Church, Boston, has been a member of the Congregational ministry since his ordination in 1914. His first pastorates were in Minneapolis, where he served for ten years before moving to St. Louis as minister of the Pilgrim Congregational Church. His call to Old South Church took him to Boston in 1927. In addition to his Church activities, Dr. Stafford serves as a trustee of Drury, Anatolia, Piedmont and Emerson Colleges. Founded in 1669, Old South Church is one of the most historic churches in America. Benjamin Franklin was baptized there, and the Boston Tea Party started from its Meeting-house. Dr. Stafford is Old South's 17th minister.



THOMAS J. McDONNELL

Sunday, October 13

1 P. M.

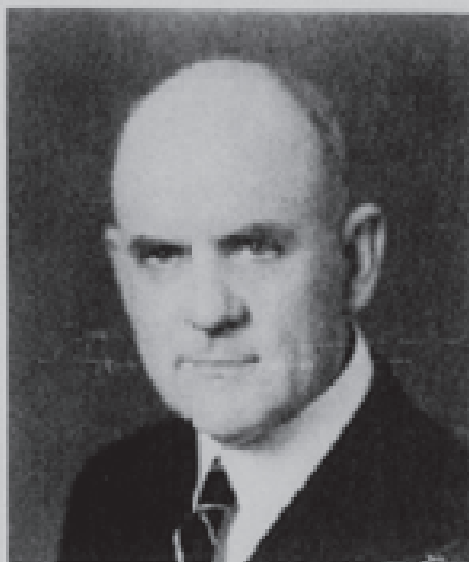
Right Reverend Monsignor Thomas J. McDonnell was ordained to the priesthood in 1919, his first appointment taking him to St. Patrick's Church, Staten Island. In 1923, His Eminence Cardinal Hayes appointed him New York Diocesan Director of The Society for the Propagation of the Faith, a position of responsibility he was to hold until his appointment as National Director of the Society in 1936. During these years, Father McDonnell was closely associated with the late Bishop John J. Dunn, with whom he made a tour of Catholic missions in the South Seas, Dutch East Indies, Philippines, China, Korea and Japan. Father McDonnell was invested as a Right Reverend Monsignor in January, 1937.

M. E. DODD, D.D., LL.D.

Sunday, October 20

10 A. M.

Reverend M. E. Dodd has been pastor of the First Baptist Church, Shreveport, Louisiana, since April, 1912. Ordained to the ministry in 1902, his first pastorates were in Fulton, Paducah, and Louisville, Kentucky. Dr. Dodd is also founder and president of Dodd College, a standard Junior College for Girls, in Shreveport. A former president of the Southern Baptist Convention, and a member of the present Executive Committee of the Baptist World Alliance, Dr. Dodd's church activities are national as well as local. He is the author of 44 religious books and tracts. The church in Shreveport, first in the world to own and operate a radio station, has grown under Dr. Dodd's pastorate from 580 to 4,700 members.



SOLOMON GOLDMAN

Sunday, October 20

1 P. M.

Rabbi Solomon Goldman is spiritual leader of the Anshe Emet Synagogue in Chicago. An outstanding figure in American Jewish life, he has been intimately identified with Jewish affairs in this country and abroad for over twenty years. For the past two years, Dr. Goldman has been President of the Zionist Organization of America. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the United Synagogue of America, American Jewish Congress, Rabbinical Assembly, American Academy of Political and Social Science, American Oriental Society, Linguistic Society of America, and Societas Spinoza. The Anshe Emet Synagogue, to which Dr. Goldman was called in 1929, was erected about 100 years ago.



PAUL AUSTIN WOLFE, D.D.

Sunday, October 27

10 A. M.

Reverend Paul Austin Wolfe, pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, is one of New York's youngest Presbyterian ministers. Ordained at the age of 24, he first served as assistant minister at the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York. Later, he became chaplain at the Taft School in Watertown, Conn., and minister at the First Church in Evanston, Ill. Dr. Wolfe's present church, to which he was called in 1938, was founded in pre-revolutionary days. Originally affiliated with the Old Stone Church on Wall Street, the Brick Church moved uptown in 1858 to Fifth Avenue and 37th Street. On April 14 of this year, Dr. Wolfe dedicated a new Brick Presbyterian Church on Park Avenue and 91st Street.



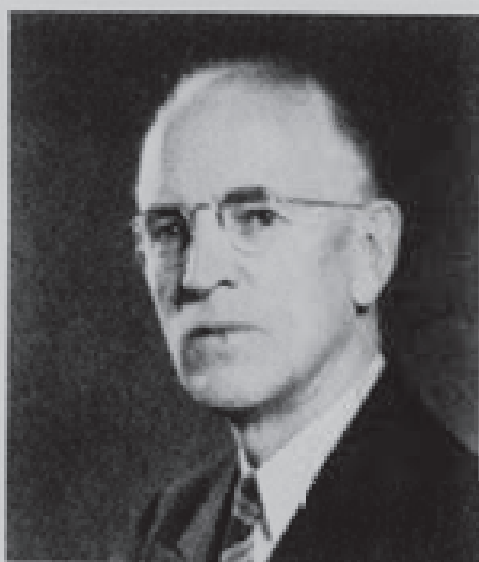


FULTON J. SHEEN, D.D., Ph.D.

Sunday, October 27

1 P. M.

Right Reverend Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen is Professor of Philosophy at the Catholic University of America in Washington. Educated here and abroad, Monsignor Sheen is the recipient of A.B., J.C.B., Ph.D., D.D., honorary LL.D. and Litt.D. degrees. A noted lecturer and preacher, he customarily spends his summers in Europe. He has been preaching in London's famed Westminster Cathedral since 1925. In addition to his duties at Catholic University, he finds time to lecture or preach during the school year in as many as a hundred cities from coast to coast. For many years he has been a Lenten preacher at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, and recently has become well-known as a radio speaker.



JOHAN CARL KEYSER PREUS, D.D.

