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Our New Task

Address delivered by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver at
Carnegie Hall on Monday Evening, January 22,
1923, before the Golden Jubilee Convention
of the Union of American Hebrew
Congregations.

To those of us who have during the past few years been sorely tried by the untoward fortunes which befell our brethren in foreign lands, and by unhappy experiences in our own, the sight of such a worshipful throng as this, summoned from near and far by the irresistible appeal of our ancient faith, is welcome indeed. Living as we are in the wake of a universal upheaval which wrenched asunder all the fine social fittings and taught men to forget the elemental decencies of civilized human relationship, witnessing as we are the tragic maladjustments of races and peoples and the revival of tribalism everywhere, we are prone to give way to despair. And prophets of evil are not wanting in our midst to sound the mournful notes of our sad undoing. But an outpouring such as this of servants and leaders of the faithful hosts of American Israel whose faces are towards the light, who are here not to lament or to decry, but to build, belies all such doleful prophecies. This assembly meeting at a time when the Jewries of Eastern Europe lie bleeding and broken, when the highways of Europe are choked with Jewish refugees from old centers of Jewish life, now partially or totally destroyed, this assembly, stirred as it is by the same impulses which throbbed through our people adown the ages, prepared as it is to dedicate itself anew to the imperial destiny of our race, is indeed symbol and proof of our immortality.

This convention marks the golden jubilee of the founding of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and this too is a great cause for rejoicing. We who were few have waxed mightily. The handful of men who at the call of that Master Builder, Isaac M. Wise, assembled in 1873 and founded the Union, has, under God, grown to such numbers that this house cannot contain

them. The last half a century witnessed a marvelous transformation in American Israel. We have grown in numbers to the extent of becoming the second largest center of Jewish population in the world, and we have also grown in influence, in economic competence and in the extent of our beneficent penetration of all spheres of American life.

It is indeed tempting to dwell at length at this time upon the early struggles and achievements of the sturdy pioneers who transplanted their religious institutions to these shores. It would make a bright and stimulating chapter in the history of American Israel. But we are here not to record but to make history. These early pioneers would wish us less to chronicle their achievements than to confirm their faith and carry on their work in their spirit.

I say carry on in their spirit. I do not mean that we should confine ourselves to the particular forms and views in which their religious vision expressed itself. We must not imprison ourselves in any tradition, however adequately it may have served a particular age. All honor to those, who in the early precarious years, were not found wanting. All glory to those who laid the foundations so securely. But we would be false to the spirit of progress and liberalism, which urged these early builders of American Judaism to re-interpret their faith so as to bring it into consonance with the conditions of a new environment, if we permitted ourselves to look upon their type of Judaism as ultimate and binding and attempted to incrustate it in a shell of permanence.

For American Judaism, like America itself, is still a thing in the making; and herein lies the promise,—and the challenge. We have not yet evolved an American Judaism which is native to the soil, having the touch and the hue and the personality of American life. We have two rather confused types of Judaism here, both European creations, both transplanted here, both serviceable for a time but neither sufficiently relevant and responsive to serve as the ultimate religious program of American Israel. American Orthodox Judaism is East European Judaism, narrowed by centuries of isolation and disabilities into a rigid discipline and a rather circumscribed group—loyalty; highly elabor-

ated, but not highly developed, whose dynamics are not the sweeping social and universal visions of the Prophets. American Reform Judaism is still the copy in content and in form of that Western European Judaism which was born under the rationalistic incantation of the early 19th century, which was more of an intellectual criticism than a religious revival, and which laid Judaism to rest on a pillow of vague humanitarianism. The one is rather narrow. The other rather dry. The one lacks the reach and sweep of the missionary zeal which gives to our sacred literature its unique grandeur. The other lacks spiritual intensity, the religious fervor which gives a sacramental character even to ceremony, and the tradition which fostered learning and placed the study of the Torah above the ritual of the High Priest.

There is today a most earnest outreaching everywhere in our land for a synthesis of these two types of Judaism, which holds great promise. We need the one as we need the other. We need the broad universalism and fine humanitarianism of the one, even as we need the warmth, the color, the depth and the discipline of the other.

American Israel may well achieve this helpful synthesis. Because American Judaism is far removed from the shadow of Ghetto walls, which isolate spiritually even more than physically, it may breathe the free air of a faith which is universal and prophetic, one which, touching all other faiths and spiritual movements, will seek kinship with all races and all religions in the fellowship of a common service! And because American Israel was not burdened with the necessity of satisfying the prejudices of other people in order to win political equality, because it enjoys the privileges of citizenship not as a gift bestowed but as a right won by blood and labor and loyalty, it need not feel obligated to deny itself, to efface itself to denude its cultural life nor whittle its faith down to the bone of an ethical formalism and a set of moral proprieties. American Judaism may be richly and intensely Jewish, full of content and possessed of a strong cultural individuality.

To be sure, American Judaism will stress the social program of our faith. The war has vindicated our social program and has underscored in blood the code of rational and international morality pro-

nounced by Judaism and by Judaism alone. Judaism, because of its freedom from excessive eschatological concerns, and because of its insistence upon national as well as upon personal righteousness, is today perhaps the one religion that has a program of political salvation for the western world. Where Poincare and Mussolini and Lenin may fail, Isaiah and Micah and Amos may yet triumph!

American Judaism however will not forget that "the march of progress is within us," that the goal of perfection lies within the human soul. Our faith is concerned as much with man's soul as with man's institutions. Judaism is an inner faith and an inner pilgrimage—a religion of piety and prayer and communion. And it is our hope that American Judaism will react to the mystic faith of American democracy in that it will re-emphasize the mystic elements of our faith. Democracy is the religion of man's transfiguration and it is the most mystic concept in politics. A religion nurtured in such an atmosphere will be more than a system of sociology. It will be profoundly personal, inward, a religion of glow and fervor and ecstasy, a religion of song, of light and freedom, a religion that holds forth promises of revelation and divine intimacies to those who seek the dwelling place of God.

Some such vision and hope we have for American Judaism, and this I take it is our supreme task. The pioneers in American Israel were faced with a tremendous task and bravely did they perform it. Theirs was the task of organization. They organized our first communities, built our first schools and synagogues, established our first rabbinical college, planted our first philanthropic institutions to care for the needy and the distressed. Ours is yet another task. It is to evolve an American Judaism, to readjust our faith to our greater spiritual needs, to integrate Jewish life, to inform, organize and direct Jewish purpose. Ours is the task of bringing God back into our lives and the lives of our children, the God of our fathers—the God of our children—the God whom we need, and whom they need, the steadfast Purpose amidst life's vast confusion and turbulence the Mighty Kinsman—the loving Friend! Our task is to raise the standard of Jewish learning, to heighten the pitch and accelerate the tempo of our cultural life.

A mighty task this and a mighty challenge to stalwart hearts!

I spoke of raising the standard of Jewish learning. America must now become the Jamnia of universal Israel. The great reservoirs of Jewish thought and learning in Eastern Europe have either been destroyed, abandoned, or will be for generations depleted and impoverished. Schools and academies have been shut down. Their students and scholars, their very books and libraries have been scattered to the four corners of the earth. America must become the refuge and sanctuary of the Torah, of Jewish scholarship, thought and learning. Without learning and study Judaism cannot survive and Jewry must perish. This is one of the inexorable laws of our existence and there is no escape from it. Whenever a Jewish community failed to kindle the lamp of learning and relied solely on worship, observance and philanthropy, it ultimately disappeared. Witness the story of the Hellenized Jewish communities of Egypt after the destruction of the Temple. We are in the truth the people of the Book. We gave life to the Book. It now gives life to us! We must banish ignorance from our midst. Our deadliest enemy is the Am Haaretz—the unlettered Jew whom ignorance leads to indifference or to cynicism or to assimilation. More schools and better schools! More high schools and better high schools! More text books and better text books! More educated Jewish laymen! The Torah was not given to the Rabbis alone. We are relegating the priceless heritage of a people—of all the people—of the masses,—to the ordained, and to the professional few. If Judaism is to remain a democratic religion, if it is not to degenerate into an ecclesiastical hierarchy, it must be on the basis of Jewish learning broadly disseminated through all the ranks and classes of our people.

In deference to ourselves let us be frank. Our religious schools are inadequate. Their curricula are rudimentary and faulty. The time allotted to the religious education of our children is all too short. We cannot transmit a heritage of three thousand years, the learning and wisdom of thirty centuries, the history, religion, ethics and literature of a people, all in the one or two hours a week during the few years of the child's school life. We

Rabbis frankly confess our inability to cope with this problem. You Jewish laymen must look to it. It is you who must take the initiative in this tremendously urgent work. For remember that our religious schools must do much more than impart some elementary historical information and some religious guidance. The school along with the home and the Synagogue must inculcate the essential mental and spiritual qualities of our people, the collective soul and mind, as it were, of our race, the Jewish attitude and the Jewish point of view, the passion of the prophet, the piety of the Psalmist, the dream of the poet, the faith of the martyr, the high hope and sacrificial valor and the morale which makes for victory.

For we have a collective soul and mind which are distinctive and unique. They have been our selective agencies when we encountered alien cultures and they determined our adaptability to them. We have survived in the diaspora because we were able to absorb foreign cultures and not be absorbed by them. We submitted all foreign cultures—the Babylonian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Arabic and Western European cultures to the alchemy of our spiritual uniqueness and we gave back to the world a Bible, an Apocrypha, a Talmud, a Philo, a Maimonides, a Gabriel, an Halevi, a Spinoza, a Mendelssohn. We have yet much to give to the world. We are not of the past only. We have not yet uttered our last immemorial phrase. We have yet many startling revelations to vouchsafe unto mankind, many a sacred book to bequeath unto it. We must therefore, for the sake of the world, safeguard the soul of our race.

American Israel may well accomplish this high purpose, for it is most fortunately situated. Economically competent, in numbers great and influential, in texture a blending of Eastern European and Western European in their mutually complementary character, in a land whose ideals are grounded in the mighty themes of our sacred literature and whose doctrines are in complete consonance with our own, we have it in us to fashion, on a heroic scale, a mighty age which shall rival even the glories of the golden age of Spain.

And this will be our answer to anti-Semitism. This will be our reply to all the heathen ragings of our day. We shall not be demoralized. We shall

not make prejudice the central motive of our life. We shall not permit ourselves to develop a persecution—complex and thus lead starved and ingrown lives. Above all we shall not be swerved one iota from the age old task of our people. "In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength."

In the midst of a world nearly destroyed by hate, now seeking to save itself through hate, in the midst of a revived medievalism and the up-thrust of jungle instincts, we purpose to continue upon our appointed way, tending the altars of the Lord God of Nations, ministering to the needs of a world tragically confused, planting anew the seeds of justice and truth everywhere, and patiently and lovingly fashioning the links in the golden chain of a universal brotherhood.

We hold no brief for our people. We do not condone its faults nor magnify its virtues. We will not morbidly dissect our living body to discover why some people hate us. We are reconciled to the world's sporadic distemper. It is not a new thing in the colorful pageantry of our lives. It would have been better, perhaps, for our individual comforts if our race had not been touched with the burning coal of prophetic ecstasy. It would have been better if we were not driven so fiercely by the insatiable hunger after freedom and justice and truth. Seeking less we would have learned less of life's failures and tragedies and discovered less of the world's hostility. But such is our destiny. It is our cross and our crown. It is our immortality!

We shall meet the blind fury of our day even as our ancestors met it throughout the ages—in compassion and in resignation, without bitterness and without fear. If we fear at all, in this land, it is not for ourselves but for America. We fear for this magnificent experiment in spiritual unity which we call America. We fear for the charm and the grace and the spacious freedom of its life. We fear lest the Old World hates stifle the New World hopes. Our apprehensions are not for an ancient people that has weathered ten thousand storms but for a young nation whom strange fortune has driven out upon the broken seas of racial and religious rivalries and suspicions. We ache for the dream of a Roger Williams, a Thomas Jefferson, an Abraham Lincoln, a Theodore Roosevelt, the dream which a restless and an unhappy

age by organizing and subsidizing hate, by giving racial discrimination political sanction in immigration laws and academic sanction in our universities, seems to be trampling under foot.

I said that we fear for America. Perhaps that is not exactly true. Rather do we hope for it. For we believe in our hearts as we voice in our prayers that the basic sanity and idealism of American life will prevail in the end. The America of 1923 is not yet the America of tomorrow, even as it is not the America provisioned by the founders of this Republic. The vision of these founders was projected in a commonwealth where life was comparatively simple and homogenous and it failed of complete realization even then. How much more difficult of realization is it now when life has become so much more involved and complex. We are today a people of many peoples and the war has snarled and entangled our national purposes. America did not spring full grown from the brow of the Goddess of History. It will, of necessity, have to pass through the cleansing and purging processes of the ages. Centuries will mold and refine our America. History and the labors and sacrifices of generations yet unborn will perfect it. But its soul will be saved!

As for our people, the Children of the Household of Israel, we stand today where the seers and prophets of our people have stood these three thousand years, summoning men to the higher life in God and the sweeter fellowship in righteousness and love. We know that the world needs us most when it hates us most, and so we shall continue to be the humble servants of the most High, propelled by His will and by His visitations transfigured. We remain true to our destiny: slaves of a deathless vision, masters of an ancient wisdom; dreamers from Ur, and Tekoa, from Anathoth, and Galilee, lost in the sorry traffic of Rome and London, hostages alike of God and men; Prophets praised but never loved, crucified but worshipped on the cross; the Risen People of an Immemorial Crucifixion, in our hearts the prompting of an ancient splendor, in our blood the rhythm of a mighty song and in our hand the flaming torch "The Lord is my Light and my salvation, whom need I fear. The Lord is the strength of my life, of whom need I be afraid."

Sermons

CHANNING AND CHRISTIAN HISTORY

By PROFESSOR FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE, D.D.

THE MORAL EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG

By PROFESSOR ROBERT J. HUTCHEON, A.M.

✓ ORGANIZED RELIGION AND WORLD PEACE

By RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

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CHANNING AND CHRISTIAN HISTORY.

By Professor Francis A. Christie, D.D.

There was a time when nothing could win acceptance as religion unless it could claim a venerable antiquity. Now the advocate of a thought must guarantee its novelty. The idea of progress disparages the *quod semper creditum*. An early generation stands on tiptoe to catch the whisper of the moment that is to be. Mention as your warrant a name as old as Channing, and you may detect a certain polite reserve in manner. It appears on inquiry that Channing is not altogether modern. He entertained some belief in miracles and expressed a view of the nature of Jesus that is wholly antiquated. Now we will not deny progress or gainsay the claim that truth is the daughter of time, but the remoteness of a man depends on the perspective, and why should we adopt the perspectives of the history of doctrine? If we would be modern let us be sure that we have a thoroughly modern point of view.

When we expound the history of doctrine we find ourselves dealing with a secondary product of religious history, a product that is only intelligible when we see the deeper and primal element of which it was the intellectual result. The nineteenth century was proud of the discovery of a distinction between religion and theology and it gave primacy and originative power to religion or, to use a word of almost equal ambiguity, to piety. The distinction may be crudely used at times with the result of making religion a blind sort of feeling without vision of the object of feeling, but it is certainly clear by this time that religion is not essentially an intellectual exercise and that it cannot be won or incalculated *more geometrico*. Religion lies in the mysterious capacity of the will to obey or to resist ideas that have the dynamic power of ideal obligation. Doctrine may postulate or logically infer the intellectual premises of this experience, but religion itself is the life responsive to great divine objects that are objects to the will rather than to the understanding and are experienced in a state of ideal exaltation of the inner self that is hardly scientific inquisitiveness. When we are considering the historical significance of a man it is important to know whether he belongs to the story of those who were busy with the intellectual explication of the primal experience, or was one who initiated a new intensity or a new enlarge-

ment of the religious experience itself. I have read an exposition of Martin Luther which makes him a name in the history of doctrine. The chapter devoted to him calculates with nicety the form of his doctrinal conceptions and leaves the impression that Luther was a somewhat confused and broken-down representative of scholasticism. When on the other hand Harnack discusses Luther's place in religious history we discover a genius through whom society regained the essential Christian experience in its clear simplicity and, for all his doctrinal obstinacy, the emancipator of the Christian from servitude to ecclesiastical science. In the one version Luther is a name of subordinate rank; in the other he inaugurates a new era of life. On the one hand a Lutheran is a person defending certain problematic views; on the other hand, a Lutheran is a new type of man and Lutheranism a new form of social life.

So, as concerns Channing, one may have a cool indifference to some of his theological definitions or arguments and yet be exalted by him to an ideal fervor, receive from him an expanded conception of piety and become through him a new type of man. A man may belong to the foot notes of a history of doctrine and yet loom large in the records of social transformation. In the matter of Christology Channing might be mentioned with the ante-Nicene Fathers, and yet his notion of religion may be beyond the tiptoe reach of the most advanced doctrinarian.

For myself I think that Christianity as a story of religion proper falls into three stages, Catholicism, Protestantism and Channing, and I invite you to consider Channing's place in the history of piety.

The first stage of Christianity as religion was Catholicism and while Catholicism contained much of the religion of Jesus we need not agree that Catholicism was the necessary evolution of the religion of Jesus. The historian knows nothing of mechanical necessity. For him a later stage of historic life is explained simply when it is shown to be the play of motives and interests that are present in the earlier stage. Our present-day study of religious history insists that we shall take a broad view of the social-religious complex, and in this broad view it is plain that what went on evolving was not some isolated abstraction known as pure and primitive Christianity but an antecedent widespread type of piety modified by the ethical spirit of Jesus and invigorated by the affinity to pagan myth of the Christian faith that Jesus died and rose again.

After the somewhat indeterminate conditions of the first two centuries, Christian piety began to develop steadily as a

Christianized pagan religiosity. This mode of statement is not at all inconsistent with the common assertion that the starting point of Christian development is found in the missionary Paul. Paul's suggestions and impulses are manifold, and the pagan society converted by him appropriated what in substance was already familiar under the form of various mystery cults. In the sixteenth century reformers seized upon Paul's doctrines of atonement and justification by faith, but the ancient Greek society did not turn its selective attention upon these conceptions. Paul's conception of faith as redemption was buried out of sight until the German mind revived it after Catholicism had run its course. Catholicism arose from other elements in Paulinism, elements strikingly related to the contemporary tendencies of pagan religiosity. Consciously or unconsciously Paul was a Greek to the Greeks. In that age of syncretism cults were tending to become universal forms of religion unlimited by nationality or descent. Paul universalized the new Palestinian fervor and emancipated it from Jewish racial bonds. These cults had myths of divine heroes that died and were alive again. Paul offered in the place of problematic myth the certain historic fact of Christ dying and risen and exalted to lordship. The cults of the world offered sacramental communion with the dying and resurgent divine hero, the gift of sacramental substances conferring immortality, the mystic appropriation of the god and his deathlessness by the initiate. Paul's epistles glow with the enthusiasm of these conceptions presented in a Christian form, and these are the conceptions which the Greek world appropriated for its Christianized religiosity. These interests were fundamental and dominant, stronger than any other, more scientific interest.

The history of doctrine illustrates the superior power of these interests. To give supreme authority to the word of Jesus the apologists of the moralistic second century dropped the Jewish notion of Messiah and declared that the Logos spoke through Jesus. That position gave the supreme rational guarantee to the Christian preaching of one God, of moral service and of heavenly reward. It gave at first no more than this rational certainty. So far as that interest was concerned the Logos might have continued to be conceived as a half-god, an intermediate being. Something like Arianism would have been a justified result or else the view of Origen. But an interest more powerful than theoretic reason seized upon this Logos doctrine and insisted upon consubstantiality with God and the union of two natures in Christ. This more powerful interest was the craving for the redemption of resur-

rection, for deification, for union with a being whose absolute deity and eternity conferred on man eternity of being. For the fundamental aspiration of the Greek society was that which Paul met in the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians, the yearning for incorrupt eternity of being. Redemption naturally included ethical values, but the redemption is expressed in terms physical rather than ethical. On the human personality lay the blight of finitude, the doom of death. That doom began—in the Christian version—with the sin of Adam, but attention seemed to rest upon the horror of the consequence rather than upon the guilt of its cause. The dogmatic movement is clear from these premises. If our redemption is given in Christ, there must be full deity in him, for only so is there assurance of an eternity of being, an *aphtharsia*, an exemption from finitude; there must be full humanity, for only so is given the guarantee of man's eternalizing for the blessedness of that land which eager souls expect. So the sacraments which impart the God-man are more than symbol; they are a union of the material with the heavenly substance and confer the immortality of the God-man. So when Christianity became the state religion and the great hordes of the pagan population poured into the church we have but an extension of all this magical and sacramental kind of religiosity. The dogma became mere ritual. The scriptures were simply passages in the ceremonial. The ethical is overlaid with the passion for amulets and saints' relics and images and pictures and whatever material forms might be thought to contain the virtue of a heavenly and immortal reality. Western Catholicism was indeed more alive to the ethical and gave a special development to the penitential discipline, but the ethical interest in which it originated was lost and penance found a substitute in indulgences, and indulgences were a substitute for moral obligation. The ethical view of western Catholicism is emphasized in its theological reflection as influenced by Augustine, but the Augustinian element was somewhat out of relation to the ritual life of the church and the history of mediaeval conflicts shows the triumph of the interests of sacramental ritual over the ethical Augustinian element. A separate western type of religiosity was not fully developed—unless it be in the "new devotion" of the Brothers of the Common Life and that was a symptom of transition to something new.

Such Catholicism was the first type of piety and two things were evident about it. In the first place, if indulged in seriously and completely, it was inimical to the welfare of society in its historic tasks. It enfeebled men for citizen-duty and

was the foe of culture. When the Isaurian emperors wished to secure the Empire from barbarian attack they brought to the capitol and stationed on the frontier bodies of a more primitive Christian sect that in the isolation of Armenia had failed to share in this development of piety and had preserved the vigor and the social responsibility of strong men. And the divorce of such Catholic piety from the general life was evident by the fact that it generated a division of classes. He who would taste and feel and see the supernatural must sequester himself, must forsake the family vocation, must lead the ascetic, the angelic life, must be celibate, must be holy priest or holy monk. Only he was *religious*. The rest were religious dependents, religious only in a secondary degree. In the end the church meant essentially the corporation of the priests and monks.

In the second place, while ritual and memory preserved something of the ethical Jesus, it is apparent and was apparent that the religiosity so evolved was incongruous with the original spirit of Jesus and his company. There had been a departure from the essence of Christianity. Whenever a glimpse of the classic initial form of Christianity was regained there sprang up sects to protest against this erroneous and unwholesome divergence from the central and essential Christian principle. That which Jesus contributed to the world's religious forces found itself in protest against a system of piety which was simply a more advanced stage of paganism. There was a restriction and suppression of man's moral personality in its full dignity. There was a cleavage of the spiritual society. There was a discord between the spiritual and the materialistic. The redemption offered was magical and the realization of that redemption was postponed to another world. Evidently the historic development needed simplification and refining.

An opposition to this system inherited from antiquity is evident in the peoples of German stock whenever they lost their docile attitude of mere uncritical reception. With the slow maturing of German civilization the opposition gathered force and the crisis came with the German Luther. His personal struggle for confidence in God had revealed to him a simpler apprehension of piety, a reduction of Paulinism to the long buried essence of the spiritual side of Paul's thought. Catholicism had made religion a thing of infusions and inspirations of divine reality into the man who had made himself receptive by the sacrifice of the human. The vast mass of spiritual dependents, inferior in religious privilege, esteemed incapable of the personal consciousness of super-

natural communion were bidden to docility of obedience and assent. For the saint the embrace of God, for the mass the belief in a divine Providence.

Luther saw the infinite blessedness of this layman stage of faith, saw revealed in it such a richness of spiritual possession, such a glad security of God, such a dynamic force for the ethical life that all the privileges of monk and saint fell into the background. Catholic piety had lost the personal confidence of divine Friendship which belonged to the early cry of Abba Father. Luther kindled that early faith afresh. Religion was the message of God's friendship for sinful man and man's response in faith. The message is brought home to the soul by the unquestioned fact of Christ's death for human sin, and the faith that accepted that message as a personal truth contained in itself all the joy, all the privilege, all the power of religion. The religious life was simply the attestation of that faith in conduct whatever the lot or calling. Lord and ploughman, prince and peasant, scholar and household drudge, each in his separate sphere was living the religious life without need of convent or ordination or ascetic preparations or supernatural infusions. Faith was redemption. No longer the division of classes, but a universal priesthood of faith. No longer the withdrawal of the religious from the sphere of historic tasks, but the beginning of an age when the historic task could be seen as the sphere of religion itself. No longer the crippling restriction of the human personality but the beginning of that era in which the ideal of religious life could meet and blend with all the high ideals of the human personality.

It is true that the exhibition of these results was slow and restricted. Luther's reform and simplification, Luther's re-conquest of a more natural and human piety was overlaid by all that petrification of dogma and scholasticism that religious warfare seems to have entailed for the temporary protection of the new piety. A change, however, had begun. The simplicity of simple trust in divine friendship had begun to triumph over the magical and sacramental. A new and nobler type of man of social life had been founded and the nineteenth century with its critical analysis of the past has enabled the simple essence of Lutheranism to begin afresh its more unhampered evolution. It is evident that Lutheranism seen in this light rouses the sympathy of the reader of Channing, and yet the sympathy has its limits. The Lutheran type of piety taken by itself is the attainment of peace for the self-accused spirit, but it lacks the positive energy of the life that reaches beyond the assurance of forgiveness to the full

sanctioned activity of the human endowment. The word of God for Luther is the proclamation of Christ's atonement, and the critical study of the origins of Christian beliefs makes a crisis for Lutheranism of tragic significance. That word of God which evoked the Lutheran piety of faith seems imperilled, and mere Lutheranism does not contain within itself a new and securer word of God to the soul that would bask in the sunshine of divine friendship. For the word of God that can reveal divinity and evoke faith and inspire the fulness of human perfection of life, a word of God undisturbed by the tragedy of historical criticism and indeed fortified by every advance of the science of religion we must go on to Channing and those for whom Channing spoke. The road to Channing lay through Calvinism.

The internal history of Protestantism, its history as a spiritual principle, may be said to lie in the changing conceptions of the word of God. In the age of controversial orthodoxy the word of God was presented in the Formula or the various confessions of Calvinism. Against this mere "notionism" mystics like Fox rebelled and asserted an inner word of the spirit. Pietism recalled the Lutherans to the insight that the word of God was such a revelation as evoked personal religious experience. Rationalism contended that the word of God was the universal human innate idea of God and duty and heavenly reward. Speculative idealism insisted that the word of God was the idea of the unity of finite and infinite spirit. Experience with all these suggestions would seem to show that the religious instinct is not so much concerned with the truth that gratifies the inquisitive understanding as that word of God which is redemptive to the sluggish soul and gives the joy and energy of supreme good for the spiritual race. Protestant piety seeks that present redemption. It desires the faith that leaps up when the vitalizing message of God is spoken in the deep seat of personal being, suffusing the heart with ideal joys and invigorating the will with the spontaneity of ideal endeavor.

That is Protestant piety, and the characteristic and almost definitive method of Protestantism for the evocation of that experience is that which the Augustinian Calvinist tradition used. The ultimate and complete illustration of that method is found in New England in the Eighteenth Century. There the whole community of such villages as listened to Edwards were convinced of the truth of the Calvinist version of the word of God and singularly responsive to its appeal. That word of God provocative of the highest human felicity was the Divine Sovereignty.

One thing binds Lutheranism and Calvinism together. For them both the spring of all religious activity is the personal realization of the forgiveness of sins. Apart from their differences of ecclesiastical organization and discipline the marked distinction is the rigor and distinctiveness of the logic by which this experience was induced in Calvinist circles. For the sake of argument against Erasmus Luther gave an extreme presentation of the Scotistic view of God as arbitrary will and harsh expression to the idea of predestination. When relieved of the necessity of further argument he seems to have relegated the topic to the background and to have made little practical use of it. He discountenanced the appeal to the sovereign majesty of the divine will and persuaded men by the known general provision of divine grace. Nor did Luther, like some of his followers, accentuate the horror of the life under the law so as to force his hearers to pass from a state of terror to a state of assurance. True, the antithesis of law and grace was the clue to all doctrine for him, but it remained a kind of abstract antithesis, a matter of theoretic analysis, and was not applied to the concrete personal life. His doctrine of grace was a comfort to the sinful Christian rather than a revivalistic appeal to depraved sinners.

In Calvinism, on the other hand, the doctrine of an inscrutable predestination was central and constant, and the antithesis of corruption and redemption was applied with more homiletic insistency. Edwards is the supreme instance of this Protestant preaching of redemption, because he discovered by his psychological acumen the method of presenting the doctrine so that numerous and radical conversions were the result. According to this view of piety, the Christian disposition began when God could be loved simply for the glory and beauty of his unmerited grace without any intervening claim of worth or effort to mar the adoration with a taint of personal interest or selfishness. In order to bring hearers to this absoluteness of selfless adoration it was necessary to convince them of their utter perversion and devilishness as men, and to accomplish that purpose Edwards and all consistent Calvinists had to take conscience away from man and make it simply an act of divine restraint. Man was painted as in himself the hater of all good simply coerced by an outer divine force into a certain decercy of social demeanor. And not only was conscience denied to man as man but all its suggestions to the mind as to the nature of goodness and justice were discredited, that the purely arbitrary and capricious goodness of God might dawn upon the soul as a purely supernatural light, and that the disposition identi-

fiable as regenerate and Christian might be a purely supernatural operation. Such Calvinism only made sharply explicit and pressed home on every man for personal realization the truth which belonged to all that was typically Protestant.

Let us not forget that purity and singleness of Christian character were the result of this drastic experience, but let us simply note that the method of inducing the Christian state was an outright denial of the faith in God with which Christianity began, and could not therefore be consonant with the permanent essence of Christianity, if Christianity had any continuity of essence at all. Let us note also that this method of evoking piety began to destroy piety itself. Hopkins followed the logic of it all and insisted that we could love only the elect and since we could not tell who were elect we could love our fellowmen only in a tentative way. The history of this piety is a history of social disunion and dissidence, the exhibition of a tendency to withdraw and sequester the few assured elects from the social whole and from the church circles that could not be consistently logical. There was a withdrawal too from the cultural task of humanity. The agents of this piety could not admit to the mind's sphere of attention aught that would conflict with the monoideism of their regenerative supernatural light. There was a withering and crippling of the human personality. The Kingdom of God was a name simply for another world and all the intramundane Messianic ideal had dropped completely from consciousness. Here again was an illustration of the fact that this final consistent form of Protestantism had lost continuity with the earlier stages of Christianity as an historic movement.

The opposition to all this was long afoot, but opposition does not make succession. Rationalists opposed the Calvinist doctrine of God, and of man, but this opposition did not, as history shows, provide a further movement of Christianity which should maintain continuity with the past of its essential elements. In particular, Rationalism dropped completely the idea of redemption as the religious experience in its inmost aspect, while certainly, as an historic religious movement, Christianity is a religion of redemption. Catholicism in its typical aspect offered redemption in physical terms and by a process of sacramental administration. Protestantism in its clear expression offered a moral redemption by a process of divine co-action upon a resistant will. For the Catholic the redemptive gift was a substance. For the Calvinist the redemptive process was a reconstitution of the moral disposition.

The name of Channing seems to me to signalize a stage beyond these two, because he also offers redemption—something generative of salvation, something more than mere mandate of duty—and also because his apprehension here is consonant with the spirit of the beginning of the Christian movement and serves to restore the intramundane Messianic ideal with which the original Christian preaching of redemption was associated. The older church declared its doctrine of human nature only as it somewhat tardily developed the presupposition of its whole system of belief. The underlying premise thus explicated in the end was the utter ruin and impotence of man in himself and the doom inevitable to his nature as man until a foreign redemptive action should be enacted upon him. With only incidental protest this doctrine of man reigned through Catholic and Protestant times, the Greek current emphasizing the physical blight and doom, the Augustinian element emphasizing the moral hopelessness of human nature. The Arminian made a tame modification. Channing made a revolutionary substitution. My whole intention is to say that in Channing's intuition of the dignity of human nature there was not merely the substitution of one anthropology for another, not the mere insistence on human dignity in place of human depravity—not such mere substitution but the promulgation of a word of God of redemptive efficacy.

We have been saying that the Christian and indeed all highly ethical religions seek something more than a truth for the gratification of the inquisitive reason. They seek a Word of God that lays hold on the will and the higher emotions with some intense electrifying effect, so that inertia gives way to vitalized activity, apathy and listlessness are stirred to ideal exaltation, and the soul is assured of direct personal relation to the Eternal Power that is its absolute sovereign, such a relation, moreover, as is the assurance of an ultimate conformity to the nature absolute and adorable. The history of the pagan cults of the Roman Empire would seem to show something like a uniform law—the law of formal worship rising to personal communion or personal union with the divine power. This makes a broad contrast with the mere rationalistic moralism that merely argues the existence of a divine authority and infers the duty of moral obedience by the resources of a distinct and separated will.

Let us admit that Channing did not sharply and consistently present religion in the relation of these distinctions. The man who is the vehicle of great historic change is never so conscious of the bearings of his own thought and ex-

perience. In the great religious genius humanity takes a new step somewhat confusedly and somewhat unconsciously without full awareness of the reformatory value of that step. So it was with Luther. So it was with Channing. At a late period of his life, when asked if he had ever experienced conversion, Channing answered: "I should say not, unless the whole of my life may be called, as it truly has been, a process of conversion." In spite of this partial disclaimer, we have to remember one rather distinct spiritual crisis of his youth when, beneath the willow trees of a Cambridge meadow, reading Hutcheson's account of man's capacity for disinterested affection, there suddenly burst upon his mind his view of the dignity of human nature, when, to use the words of another, "the glory of the divine disinterestedness, the privilege of existing in a universe of progressive order and beauty, the possibilities of devotedness to the will of Infinite Love, penetrated his soul." We who read Edwards' account of the conversions in Northampton can see that this is exactly the disposition identified by Edwards as regenerate and evidence of redemption. And it is a mark of superiority over Edwards that Channing with all his delight of memory in that blessed moment of the revelation of spiritual light should not rely on its momentary exaltation but desire only to claim that the word of God then and there revealed had been the continual and progressive spring of his spiritual life.

It is due to the revivalism of Calvinist history that we have come to disuse the word and thought of redemption unless there is meant the crisis of some sudden and radical change that divides life into two authentic periods of nature and grace. But before Calvinism it was not so. With Luther it was not so, and with such a Lutheran pietist as Spener it was not so. For great examples of religious experience like these redemption was not a name for a momentary and distinct crisis. It was a more timeless truth of present imperfection and a perfecting made possible by non-empirical transcendent process. Every reader of Channing is aware that he belongs to the records of those who in fuller measure have experienced and expressed this redemptiveness of religion and, if this is the inner essence of all that calls itself evangelicalism, Channing surely is one of the most evangelical of Christian pietists.

For Catholicism, let us repeat, the word of God generative of such redemption was the truth conformed to pagan myth that Christ died and rose again for our salvation. The truth was law for the implicitly believing mass. The privileged few sought sensible or supersensible enjoyment of union with the eternal substance thus made accessible *ab extra* to man. For Protes-

tantism the word of God operative of redemption was that Christ died to make possible the forgiveness of sins and the bestowal of grace to the will that was else devoid of grace. Channing's word of God of redemptive efficacy was the illuminating intuition that human nature was never without God, that human nature in itself contained as its constitutive essence a mysterious unison with the Perfection which is God's nature. The word of God to which Catholicism and Protestantism appealed has been relegated by the history of thought to the realm of myth, so far as its objective reality is concerned. Channing's word of God is not dependent upon history and does not stand or fall with some old interpretation of an historic event. The incongruities and irrationalities and cruelties of the older Christian system lay in the fact that its redemption was attached to an objective transaction hid in the recesses of a Roman province and the obscure past of Roman history. Channing restored to Christianity its imperilled claim of universality by discovering the truth that is redemptive in every human breast.

Christianity had offered a visitation of the divine spirit to man which should furnish blessedness of emotion, ethical character to will, and certitude of divine fellowship; but it made that visitation contingent upon faith in an historical event, or rather in an historical event subjected to an insecure interpretation. Channing proclaimed not a visitation so contingent but an indwelling of God evident to every soul that should contemplate the mysterious regnancy of the ideal element of its own being. The human soul was the oracle of the redemptive truth. "The reason why men see God in the outward creation is that their own nature has an affinity with Him and cannot be unfolded or find repose without Him. We comprehend and desire Him because we carry His image in our moral and intellectual powers and because these tend to this source." "Man, though human by nature, is capable of conceiving the idea of God, of entering into strong, close, tender and purifying relations with God, and even of participating in God's perfection and happiness. We hear this great truth unmoved. It is a truth to wake the dead. It ought to exalt our whole life into joy."