Sunday, November 3

10 A. M.

Dr. Johan Carl Keyser Preus has been Educational Director and Executive Secretary of the Board of Education to the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America since 1931. For 25 years prior to that, he served a number of Lutheran pastorates in Minnesota and Wisconsin. During the past five years he has been Chairman of the Lutheran Faculty Conference, and since 1934, Chairman of the Commission on Higher Education of the American Lutheran Conference. The Norwegian Lutheran Church of America was organized in 1917 through the consolidation of three Norwegian Lutheran synods, thus uniting a body of more than a half million Lutherans. Church headquarters are in Minneapolis, Dr. Preus' present home.



THOMAS COOLIDGE FOWLER

Sunday, November 3

1 P. M.

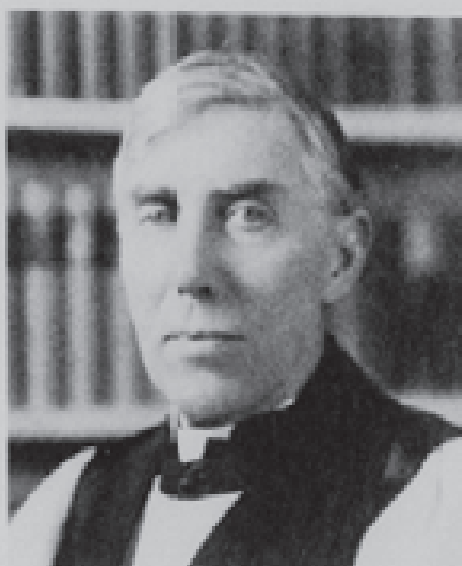
Mr. Thomas Coolidge Fowler is a resident of Bronxville, New York. He attended Andover Academy, and was graduated from Yale University with the degree of B.A. Mr. Fowler spent several years in business before he became actively engaged in the public practice of Christian Science in 1930. He has served as First Reader of First Church of Christ, Scientist, Bronxville, and also as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of that church. His "Church of the Air" program will be broadcast under the auspices of the Christian Science Committee on Publication for the State of New York, with the approval of the Board of Directors of The Mother Church, The First Church of Christ, Scientist, Boston.

HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER, D.D.

Sunday, November 10

10 A. M.

Right Reverend Henry St. George Tucker, Bishop of Virginia and Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, began his career in the Church as a missionary in Japan. From his ordination in 1899 until ill health forced his retirement in 1923, Bishop Tucker's ministry was confined entirely to the Orient. He served there as Bishop of Kyoto and President of St. Paul's University, Tokyo. As Presiding Bishop, Dr. Tucker directs the orderly and legal continuity of the American Episcopate. He is "pastor of the Bishops," and is in charge of all international relations of the Episcopal Church, including those with other parts of the Anglican Communion. Headquarters are in New York.



PAUL CHRISTOPHER PERROTTA, O.P.

Sunday, November 10

1 P. M.

Father Paul Christopher Perrotta entered the Dominican Order in 1919, and studied for the priesthood at the Dominican House of Studies, Washington. Ordained in 1926, he holds M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Catholic University. His first year following ordination was spent teaching history at Providence College, R. I. Then came three years in Italy, during which he was commissioned by the Library of Congress to photofilm documents in Italian archives pertaining to American history. Father Perrotta returned to Providence College in 1931 to take the Chair of Philosophy. Owned and managed by the Dominican Fathers of the Province of St. Joseph, Providence College has a faculty of 52 priests and 12 lay professors.



PAUL B. KERN, D.D.

Sunday, November 17

10 A. M.

Bishop Paul B. Kern, a native of Virginia, was ordained in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1902. His early pastorates included Nashville, Tennessee, and San Antonio, Texas. Before his election as Bishop, he taught at Vanderbilt University and was Dean of the School of Theology at Southern Methodist University. For four years immediately following his election as Bishop in 1930, Dr. Kern was in charge of Church work in China, Japan, and Korea. Then came four years' service in charge of the Area of North and South Carolina. At the Uniting Conference in Kansas City, May, 1939, Bishop Kern was assigned to his present work—in charge of the Nashville Area.





LEO JUNG, Ph.D.

Sunday, November 17

1 P. M.

Rabbi Leo Jung has been the spiritual leader of The Jewish Center in New York since 1922. He is a graduate of European rabbinical academies and seminaries, holding a Cambridge University M.A. and a London University Ph.D. Since 1926, Dr. Jung has been a member of the Cultural Committee of the American Joint Distribution Committee, and since 1927 a Trustee of the Jewish Welfare Board. Editor of The Jewish Library and Professor of Jewish Ethics at Yeshiva College, he is the translator of two tractates of the Talmud in the Soncino Edition and author of many religious books. The Jewish Center is the world's first synagogue of its kind, combining loyalty to Jewish Law with up-to-dateness of method.



ROBBINS WOLCOTT BARSTOW, D.D., LL.D.

Sunday, November 24

10 A. M.

Dr. Robbins Wolcott Barstow, President of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, is a graduate of Dartmouth College and Hartford Theological Seminary. Ordained to the Congregational ministry in 1916, he holds honorary degrees from Ripon College, Dartmouth, and Boston University. When called to his present position in 1930, Dr. Barstow was minister of the First Congregational Church in Madison, Wisconsin. A frequent preacher at schools and colleges, he is also active in the community life of Hartford. The Foundation which he heads was incorporated in 1913, and includes the Hartford Theological Seminary, founded in 1834, the Hartford School of Religious Education, and the Kennedy School of Missions.



GEORGE J. CAMPBELL, S.T.L.