Let us not ask of Channing the metaphysical explanation of this inner mystery by which man and God share one common character and one common energy of goodness. In the end it is the same mystery as Kant's transcendental freedom, it is the everlasting mystery about which Pelagians and Augustinians have struggled vainly. Let us not ask why in man there should be the conflicting fact of evil, *das radikale Böse*, for which Kant again could posit only a transcendental cause. We are looking at Channing not as a metaphysician, not as a doctrinal thinker.

These he was not. He was the voice through which humanity spoke its new and larger faith, the oracle of revelation. It is for those who follow him to apply intellectual method for the explication of the sum of doctrines involved in his re-expression of the one central and saving truth of the soul. It is enough for us to see that a great throbbing inspiration of the Christian soul speaks in Channing, and that he told men anew how and where to find the redemption which is the essence of religion.

And that this was not a mere capricious individual sunrise but an insight of more universal authority is shown by its powerful and inspiring appeal in antiquity to the loftiest Stoic moralists, by its struggle to assert itself in the interest of the æsthetic nature in the age of the Renaissance, by its definite conquest of the political mind in the eighteenth century, but the immense invigoration which it exercised in the beginning of the marvelous period of German thought of the period of Kant, Herder and Goethe. For all these oracles of modern humanity the triumph over evil was not by faith in some ancient enactment, nor by any mere heroic self discipline of penance or repentance, by nothing, indeed, that has its sphere in the outer and phenomenal. Redemption, they declared, is found by descending into the depths of the inner nature and beholding the infinitude and absoluteness and universal authority of the worth that is regnant there, a worth decreed by the soul itself and yet a worth grounded in a supersensible world. That worth grows and is victor over all evil and unworth by the very consciousness of its infinite dignity. This, said Goethe, was the supreme height of religious evolution. Only when released from the long inbred contempt of self and reaching the reverence of himself could man attain the highest of which he was capable. Religion does not wait for the indorsement of theoretic reason before it shows its efficacy, and the efficacy of this redemptive word of God is attested by its powerful extension over our society in all those circles that, groping crudely for a metaphysical form of expression, proclaim a release from every ill and suffering through the consciousness of this divinity of the soul of man. The faith in a divine relationship and a divine possibility for man is experimentally proven to have a power of intensifying the spiritual personality and giving it the victory over evil.

And we can measure that power in part by its contrast. Certain schools of literature have fallen heir to the old theological contempt of man and have depicted human nature with gross and cynical realism simply as a bundle of coarse passions, and under the suggestibility of such a picture men have seemed to verify its truth. And as the poison of the old view was getting expelled from theology, political economy took it up and in-

vented an economic man with the elimination of the morality which Channing affirmed as the essence of real men. This too has had a baneful suggestibility. As an English writer has said: "It is astounding to what an extent we have succeeded in turning this scientific monster into a reality." Channing did not deny the fact of moral evil; he left it as a mystery coincident with the fact of moral freedom. But he saw man as man is given in his present stage of development—not as some abstraction of theological theory, nor as abstraction of the older political economy. He saw the actual concrete normal man who is a spiritual moral personality, and he saw that such a personality is the subject with which Christianity deals. He saw man as Jesus saw him, a being responsive in his own personality to that character which is perfect and complete in God. He saw a perfectible child of God and therefore a being already endowed for perfection. He meant by human nature not the brute that man may become by deserting the human possibility, but the man in the light of that distinguishing infinity of good which is bound up in his life and of the aspiration for communion with a changeless perfection of Being which should nourish, fortify and fulfill the yet imperfect measure of human perfection. He is saying, only more copiously and with an eloquence more profuse, what the Synoptic Jesus said in terse brevity when he condensed all religion in the bidding to become perfect as the Father in heaven is perfect.

If in this way Channing clearly reverted to the essential conception of the Christian religion as it was in its original moment, the coincidence of Channing's apprehension of piety with the inspiration of the founder of Christian piety is shown in another striking characteristic. All previous piety and theology was conditioned by what was determined to be the essence of Christianity. For the Greek that essence was the appropriation of the incarnate, dead and resurrected Son of God for the eternalizing of man. For the Protestant it was the forgiveness of sins through the death of Christ. In both cases there was a striking loss of the intense Messianic expectancy of a perfect family of the Father of Love within the horizon of man's world.

For Germany Ritschl made a change. If there is one fact more momentous than all others about Ritschl as a theologian it is that he determined the essence of Christianity in a manner different from all his predecessors. Ritschl found all Christian ideas and ideals phases of one central organizing conception, and that conception was the Kingdom of God, the life of a perfect spiritual community of love as the necessary form of life under a Father of love. Ritschl was fully conscious that in this new determination of the essence of Christianity he was a reformer of piety, giving religion a fresh appeal to the volitional creative self-

assertive personality of modern man. He understood this central conception not strictly in the form presented by Jesus but in the form which the thoughts of Jesus must assume after the immanent criticism of history has operated upon it. Ritschl, that is, suppressed the miraculous and apocalyptic form and developed the intramundane and ethical form which Kant had introduced to modern thought.

Ritschl was a university scholar, a systematic theologian, and it was his office to suggest to modern Christianity the reformulation of Christian doctrines in the light of this new determination of the essential principle of Christianity when it resumes its sway not under the control of Paul but under the control of Jesus. Channing was not a university scholar, not a systematic theologian. He was a practical pietist and preacher, and he simply set about the realization in life of that which Ritschl wanted first accomplished in doctrinal system. Vast as the service is that Ritschl rendered, his efforts have one fatal defect. He conceived the claim of this kingdom of love as resting simply upon a miracle of historical revelation, and the historical study of his own followers has undermined that arbitrary claim of exclusive supernaturalism. Ritschl, like men of old time, conceived the redemptive word of God as brought *ab extra* to man, and such a conception always gives a problematic character to the redemptive revelation. But Channing has nothing to fear from the progress of historical criticism. The historical enunciation of the Christian principle is nothing isolated in time—nothing that stands or falls with the contingencies of history. In Channing's view, Christianity is in continuous and everlasting generation, since the generative principle is in the mysterious supernaturalism of man's own being. And Channing's supernaturalism restores to the Christian soul the Kingdom of God as expectation and ideal. Since the character lawfully regent over the human spirit is the character of a Father of Love, the full expression of the quickened spirit of man is one family of love. "By revealing to us the greatness of that nature in which all men participate Christianity lays the foundation of a universal love."

The older types of Christianity as they worked themselves out to full expression had produced spiritual castes. They had rent the unity of man by creating the most cruel and most odious of aristocracies—the aristocracy of religious privilege. In all the complex diversities of modern society one idea has been struggling to gain control of life with something of the irresistibility of a force of nature. It was the idea of Democracy. Channing's resolution of religion to the Word seated in every human breast united this irresistible principle of Democracy as the human form

of life with the essential principle of Christianity. Were we to tell the tale of Channing's practical endeavors, it would not be a mere tale of pitying philanthropy. It would be the tale of the noblest efforts known to history to procure a civilization of equality in moral dignity and moral possibility. It would be the tale of Channing interpreting Democracy as Christianity and Christianity as Democracy. It would be the tale of his enthusiasm for a social reconstruction "founded on the essential truth that the chief end of the social state is the elevation of all its members as intelligent and moral beings," the tale of his yet unrealized system of popular culture, democratizing the college by the inclusion of mercantile education, reforming all education by the union of manual labor with intellectual study, directing the united enthusiasm of the democratic state and the Christian church by the elevation of the industrial life to the dignity and the privileges of culture, engaging all for a crusade against war, slavery, intemperance, ignorance, inequality, injustice, and materialistic greed.

Channing Unitarianism meant an enthusiasm for a Christian civilization that should realize in full expression all men's inherent dignity as children of God and members of a divine family of love. Here none of the old division into classes by the operation of a mistaken view of piety but a piety operative for the fusion of men in one equal brotherhood and thus operative for the spirit of Jesus as no other piety had been. Here none of the old atrophy of the human personality by the abstraction and withdrawal of piety from the secular and cultural tasks of men, but the full harmonious expression of human powers in a personality organized and controlled by surrender to the divinity regnant in its own ideals. All good, he said, became moral by union with this moral principle. On every side we are hearing now that the older Christianity as it is perpetuated makes divorce of the religious and the secular. He who would live a harmonious life in which the distinction is lost and religion is the guide and inspiration of our share in the tasks of civilization shall find his teacher in Channing.

The amazing corruptions of American life are not the denial of Channing's gospel but the evidence that it has not been heard. How shall they believe on him of whom they have not heard, said Paul. Liberal Christianity has not yet fully given itself to the proclamation of this religious humanism. It has been fortifying itself by preliminary rectification of the general thought. It has—as a means to its end—been engrossed in Biblical criticism and following that path has explored the field of Comparative Religions. It has—as a means to its end—reformed the Cosmology, and it is to be feared that some have been so ensnared by

the non-human aspects of the world's history as to forget the sovereignty of the spiritual in man or to leave man's redemption to the slow mercy of evolution. But the world reawakens. Society seems to insist in its new religious gatherings on this gospel of vast human potentiality through the intuition of the divinity linked with our being. The phenomenal world is a mechanism, but there is a world which is not but is to be. It is the kingdom of our ideals. The two worlds meet in the human heart. The disposition of the heart can transfigure the outer world of mechanism with the significance of our ideals, can make it the scene of the absolute and imperishable values of our ideals, can make it the temporal instrument of a kingdom which belongs not to time. We know not what we shall be until we do the creative deed, and the power to do the deed comes from faith. The faith is the faith that the essence of our moral personality is founded in God himself and that his creative energy is entrusted to our use.

THE MORAL EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG.

An Address Before the "Round Table," Meadville, Feb. 23, 1925.

By Professor Robert J. Hutcheon.

A state of great anxiety, indeed of panic in some cases, exists in many minds today over the moral condition of the young. Habits of reticence, modesty, self-restraint, earnestness, respect and reverence which were formerly fairly common among the young seem somehow to have lost their appeal. The glamor which large experience and ripe wisdom once exercised over youth has faded away and young people are experimenting with life on their own account gleefully and even recklessly, as though human nature and the physical environment were like clay and could be easily moulded to the heart's desire. No one in constant touch with adolescent boys and girls need go beyond his own experience to learn something of this venturesome and carefree mood, but if any one wishes to enlarge his experience by reading the reports of others, let him read the articles of Judge Ben Lindsey of the Juvenile Court of Denver, Colorado, in the last two numbers of *Physical Culture*. Judge Lindsey is too kindly and wise to be a mere faultfinder—indeed when he does find fault it is with the parents and teachers rather than with the boys and girls—but he makes it perfectly plain that the old reticences of youth are largely gone, that the young are eager to pluck the fruit of life before it is ripe and that the old checks on a reckless experimentalism are very rapidly losing their power.

Now I am not concerned tonight to try to show that the young are worse than their parents were in their adolescent years. I take for granted that human nature is much the same in the same group from generation to generation. The change is not in heredity but in environment—in the stimuli brought to bear on the growing mind, in the life-habits which are drilled into the children in their tender and plastic years and in the social atmosphere which, though it may be invisible, nevertheless soaks into and saturates their innermost being. We, older people, who are so critical of our young, would probably have been as they are, if the mental, social and economic world of our youth had been what theirs is now. Our task is not one of faultfinding but of diagnosis and, once the diagnosis is made, of remedying the trouble so far as our wisdom, patience and insight enable us so to do.

Let us begin by taking stock of the difficulties that confront the moral educator. When things go wrong with our youth we are inclined to lay the blame on the teachers and preachers because obviously it is their professional duty to mould the life of the young. We are apt to think that moulding human nature to moral ends is a rather easy matter and that, if teachers and preachers only did their duty, all would be well. But human nature is not so easily moulded. As the apostle James says: "Every kind of beasts and birds and of serpents and of things in the sea is tamed and hath been tamed of mankind, but the tongue can no man tame; it is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison." It may well be that the apostle was somewhat overdiscouraged about human nature when he made this bitter comment, but those great men who have known human nature at closest range have never felt the task of redeeming and sublimating it to be an easy one. So impossible has the task seemed to the orthodox Christian theologians through the ages that they have interpreted the Christian religion as nothing less than a supernatural effort on the part of God and his son Jesus Christ to do for man what man could never do for himself, and they taught that, even with the supernatural help of God, only a few were likely to be saved, so deep-rooted and incurable was the evil of the natural man. We do not all accept this theological interpretation of Christianity nor do we share the pessimism of the Calvinistic outlook on human nature but, for all that, we must keep steadily before our minds the fact that human beings can come into the world heavily freighted with an animal heritage, that the first powers to develop are always the self-preserving and therefore potentially selfish ones, that the cultural desires are the latest to manifest themselves in the individual life as they were in the life of the race, and that, if the sensual,

selfish and ease-loving tendencies are allowed to get a big start in the adolescent years, the cultural desires may never overtake them at all. Human nature as displayed in the pages of history both towers to the heights of heaven and sinks to the depths of hell. It has produced its heroes of religion, patriotism, art, science, poetry and common everyday goodness, as well as its monsters of cruelty, greed, sensuality and hatred. As the mountains are about as high above the level of the seashore as the depths of the ocean are below it, so the heroes of history are about as high above the average human level as the monsters of history are below it. In other words, average human nature is neither utterly bad nor sublimely good but educable and mouldable if we work persistently and intelligently enough at the task of educating and moulding it. The very gifts that make us men, namely, our imagination and reason, make the problem of moral education both easier and harder. If we can go higher than the animals, we can also sink lower. The infinite element in human nature is the source of its badness as well as of its goodness. The infinite element in love, for example, may produce the tender spiritual passion enshrined in Mrs. Browning's *Sonnets From the Portuguese* or the subtle, ingratiating, all-conquering sensuousness of a Cleopatra. The infinite element in the human mind may find expression in a search for truth that inspires men to the most stupendous life-long tasks in the laboratory, observatory and library, or it may move man to heap one useless million upon another so long as life lasts or to gather up all the ruins of a nation's political power into one's own hands as with Lenin and Mussolini. Some men and women will rise above the average level of morality, even if their environment is not altogether favorable, because the driving power of their social and cultural impulses is unusually strong; others will sink below the average level, unless handled with more than ordinary wisdom and insight, because their heritage is very mixed and confused or because the driving power of their sex-instinct or their acquisitive instinct or their instinct of domination is excessive; but the great majority of human beings will always belong on the average level and will always respond with average sensitiveness to moral discipline and pressure if that discipline and pressure are applied at the right time and in the right way. Hence if the morality of our average adolescents today is not what it should be, we must search for the reason, not in some change in human nature, but in the failure of society to provide adequate stimuli or in the failure of society to prevent other stimuli from arousing too early in the life and too passionately the dangerous tendencies in our adolescent population. The task of moral education is never an impossible task but it is always a difficult one and one

that calls for the keenest insight as well as the greatest patience and wisdom on the part of the moral educator.

It might be assumed that we are all agreed as to what the moral character, which is the aim of moral education, really is. But to add definiteness to our discussion let me summarize very briefly what is generally meant among ethical teachers by the term *moral character*. It is recognized now that it is impossible to separate the personal and social aspects of a moral character from one another but for purposes of exposition it is generally thought expedient to distinguish between them. The character qualities which are thought of as most personal are such as courage, initiative, temperance, self-respect, industry and thrift. Without courage, the young will shrink before every obstacle, hardship and failure. Without initiative they will never do more than go through the motions of their parents and teachers. Without temperance they will soon acquire habits of extravagance, excess and moral abandon that will make the sober, quiet life which is the lot of most humans seem unendurable. Without self-respect, they can have no inward monitor warning them against the wrong and spurring them on towards the right. Without industry they cannot maintain the standard of life which they have come to think indispensable. Without thrift they cannot maintain their independence in times of sickness and unemployment or in old age. Unless we manage somehow to stimulate all of these character qualities in the young, disaster awaits them and the societies they compose. They are making far greater economic demands on life than former generations did and, since economic goods and services do not grow wild, they must learn to work either harder or to better advantage than their fathers did.

The character qualities which are thought of as most social are those which are indispensable, first, in involuntary relations, that is, relations which we are born into, such as the family, the neighborhood and the country, and, second, in voluntary relations, such as marriage, business, church, political party and social life. Without filial piety and respect of children for parents, the basis of all reverence is undermined and the home cannot be, as in the past, the breeding place of the greater virtues. Without disinterested public spirit, democracy ceases to be such except in name and becomes a mere screen behind which an invisible government manipulates legislation to suit its own ends. Without intelligent, enthusiastic patriotism, nationality ceases to be an inner psychic reality and becomes a mere common legal system and a territorial demarkation. Without love and chastity the marriage bond loses all its ideal values and the relation between the sexes becomes cheap and vulgar and in the end disgusting.

Without honor in business and faithful fulfillment of contract, our colossal credit system would soon tumble into ruin. Without loyalty to the religious and political institutions to which we belong and tolerance towards the differing institutions to which our neighbors belong, our institutional life would soon dwindle or be completely absorbed in the hateful work of mutual extermination. When we read in our college text-books the story of the migrations of Germanic peoples into the territory of the old Roman Empire, our pity is awakened for the helpless farmers and villagers who happened to live in the path of these mammoth invaders and we thank God that America stands in no danger of such invasions. But our civilization has become so complex and so dependent on brains and morals and disinterested public service that, if the social virtues we have just been outlining should somehow be weakened in the characters of our children or grandchildren, social chaos might arise from within our own borders without any invasion whatsoever from beyond.

We are to understand by moral character, then, in a few words, such personal virtues as courage, initiative, temperance, self-respect, industry, thrift and such social virtues as filial piety, public spirit, patriotism, philanthropy, chastity, honor, loyalty and tolerance. And, further, we are to understand that such virtues are not mere external adornments like ribbons, bracelets and rings, made a part of our mind by dint of much repetition of the words and phrases which describe them, but profound inward states of the mind, moulding personality silently and persistently from within and forming in time a character which can stand foursquare to all the winds that blow. Such is the moral personality at which moral education aims. In the face of all the weaknesses to which human flesh is heir, it may seem too great a thing for our schools and churches even to aim at, but moral characters constitute our greatest social need and the call to produce them is the greatest challenge that comes to the church and the school today and cannot be shirked or minimized.

It is often said that the longest way round is the shortest way home and in this discussion the old saying is *a propos*. I might proceed directly to discuss what the church and school may do to develop moral personality, but I prefer to achieve my purpose in a more roundabout way. I want to make plain what everybody knows but what we are all apt to forget, namely, that the school and the church are not the only teachers of the young, not the only moulders of moral or immoral personality. The movie, the newspaper, the gossip and tattle that go on perpetually in the hearing of the young, the hero-worship which the demigods of the baseball, football and pugilistic world inspire in the

breasts of their fellows, the dress, speech and manner of life of our most popular social leaders, the conspicuous waste of our most extravagant spendthrifts, the ideals and ambitions that inspire our ablest men and women, the dominating personalities of public life,—all these social forces which are ceaselessly playing on young life and moulding it, unconsciously, no doubt, but profoundly, have, as we say, a kick and a thrill and a drive in them which the moral lessons of the weary teacher in the little red school house or of the none too eloquent preacher in the pulpit can very seldom have. The greatest obstacle which organized religion and organized education meet in their efforts to mould the characters of the young towards moral ends is not the innate badness of young human nature but the vulgarity, the lust, the extravagance, the selfish greed, the corruption, the mob-mindedness, the intolerant bigotry, the reckless disregard for law, the narrow materialistic aims of that vague but real entity called the *General Public*. Night and day, summer and winter, year after year, the influence of the general public plays on the young mind, suggesting, tempting, exciting, insinuating but only too seldom restraining and disciplining and warning.

Especially along these lines is the influence of the general public today chilling and depressing to any moral idealism that the church and school may try to awaken in the young. For example, the desire for wealth may develop some of the personal virtues which I have mentioned above, such as courage, initiative, industry and thrift, but when it becomes extreme, as it tends to do, it makes against such personal virtues as temperance and self-control and against most of the social virtues already named. The wealth-lust in America is the moral educator's greatest obstacle. The glamor which the newspapers have thrown around our millionaires, the pictures of their homes and weddings and costumes and social doings which the illustrated weeklies carry, the sight of their sumptuous automobiles on the streets, the stories of their colossal gains on Wall Street, the deference which communities pay to their highly successful money-makers, the widespread feeling that if you cannot spend money freely you are a nobody—can we not see how all these things excite the imagination of the young and easily persuade them that to get money is far more important than to get wisdom and understanding? What are the worldly rewards of the scholar or the scientist or the artist in comparison with those of the successful business man? To express contempt for such men and women the word *highbrow* has been coined and the extent to which the word is used is an indication of the extent to which our cultural standards have been lowered by our wealth-lust and our craving for conspicuous display. That explains why a class in

the High School of a neighboring city voted no to the question: Should we set a legal limit to the amount of wealth anyone may accumulate? They explained to their teacher that they voted no because they wanted the chance to become rich men and women which their parents and grandparents had had. Such is the inevitable ambition of the young when the greatest passion of their elders is to make money largely and spend it freely. How can the still voice of a morality as expounded by a poorly paid teacher or preacher make itself heard amid the thunder of applause with which the general public greets the successful money-maker? The rewards which morality has to offer are bound to seem to the young very sober and drab and unexciting in comparison with the popularity and power and magnificence which vast wealth brings to most of its possessors. The moral educator will fight a hard uphill battle so long as our general philosophy of life appraises the mere accumulation of wealth as it does today.

Or again how can we be surprised at the sex-experimentation that is going on among the young of today, (according to the testimony of such men as Judge Ben Lindsey), when the newspapers of our great cities print day after day in the most conspicuous columns the stories of the sex-experimentation that is going on among their elders? What young and curious person who turns over the pages of the great dailies can fail to be familiar with the progressive legalized polygamy of the movie stars? These stories no doubt produce shame and disgust among the more mature and sober-minded readers, but in minds that are inexperienced and curious and eager for thrills they may awaken very different reactions. To the infidelities and sex-experiments of the motion picture artists we must add the suggestions of the pictures themselves. Everyone knows how the reticences and modesties which used to keep the sex-interest in the background of life have been torn away by the motion-picture. It need not be denied that the sex-interest was not sufficiently recognized in the past by educators, parents and preachers and that in consequence the young have been unduly kept in ignorance of their own powers and needs, but the mistakes of the past are not rectified by this vulgar laying bare of the privacies of life before the curious eyes of children and adolescents. The so-called legitimate drama and the sex-novel have also added their quota to this programme of sex-suggestion and sex-stimulation. The result of it all is that the young are sex-conscious far too soon and because of this premature expression of an easily excited impulse they find it more difficult to subject their minds to the tamer experiences of study and business and domestic responsibilities. In all probability the young of to-day are

not a bit more highly sexed than their parents and grandparents were but the stimuli that pour in upon them from the newspaper, the movie, the theatre and the novel awaken their sex-interest too soon and make it more feverish than it normally is when it is awakened, as it ought to be, by the natural ripening of the bodily organism and the social nature.

And, thirdly, consider what a disastrous handicap to the moral educator is the whole business of law-breaking and law-defying and lax law-enforcement and self-appointed law-enforcers which strikes at us from our daily papers. Obedience to law as an expression of the organized will of the community of which one is a member is an indispensable part of every moral character. This obedience to law is perfectly consistent with an effort to get rid of bad laws and to secure better ones; nevertheless obedience to significant laws, so long as they are laws, is the very reason for the existence of organized political society. It is the task of the moral educator to overcome the merely instinctive individualism of the young and train them for vital membership in society, and that job is hard enough under the best circumstances, but how immensely more difficult it becomes when the laws of society are flouted by many of its most conspicuous members, when the police force whose function it is to enforce the law connive at wrongdoing for a share of the profits of wrongdoing, when the bootlegger makes a fortune in a few years by breaking the law, when the enforcement of the law becomes so lax that even murderers are seldom made to suffer the penalties which the law lays down and when even Governors of states and members of the Federal cabinet use their privileged position as lawmakers or law enforcers to defeat the law by making money in illegal ways? When the general public itself is indifferent to law-flouting and law-breaking, how can we expect the admonitions and moral lessons of the teacher, however impressively delivered, to be effective with the average boy and girl?

I have not thrust these three phases of our general life upon your attention in any spirit of mere fault-finding or of hopeless pessimism. Censoriousness is one of my pet aversions and I am not pessimistic about our future. I have dwelt upon them because we cannot discuss intelligently the problem of the moral education of the young until we see clearly what the moral educator is up against. He is not up against an incurably bad human nature. Human nature never was, is not now and never will be incurably bad. The altruistic, the artistic, the intellectual and the religious impulses are just as natural and original to man as his egoistic and sensual impulses. What the moral educator is up against is a social environment which for historical, eco-

conomic, political and social reasons just now happens to stimulate unduly the sensuous, self-assertive and venturesome side of the nature of our young people.

Confronted by this sort of world what should our programme of moral education be? We need not go far afield for an answer. On such eternally important matters as morals we can add little to the wisdom of the ancients. Physics and chemistry and radio and all the mechanical inventions of recent years have no fresh insight into the moral life to offer us. We have not outgrown and will not outgrow the Wisdom Books of the Old Testament or the Ethics of Aristotle. And these teach us that moral education consists, first of all, in the inculcation of moral habits. Long before children are old enough to have moral heroes and long before their social natures have been completely awakened, they can be trained to moral habits and attitudes which will serve as a basis for the more personal morality that ought to come later. Here is where our modern home training and discipline have egregiously fallen down. We have inferred that, because the aristocracies and the old forms of religion took advantage of the plasticity and pliability of childhood and youth to inculcate habits, ideas and attitudes that merely perpetuated the dead or dying past, we of the democratic world ought to leave our children entirely free to grow and express themselves according to their own natural impulses, to find out things for themselves and to make all their own moral choices. It sounds like a liberal, big-hearted and large-minded attitude. People are so afraid of bringing undue pressure to bear upon young lives that they often refuse to bring any pressure whatsoever to bear. But no attitude could be more unsound psychologically or disastrous morally. As well might a horticulturist refuse to prune his apple tree because that would be to interfere with the course of nature. As well might we compel the children to start where the race started intellectually, make their own discoveries and inventions as they go along and learn only through their own errors and misjudgments. But we don't do that in the intellectual world. They are the heirs of all the ages and we help them to enter into their heritage. To all the discoveries of science, all the inventions of mechanics, to all the comforts and luxuries of travel and home life we introduce them as soon as we can. Why, then, should we refuse to hand on the moral experience of the past and allow the young to grow up as though ten thousand years of historical life had taught the human race nothing about living? It is the craziest idea, and the most illiberal, that any so-called liberal ever acted on. For sound physiological reasons the self-preservative or selfish impulses are more active at the beginning of human life than the social or moral impulses and if

the parents do not guide and mould the young life, the selfish impulses will crush the social ones when the time comes for the latter to ripen and be organized into character. The main moral task of parents is to help their children to grow out of the natural innocent selfishness of childhood and become socialized beings, sensitive to the praise and blame, the purposes and values of their community. And the way to do it is to insist on obedience, to make plain to them that they may not have all their natural desires crave for, to make them share their blessings with others, to enforce regularity in the performance of life's bodily functions, to make them responsible as they grow older for the faithful execution of some daily task, to teach them to respect those who are more experienced than themselves and, at every onward step of the way, to bring home to them that they are members of a community and that their life can be successful and happy only as they make the good of the community a real part of their own goal.

All these suggestions are as old, in idea if not in language, as the Book of Proverbs and Aristotle's Ethics, and therefore may seem out of date to those who despise the past because it had no automobiles, aeroplanes, radios, high explosive shells, big Berthas and submarines. But just as fresh air, wholesome food, bodily exercise and sound sleep are as necessary for our health now as they were four thousand years ago, in spite of all the brilliant advances of modern medicine and surgery, so with the old moral habits that served to socialize the natures of children in the past. They cannot become antiquated. Obedience, self-restraint, respect for elders, filial piety, punctuality, regularity, order, cleanliness of body, cleanness of speech—these simple moral habits lie at the basis of our associated life and they must be drilled into our children long before they are capable of a dramatic conversion-experience and long before they are able to make a personal choice as to what calling or profession or service they are to devote themselves to. If children grow up without them it is the fault of their parents or teachers and not their own.

In the second place, moral education consists in the actual experiencing of social relations and of the emotions that accompany them. In later life men and women must work together in the school, store, factory, foundry, railroad, publishing house, labor union, hospital, civil service, court room, legislative hall, army and navy, and in all these forms of associated life they need control of temper, habits of politeness and consideration, willingness to give and take, a sense of fair play and a capacity for team play, readiness to lead or follow as circumstances re-

quire, loyalty along with the right of free criticism and an intelligent appreciation of the social value of the service rendered.

Now, we can never train boys and girls into those virtues by merely talking about them. They must get the inner feel of them in actual experience. They must live the associated life, not in the economic and political groups to which they will later belong, but in the recreational and social groups which are becoming more and more popular today, such as the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, self-governing clubs, teams for the various games, religious societies, etc. If vital membership in groups is the great moralizing agency in life, and I believe it is, then all those organized movements among the young have immense moral significance. Within these groups they need for the most part the same qualities they will need in the more serious groups they must enter later on. They learn in play the same social attitudes that they must have in work. For play is more than recreation; it is initiation into co-operative effort and the sharing of a group mind. It is more than physical exercise or skill in a game; it is the training of the will to face difficult obstacles instead of following the line of least resistance. And when, as is the case with the Boy Scouts, the recreational group is not merely local but national and international, and the Scout has the feeling of membership in a world-wide organization, the social and moral value of such membership is greatly enhanced. No greater mistake was made by our Puritan ancestors than their failure to see the value of well-organized play as a moralizing and socializing agency. You cannot moralize boys and girls, as they thought to do, by mere repression or by the inculcation of moral precepts alone. The best preparation for moral participation in social, economic and political relations later on is the living experience of membership in recreational and other groups in early life.

Finally, though the inculcation of moral precepts and ethical truths is not the most vital part of moral education, it is still a real part. Mere ideas, even though they be moral ideas, need not issue in conduct. At the best they suggest and guide conduct rather than inspire it. But even to suggest and guide conduct is a good deal and the persistent presentation of moral ideas in the home and the school does provide the young with a standard by which they can estimate the moral worth of their own and other people's conduct. Especially is such teaching impressive when it is presented in connection with the lives of great moral heroes. Probably the greatest moral asset any nation has is its great men and women, living and dead. The moral life heroically lived by some one individual is the most eloquent sermon on moral values that can ever be preached to the young. Abraham Lincoln is worth more to us than a cartload of textbooks on ethics. Wash-

ington is a greater inspiration to patriotism than a thousand fourth of July orations. Jesus Christ is worth more to the world morally than all the theologians, fundamentalist or modernist, that have grown up around him. The greatest teacher of morality in a school or a college is the teacher whose own life is the most conspicuous embodiment of moral principles and the next best is the one who can interpret in the most moving and persuasive way the heroic elements in the lives of the great national leaders. We can teach mathematics and logic by means of abstract symbols, but not morals. One may read in the books on painting until he knows all the points in a good picture and the names and styles of all the greater painters, but if, when he stands before a real painting, his own emotional nature makes no response to its appeal, his reading has been of little avail. So in morals. The best test of one's moral education is not whether he can pass an examination on ethics but whether he can thrill to a genuinely heroic life and carry some of the hero's inspiration into his own conduct. Here there is an immense field for the teacher and preacher in the moral education of the young. No one race has had a monopoly of moral heroes nor is the value of a hero confined to his own people. The world lies before the moral teacher where to choose. His business is to choose those to whom he himself makes the most moving response and then to make them so live before the eyes of his pupils that they will feel the grandeur of moral personality and have their youthful capacity for hero-worship and discipleship kindled into life and vigorous activity. A moral maxim or formula is often as ineffective as a shell that fails to explode, but the same moral truth, made striking and glorious in a human life, not seldom breaks through the crust of indifference, shakes the soul of youth to its depths and summons it to a heroic battle for truth or justice or beauty.

Possibly some of you may think that I have been too broad and general in my treatment of this great theme and that I should have given far more time to the topics discussed in the last few pages. I can only reply that the moral education of the young, as I see it, cannot be treated apart from the particular social setting in which they live or apart from the general philosophy of life that is acted out by the older people of the community to which they belong. My strong conviction is that the greatest need in moral education in America today is a saner, quieter, more contemplative, more socialized philosophy of life than that on which most of us grown-ups are now acting.

ORGANIZED RELIGION AND WORLD PEACE

An Address Delivered in Meadville, March 9, 1925, on the Adin Ballou Foundation.

By Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, Ohio.

The task of establishing international peace and the machinery for the perpetuation of such a peace is an especial challenge to organized religion. Not only because peace is essentially a supreme ethical problem, decidedly within the social program of church and synagogue, but also because every great religion claims to have come into the world to effect peace.

Heretofore peace has been an ideal abstraction, and the church—by church of course I mean church and synagogue and every other form of organized religion—has been content to speak of it as an ultimate *desideratum*, a condition highly to be desired but so far removed as to be beyond the pale of practical and immediate concern. But necessity and the events of the last two or three generations have thrust this abstraction into the realm of *Realpolitik* and have turned it into the most pressing and perplexing problem of the day.

The church today is confronted with a choice. It can assume one of two rôles—the one of leadership or the one of pious irrelevancy. The church must decide whether it means to vindicate its historic claim to be the peacemaker of the world and aggressively to lead mankind along the hard—and it will be a hard—road to peace, or whether it will, as heretofore, more cautious than courageous, more shrewd than wise, refuse to enter the arena of struggle and content itself with the mechanical repetition of its age-old exhortations to peace and good will. Upon the decision of the church as to which of the two rôles it means to assume, depends, in a large measure, the future attitude of thinking men and women towards the church.

In the past the church alienated the loyalty and devotion of millions of men because of its refusal to participate in the economic and industrial adjustments made necessary by the new conditions of life. The church may again forfeit the loyalty of millions if it remains silent now on this inescapable moral issue. For thinking men and women must ultimately turn from an institution whose inspiration is solely of the past and in the past, and whose will is atrophied; an institution to which men cannot turn for guidance and inspiration in the troubling and harassing emergencies of their social existence.

It is my firm conviction that the church will assume leadership in the work of establishing international peace only when it will transcend the state. In the Middle Ages the church competed with the state. It laid claim to ultimate sovereignty in both temporal and spiritual affairs. The church insisted upon the identity of spiritual and civil power, and sought to establish itself as the supreme political arbiter. Of course it failed, as it was destined to fail. It was well that it did fail, for temporal power inevitably corrupts spiritual power, and enfeebles it.

With the Reformation the ascendancy of the state began. In the struggle between church and state the state emerged triumphant. The accent was placed upon national autonomy and ultimately upon national self-consciousness. This resulted in two things: First, the state was presumed to be morally self-sufficient. Public morality was not necessarily coterminous with private morality. The state alone was the source and criterion of national ethics. Secondly, the church having lost the rôle of competitor, assumed the rôle of ally. It became a state agency and this condition has continued to our own day.

In many countries the church is either an outright state-church or receives its subvention from the state. Even in democracies where the church does not receive financial support from the state it has so completely yielded itself up to the political philosophy of the state that it is content in most instances to underwrite the policies and programs of the state. If a state declares war the church will sanction it or condone it. If the state engages in imperialistic expansion and exploitation, the church will either endorse the act or, in pusillanimous worldliness, remain silent.

In thus becoming a tool of the state, the church has lost, to a great extent, its spiritual authority and its spiritual influence.

As long as the church does not rise above the state—not in the sense of endeavoring to master it or to control its political fortunes, but in the sense of freeing itself from an alignment which carries with it the endorsement of the state's political purposes and programs—so long will peace, the traditional and avowed ideal of the church, remain an abstraction. During the last war every church became a state church. The Christian church in Germany was German first and only secondarily, and by a wide stretch of the imagination, Christian. And that was true of almost all churches of Christendom and all synagogues of Jewry. The churches proved to be local shrines where tribal deities were worshipped.

Now religion is international in the finest and truest sense of that word. It is not opposed to nationalism, but it overleaps it. It does not concern itself with nationalism. It concerns itself

not with the temporary political units of men, but with man himself and with mankind. It goes beyond race and creed and governmental boundaries. Its domain is the world of common human needs and aspirations, of justice and peace and holiness. Its empire is of the universal spirit.

When religion speaks of these basic things its voice is listened to and men obey. But when it loses its own prophetic voice and becomes an echo of the state, of ingrown nationalism, or of *radicalism*, it ceases to be a force in the work of human rehabilitation.

The church must be the guide, the critic and the censor of the state, not its tool and its propaganda channel. It will then be able to render two distinct services to the cause of peace.