Sunday, November 24

1 P. M.

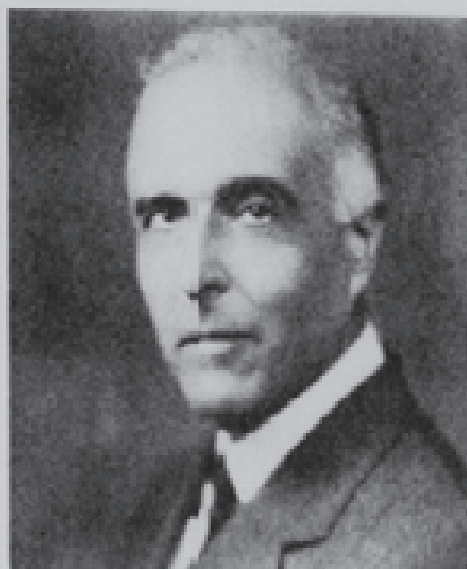
Father George J. Campbell is a member of the diocesan clergy of the archdiocese of Portland, Oregon. A graduate of Menlo Park Preparatory Seminary in California and of the North American College in Rome, Father Campbell was ordained to the priesthood in 1913. Rector of the Cathedral in Portland from 1924 to 1935, he is now pastor of St. Mary Magdalene's Church in the same city. St. Mary Magdalene's Church, also known as The Madeleine, was established in 1911, and until last year had had only one pastor, the Reverend George E. Thompson. Teaching in the church schools is in the hands of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary. Father Campbell's parish now numbers some 1,900 communicants.

HENRY SLOANE COFFIN, D.D.

Sunday, December 1

10 A. M.

Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, President of Union Theological Seminary, New York, was for many years the minister of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York. A well-known speaker in churches and colleges throughout the country, Dr. Coffin in recent months has delivered the Deems Lectures at New York University and the Jarrell Lectures at Emory University. He is deeply interested in church reunion, and is a member of the Department of Church Cooperation and Union of the Presbyterian Church. A graduate of Yale University, he is a Fellow of the Yale Corporation, President of the Board of Trustees of Robert College, Constantinople, and a member of his Church's Board of National Missions.



FREDERICK MAY ELIOT, D.D.

Sunday, December 1

1 P. M.

Reverend Frederick May Eliot is President of the American Unitarian Association, with headquarters in Boston. Prior to his election in 1937, he was for 20 years minister of Unity Church, St. Paul. Upon his graduation from Harvard University in 1911, Dr. Eliot studied government and administration of European cities, returning to teach municipal government at Harvard for a year. He completed his theological studies at Harvard Divinity School in 1913. He has been continuously active in behalf of the League of Nations Society, and is the author of several books. Dr. Eliot was Chairman of the Unitarian Commission of Appraisal which published the volume-length report, "Unitarians Face a New Age."



CHARLES W. GILKEY, B.D.

Sunday, December 8

10 A. M.

Dean Charles W. Gilkey, upon graduation from Harvard University, turned for religious education to Union Theological Seminary, New York. The Seminary awarded him a fellowship for further study in Berlin, Marburg, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Oxford. Returning to the United States in 1910, Dean Gilkey became pastor of the Hyde Park Baptist Church in Chicago, a post he filled for nearly eighteen years. He was elected to the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago in 1919, and appointed a member of the University faculty in 1926. He resigned from the board and his Hyde Park Church pastorate in 1928 to accept his present position as Dean of Rockefeller Memorial Chapel, University of Chicago.





DUANE G. HUNT, D.D.

Sunday, December 8

1 P. M.

His Excellency Most Reverend Duane G. Hunt, Bishop of Salt Lake City, was raised in the Methodist faith and converted to the Catholic Church at the age of 29. Prior to his ordination some seven years later, he was a member of the faculty of the University of Utah. His Church work has always centered around Salt Lake City, where he has served successively as Rector of the Cathedral, Chancellor of the Diocese, Vicar-General, and—since 1937—Bishop of Salt Lake. An experienced radio speaker, Bishop Hunt has been heard on the air in a regular series of addresses from Salt Lake since 1926. His church—the Cathedral of the Madeleine—is one of the most beautiful of all churches west of the Mississippi.



TORNEY OTTO NALL, JR., D.D.

Sunday, December 15

10 A. M.

Dr. Torney Otto Nall, Jr., has spent practically all of his ministerial life in editorial work for the Methodist Church. For twelve years following his ordination to the Methodist Episcopal ministry in 1924, he was associate editor of *The Epworth Herald*, a youth paper published in Chicago. Then he was called to Cincinnati where he spent four and a half years as representative of the Editorial Board of *The Christian Advocate*, working out a syndication arrangement for the six editions of the paper that are distributed in different parts of the country. In 1939 he was elected to the post of editor of the two editions of *The Christian Advocate* that circulate from Chicago and Kansas City. Headquarters are in Kansas City.



ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D.D.

Sunday, December 15

1 P. M.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, as Babbi of the Temple of Cleveland, is spiritual leader of one of the largest Liberal Jewish congregations in the United States. A member of President Hoover's Unemployment Relief Commission, he has been actively identified with many national social movements of our day. He is on the National Child Labor Commission, and the Commission on Militarism in Education. National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal and the United Jewish Appeal, he is a world leader of the Zionist Movement. Dr. Silver is the author of "Religion in a Changing World" and other works of religious and sociological interest. His Temple of Cleveland is this year celebrating its Ninetieth Anniversary.

OTTO PAUL KRETZMANN, S.T.M.

Sunday, December 22

10 A. M.

Dr. Otto Paul Kretzmann is President of Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana. Following an extended education during which he attended Columbia, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, and Chicago Universities, Dr. Kretzmann served from 1924 to 1934 as Instructor in English, Biblical Introduction and Interpretation at Concordia Seminary, Springfield, Ill. In 1934 he was appointed Executive Secretary of the International Walther League, acting also as Editor of *The Walther League Manual*, *The Workers Quarterly*, and Associate Editor of *American Lutheran*. Valparaiso, founded in 1859, has been under the direction of the Lutheran University Association since 1925.



ANNUAL CHRISTMAS PROGRAM FROM THE VATICAN *Sunday, December 22, 1 P.M.*

ROELIF H. BROOKS, D.D.

Sunday, December 29

10 A. M.

The Reverend Roelif H. Brooks is Rector of St. Thomas Church, New York, one of the most noteworthy units in the life of the American Episcopal Church. Prior to his acceptance of this call in 1926, he served for twenty years as Rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Albany. Dr. Brooks is Chaplain of the Seventh Regiment of the New York National Guard, and Past Grand Chaplain of the Grand Lodge of Masons in the State of New York. He is a trustee of many Church and educational institutions, and takes an active interest in Episcopal missions. St. Thomas Church, located at Fifth Ave. and 53rd St., is generally considered to be one of the finest examples of Gothic architecture in the world.