It will be in a position to create a real temperament for peace, a "peaceful frame of mind", a will to peace. Peace is not altogether a question of economics. Nations do not make war or establish peace prompted solely by economic urgencies. Man does not live by bread alone and nations do not wage war for bread alone. Many other factors, psychological and historical, enter into every situation. If religion can free itself from the shackles which in the past have tied it to the organism we call the state, if religion can be itself again, independent, true to its own inspiring mission, speaking fearlessly and passionately, it can set about kindling the imagination of mankind with the ideal of peace. It can fire the souls of men. It once set armies in motion, crusading to the Holy Land, by sowing a glowing mystic fervor among men for that land. If religion can become imperial again, uttering its own revelations, it can imbue men and women with a passionate, ardent love for peace. It will touch and consecrate the souls of youth with the matchless ideal of peace. It will create a will to peace!

Whenever the state will declare a Defense Day, organized religion will declare a Peace Day. Whenever the state will declare a Navy Day, organized religion will declare a World Court Day. Whenever the state, through a group of political illiterates, will hurl a gratuitous and unwarranted insult at a friendly nation like Japan, organized religion will declare that day a day of national mourning, even as it was a day of national humiliation for Japan. Thus aggressively and persuasively organized religion will create a peace dogma among men and a new sacrament.

This is the first service which the church will be in position to render. The other service is the focusing of the attention of men upon the *machinery* for effecting peace. It is not enough to cry peace, peace, when there is no peace. The church must call the attention of men to the agencies, however provisional, however rudimentary, which promise to bring peace, if only one step, nearer.

No people will disarm unless and until it feels itself secure. Back of all international competitive armament is fear, fear of aggression, fear of being unable to resist aggression. Until the nations of the world are assured of a competent international agency which will protect them against unjustified and sudden aggression, they will not, they cannot, they should not disarm.

The church must be on the alert to discover and, if necessary, to bring into existence such an agency. If the existing League of Nations is inadequate or if in our country it does not seem to answer all our requirements, then the church must turn to other agencies or must devise them. There should be no hesitancy on the part of the church at the present time to endorse the World Court and to invoke the conscience of the American people in its behalf. This accomplished, let the church advance to the next station on the way to the ultimate goal, leading, not following, a church militant and adventurous, not timid and bated and wistful.

This program which I have briefly outlined is not an easy program. It is extremely difficult. Christianity must orient itself anew. Christianity began its career preaching pacifism. At the behest of empire it abandoned the ideal of pacifism. It gained in prestige, but lost in leadership.

It may well be that pacifism is an ideal not adapted to the Western World. Pacifism is after all the religion of the spiritual elite, the aristocracy of saintliness, and the Western World has not produced a sufficient number of such saintly souls to be a determining influence in the affairs of the world. The Western temperament seems to be activist. The Western mind believes in progress and salvation through combating evil. It prefers active resistance to active or passive non-resistance.

Furthermore, the pacifistic and communistic ethics of primitive Christianity was for a world in *extremis*, a world about to end in cataclysm to be miraculously reconstructed on a scheme of absolute perfection. Evolution has supplanted eschatology in our day so that the ancient indurate code is not fit for a world progressing by evolutionary rather than revolutionary stages.

If this is true, then Christianity ought to take cognizance of this fact of racial psychology and historical science and adjust itself to it. It should surrender in theory what it has been compelled to surrender in fact. It should proclaim an activist program of social regeneration, thereby saving itself from that spiritual dichotomy, the glaring contrast between profession and practice, which has heretofore stultified its will.

Judaism faces another difficulty. The synagogue as an organization has played a very small rôle in bringing about world peace. The Jew, the world over, is prayerfully yearning for peace. No nation suffers as much from war as does the Jew.

Witness the tragedies which the last war brought to his door. Judaism, too, has a marvellous tradition of peace which was first fashioned in the souls of its great seers. Yet the Jew is so situated in the world, and his position is so insecure, that in some lands he must perforce refrain from aggressive work in behalf of peace lest his sincere and earnest endeavors be interpreted by his enemies and traducers as manifestations of disloyalty and treason. The Jew has been compelled in self-defense to be wary lest his devotion to the cause of peace bring suffering and disabilities upon him.

The Jew, however, must realize that this is his cross and his crown and his immortality. It is only by such independence of spirit that he can vindicate his claim to a separate existence, and to his professed prophetic mission. If his rôle is to be the rôle of a prophet, then he must submit to the tribulations which fall to the share of the prophet. The Jew must rediscover his prophetic voice and at the cost of being misunderstood, of being maligned, of being damned as a traitor, he must speak his soul. "Peace, peace, unto those that are near and unto those that are far off."

Christian and Jew alike must remember that peace will not come as a radiant maiden bearing gifts. Peace will come if it ever comes at all, as a man of sorrows, spat upon and mocked. Like unto every great ideal of mankind peace must first travel the thorny road of frustration, defeat and sorrow ere it can reach the goal of consummation and triumph. Herein is the challenge to heroic deeds and sacrificial loyalty. Herein lies the redemptive ministry of organized religion in the world today.

What Is Happening to the American Home

By
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver



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By RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

ONE might select a sufficiently imposing array of facts from contemporary life to draw the conclusion that the American home is doomed. Many an earnest moralist has been led to this conclusion by a marshalled array of such facts. One should, however, guard himself against the subtle danger of generalization.

If we were writing a book on American Life we might readily collect six or seven striking phases of American Life, and on the basis of these we could build an argument which would be altogether true as far as the facts included, but altogether false as far as the facts omitted. We could write of America as the land of appalling crime and lawlessness, of political corruption, of intense industrial strife, of glaring economic inequality, the land where more than a million and a half children are still exploited in industry, where millions of men are disenfranchised and segregated because of their color, and where lynching, in some quarters, is still a popular pastime.

This would all be true, and yet, if these were the only facts used, our picture of America would be altogether false and misleading. To give a complete view of American Life we would have to include much more which would undoubtedly temper the sharp asperity of these facts. We would have to write of America as the land of remarkable opportunity where workingmen enjoy a standard of living higher than that of any other country in the world, the land of universal

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popular education, of countless philanthropic enterprises and highly developed agencies for social service. We would have to include all this and much more in order to present a complete and faithful picture of America. And so it is with the American home. To form a judgment of the average American home based solely on the numerous instances of impermanence and indefinitely which obtrude themselves upon our attention or are chronicled in the public press, is altogether unwarranted. The millions of American homes are still sound. Love and fidelity and the spirit of self-sacrifice have not yet entirely vanished from the dwelling places of our people, and around millions of firesides the sanctities of life still hover. There are still vast reserves of spiritual and moral strength in the American home and one need not anticipate its early liquidation. The affections which build a home are grounded in the very nature of man, and as long as men and women live upon this earth, so long will they build homes and families, and so long will the virtues of mutual solicitude, faithfulness and loyalty abide with them.

On the other hand, it would be the sheerest folly to assume that all is well with the American home. All is not well with the American home. The American home is in ferment. It is passing through the preliminary stages of a new adjustment made necessary by the new conditions of life, and like all adjustments, it is attended by pain, suffering and tragedy.

The American home is being attacked by new social, economic and intellectual forces, and it has not yet perfected the strategy with which to meet the new conditions.

Before the industrial revolution, the home was an economic unit. Husband, wife and children were economically inter-dependent. To-day millions of women earn their own living and millions of young people, too, support themselves. Economic pressure, in many instances, is no longer sufficiently compelling to maintain the integrity of the family group. Factors, other than material, must now be counted upon, to a degree

even greater than in the past, to preserve the solidarity of the home.

The industrial revolution brought about a growing democratization of social life. The dogma of obedience to authority yielded to the dogma of the inalienable rights of man. In political life this led to a revolt against the exclusive authority of king or ruling class. In industrial life it led to a revolt against the arbitrary domination of the employer of labor. In the home it led to a revolt against the autocratic organization of family life; for up to quite recently wife and children possessed no rights whatever in the home, other than those which love and affection bestowed, and where these were absent, they possessed no rights at all.

To-day both legal and moral sanctions have radically changed the social pattern of the home. Paternal and parental authority has given way to the asseverated individualism on the part of the individual members of the household. Each one claims and exercises the right to live his or her own life. There has accordingly ensued a disruptive centrifugence in the home. In domestic life, no less than in political life, men have yet to educate themselves into the full implications of freedom. Freedom without the voluntary assumption of obligations, without sharing burdens and making sacrifices, is no freedom at all, but the sheerest anarchy. The American home will have to pass through a very long and severe process of re-orientation before it can become the home of truly free men.

Another factor which tends to undermine the stability of the American home is wealth. A hundred years ago there were very few rich people in the United States. We were then a nation of struggling, hard-working pioneers. To-day there are exceedingly many rich families in our midst. And the wealth of those days was not at all comparable to the opulence of our day.

Intrinsically, wealth is no greater evil than poverty. It is no less difficult for the poor man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven than for the rich man. Involuntary poverty has never ennobled a man and national penury has never produced a great civilization. Poverty en-

slaves while wealth enervates. Neither is without its baleful possibilities. Hence the irrefutable wisdom of that ancient prayer: "Give me neither poverty nor riches."

Wealth undermines character, saps moral vitality and increases temptation a hundredfold. Tens of thousands of American women of the upper and middle classes are pampered and over-indulged. Wealth has brought them leisure but not the knowledge how to use that leisure purposefully. Children of the well-to-do are denied the upbuilding discipline of struggle and the spiritual satisfactions of making their own way in the world. They are early surfeited with those comforts and luxuries which, at best, should come only as the reward of years of labor and achievement. Wealth has brought moral slovenliness into the lives of many men and distorted their spiritual perspectives.

As a people we shall have to train ourselves to withstand the corrosive influences of wealth and long-continued prosperity. "Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked." The American home has been rudely shaken by this fractious wealth-gorged contumacy of our age. We shall need to learn the creative usages of leisure, the moral mandates of wealth and the salutary offices of restraint and self-control. It is against the opiate of prosperity which deadens the moral sensitiveness of a people that we shall have to guard ourselves in the future. We are the richest nation in the world to-day, and the richest nations were always the first to succumb to moral decadence. Some nations have had to surmount the handicap of poverty. We shall have to surmount the handicap of wealth.

Another factor which has been making for the demoralization of the American home is the neopaganism which came in the wake of the last war. War is the enemy of all morality. Especially is it the enemy of the home. War takes men away from their homes and their normal environments where traditions, moral habits and public opinion exert a restraining influence upon their conduct, and transports them to a world of stress, tension and emotional excitation, where sexual laxity becomes almost inevitable. Simultaneous-

ly other moral disciplines are relaxed. During war the spirit of "eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die," becomes the dominant motif of life. When war ends, the hedonistic fatalism of war does not end with it. It is carried over beyond the armistice into peace time ways of life and thought. Whatever we witness to-day of the cheapening and the vulgarization of life, of moral shoddiness and the bewildering capriciousness of "flaming youth" that shock and startle us, is simply the muddy backwash of the saturnalia of war.

There is a great clamoring abroad in our land to-day for the individual's right to happiness. This is a mischievous doctrine, for it makes the individual man, rather than the collective man, the measure of all things and the individual's concept of personal happiness the sole criterion of moral values. Man possesses no rights other than the right to do right. No man has a right to happiness which is not at the same time socially desirable. The happiness of the individual is, to be sure, an end in social ethics but not the only end. There are other ends to which individual happiness must frequently be subordinated. Few things are as dear to a man as his own life, and yet at the behest of patriotic duty, in defense of one's country, or at the behest of some other high mandate men will sacrifice their lives and all their chances of happiness. Men speak glibly to-day of man's duty to express himself, forgetting that man's first duty is to perfect himself. Often men express their lowest selves and are not even aware of their higher selves. Self-expression is the last, not the first, stage in moral evolution.

People to-day are much more frank and intelligent in their discussions of the subject of sex. This biologic fact is no longer considered taboo. But there are those who confuse knowledge with sanction, and an understanding of the laws of nature with the privilege to play fast and loose with the code of moral conduct which society has painstakingly built upon those laws.

The American people will not long tolerate a neo-paganism alien to its essential genius. American civilization is Hebrew and Christian, not pagan. Its character has been molded by centuries of wholesome

moral living, and it will not easily succumb to the passing aberrations of our day. For the moment it is slyly amused by the strummings and capers of the new pagans, by the exotic quality and foreign flavor of their pronouncements. Soon it will lose patience with them and a thorough house-cleaning will then ensue.

The Elizabethan era was an era very much like our own. It was brought about by the same conditions of war and victory. The age went on a moral rampage, but the sanity of the English people soon asserted itself. The Puritan reaction followed, and, in spite of its rigoristic excesses, it proved a sobering and corrective influence in the life of the nation.

The American people know that all the demands which are being put forward for looser ties within the home, for easier divorce, trial marriage, companionate marriage or free love are not the progressive claims of a morally advancing social order. They are the atavistic hankerings after lower forms of human relationships with which the human race experimented centuries ago and which were finally rejected because they were found wanting. They did not call forth the strongest and noblest qualities in man. They were accordingly discarded. Far from rendering the lives of men and women freer and happier, as it is fatuously assumed by some in our day, these loose forms of association were found to cheapen and embitter life, to rob it of its dignity, to reduce sex to its lowest common physical denominator and to endanger the spiritual education of the offspring. "The monogamous family," declared Professor Jennings on the basis of his biologic researches, "with its lifelong union of mates, appears as the final term of a long evolutionary series." Here again science is confirming the intuitive postulates of religion which long ago raised marriage to a sacrament and declared monogamy to be the ideal union upon which to build the noblest family life.

Some social reformers, aware of the undermining of family morality which is going on apace in our land, have proposed a radical revision of the institution of marriage. The logic of their position seems to be that you can sublimate immorality by legalizing it. By

implication one is led to infer also that all moral evils are institutional in their origin and can therefore be corrected by some drastic institutional reorganization. This is a naïve and faulty doctrine.

When men have not the courage to blame themselves for their failings they blame their institutions. It is easier by far and much pleasanter to saddle an impersonal institution with the delinquencies of an age than to point the indicting finger at oneself. Our age is too busy money-grubbing to attend properly to the duties of citizenship, and so we put all the onus of our political corruption upon our democratic institutions. It is democracy, not we, that has failed. We are too engrossed in the pursuit of material comforts and pleasures to be interested in the cultivation of our spiritual life, and so we blame our religious institutions. The Church is at fault. Men and women lack the strength of character to welcome the restraints of pure family life and prefer the laxities of indulgence and self-pampering. The fault is not with them but with the institution of marriage.

We are likewise frequently deceived by obsolescent ideas tricked out in the youthful livery of pseudo-scientific modernity. The primitivist Nietzsche captivated a generation by investing an archaic jungle ethics with the garniture of brilliant metaphysical paradoxes. The form was new. The substance was of the fossilized deposits of civilization long since outworn.

Thus many anarchic human cravings to-day are demanding reinstatement and social respectability on the strength of new and pretentious psycho-analytical revelations. Like every new and unrectified science, psychoanalysis has given rise to a host of preposterous moral vagaries. A weird and appalling mass of fictions is now parading as indisputable truth of mental hygiene. The psychology of the abnormal is assumed to be norm for the normal. The psychic evils of morbid inhibitions are arguments employed against self-restraint in sexual life and in behalf of moral temperamentalism. Men use a new terminology and believe themselves to be masters of a new truth. There is

nothing new in these undisciplined appetites of men under whatever pretext they proclaim themselves. They offer no new recipe for human happiness. They lead inevitably to spiritual degeneration and social disaster.

Religion has long known this. It therefore refuses to be impressed by the heathen ragings of our day. Its wisdom is the cumulative wisdom of the ages. Its moral theses have been tested by time and are grounded in the millennial experiences of the race. It is not an amateur in matters of human relations. It has lived intimately with man through vast cycles of time, and it has learned to understand him critically, to judge him sympathetically and to guide him steadfastly along the narrow way of self-discipline. In a world of shifting standards, of moral drift and confusion, religion proclaims to-day, as of yore, its few simple, strong, unalterable convictions touching the basic sanctities of human life.

Marriage, it maintains, is holy ground. One should approach it reverently. It is a spiritual experience, the most critical and decisive in human life. Judaism calls marriage "kiddushin"—sanctification. It sanctifies the privilege of sharing in creative life. Through its portals men and women enter the realm of their immortality. The sex-life of men and women is an expression of the divine creative impulse throbbing through all the universe. It is neither evil nor degrading. It is noble and beautiful. Only other-worldly, apocalyptic religions preached asceticism, conceived of man's physical life as inherently wicked and demanded the mortification of the flesh as the price of spiritual salvation. Social religions sanctified the sex-life of man, and called marriage a sacrament. Marriage is not an arrangement of convenience, physical or financial, to be entered into at will and dissolved at whim. The ordinary standards of convenience which apply to the commonplace relationships of men cannot be applied to this basic human relationship. It is a holy covenant between two souls pledged to revere one another, to face life's tasks together, sorrow, struggle and disillusionment, to be each other's complement, to

build a home and to shield and love the offspring of their union. The integrity of the family rather than the chance happiness of the individual is the primary concern. Men and women must learn to look upon the conflicts incidental to the adjustment of personalities within the marriage bond as the very stepping-stones upon which they are to rise to the higher levels of self-completion. The more the institution of marriage is secularized, the less of a potent, mystic spiritual experience it will prove. Divorces will continue to increase apace and broken homes; for a broken home is, first and foremost, evidence of a broken faith, of a lost reverence.

The rôle of the father in the home is more than that of material provider. He is the priest officiating at the high altars of God. He is teacher, counselor, guide. He must be the worthy object of youth's adoration and emulation.

The rôle of the mother in the home is more than that of administrator. The Bible speaks of "the Torah of thy mother"—the spiritual instruction of mothers. The lips of the mother should impart the profoundest truths of life and human conduct, reverence, purity and nobility, to the developing mind of childhood.

The rôle of the child in the home is not that of a pampered object of universal solicitude. The child must be trained into the obligations of coöperative living. He must be made aware that he is a member of a group and that group life implies duties and restraints. Social life is possible only if there exists a balance between liberty and discipline. There are rules of the game which he did not make and which he cannot break with impunity. The "lunatic fringe" of modern pedagogy and child-care has been responsible for most strange and fantastic methods of child-rearing in many American homes. The child is permitted to exploit and terrorize the home for fear of having its individuality repressed, whereas this very non-co-operative individuality inherent in all children should be corrected very early in childhood before society gets a chance to suppress it ruthlessly and painfully. There is an individualism which destroys the individual.

The home itself, religion maintains, is a spiritual entity. It is built out of the imponderable things of the spirit. Loyalties, memories, imagination, sacrifices, joy, laughter and tears build a home. Reverence, modesty, tact and delicacy sustain it. The home is a sanctuary, and across its portals should forever remain inscribed in letters of living flame: "Verily this is the House of God and this is the Gate of Heaven."

These religious conceptions of marriage, home and family life are exalted but not unreal and impossible. They are not "too bright or good for human nature's daily food." They are the ideals lifted high, toward which men should aspire. They cannot always be reached, but religion nevertheless sets the goal and prescribes the direction. Religion can understand and forgive personal lapses and failures, but it cannot draw in the goal or lower the moral requirements for admission to the kingdom of moral perfection.



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ISRAEL

A Paper on the Declaration of Principles adopted by
the Pittsburgh Rabbinical Conference in 1885, read
before the Annual Convention of the Central Conference
of American Rabbis in Chicago, Ill., on June 27, 1935

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ISRAEL

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I shall devote myself principally to a discussion of paragraph 5 of the Declaration of Principles adopted by the Pittsburgh Rabbinical Conference in 1885 which reads as follows: "We recognize, in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect, the approaching of the realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice, and peace among all men. We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state."

This declaration is noteworthy in that it was the first of its kind ever made by an assembly of Jewish religious leaders, lay or cleric. No similarly constituted conference anywhere in the whole history of Israel up to that time declared categorically: "We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community." Individual Reform Rabbis, like Geiger and Holdheim and many others, did of course, prior to 1885, proclaim this thesis time and again. But it is significant that even the Frankfort Conference of 1845 which was dominated by the extreme left wing of the German Reform movement contented itself with a resolution that: "The Messianic idea should receive prominent mention in the prayers, but all petitions for our return to the land of our fathers, and for the restoration of a Jewish state should be eliminated from the prayers."

It is, of course, one thing to say that it is desirable, for one reason or another, for the Jewish people to remain where they are and not

to strive after national restoration in Palestine; Galut nationalists of the Dubnow School, the proletarian Yiddishists of Soviet Russia and many others besides anti-Zionist Reform Rabbis would subscribe to such a doctrine. It is quite another thing to announce that: "We consider ourselves no longer a nation but a religious community."

Rabbi Wechsler, for example, clearly grasped this difference which seems to have escaped the notice of so many of his Reform colleagues of that day. He, too, was opposed to the Restoration idea but he nevertheless maintained that we were a people united not merely by religious ties but also by racial and national ties and by historical experiences commonly shared. (See S. Bernfeld, —תולדות הרפורם— ציון הדתית Cracow, 1900, p. 49, note.)

It is quite possible that if a set of principles had been adopted by the Frankfort Conference, or by its predecessor, the Brunswick Conference of 1844, a declaration similar to the one of the Pittsburgh Conference would have been adopted. But their very reluctance to adopt such a declaration of principles is itself significant.

The Philadelphia Conference of 1869 was the first to formulate a platform of Reform Judaism. This declaration likewise does not contain the creed of national abjuration found in the Pittsburgh platform. The theologic cosmopolitanism of the framers of the Philadelphia constitution of Reform Judaism found sufficient peace of mind in the avowal that: "The Messianic aim of Israel is not the restoration of the old Jewish state under a descendant of David, involving a second separation from the nations of the earth. . . . We look upon the destruction of the second Jewish commonwealth not as a punishment for the sinfulness of Israel, but as a result of the divine purpose revealed to Abraham, which, as has become ever clearer in the course of the world's history, consists in the dispersion of the Jews to all parts of the earth, for the realization of their high priestly mission, to lead the nations to the true knowledge and worship of God."

The early Reform Rabbis of America were certainly more eager to formulate Principles and Declarations than were their confreres in Germany. They did not shrink from dogmatic pronouncements, nor did the old adage of Erasmus—*omnis definitio periculosa est*—discourage them. The fact that they had to reckon with far fewer restraints

in the New World, traditional or institutional, and with an inchoate Jewish community and a minimum of local Jewish history, undoubtedly gave wing to their spacious and care-free theologic depositions. What impresses one, however, is the fact that it was in the United States, of all countries, where such a declaration on the subject of Jewish nationalism as one finds in the Pittsburgh platform was made. One cannot account for it except on the basis of its being an importation, an exotic plant brought to these shores by immigrant Rabbis from Germany and transplanted here without any particular reference to soil or climate. For there was nothing in the American Jewish scene in the eighties that made such a declaration urgent or significant. There was no political pressure from without, no need to placate organized anti-Semitic forces, no necessity to purchase political equality through any public renunciation of earlier ways of life and thought. Nor was there visible any strong nationalist movement among the American Jews of those days. One can readily understand the political motives behind such formal surrender of Jewish nationalism made by some Jews who lived in Germany during the period of struggle for emancipation and equality in the nineteenth century, and by some groups of Jews in Russia in the eager, hopeful years of the early reign of Alexander II. But why in America?

The Reform movement in Germany did not originate in any great outpouring of spirit, or in any outburst of religious fervor or revivalism. Hence, while producing a vigorous polemic and *Wissenschaft* literature, it produced no great theologic or mystic literature. It was part of a comprehensive purpose to adjust Jewish life pragmatically to its new environment. It was a conscious expedient, not to reinstate prophetic universalism in Jewish religious thought—that was rationalization—but to gain for the Jew full rights of citizenship by producing the proper effect upon the civil authorities. It was assumed, albeit erroneously, that Jewish separatism, manifested in speech, dress, folkways, rituals and ceremonies and in the Messianic expectation of a return to Palestine, was responsible for the non-Jews' suspicion and hostility and for their reluctance to concede to Jews full political equality. The accusations of the cruder and less sophisticated anti-Semites of that day lent credence to that assumption. The solution, accordingly, lay in a thorough-going eradication

of all evidences of separatism. For some Jews this meant total assimilation, apostasy not excluded. For others assimilation stopped short of religious surrender but religion purged of all nationalistic elements.

The process began in the *Aufklärung* era whose symbol is Moses Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn was, of course, neither a reformer nor an anti-nationalist. He was a humanist who sought to find a place for the religiously observant Jew in the political and intellectual milieu of Western European civilization. But under the influence of the rationalism and cosmopolitanism of his day and in his eagerness to persuade the German people of the Jew's qualifications for citizenship, he "neutralized" Judaism theologically by denying its unique and challenging character as a system of beliefs and restricted it to the status of a revealed law or divine legislation which was in no way in conflict with the law of the land. He, furthermore, passed over in silence, though perhaps not intentionally, the *national* character of the Jewish people. Nationalism, be it remembered, was in Mendelssohn's day not a fully developed concept and the idea of separate nationalities within a state was not quite as repugnant and sinister as it became later. Nevertheless Mendelssohn's thesis that theology is a private matter and that Judaism is nothing more than a revealed code of laws, largely ceremonial, and his reticence touching the *national* destiny of Israel was seized upon by contemporaries as justification for assimilation. It was but one step, regardless of its logical *non-sequitur*, from the position taken by Mendelssohn to that of his friend and admirer, David Friedländer, who in the *Epistle of Several Jewish Fathers to Councilor Teller* offered to accept Christianity if certain doctrines such as the Trinity were eliminated. Dorothea Mendelssohn, after her conversion to Christianity, felt justified in saying that her father, if he had been alive, would not have been saddened by her act. This first generation of *enlightened* Berlin, Frankfurt and Viennese Jews were convinced that their political and social salvation lay in deorientalizing and Germanizing themselves, in making themselves *like* other people in order to be accepted as equals by other people. Of course they were naive. In the land of the poll-tax where Jew-hatred had always been the most vulgar, violent, and sustained in all Europe, they permitted them-

selves to indulge in wishful thinking. They might have been cautioned by the cool admonitions of some of their Christian contemporaries who advised them, as Teller deftly advised Friedländer, not to confound Jewish efforts at *religious modernization* with the hope of political equality. Schleiermacher, the non-Jew, grasped the Jewish problem far more realistically and fundamentally than did the German Jews of his day. He warned them that the important difference between them and the non-Jewish world was not religious but national. It took the German Jews a century and a half to reconcile themselves finally to this unyielding fact.

The *national* character of the Jewish problem became evident within a few years after the French Revolution. In the superb exaltation of the Revolution the rights of citizenship were granted to the Jews of France. But when the revolutionary ardor had abated, grumblings and mutterings were soon heard against them. An anti-Semitic literature made its appearance. A particularly violent outburst of Jew-hatred made itself manifest in the German-speaking French province of Alsace. The attitude of Napoleon was anything but friendly to the Jews. He was considering the revocation or curtailment of their civil rights. The real motive which prompted the convocation of the Assembly of Jewish notables in Paris in 1806—the forerunner of the Sanhedrin—was to cross-examine the Jews of France, to discover whether they were one hundred percent patriotic and deserving of the citizenship which the Revolution had bestowed upon them. The questionnaire submitted to the Assembly was to ferret out some possible excuse for the abrogation of their rights. Thus the sixth question read: "Do the Jews who are natives of France and are treated as French citizens by the law look upon France as their Fatherland?" The fourth question read: "Do the Jews consider the French their brethren or do they look upon them as aliens?"

The Assembly, of course, affirmed that the Jews of France regarded France as their Fatherland, and all Frenchmen as their brothers. They loudly proclaimed their loyalty to France and their readiness to defend her at all costs. They did not feel called upon, however, as did the Rabbis of the Pittsburgh Conference who were neither solicited for an opinion, nor were hard-pressed politically, to

declare that the Jews were not a nation, only a religious community. Nor did they deny the hope of national restoration as did the all-too-zealous German reformers a few decades later.

But it was clear from the very fact that such an assembly had been convoked, and such questions asked that *nationalism* would from then on be the central fact of Jewish experience not only in France, but everywhere as soon as the Jews left their ghettos and reached out for civil and political rights. As in Germany, so also in France, there were Jews who met the increasing nationalist sentiments in their environment with a corresponding modulation of their own, although there did not transpire any such thorough-going religious reform movement among the French as among the German Jews. France was Catholic, religiously orthodox. There was no popular Protestant movement for the Jews of France to model themselves after.

Most marked, however, were the anti-nationalist tendencies among German Jews because German anti-Semitism was far more virulent and uncompromising, and German nationalism, following the War of Liberation, far more intense and jaundiced. The opposition to the political emancipation of the Jews in Germany was bitter and relentless throughout the nineteenth century, continuing into the twentieth and achieving a complete victory under the Nazi regime in our day. Rising like a miasma from the poisoned soil of the Dark Ages, Jew-hatred has swept uninterruptedly like a pestilential plague through German life and literature, infesting masses and classes alike, poisoning the hearts and minds of liberals as well as reactionaries, of poets, philosophers, statesmen, historians, musicians and churchmen. The venomous anti-Jewish Nazi propaganda literature of the last fifteen years drew its inspiration, program and slogans from the prolific school of Jew-baiting preachers, pundits and pamphleteers of the Bismarckian era, and they, in turn, derived their leading ideas from their precursors in the post-Napoleonic era, whose mentor and model was the liberal, anti-clerical philosopher Fichte whose attitude is summed up in his statement: "The only way I see by which civil rights can be conceded to them (Jews) is to cut off all their heads in one night and set new ones on their shoulders, which shall contain not a single Jewish idea. The only means of protecting

ourselves against them is to conquer their promised land and send them there." The Nazi cry, *Juda Verrecke*, is the authentic echo of the *Hep, Hep*, cry shouted by frenzied mobs in the streets of Frankfurt and Hamburg a century and more before. There is an unbroken line of ideologically formulated, metaphysically sanctioned and artistically embellished Judeophobia in Germany, centuries old, unmatched anywhere else in the world. It was in such a milieu that the Jews of Germany lived and struggled for their civil and political rights. If, therefore, Jewish lay and religious leaders of the reform group, and also of some of the Germanized orthodox and conservative groups attempted to throw overboard all the racial and national baggage of Israel in the fond hope of calming this sea of hate, if they believed that they could exorcise anti-Semitism by professions of patriotism, and in an age of *crescendo* nationalism, could solve the Jewish problem by a corresponding *diminuendo* in Jewish nationalism, one can understand their plight and forgive their blindness, whereas one finds it difficult to account for the action of American reformers except on the grounds suggested above.

The Russian Jewish intelligentsia of the sixties and seventies resorted to the self-same unavailing tactics in a land in which there was far less literary anti-Semitism than in Germany, and in which the educated classes of society were definitely pro-Jewish. The anti-national incantation which Holdheim chanted in Germany to appease the intolerant spirits of German nationalism, Pinsker, for example, chanted in Russia for many years before tragic, disillusioning events forced him upon the long hard road which leads from assimilation to auto-emancipation. Many others among the best minds of Russian Jewry believed that in thorough Russification and assimilation lay the hope of ultimate salvation. They advocated the use of the Russian language and the abandonment both of Yiddish and Hebrew. At most they conceded a minimal religious distinctiveness. The idea of a Jewish national renaissance, or the reconstruction of a Jewish homeland in Palestine was to them both fantastic and unwelcome. It was too reactionary an idea to entertain in an age of enlightenment when a favoring breeze filled their sails and they felt themselves carried along to the delectable harbor of liberty and equality. It was too reactionary an idea and too illogical. But

history has a logic of her own. A sharp reaction set in under the same Liberator Czar Alexander II, and in 1871, the Jews of Russia sampled the gall and bitterness of a pogrom. The pogrom of 1871 and the more extensive and brutal pogroms of 1881 broke the back of assimilation in Russia. The solution clearly did not lie in the formula, "Russians of the Mosaic Persuasion." In 1882 the *Chovevei Zion* appear on the scene. In the same year the converted Pinsker publishes his *Auto-Emancipation*. Russian Jewry sets about solving its problems through self-help, through mass emigration to other lands, through the upbuilding of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, through national concentration and cultural revival, and through revolutionary economico-political agitation and action in an effort to break the power of the hostile reactionary regime.

German Jewry might have learned the same lesson in the seventies when the great reaction set in and anti-Semitism flared up again. Treitschke, Bernhardi, Stöcker, Dürer, Marr, Mole,—all the fore-runners of the present-day Nazis—told them exactly how the German people felt about the Jews and why and what the German people would do to them when the hour of decision arrived. But the German Jews continued in their ineluctable optative mood, confident as was Rabbi Auerbach at the Rabbinical Conference of Frankfort, that: "In our day the ideals of justice and the brotherhood of men have been so strengthened through the laws and institutions of modern states, *that they can never again be shattered*. We are witnessing an ever nearer approach of the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth through the strivings of mankind (quoted from Philipson's *The Reform Movement in Judaism*, p. 178). This was uttered in Frankfort in 1845. Frankfort of 1935 is of course a sad and discouraging refutation of all this apocalyptic romancing in which German Jewry immersed itself in those days. The catastrophe of 1933 broke the back of assimilation in Germany. The whole improvised philosophy of Jewish history which is expressed in the doctrine that we are not a nation but a religious community has proved bankrupt and has been liquidated in the very home of its origin.

While the leaders of German Jewry, with the exception of course of the small but distinguished group of nationally-minded thinkers

of the type of Moses H. H. H., Bodenheimer, Franz Oppenheimer, Wolffsohn, Ruppin, Hantke, Otto Warburg and Martin Buber, talked to unheeding Gentile ears about the unoffending status of the Jews as only another religious sect who in all other regards were *Echt-und-Nur-Deutschen*, the Germans were reading and absorbing the nationalistic theses and the Aryan race mythologies of Chamberlain, Friedrich Delitzsch, Günther and Rosenberg and the relentless processes of history, made *race* and *nation* the order of the day in Germany. In their name and at their behest the Jews of Germany have been disfranchised, stripped of all their hard-won gains of a century and a half, and degraded as few Jewish communities have ever been degraded in the last two thousand years. And now the Jews of Germany, except those of the small and pathologically chauvinistic Naumannian group, are meeting the crisis of their inner and outer lives in the same way as their Russian brethren a half century before—a strong national revival, the rediscovery of the cultural heritage of their own people, Palestine, emigration and presumably also, such underground political action as their stoutest spirits dare to resort to.

It would have been far better for the Jews of Germany if they had kept alive a strong national self-consciousness. They would then have faced the Nazi attack as a clash between national groups within a political state—something quite common in Central and Eastern Europe, and their defeat would have been regarded by them as a political defeat and not as the loss of their entire patrimony, as banishment from their one and only cultural and spiritual home, **בְּלֹא מַעַל שְׁלַחַן אֲבִיהֶם**.

How confidently Ludwig Geiger of Berlin proclaimed thirty years ago: "Any desire to form, together with his coreligionists, a people outside of Germany is, not to speak of its impracticability, downright thanklessness toward the nation in whose midst he lives—a *chīnēra*; for the German Jew is a German in his *national peculiarities* (*sic!*) and Zion is for him the land only of the past, *not of the future*. (Quoted in *J.E.* Vol. XII, p. 673.) Thirty years later, Germans whose *national peculiarities* were all German (in the eyes of Jews, of course, but not of Germans) were fleeing from Germany and finding refuge by the thousands in the land which was never really the

land of their past but which must very definitely now become the land of their future. The Munich community which forced the transfer of the first Zionist Congress, scheduled to be held there, to Basel, is now grateful that some of its sons and daughters are finding a haven and a new hope in the land which those ungrateful and *unpatriotic* Zionists had built.

They were all too dogmatic, these Geigers, and Maybaums, and Vogelsteins! It is well to spin philosophies of Jewish history. It is dangerous to ignore the realities of Jewish experience. The timeliness and convenience of a given theory of Jewish life are not the only tests of its validity. Such a theory must be viewed against the background of the accumulated historical experiences of our people, tested as it were, in the crucible of the ages. Certainly, the hope that such a theory might be approved by our enemies gives it no sanction whatsoever; for our enemies can rationalize their hates quite as readily as we can rationalize our hopes, and they have never been known to relent because of any sweet and appetizing definition of Jewish life which we offered them.