PAUL HENRY FALL, Ph.D.

Sunday, December 29

1 P. M.

Dr. Paul Henry Fall, recently elected President of Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio, returns this year to an institution and a community where he had previously served as Professor and Mayor for many years. From 1920 until 1936, when he was called to serve on the faculty of Williams College, Dr. Fall had been an active and prominent figure in Hiram affairs. His election as 10th president of the college was the natural and unanimous choice of the institution's trustees. Hiram, founded in 1849, is a coeducational college with a student body of about 500. Non-sectarian, it is, however, bound by tradition to the Disciple Brotherhood, and cooperates with the Association of Disciple Colleges.



Speakers who have conducted Church of the Air services, from its initial broadcast through May 1, 1940, are listed on these pages in alphabetical order and in denominational groups.

Baptist

ABERNETHY, REV. DR. WILLIAM S., *Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D. C.*
 ADAMS, REV. THEODORE E., *Ashland Avenue Baptist Church, Toledo, Ohio*
 ARBUCKLE, REV. C. N., *First Baptist Church, Newton Centre, Mass.*
 ARMSTRONG, REV. HOMER J., *Richmond Hill Baptist Church, New York*
 ASHBROOK, REV. M. FOREST, *Northern Baptist Convention, New York*
 BANNING, REV. DR. CHARLES E., *Richmond Hill Baptist Church, New York*
 BATEMAN, REV. ROBERT J., *First Baptist Church, Memphis, Tenn.*
 BROWN, REV. DR. OWEN C., *American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, Penn.*
 BUMPUS, REV. DR. LESTER W., *Pittsburgh Baptist Association, Pittsburgh, Penn.*
 BURR, REV. HUGH CHAMBERLIN, *Rochester Federation of Churches, Rochester, N. Y.*
 CHAPMAN, REV. OLIVER U., *First Baptist Church of Oak Park, Ill.*
 CLARKE, REV. DR. GEORGE A., *First Baptist Church, Malden, Mass.*
 CLAUSEN, REV. BERNARD C., *First Baptist Church, Syracuse, N. Y.*
 DAKIN, REV. DR. E. LEROY, *First Baptist Church, Milwaukee, Wisconsin*
 DAVISON, REV. WILLIAM F., *First Baptist Church of Royal Oak, Michigan*
 ELLIOTT, REV. DR. JOHN W., *American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, Penn.*
 FEWLESS, REV. RICHMOND ARNOLD, *Washington Heights Baptist Church, New York City*
 FRANKLIN, REV. DR. JAMES H., *Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Penn.*
 GALLUP, REV. DR. CLARENCE M., *Northern Baptist Convention, New York City*
 GEISTWEIT, REV. H. N., *Ninth Street Baptist Church, Cincinnati, Ohio*
 GILKY, REV. CHARLES W., *University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.*
 HANSEN, REV. HERBERT WINSTON, *Seaside Community Baptist Church, Seaside, N. Y.*
 HASELDEN, REV. KYLE, *Warburton Avenue Baptist Church, Yonkers, N. Y.*
 HAZZARD, REV. DR. STANLEY B., *New York Baptist City Societies, New York City*
 HUDSON, MR. ARTHUR J., *Northern Baptist Convention, Cleveland, Ohio*
 JOHNSON, REV. GOVE C., *National Baptist Memorial Church, Washington, D. C.*
 JOHNSON, REV. C. OSCAR, *Third Baptist Church, St. Louis, Mo.*
 LAHRSON, REV. GORDON R., *Park Baptist Church, Staten Island, N. Y.*
 LINDSAY, REV. SAMUEL MACAULEY, *Brookline Baptist Church, Boston, Mass.*
 LOVE, REV. ELMER A., *First Baptist Church, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.*
 MACDONALD, REV. DR. GEORGE B., *First Baptist Church, Germantown, Penn.*
 McDONALD, REV. DR. A. M., *Chicago Baptist Association, Chicago, Ill.*
 PIERCE, REV. DR. EARL B., *Northern Baptist Convention, Minneapolis, Minn.*
 POLING, REV. DANIEL A., *Baptist Temple, Philadelphia, Penn.*
 POTEAT, REV. DR. EDWIN MCNEILL, *Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, Cleveland, Ohio*
 POWELL, REV. A. CLAYTON, JR., *Abyssinian Baptist Church, New York City*
 PRUDEN, REV. DR. EDWARD HUGHES, *First Baptist Church, Washington, D. C.*
 ROBBINS, REV. JOSEPH C., *American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, New York City*
 RUSSELL, REV. ROBERT V., *Affiliated Baptist City Societies, New York*
 SAUNDERS, REV. WILBOUR E., *Marcy Avenue Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 SCHLOEBB, REV. DR. ROLLAND W., *Hyde Park Baptist Church, Chicago, Ill.*
 SHAW, REV. DR. AYERY A., *Denison University, Granville, Ohio*
 SMITH, REV. H. OTHEMAN, *Baptist Church of the Redeemer, Yonkers, N. Y.*
 STITT, REV. J. W., *Marcy Avenue Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 TAYLOR, REV. FREDERICK E., *First Baptist Church, Indianapolis, Ind.*
 THOMAS, REV. ALBERT C., *First Baptist Church, Fall River, Mass.*
 THOMAS, REV. JOHN W., *American Baptist Home Mission Society, New York*

WILKES, REV. MILTON R., *Kings Highway Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 WILLINGHAM, REV. EDWARD B., *Delmar Baptist Church, St. Louis, Missouri*
 WILSON, REV. ROBERT L., *First Baptist Church, Kansas City, Mo.*
 WRIGHT, REV. DR. CHARLES O., *First Baptist Church, White Plains, N. Y.*
 YEAPLE, REV. DR. WHITNEY S. K., *Lake Avenue Baptist Church, Rochester, N. Y.*

Catholic

BECKMAN, MOST REV. FRANCIS J. L., *Archbishop of Dubuque, Iowa*
 BELFORD, REV. JOHN L., *Church of the Nativity, Brooklyn, N. Y.*
 BOYLE, MOST REV. HUGH C., *Bishop of Pittsburgh, Penn.*
 CALLAHAN, REV. EUGENE J., *Church of St. Gregory the Great, New York City*
 CANTWELL, MOST REV. JOHN J., *Archbishop of Los Angeles, California*
 CHIDWICK, RT. REV. MSGR. JOHN P., *St. Agnes Church, New York City*
 CONLON, REV. THOMAS E., *Holy Name Societies, New York City*
 CONNELL, REV. FRANCIS J., *Mt. St. Alphonsus, Esopus, New York*
 COOGAN, REV. ALOYSIUS F., *National Propagation of the Faith Society, New York*
 COOPER, REV. JOHN M., *Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.*
 CORRIGAN, RT. REV. MSGR. JOSEPH M., *Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.*
 COX, REV. JAMES R., *Old St. Patrick's Church, Pittsburgh, Penn.*
 CURLEY, MOST REV. MICHAEL J., *Archbishop of Baltimore, Md.*
 CURRAN, REV. EDWARD LODGE, *International Catholic Truth Society, New York*
 DALY, DR. JOSEPH A., *Church of St. Gregory the Great, New York*
 DEFERRARI, DR. ROY J., *Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.*
 DONOHUE, DR. HUGH A., *St. Patrick's Seminary, Menlo Park, California*
 DOUGHERTY, REV. WILLIAM E., *St. Vincent dePaul Church, Syracuse, N. Y.*
 DUFF, REV. EDWARD A., *Chaplains' Corps, U. S. Navy, New York City*
 DUFFY, MOST REV. JOHN A., *Bishop of Syracuse, New York*
 DUFFEE, REV. PETER B., *Franciscan Monastery, New York*
 EMALDIA, REV. STEPHEN, *Plaza Church of Los Angeles, California*
 EUSTACE, MOST REV. BARTHOLOMEW, *Bishop of Camden, New Jersey*
 FITZGERALD, REV. JOHN E., *Paulist Fathers, New York City*
 FLANAGAN, RT. REV. E. J., *Boys Town, Nebraska*
 FLOERSH, MOST REV. JOHN A., *Bishop of Louisville, Kentucky*
 FREKING, VERY REV. MSGR. EDWARD A., *Catholic Students Mission Crusade, Cincinnati, Ohio*
 FURLONG, DR. PHILIP J., *Dean of Cathedral College, New York*
 GALLACHER, REV. HERBERT, *Editor "The Franciscan", Paterson, N. J.*
 GANNON, REV. ROBERT L., *President Fordham University, New York*
 GIBBONS, MOST REV. EDMOND E., *Bishop of Albany, New York*
 GLENNON, MOST REV. JOHN JOSEPH, *Archbishop of St. Louis, Missouri*
 GOETZMAN, REV. ALBERT R., *St. Ambrose College, Davenport, Iowa*
 GRAHAM, REV. HARRY C., *Holy Name Societies, New York*
 GRIFFIN, MOST REV. JAMES A., *Bishop of Springfield, Illinois*
 GRIFFIN, VERY REV. MSGR. WILLIAM A., *Society for the Propagation of the Faith, New York*
 HARNEY, REV. JOHN B., *Paulist Committee, New York*
 HART, REV. CHARLES A., *Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.*
 HAYES, MOST REV. RALPH L., *North American College, Rome, Italy*
 HEALEY, REV. JOHN H., *St. Vincent Ferrer Church, New York*
 HICKEY, DR. EDWARD J., *Chancellor Archdiocese of Detroit, Michigan*
 HICKEY, VERY REV. JOSEPH, *Augustinian Order, Vatican City, Italy*
 HIGGINS, REV. NICHOLAS, *Providence, R. I.*
 HIGGINS, VERY REV. THOMAS J., *President St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, Penn.*
 HILLINGER, REV. RAYMOND P., *Holy Name Cathedral, Chicago, Ill.*
 HINSLEY, HIS EMINENCE ARTHUR CARDINAL, *Archbishop of Westminster, London, England*
 HUGHES, REV. EDWARD, *Editor "The Torch", New York*
 HUNT, RT. REV. MSGR. DUANE G., *Salt Lake City, Utah*