Ever since the first dispersions of our people in the sixth century before the Common Era, and the subsequent voluntary and involuntary migrations which by the beginning of the Common Era saw the Jewish diaspora extend from the Gates of India to the Pillars of Hercules and from the Caucasus to Ethiopia, and their further diffusion throughout Europe in the twenty centuries which followed, up to the present world-wide diaspora, Jews have faced the two-fold task of adjusting themselves to their given political and cultural environments and at the same time of remaining loyal to themselves as Jews. Because of this two-fold responsibility there was always an element of stress, tension, and conflict in Jewish life in the diaspora. There always will be. Human history is replete with the clash and conflict of nations, races, peoples, religions and classes. The Jewish nation had its full quota of these conflicts when it was a political nation in Palestine. It certainly could not escape them as a non-political and scattered nation in the diaspora. Those who could not stand the strain of Jewish existence disappeared. Myriads of such Jews were lost to us. Many others were forcibly assimilated. Those who cannot endure the pressures

of Jewish life today, their סבל הירושה will also disappear—if they can. The newer racial anti-Semitism of the Nazi type is making such desertion extremely difficult. It is impossible to propound any formula for Jewish survival in the diaspora—if we really mean *survival*—free from a measure of stress and conflict.

In our long history we never had a uniform plan or formula for survival. Such a formula, if it is to be something more than academic, must take into account not only the shifting interests and needs of the Jews themselves but also the varied and changing political and economic milieu in which Jewish groups find themselves. A formula which would be valid for Jewish communities living in an empire like that of ancient Persia, Greece or Rome which embraced numerous nationalities and allowed them full national autonomy short of political independence, would not meet the situation of a Jewish community living in a closely-knit, uni-cultural national state like modern France, Germany, or Italy; and a formula valid for these countries would not be adequate for a multi-national state like Poland, Czechoslovakia, or Russia. A Jewish community living in the midst of a people whose cultural niveau was far inferior to its own, would face altogether different problems of adjustment than one living in the midst of a superior culture.

But there was always the will to survive! Not in all sections of our people, to be sure, nor at all times, but certainly in sufficiently large sections of our people at all times to have enabled Israel to survive to this day. And at all times, the amazing will to survive of this tough and hardy people whom the Fabbis designated עִים שְׂבָאוֹת, this *obstinatio Judaeorum*, this basic loyalty to their corporate existence and to the substantial elements of their total heritage, projected the necessary strategy, the adequate technique for survival. This strategy was dictated not by any abstract speculation or by apologetics but by the life-hunger of the race, the indefeasible will to live, the compelling sense of destiny. The source of inspiration was always within, rising from the profound hidden depths of the racial, the instinctive, the primordial.

So great was this desire not to die as a people, that when it found its life besieged and threatened, it threw additional bulwarks around its security and raised stronger walls of defense. It did not hesitate

to impose upon itself in the centuries following the second Destruction, a code of discipline, a regimen of מצוות מעשיות which was far more rigorous than any military discipline, and which effectively safeguarded the individuality of the people and secured it against disintegration. The people, as a whole, never relaxed its vigilance. It never whittled down its requirements or its survival program to appease enemies or detractors. It never countenanced a minimal program to satisfy others. It always insisted upon a maximum program to protect its own life.

When the first great crisis developed in Jewish life following the national catastrophe in 586, the great leaders of the people immediately rushed to the defense of Israel, threatened with extinction. The prophets, who had heretofore castigated their people for their idolatry and their moral waywardness and called down upon them doom and destruction, now abruptly change their invective style and in words of comfort, encouragement and hope seek to heal the wounds and revive the broken spirits. The stern, unyielding Jeremiah, who before the national calamity wrote "with a pen of iron, and with the point of a diamond" and whose mouth was a sharp sword, now speaks like a compassionate father to his bruised and suffering children lovingly, tenderly. "The people that are left of the sword have found grace in the wilderness, even Israel, when I go to cause him to rest. . . . Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love, therefore with affection have I drawn thee. Again will I build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel. Again shalt thou be adorned with thy tabrets, and shall go forth in the dances of them that make merry. . . . And they shall come and sing in the height of Zion and shall flow unto the goodness of the Lord . . . and their soul shall be as a watered garden, and they shall not pine any more at all."

Ezekiel, who in the tense, tragic interlude between 597 and 586, between the first and the second deportations, still called down imprecations upon the sinful in Zion and uttered terrible and frantic denunciations against them in the desperate hope of averting the calamity which he saw approaching, now, that the blow had fallen and the people lay crushed, dazed and hope-bereft, finds a new voice and a new message. For now one must "breathe upon the slain that

they might live." The people must not die! "Behold I will open your graves and cause you to come up out of your graves, O My people." . . . Faith and confidence must be rekindled. "Behold here am I, and I will search for My sheep, and seek them out. As a shepherd seeketh out his flock in the day that he is among his sheep that are separated so will I seek out of all places whither they have been scattered in the day of clouds and thick darkness. And I will bring them out from the peoples, and gather them from the countries, and will bring them into their own land; and I will feed them upon the mountains of Israel, by the streams, and in all the habitable places of the country. I will feed them in a good pasture, and upon the high mountains of Israel shall their fold be; . . . I will seek that which was lost, and will bring back that which was driven away, and will bind up that which was broken, and will strengthen that which was sick."

Powerful and exhilarating new motifs ring through the post-exilic prophecies of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Obadiah, Joel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and of course, Deutero-Isaiah. There is the reverberating motif: **אל תירא**—"Fear not!" "Fear thou not, O Jacob, My servant, saith the Lord, neither be dismayed, O Israel; For I will save thee from afar and thy seed from the land of their captivity." (Jer. 30.10.) There is the motif: **ושבתי** "I will restore!" "And I will turn your captivity, and gather you from all the nations, and from all the places whither I have driven you, saith the Lord, and I will bring you back into the place whence I caused you to be carried away captive." (Jer. 29.14.) There is the motif of **ברית חדשה** "A new covenant!" The old covenant was broken and had to be atoned for in blood and tears. A new covenant will now be made, a covenant of everlasting love and peace. (Ezek. 37.26, Jer. 31.31.) There is the startling new motif: **איש בעטו יסות** "Every man shall die for *his own* iniquity!" There is no inherited guilt. The exiles should throw off the oppressive sense of guilt and the fear of retribution because of the sins of their fathers. (Jer. 31.28-9; Ezek. 18.4; 33.10.) The guilt has been paid off. (Is. 40.2.) There is the motif of **בחרתיך בכור עצי** "The testing in the furnace of affliction." Exile and suffering were intended not to crush Israel, but to cleanse, purify and strengthen him. There is the motif of

נצח ישראל "The Eternity of Israel!" "Thus saith the Lord who giveth the sun for a light by day, and the ordinances of the moon and of the stars for a light by night, who stirreth up the sea, that the waves thereof roar. . . . If these ordinances depart from Me, saith the Lord, then the seed of Israel also shall cease from being a nation before Me forever." (Jer. 31.35-6.) And there appears the new, imperial and magnificent motif of: אור לַגוֹיִם "A light unto the nations!" The mission idea! There is nothing of the mission idea among the prophets who preached before the exile. It is a product of post-exilic times and received its classic formulation at the hands of the anonymous author or authors of Isaiah 40-66 (plus 34-35?) who, living during the Babylonian captivity, as some maintain, or in the latter half of the Persian period as Torrey and others maintain, preached to a far-flung diaspora of the new opportunity and challenge which has come to Israel, because of its dispersion, to convert the whole world to the worship of the One, true God,—thus making Judaism the first *missionary* religion of mankind.

The pre-exile prophets, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and the prophets of the transition era, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, know nothing of any historic mandate upon Israel to convert the world. The idea of mission did not enter into Jewish religious thought until almost a thousand years after the Jews had settled in Palestine and, in all probability, would never have made its appearance if the people had not been exiled. That Israel was a people chosen by God, Yahweh's *special possession*, was a commonly accepted doctrine among the pre-exilic prophets. The sense of an inviolable covenant—Yahweh's covenant with Israel made at the time of the Exodus from Egypt—was dominant in their thought at all times. That this unique and covenanted relationship entered into between Israel and Yahweh, the God of Holiness, made Israel, as long as it observed this covenant, a holy people in the midst of the surrounding idolatrous peoples, was also strongly felt by them. But that these convictions also carried with them the implication that Israel must be Yahweh's messenger to convert the heathen world was not entertained by them. The phrase in Ex. 19.6 ואתם קדושים תהיו לי מטלכת כהנים וכו' "And ye shall be unto Me

a kingdom of priests and a holy nation"—even if we assume that it is pre-exilic—says nothing about any mission to the Gentiles. Only very deft and generous homiletics can read such a meaning into it. The majestic apocalyptic vision of **אַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים** found in Is. 2.2-4 and Micah 4.1-4—the vision of Zion as the spiritual center of the world, and of all nations flowing to the house of the God of Jacob in order to learn of His ways of justice and peace is concededly of post-exilic origin. So are all the references scattered through the writings of the prophets which tell of the future conversion of all the peoples of the earth, of their pilgrimage to Zion and of Israel as the servant of God who will bring this conversion about.

The source of the Mission Idea must therefore be looked for in the fact of the Dispersion and not in any automatic spiritual development of prophetic Judaism. It was evolved, consciously or unconsciously, in response to a desperate national emergency, out of the indomitable *will to live* of the race, as a means of strengthening the morale of the scattered hosts of Israel and of giving meaning and dignity to their exile and their vast tribulations. It was a noble compensatory ideal, warranted by the fact that Israel *did* possess a religious outlook which far transcended that of the heathen, and a moral code of superior excellence. Israel knew itself to be a great people because of the spiritual heights to which it had attained in its religious and ethical development. This achievement made it contemptuous of the superstitions and idolatries of the world about it. But politically it was a small, scattered and defeated people—a *worm* among the nations, despised and condemned. Wherein shall this proud but defeated people, of which only a miserable remnant now remained in the waste and desolate places of Judea, whilst its hosts were captives and exiles in foreign lands, now find that indemnifying conception of destiny which would take the edge off their defeat, sweeten the bitterness of exile, and restore confidence to those utterly cast down? The answer was soon forthcoming—the cup of comfort to the parched lips:

"Thus saith the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel, his Holy One, to him who is despised of men, to him who is abhorred of nations, to a servant of rulers: Kings shall see and arise, princes, and they shall prostrate themselves . . . I will preserve thee and give thee for

a covenant of the people." (Is. 49.7.) "I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and have taken hold of thy hand, and kept thee and set thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the nation; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house." (Is. 42.6-7.) Light and salvation will come to the whole world through Israel, who is God's servant, suffering in the present but destined to ultimate triumph and vindication. This is the *חדשות סניד*—the wonderfully new gospel which the Second Isaiah now proclaims. This is the new vision and hope which the spiritual guides of Israel projected for their people in order to save them from death in defeat and exile.

Note that this ideal of mission is not a denial, a revision or a substitution for any other concept heretofore held basic in Jewish thought but only a supplement, an addition, another bulwark for national security. It does not supplant nationalism. It re-enforces it. It does not look upon the dispersion as a blessing. It confronts it as a tragic fact which, however, must not be permitted to endanger the survival of Israel. It does not assume that the Jew must remain in exile in order that Yahweh may become the God of all the nations. It does not proclaim that Israel is no longer a nation but only a religious community, whose sole *raison d'être* is the conversion of the Gentiles. It does not divorce religion from nationalism. The prophecies of Second Isaiah ring with the recurrent refrain of Israel's approaching restoration to Palestine. "Fear not, for I am with thee; I will bring thy seed from the east and will gather thee from the west. I will say to the north: 'Give up,' and to the south: 'Keep not back'; bring My sons from far, and My daughters from the end of the earth." (Is. 43.5-6.) And when the prophets speak of Restoration they are not thinking of "the colonization of Palestine as a philanthropic effort deserving of general support" (a concession made to Palestine even by anti-Zionist Reform Rabbis), but of the rebuilding of the political life and home of the Jewish nation.

Zion rebuilt and Israel ingathered are the passionate themes of the prophets following the exile, and they did not regard them as

being in any way irreconcilable with the hope of converting the whole world to Yahweh. The nations will come to *Zion*. *Zion* will become the religious center of mankind. "Thus saith the Lord of hosts: I am *jealous* for *Zion* with great jealousy, and I am jealous for her with great fury! . . . I shall return to *Zion*, and will dwell in the midst of *Jerusalem*. . . . Behold, I will save My people from the east country and from the west country and I will bring them and they shall dwell in the midst of *Jerusalem*." (Zech. 8.2.)

Centuries later, Judah Halevi, reinterprets this Mission Idea for the Jews of *his* age and here again it is inseparably intertwined with the national aspirations, with people, land and language. Halevi takes up afresh the theme of Deutero-Isaiah. Israel among the nations is like the heart among the organs of the body, the most sensitive and the most important. Israel suffers for the sins of mankind, and through Israel's peculiar racial genius or aptness for religion (or prophecy as Halevi prefers it) the nations of the earth will be exalted. But Israel must live, if its unique gifts are to continue to bless mankind, and it must be restored to its own land, where alone prophecy can find its congenial soil, and it must revive the Hebrew language which alone can be the perfect medium for such prophecy. The *Cuzari*, you will recall, closes on the note of the return to Palestine of the Rabbi who converted the king of the Chazars. Halevi may seem extreme in his views, but there can be no doubt that as far as essentials are concerned, he was in direct line of authentic Jewish tradition. He voiced the major convictions of Israel.

Any one, therefore, who attempts to exploit the historic Mission Idea of Israel as an argument against Jewish nationalism or against the rebuilding of Palestine or in justification of the *Galut* is guilty of gross distortion of an idea which is very clearly and unambiguously defined in its original sources. The prophets did not believe that the Jews should continue to live in exile, nor that they should welcome the Dispersion as a blessing for the sake of their mission. They did not say that the Jews were exiled *in order* that they might become God's witnesses to the Gentiles. They exhorted the Jews in exile to find strength in defeat. They sought to sustain them by the thought that though they had been driven into exile their sig-

nificance in the economy of the world was not at an end. On the contrary, they now had the opportunity, through the example of their steadfastness to Yahweh, and through the moral tone of their lives, to acquaint the whole heathen world with their great spiritual heritage—the true knowledge of God, and the nobility of His worship.

The Jews, during the chaotic centuries which followed the Destruction, employed *every* means to preserve their national life. We have seen how the prophets sought to restore the morale of the people by giving those living inside and outside of Palestine an inspiring and sustaining sense of destiny. The people, themselves, in exile, once the first shock of terror and dismay was over, recovered their ancient faith and loyalties. By the rivers of Babylon they vowed eternal loyalty to Zion, their national home: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her cunning!" The priests elaborated a code of ritual and ceremony and a religious discipline which in a practical way was intended to shelter the life of Israel from the טומאת רצוים—"the uncleanness of the Gentiles," and to keep it a separate and distinct people. In Judea the returned exiles under Ezra, facing a new crisis instituted a most drastic process of national purgation and reconstruction in order to save the life of the community. In his zeal for the preservation of the faith and the purity of the racial stock, Ezra ordains that the foreign women whom the Jews had married should be put away, as well as the children born of them, and that they should "separate themselves from the peoples of the land." Ezra draws no distinction between those belonging to the peoples of Ammon and Moab, against whom there existed of old a law of perpetual exclusion from the "congregation of Yahweh" (Deut. 23-4) and other peoples like Edom, Egypt, against whom no such law existed. Ezra did not even tolerate proselytism, for he does not suggest the conversion of these foreign wives as an alternative to their divorce. This attitude was shared neither by the prophets who preceded Ezra nor by the Rabbis of later times. The Halacha recognized proselytism and accorded full status to the proselyte, incorporating him unreservedly into the life of the nation. נר שנת"ר כקטן שנולד. Only an acute crisis, the fear of extinction, ever

present in the life of this small, harassed community which had been delivered over "to the sword, to captivity, to spoiling and to confusion of face" could have called forth such harsh and extreme acts. The nation withdrew as it were, to its last citadel, for a final stand against the forces which threatened to overwhelm it. Ezra and Nehemiah did not *nationalize* the God-concept of Israel in the sense of localizing it. They did not turn back the hands of the clock in the religious evolution of Israel—as some biblical critics imagine. Yahweh is still the One and Universal Lord: "Thou art the Lord, even Thou alone. Thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host, the earth and all things that are thereon (Neh. 9.6) . . . But the hour now demanded another emphasis; the immediate task for the Judean community was not to save the world but to save itself. Hence the unusually strong emphasis upon race, nation and language. The Samaritans are rejected because, though they professed the same faith, they were nevertheless not of the same race as Israel. Nehemiah rises to the defense of the *language* of Israel—for national revival always goes hand in hand with language revival and the abandonment of the Hebrew speech was rightly interpreted by Nehemiah as evidence of assimilation: "In those days also saw I the Jews that had married women of Ashdod, of Ammon, and of Moab and their children spoke half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews' language, but according to the language of each people. And I quarreled with them, and cursed them and smote certain of them. . . ."

Nation, race, land, language were always vital and indispensable concepts in Jewish life, indissolubly associated of course with religion. It was never a case of one or the other. They were all one, organically united. There were times when one or the other had to be stressed. Whenever one of these factors of survival was threatened, the strong instinct of the people rallied to its defense. Hence in our history we find eras of accentuation of one or another of these several concepts and eras of attenuation. But never was any one of them abandoned—until the time of the Reform Rabbis of Germany which is, of course, a very recent and seemingly a rapidly vanishing phenomenon.

The sound, practical sense of Israel and its experience through many centuries of partial or total dispersion over the earth, saved it from being dogmatic or fanatic concerning any of these concepts. On one subject only was Israel fanatically dogmatic—the monotheistic article of its faith. Jewish life could never stomach the type of doctrinaire, arrogant and militant racialism and nationalism which is devastating the life of the Western World today. Israel reconciled in life and practice ideas theoretically irreconcilable. It was a case of **מיכאל כולו שלנ ובריא אל כולו אש ועוסדן זה אצל זה** and **זה ואינש מוידקן זה את זה**. Thus it spoke of a Universal God, **אל אלהי הרחות לכל בשר** but at the same time it also spoke of **ה' אלהי ישראל** the God of the people of Israel. It extolled the race as **זרע קדש** but admitted members of other races into the racial family through proselytism and it recognized no biologically superior and inferior races. It always longed for national restoration to Zion, but, from the days of Jeremiah on, it admonished its children, dwelling in foreign lands, to live as good citizens, "to seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captive, and pray unto the Lord for it, for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace." It prescribed a complete code of Jewish law for its members living in and out of Palestine covering every phase of life, but it also lay down the qualifying precept **דינא דמלכותא דינא**—in all matters of law, involving no basic tenets of faith, the law of the land is binding. It exalted the Hebrew language. It was the **לשון הקדש**. It made the teaching of it obligatory. **כשהתינוק מתהיל לו בר** **אביו מבר עמו לשון הקדש ומלמדו תורה**. **ואם אין מבר עמו לשון הקדש ומלמדו תורה ראי לו כאלו קוברו תפלה**. Yet it permitted, though it did not counsel, prayer in all languages **בכל לשון** and translations of the Bible were made and, by and large, welcomed as early as the third century B.C. The Jews welcomed Greek culture—**הכמה יעית** until it showed itself a peril to Jewish culture, when they violently rejected many phases of it.