HUNT, RT. REV. MSGR. JOHN J., *Visitation Rectory, Detroit, Michigan*
 IRETON, MOST REV. PETER L., *Coadjutor Bishop of Richmond, Va.*
 JOHNSON, DR. GEORGE, *National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.*
 KANE, DR. WILLIAM A., *St. Patrick's Cathedral, Youngstown, Ohio*
 KEARNEY, MOST REV. JAMES E., *Bishop of Salt Lake City, Utah*
 KELLEY, MOST REV. FRANCIS C., *Bishop of Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Oklahoma*
 KELLY, REV. ANDREW, *St. Anthony's Church, Hartford, Conn.*
 KEYES, VERY REV. MSGR. JOHN W., *St. James Church, Kansas City, Mo.*
 KUCERA, MOST REV. LOUIS B., *Bishop of Lincoln, Nebraska*
 LALLOU, REV. WILLIAM J., *St. Charles Barramon Seminary, Deerbrook, Penn.*
 LEECH, MOST REV. GEORGE L., *Bishop of Harrisburg, Penn.*
 LOISELLE, REV. JORDAN, *St. Mary's Passionist Monastery, Dunkirk, N. Y.*
 LORD, REV. DAVID, *Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, St. Louis, Mo.*
 McCAFFREY, REV. JOHN P., *Chaplain, Sing Sing Prison, Ossining, N. Y.*
 McAULIFFE, MOST REV. MAURICE FRANCIS, *Bishop of Hartford, Conn.*
 McCLAFFERTY, REV. JOHN J., *National Legion of Decency, New York*
 McCORMICK, RT. REV. PATRICK J., *Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.*
 McCORMICK, DR. VINCENT ALOYSIUS, *President Gregorian University, Rome, Italy*
 McCREARY, REV. JOHN J., *Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Syracuse, N. Y.*
 McDERMOTT, VERY REV. T. S., *Roly Name Society, New York*
 McDEVITT, MOST REV. PHILLIP R., *Bishop of Harrisburg, Penn.*
 McDONNELL, RT. REV. MSGR. THOMAS J., *Society for the Propagation of the Faith, New York*
 McFADDEN, MOST REV. JAMES A., *Auxiliary Bishop of Cleveland, Ohio*
 McKEON, REV. RICHARD M., *Dean of St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, Penn.*
 McMahon, DR. JOSEPH H., *Church of our Lady of Lourdes, New York City*
 McMenamin, RT. REV. MSGR. HUGH L., *Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, Denver, Colo.*
 McNAMARA, MOST REV. JOHN M., *Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore, Md.*
 McNICHOLAS, MOST REV. JOHN T., *Archbishop of Cincinnati, Ohio*
 MAGUIRE, REV. THEOPHANE, *Editor "The Sign", Union City, N. J.*
 MAHONEY, MOST REV. BERNARD J., *Bishop of Sioux Falls, South Dakota*
 MALLOY, REV. JOSEPH L., *Paulist Fathers, New York*
 MARLING, VERY REV. JOSEPH M., *Society of the Precious Blood, Cuthagen, Ohio*
 MARTIN, REV. JOHN M., *Catholic Foreign Missions Seminary of America, Maryknoll, N. Y.*
 MERTZ, REV. JAMES J., *Loyola University, Chicago, Ill.*
 MIDDLETON, REV. JOHN S., *St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y.*
 MITTY, MOST REV. JOHN JOSEPH, *Archbishop of San Francisco, Calif.*
 MOONEY, MOST REV. EDWARD, *Bishop of Rochester, N. Y.*
 MOONEY, REV. VINCENT, *National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.*
 MORAN, REV. Kieran P., *St. Vincent Seminary, Germantown, Penn.*
 MUNDELEIN, HIS EMINENCE GEORGE CARDINAL, *Archbishop of Chicago, Ill.*
 MURDOCK, REV. GEORGE C., *Church of the Most Holy Trinity, West Point, N. Y.*
 MURRAY, MOST REV. JOHN GREGORY, *Archbishop of St. Paul, Minn.*
 NEVILLS, REV. W. COLEMAN, *Church of St. Ignatius Loyola, New York*
 NOLL, MOST REV. JOHN E., *Bishop of Fort Wayne, Indiana*
 NOONAN, REV. JOSEPH M., *President Niagara University, Albany, New York*
 O'BRIEN, MOST REV. WILLIAM DAVID, *Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago, Ill.*
 O'CONNELL, HIS EMINENCE WILLIAM CARDINAL, *Archbishop of Boston, Mass.*
 O'DONNELL, REV. CHARLES, *President University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana*
 O'DWYER, RT. REV. MSGR. DAVID, *Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.*
 O'GRADY, RT. REV. JOHN, *Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.*
 O'HARA, REV. JOHN E., *President Notre Dame University, South Bend, Indiana*
 O'HERN, MOST REV. FRANCIS, *Bishop of Rochester, New York*
 O'LEARY, VERY REV. ARTHUR A., *President of Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.*
 PARSONS, REV. WILFRID, *Dean of Graduate School, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.*
 REARDON, RT. REV. FRANCIS A., *St. William Church, Cincinnati, Ohio*
 ROHLMAN, MOST REV. HENRY P., *Bishop of Davenport, Iowa*
 RUSSELL, DR. WILLIAM H., *Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.*

RYAN, MOST REV. JAMES HUGH, *Bishop of Omaha, Nebraska*
 SCALLY, REV. JOHN J., *Society for the Propagation of the Faith, New York*
 SCHMIEDELER, REV. EDGAR, *National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D.C.*
 SCHREIBS, MOST REV. JOSEPH, *Bishop of Cleveland, Ohio*
 SHEEDY, REV. WILLIAM E., *Augustinian Monastery, Villanova, Penn.*
 SHEEHY, DR. MAURICE S., *Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.*
 SHEIL, MOST REV. BERNARD J., *Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago, Ill.*
 SMITH, HONORABLE ALFRED E., *New York City*
 SPLAIN, RT. REV. MSGR. MICHAEL J., *Catholic Summer School of America, Brookline, Mass.*
 STECK, VERY REV. MSGR. LEO J., *St. Mary of the Angels Motherhouse, St. Louis, Mo.*
 STRITCH, MOST REV. SAMUEL ALPHONSUS, *Archbishop of Milwaukee, Wisconsin*
 TALBOT, REV. FRANCIS X., *Editor of "America", New York*
 THILL, VERY REV. MSGR. FRANK A., *Chancellor Archdiocese of Cincinnati, Ohio*
 THOMSON, REV. ALFRED, *St. Louis Cathedral, St. Louis, Mo.*
 TOBIN, REV. THOMAS J., *Chancellor Archdiocese, of Portland, Oregon*
 TURNER, MOST REV. WILLIAM, *Bishop of Buffalo, New York*
 VALADE, DEAN ERNEST A., *Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.*
 VILLENEUVE, HIS EMINENCE RODRIGUEZ CARDINAL, *Archbishop of Quebec, Canada*
 WALSH, REV. EDMUND, *Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.*
 WALSH, MOST REV. EMMET M., *Bishop of Charleston, South Carolina*
 WALSH, RT. REV. MSGR. FRANCIS W., *Dean of Westchester County, Peekskill, New York*
 WALSH, REV. FRANK, *Church of the Assumption, Peekskill, New York*

Christian Science

ALLAN MR. GAVIN W., *Christian Science Board of Lectureship, Toronto, Canada*
 BIEDERMAN, MR. WILLIAM G., *Committee on Publication for District of Columbia*
 BOGHER, MR. FREDERICK WILLIAM, *former First Reader in a Christian Science Church, Toronto, Canada*
 BROWNE, MR. HARRY C., *former First Reader, Second Church of Christ, Scientist, New York*
 CAMPBELL, MR. HUGH STUART, *Committee on Publication for Illinois, Chicago, Illinois*
 CANHAM, MR. ERWIN D., *Manager Washington Bureau, The Christian Science Monitor, Washington, D.C.*
 CHANNING, MR. GEORGE, *Committee on Publication for Northern California, San Francisco*
 COLEMAN, MR. HAMILTON, *Christian Science Practitioner, Chicago, Ill.*
 DARUMONT, MR. ALEX S., *former First Reader in a Christian Science Church, Cincinnati, Ohio*
 ESPEY, MR. ALBERT, *Committee on Publication for State of Missouri, Kansas City, Mo.*
 FOSTER, MR. BRITTON, *former Committee on Publication for Province of Ontario, Canada*
 FULTON, MR. JAMES W., *Committee on Publication for Province of Ontario, Canada*
 GREENE, JUDGE SAMUEL W., *former First Reader of The Mother Church*
 GREGG, MR. GEORGE R., *former First Reader of First Church of Christ, Scientist, Oak Park, Ill.*
 HICKMAN, MR. ADAIR, *First Reader, Second Church of Christ, Scientist, New York*
 HOOPER, MR. E. HOWARD, *Committee on Publication for State of Missouri, St. Louis, Mo.*
 KELKENNEY, MR. ARTHUR A., *former First Reader of First Church of Christ, Scientist, Detroit, Mich.*
 KING, MR. PHILIP, *Committee on Publication for District of Columbia, Washington, D.C.*
 KNOX, MR. WILLIAM R., *Boston, Mass.*
 LATHROP, MR. JOHN C., *former First Reader, The Mother Church, Boston, Mass.*
 LEWIS, MR. B. PALMER, *Committee on Publication, for State of New York, New York City*
 LOMBARD, MR. ALBERT E., *Committee on Publication for Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.*
 MEER, MR. JOHN A., *former First Reader, Second Church of Christ, Scientist, New York*
 MOLTER, MR. HAROLD, *Committee on Publication for State of Illinois, Chicago, Ill.*
 NELSON, MR. GEORGE T., *former First Reader, First Church of Christ, Scientist, Brooklyn, N.Y.*
 PALMER, MR. EZRA W., *Clerk of The Mother Church, Boston, Mass.*
 PERROW, MR. ARTHUR, *former First Reader, Highland Park, Ill.*
 PORTER, MR. WILLIAM WALLACE, *Committee on Publication for State of New York*
 SMITH, JUDGE CLIFFORD P., *President of The Mother Church, Boston, Mass.*

TAYLOR, MR. GUYE S., *First Reader of First Church of Christ, Scientist, New York*
 TOWNE, MR. ORWELL BRADLEY, *Committee on Publication for State of New York*
 TRESS, MR. ROBERT G., *First Reader of Third Church of Christ, Scientist, Toronto, Canada*
 VAN DER VOORT, MR. REAY C., *First Reader of First Church of Christ, Scientist, Toronto, Canada*

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints

BALLARD, ELDER MELVIN J., *Council of the Twelve, Salt Lake City, Utah*
 BENNISON, DR. ADAM S., *Sunday School General Board, Salt Lake City*
 BOWEN, ELDER ALBERT E., *Council of the Twelve, Salt Lake City*
 CANNON, PRESIDENT DAVID H., *Pasadena Stake, Pasadena, California*
 CLARK, PRESIDENT J. REUBEN, *First Counselor of First Presidency, Salt Lake City*
 COLTON, PRESIDENT DON B., *Eastern States Mission, New York City*
 DAYNES, PRESIDENT JOSEPH J., *Western States Mission, Denver, Colo.*
 EDMUNDS, JOHN K., *Chicago, Ill.*
 GRANT, PRESIDENT HERBER J., *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Salt Lake City*
 GROVER, ROSCOE A., *Washington, D.C.*
 HILTON, PRESIDENT EUGENE, *Oakland Stake, Oakland, California*
 HINCKLEY, ELDER BRYANT S., *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Salt Lake City*
 KING, SENATOR WILLIAM H., *Washington, D.C.*
 LYMAN, DR. RICHARD R., *Council of the Twelve, Salt Lake City*
 MCKAY, PRESIDENT DAVID O., *Second Counselor of First Presidency, Salt Lake City*
 MERRILL, DR. JOSEPH E., *Council of the Twelve, Salt Lake City*
 MUIR, PRESIDENT LEO J., *Los Angeles Stake, Los Angeles, California*
 RICHARDS, ELDER STEPHEN L., *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Salt Lake City*
 WIDTSOE, DR. JOHN A., *Council of the Twelve, Salt Lake City*

Congregational

ANDERSON, REV. HOWARD STONE, *First Congregational Church, Washington, D.C.*
 BLANCHARD, REV. FERDINAND Q., *Euclid Avenue Congregational Church, Cleveland, Ohio*
 BRADLEY, REV. DR. DWIGHT J., *The Union Church, Boston, Mass.*
 BROWN, REV. HUGH ELMER, *First Congregational Church, Evanston, Ill.*
 BURTON, REV. CHARLES E., *General Council Congregational and Christian Churches, New York*
 BURTON, REV. MALCOLM K., *Congregational Church of the Pelham, Pelham, N.Y.*
 CHALMERS, REV. ALLAN KNIGHT, *Broadway Tabernacle, New York City*
 CHANDLER, REV. EDGAR H. S., *Central Congregational Church, Boston Mass.*
 CLINCHY, REV. DR. RUSSELL J., *First Church of Christ, Hartford, Conn.*
 COE, REV. DR. ALBERT BUCKNER, *First Congregational Church, Oak Park, Ill.*
 CROSS, REV. EDWARD W., *Union Congregational Church, Richmond Hill, N.Y.*
 DABNEY, REV. DR. VAUGHAN, *Dean of Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, Mass.*
 DAVIES, REV. HOTELL D., *Missions Council, Chicago, Ill.*
 DEWEY, REV. HARRY P., *Plymouth Church, Minneapolis, Minn.*
 DOUGLASS, REV. TRUMAN B., *Pilgrim Congregational Church, St. Louis, Mo.*
 DUDLEY, REV. DR. WILLIAM E., *Flatbush Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N.Y.*
 EVERSULL, REV. ER. HARRY KELSO, *Walnut Hills Congregational Church, Cincinnati, Ohio*
 FAGLEY, REV. FREDERICK L., *General Council Congregational and Christian Churches, New York*
 GIBSON, REV. GEORGE M., *First Congregational Church, Webster Groves, Mo.*
 GLOVER, REV. CAIL A., *Walnut Hills Congregational Church, Cincinnati, Ohio*
 GRAY, REV. G. CHARLES, *Westminster Congregational Church, Kansas City, Mo.*
 GREY, REV. ALFRED D., *Washington Congregational Church, Toledo, Ohio*
 HARKNESS, REV. SAMUEL, *Winnetka Congregational Church, Winnetka, Ill.*
 HORTON, REV. DR. DOUGLAS, *United Church of Hyde Park, Chicago, Ill.*
 HOGET, REV. J. P., *Tompkins Avenue Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N.Y.*
 KOFF, REV. CARL H., *Mount Vernon Church, Boston, Mass.*

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Dutch Reformed

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 HOWARD, REV. DR. W. CLYDE, *Second Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Ill.*
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 HUTCHINSON, REV. STUART NYE, *East Liberty Presbyterian Church, Pittsburgh, Penn.*
 JARVIS, REV. E. D., *Wellington Church, Glasgow, Scotland*
 KEIGWAIN, REV. DR. A. EDWIN, *West End Presbyterian Church, New York City*
 LAMPE, REV. DR. WILLIAM B., *West Presbyterian Church, St. Louis, Mo.*

LOWE, REV. DR. ARNOLD H., *Kingshighway Presbyterian Church, St. Louis, Mo.*
 MACCOLL, REV. DR. ALEXANDER, *Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Penn.*
 MACIVOR, REV. JOHN W., *The Second Presbyterian Church, St. Louis, Mo.*
 MCCARTNEY, REV. DR. ALBERT J., *Covenant-First Presbyterian Church, Washington, D.C.*
 MCCONKEY, REV. DR. E. PAUL, *Immanuel Presbyterian Church, Detroit, Mich.*
 MCKELVEY, REV. DR. S. WILLIS, *Second Presbyterian Church, Kansas City, Mo.*
 MARSHALL, REV. DR. PETER, *New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, Washington, D.C.*
 MASTER, REV. HENRY BUCK, *Moderator of the General Assembly, Philadelphia, Penn.*
 MERRILL, REV. WILLIAM PIERSON, *Beick Presbyterian Church, New York*
 MIERS, REV. DR. JAMES H., *Fourth Presbyterian Church, Washington, D.C.*
 MONTGOMERY, REV. DR. W. E., *St. Auburn Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, Ohio*
 MUDGE, REV. DR. LEWIS S., *Stated Clerk of Presbyterian Church in the United States, Philadelphia, Penn.*
 MUSTE, REV. A. J., *Director Labor Temple, New York City*
 ROGERS, REV. HARRY CLAYTON, *Linwood Presbyterian Church, Kansas City, Mo.*
 SAVAGE, REV. DR. THEODORE F., *Presbytery of New York, New York*
 SCHERER, REV. HARRY T., *Webster Groves Presbyterian Church, Webster Groves, Mo.*
 SIZOO, REV. DR. JOSEPH R., *New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, Washington, D.C.*
 SPEERS, REV. THEODORE CUTLER, *Central Presbyterian Church, New York*
 SPEERS, REV. T. CUTHRIE, *Brown Memorial Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, Md.*
 TAYLOR, REV. HARRY B., *Beick Presbyterian Church, New York*
 TAYLOR, REV. JAMES H., *Central Presbyterian Church, Washington, D.C.*
 VALE, REV. ROY EWING, *Woodward Avenue Presbyterian Church, Detroit, Michigan*
 VANCE, REV. DR. JOSEPH A., *First Presbyterian Church, Detroit, Mich.*
 WARD, REV. DR. J. W. G., *First Presbyterian Church, Oak Park, Ill.*
 WEBBERSPOON, REV. R. J., *Palladiumfield East Church, Glasgow, Scotland*
 WELCH, REV. CHARLES W., *Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church, Louisville, Ky.*
 WHYTE, REV. ROBERT B., *Old Stone Church, Cleveland, Ohio*
 WYLIE, REV. EDMUND M., *Park Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City*

Unitarian

CALDECOTT, REV. ERNEST, *First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, Calif.*
 ELIOT, REV. FREDERICK M., *Unity Church, St. Paul, Minn.*
 GRAVES, REV. CHARLES W., *First Unitarian Meeting House, Hartford, Conn.*
 GRIFFIN, REV. FREDERICK R., *First Unitarian Church, Philadelphia, Penn.*
 HOLMES, REV. JOHN HAYNES, *The Community Church, New York City*
 KROLFIFER, REV. JULIUS F., *St. John's Unitarian Church, Cincinnati, Ohio*
 LATHROP, REV. DR. JOHN HOWLAND, *Church of the Saviour, Brooklyn, New York*
 PIERCE, REV. U. G. B., *All Souls Unitarian Church, Washington, D.C.*
 PLANK, REV. LAURANCE R., *Church of the Unity, St. Louis, Missouri*
 RECORD, REV. AUGUSTUS P., *Church of Our Father, Detroit, Michigan*
 REED, REV. CLARENCE, *First Unitarian Church, Oakland, Calif.*
 SIMONS, REV. DR. MINOT, *All Souls Church, New York City*
 VOGT, REV. DR. VON OGDEN, *First Unitarian Church, Chicago, Ill.*

Other Faiths

STOCKWELL, DR. JOHN W., *Church of the New Jerusalem, Philadelphia, Penn.*
 WILSON, REV. ERNEST C., *Unity School of Christianity, Los Angeles, Calif.*
 WILLMORE, MR. LOWELL, *Editor of "The Unity Weekly", Kansas City, Mo.*
 SMITH, DR. FREDERICK, *President Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Mo.*
 SMITH, REV. ELBERT A., *Counsellor, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Mo.*