Doctrinaires of the white-black, either-or variety, who like to have life and history simplified to fit in neatly in some theoretic framework which they arbitrarily construct to serve their tastes or their times, are impatient with these seeming incongruities and contradic-

tions in Jewish life. They lightly reject whatever they find, practically or ideologically, inconvenient. They are unaware of, or they consciously ignore the strong life-sense, the survival-wisdom, the adjustment-genius of the people which produced them. A religious creed, once you grant its premises, may well be logically consistent and undeviating. But a people is not a creed and a people's life and culture are determined by historic forces which are not logical. Israel, confronted through most of its history with an ever changing and threatening environment, and wishing to survive, had to take into account all the economic, political, sociologic and psychologic facts in its environment and make proper adjustments to them.

But it never sacrificed essential values for temporary expediency. It was a case of **אֵהָרָה בִּזְמַן מָוֶה אֶל תַּנַּח יִידִיךְ**. There were many movements and sects within Israel during its long history—Sadduceism, Pharisaism, Essenism, Christianity, Hellenism, Karaism, Kabbalism, Chassidism, Haskalah, Reform, Zionism. They all in their day, quite naturally, led to bitter conflict and partisanship. That is true of such movements among all peoples. But the Jewish people, as such, found room for all of them within its fold, except for Christianity. Even the Karaites who created such turmoil and dissention in Jewish life were never outlawed by our people. Thus, for example, Maimonides, in the very midst of a bitter feud between the Rabbinites and the Karaites, a feud already centuries old in Maimonides' day, nevertheless urges a policy of brotherly toleration towards the Karaites, to treat them as Jews, circumcise their children, bury their dead, comfort their mourners, and treat their wine as ritually fit. For, after all, the Karaites were loyal Jews, regardless of their opposition to the tradition and authority of the Rabbis. They were devoted not only to the God of Israel and the Torah but to the land of Israel. Soon after the rise of Karaism, groups of Karaites, forsaking home and friends, migrated to Palestine and established communities known as the **אֲנָלִי צִיּוֹן** "the Mourners for Zion." Their zeal for Palestine exceeded that of the Rabbinites. They loved the Hebrew language, and the birth of the science of Hebrew grammar and philology in the Middle Ages is to be credited to them.

But in the case of Christianity, it was the Pauline insistence upon

a religious creed entirely divorced from nation, race, land or language and from the disciplines of Jewish law, that finally placed the movement outside the sphere of Jewish life.

As a messianic movement, inspired by the millennial expectations of that age, preaching the advent of the Kingdom of God, and calling men to repentance and moral purification in order to escape the *חבלי משיח* and be worthy of admission into the Kingdom, the Messianism of Jesus might well have found a place, as for a time it actually did find a place, among sections of Jewry who detected neither heresy nor apostasy in it. The early Judaeo-Christians in Palestine were Jews in all regards. But Paul, a product of the culturally diluted Hellenistic diaspora, entertained views which centuries later Reform Rabbis in Germany and in America came to entertain. The sense of belonging to a Jewish nation and the desire to preserve that nation and to re-establish the Kingdom of Israel were hardly present with him. Race had no significance. "All the nations of the earth are made of one blood." (Acts 17.26.) Race is in Pauline theology metamorphosed into a universal society of believers. . . . "For they are not all Israel, which are of Israel, neither because they are the seed of Abraham, are they all children. . . . They which are the children of the flesh, these are *not* the children of God; but the children of the promise are counted for the seed. (Rom. 9.6.) Unlike Matthew, Paul is not interested in establishing the Davidic descent of Jesus. (I Tim. 1.4.) Jesus' Jewish origin is of no particular moment to him. While Jesus directed his message—a thorough-going Jewish messianic message—specifically to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel"—and was not particularly interested in proselytism, Paul called himself the "apostle to the Gentiles," and his chief concern was to carry the gospel of salvation to the non-Jews. Peter, he declared, was intrusted with the good news for the Jews, he for the heathen. (Gal. 2.7.) The mastering idea of Paul was that, in as much as the millennium was fast approaching when the purging and winnowing of mankind would take place, the whole human race should be rapidly converted to the one true faith. This one true faith consisted in the abjuration of polytheism and idolatry and in leading a pure life—in other words—ethical monotheism. Such a faith has been in the keeping of

Israel since the days of Abraham. But because of the Law of Moses—the ceremonial and ritual law, e.g., circumcision, the observance of Sabbaths and Holy Days and the dietary laws,—this pure faith has been obscured, veiled even to Israel (II Cor. 3.15) and made difficult of acceptance by non-Jews. The coming of the Messiah in the person of Jesus put an end to the reign of this Law. Now conversion to the true faith is accessible to every man merely through faith—faith in the One, Universal Lord and in the atoning power of the death of Jesus. This latter idea is essential to the doctrine of Paul. The sin of Adam brought death as its punishment upon all the generations of men:

(Cf. D.R. 9.4: בהטייה של אדמה אתה מת שהביא מיתא לעולם
(ישראל שעמדו על הר סיני פסקה זוהמחם)
Per contra cf. Sab. 146a: This sin had to be atoned for by a sacrificial death—for only such a sacrifice could be proper atonement for such a sin—before men could obtain the hope of eternal life. The crucifixion of Jesus was that sacrifice. All men would have had to die at the approach of the End of Days, because all men are sinners. But Jesus saved them from death by means of his own death. In his death all who believe in him die “figuratively” to their old selves and are reborn into the new life. They thus come redeemed to the threshold of the Kingdom. Henceforth, every one, regardless of race, or nation, who eschewed idolatry and accepted the sacrifice of Jesus, who died for all men, will “walk in the newness of life” and will inherit eternal life. It is not the observance of the laws of the Torah which bestows life eternal, i.e., admission into the Kingdom of God which is fast approaching. Immortal life comes through accepting the blood sacrifice of Jesus. In Messianic times the Law is not needed. (cf ימות המשיח שאין בהם לא זכות ולא חובה).

But what then was the purpose of giving the Law by God to Israel, and what is the significance of the election of Israel—a doctrine which Paul accepts (Rom. 11.29). In Paul's reply one finds the clue to the reason why the Jewish people had finally to reject him and his religious teachings. The giving of the Laws of the Torah to the Jews carried with it the possibility and the opportunity of transgressing them. It is the Law that gives sin its power. (I Cor. 15.56.) “Sin is not imputed where there is no law.” (Rom.

5.13.) Thus the Laws of the Torah were ordained that offenses against them by the Jews might multiply, so that there would be greater need for the grace of God which came through the atonement sacrifice of Jesus. The disobedience of the Jews was therefore the Gentiles' opportunity to gain salvation. As far as Paul's new message of glad tidings is concerned, the Jews are treated as enemies of God. (Rom. 11.28.) But because they had been chosen by God and are beloved by Him for their fathers' sakes, they, too, will be saved from sin through the grace of God ultimately, after all the heathen have been redeemed. Thus Israel, in the hands of this fervid, mystical theologian, is no longer a nation but a theologic pawn. The national character of the Jewish Messianic ideal is ignored, as it was ignored centuries later by Reform Rabbis. It is dissolved in a universal salvationism, quite like the denationalized "Messianic Age" of the Reform Rabbis. There is, however, one exception: With Paul *all* nations vanish into the spiritual anonymity of Kingdom Come. With the Reform Rabbis, only the Jewish nation. *Their* theology took zealous toll of *Jewish* nationalism but stopped short at German, Austrian, French or American nationalism. . . . With Paul the age-old hope of the ingathering of the dispersion and the deliverance of Israel from the yoke of Rome gives way to an apocalyptic conversionism in which Israel is only incidentally significant because in olden days God had announced in advance the good news to Abraham in the words: "All the heathens will be blessed through you" and through the Jews this blessing reached the heathen. (Gal. 3.8ff.) This is the sole rôle ascribed by Paul to Israel in the economy of world-salvation. With the nationalist prophets of Israel, a reborn and politically rehabilitated people, strong and secure in its own land, was to become a light unto the world. The nations of the earth would flow unto Zion redeemed, "for out of Zion would go forth the Torah." With Paul, Torah was a form of slavery, and Zion had no significance as the capital of a nation but only as the locale of a Temple of whose ritual he scarcely approved. No wonder that this new program of proselytism which demanded the sacrifice of so many of the essential survival-values of Israel, met with stubborn resistance not alone from Jews who had

not accepted Jesus as the Messiah but even from the early Judaeo-Christians.

In classic Judaism there were always two elements, one universal, i.e., pure religion intended for all men, the other local, i.e., the laws of the Hebrew polity, intended for Jews only. Paul, the Roman citizen and the product of the Mediterranean cultural melting-pot, accepted the first. The second he regarded principally as a stumbling block in the way of the first. Therefore, nothing but faith mattered. The Jewish nation, land, language and law were of small consequence, particularly in view of the approaching millennial denouement. But not all the early followers of Jesus felt as he did. A bitter struggle raged within the early church against these teachings of Paul. The Palestinian Judaeo-Christians were neither anti-nomists nor anti-nationalists. They were glad to welcome converts to their Messianic Judaism but only as *גֵּרִי צְדִיק* proselytes who were willing to accept not only the principle of the Unity of God and the *שִׁבְעַת מִצְוֹת בְּנֵי נֹחַ* that is as *גֵּרִי חַיִּיב* but also the entire discipline of the Law inclusive of the Abrahamitic rite, Sabbath and Holy Day observance and the dietary laws.

Paul's views prevailed in the new sect. As a result the sect steadily receded from Jewish life and became at first non-Jewish and then anti-Jewish. In the national uprisings against Rome in 70 and 135 the Judaeo-Christians refused to participate. Their loyalty was now to an idea, not to a people.

There is a striking similarity to be seen between the theoretic position taken by Paul and that taken by the extreme leaders of Reform Judaism; and had these men been as consistent as Paul, and had they translated their loquacity about the mission of Israel into a real missionary propaganda as did Paul and his followers, the logic of events would have brought about the secession of their group also from Jewish life. But with Paul, the mission was a race to save the world. With the Reform Rabbis it was a rocking-horse race. These reformist Rabbis, too, were denationalized Jews. They, too, ~~regarded~~ regarded of Israel as "a candle which lights others and consumes itself." They, too, tried to erect Jewish life upon the slender, sagging stilts of a few theologic abstractions. They, too, felt the

Law to be a burden. They focused *their* anti-nomist odium on the Talmud and the Shulchan Aruch. The Bible they spared, for after all the Bible was sacred also to Christians. . . . But those laws of the Bible, against which Paul inveighed—circumcision, Sabbath observance and dietary laws—came under their obloquy also. The use of the Hebrew language in public worship, they maintained, was not only unnecessary from a legal point of view but from any other point of view (Frankfort Conference). And while Jewish Rabbis were thus practically consigning the Hebrew language to oblivion, Dohm of Breslau, a Christian, rose to its defense, urged its retention by Jews as the language of the prayers and as a bond of unity, and reminded them that if many Jews no longer understand the language, the solution lies, not in abandoning the language but rather in teaching it more energetically than before. They, too, believed that the world was on the threshold of great, new beginnings. They, too, were bewitched by the hope of *Maranatha*. To them, too, as to the apocalyptic visionaries of the first century, the Kingdom of God was just around the corner. . . . Listen to the words of Article 5 of the Pittsburgh Declaration which echoed similar sentiments among Reformers everywhere: "We recognize, in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect, *the approaching of the realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of truth, justice, and peace among all men.* . . ." They, too, converted the national Messianic hope of Israel into something like a Pauline apocalypse.

A Messianic hope not bound up with the restoration of Israel to Palestine is simply not found in Jewish religious literature anywhere from the time of the Second Isaiah to our own day, except, of course, in the writings of these Reformers and some of the Hellenistic apocalyptic writers, who through allegory and other devices attempted to universalize the teachings of the Torah, so as to impress the non-Jewish world with the excellency of the Jewish faith, and who converted the Jewish national Messiah into an "incarnation of a divine power who should judge men at the end of days." National restoration was the very heart of the Messianic ideal from its very inception. To substitute for this national ideal an anti-national, purely transcendental, nebulous *Messianic Age*, on the plea of re-

ligious evolution, is to be guilty not of revision but of distortion. It is both new and counterfeit.

Fortunately the views of these men did not prevail. They were quickly challenged. The masses of Jewry recoiled from them. The facts of life soon dissipated the fumes of their universalistic romanticism. They have now been discredited in the very land of their nativity. The United States, because of its peculiar political and social configuration, for a time gave scope to these ideas and they were received with considerable favor among certain classes of our people, particularly among our German-Jewish immigrants. But they are being rapidly abandoned. The very men who framed the Pittsburgh Declaration felt the inadequacy of their definition. Twice in the Declaration they speak of the "Jewish people." They do not define the term "people," but the very fact that they resorted to the term indicates that they felt that the term "religious community" somehow failed to cover the full canvass of Jewish realities.

Dr. Kohler, who convoked the Pittsburgh Conference, and helped to draft its Declaration, found it necessary in his *Theology* to supplement this definition of Israel as a religious community, with the concept of race. "The Jew is born into it (Judaism) and cannot extricate himself from it even by the renunciation of his faith, which would but render him an apostate Jew. This condition exists, because the racial community formed, and still forms, the basis of the religious community. It is birth, not confession, that imposes on the Jew the obligation to work and strive for the eternal verities of Israel, for the preservation and propagation of which he has been chosen by the God of history." (p. 6.)

But why is the concept of "race" any more exalted than "nation"? Why should racial fatalism commit one irrevocably to religious beliefs which should be voluntary? If one, not of the race, can become a Jew by accepting Judaism, why cannot one "extricate" himself from Judaism by rejecting it? Identifying Judaism with race is no more logical, and in our day, far more provocative than identifying it with "nation."

Dr. Cyrus Adler, though belonging to the conservative wing, also believes that the Jews are only a religious community, but he is quite as vigorous in *denying* that the Jews are a race. In his recent

address before the Seminary National Council, he declared: "Sometimes people say that they are Jews by race and sometimes that they are Jews by nationality. No people is suffering today more from this race or national theory than the Jewish people, and to the extent that these doctrines have been preached, we have given a weapon into the hands of our enemies. . . . The German State does not close synagogues, it does not forbid religious teachings. The State outlaws the Jew on the race theory. . . . Why then should we fall into this trap? Why should we declare ourselves a race or *kultur*? . . . Let us get into our minds definitely once for all that even before the destruction of the Temple, even before the destruction of our nation in Palestine, we became a religious community, and *that we are or we are nothing.*"

Dr. Adler labors under that fond illusion which we discussed above—that if our enemies would only realize that we are a religious community and not a race or a nationality, they would automatically cease to hate us. But this highly adjustable *diplomatic* philosophy of Jewish history deceives no one. Instead of centering his attack upon the whole false race-theory of the State which, in Germany, had its origin in the Hegelian thesis that the State must be a national unit based on race homogeneity, Dr. Adler counsels the Jews to abandon entirely the very concept of race as a factor in Jewish survival. This is in keeping with those sad and futile tactics of so many Jews in the last one hundred years who tried to whittle down the content of Jewish life in order to meet a temporary political emergency.

It is idle, of course, to talk of our people as no longer a nation but a religious community, in the face of the fact that millions of Jews are today recognized by the law of nations as national minorities in Poland, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, millions more as a distinct nationality in Soviet Russia, where an autonomous Jewish region is actually being built, and hundreds of thousands in Palestine where a Jewish homeland is being created under the terms of a mandate of the League of Nations which recognizes not only the national existence of the Jewish people but its historic claim to a national home. It is not only idle to-day to repeat the "religious-community" shibboleth of the early Reformers but also quite fantastic.

It should be borne in mind, also, that nationalism is sometimes forced upon the Jew, even when he does not particularly crave it. In the struggle, for example, between the numerous nationalities in Eastern and Central Europe, each clamoring for self-determination, the Jews, living in their midst, have had to take sides or to declare themselves to be an independent nationality. It was a case of accepting the cultures of Ruthenians, Croatians, Slovaks and of other nationality groups which were far inferior to their own or of asserting their own. No Jewish group was as completely denationalized as were the Jewish communists of Russia. They were anti-religious, anti-Zionist, anti-Hebraist. They were Internationalists. Their sole allegiance was to the proletarian class. And yet, with the triumph of communism, these very Jewish communists have been forced by the logic of events not only to carry on as members of a distinct Jewish nationality in Soviet Russia but to undertake the building of a separate Jewish Republic in Siberia. One cannot, therefore, in the face of these political realities in Jewish life, maintain the theologic fiction that the Jews are only a religious community.

And what of the myriads of our people who are non-religious or anti-religious, who can accept neither the theology of Judaism nor its code of religious observances, Orthodox or Reform, and who are yet very loyal and active Jews? Is there no room for them in the household of Israel? There would not be, if we regarded Israel as a "religious community" exclusively. But being a nation, and not a religious community, there is room in Israel for *all* Jews, except for those who do not wish to be Jews and who declare: אין לנו חלק ונחלה בבית אבינו "We have no portion or inheritance in our father's house. . . ." And these are being tragically reminded in some parts of the world today that even though they forsake their inheritance in their father's house they will not find their portion or inheritance anywhere else in the world. . . .

Should we not rather regard it as providential that in these days when formal religion is losing its hold upon great numbers of our people and when this loss threatens to undermine our existence as a people, that the national and racial sentiment has been rekindled among many of them so that they wish to remain Jews and to link

up their destiny with the destiny of Israel in some if not in all of the spheres of its creative life?

The Jewish people produced the Jewish religion, but people and religion are not synonymous terms. The Jewish religion—and I use the term in its customary sense, for I do not believe that a clever neology—the use of a word in a new and unsanctioned sense—is equivalent to a new theology—is a colossal and world-revolutionizing concourse of spiritual ideas unfolding itself in the life of a people of a particular character and temperament, but the Jewish religion does not exhaust the full content of the Jewish people. In relation to its religion, Israel is both immanent and transcendent as is every great artist in relation to the creation of his genius. לולא לא היה התורה declared Judah Halevi. "If there had been no Jews there would have been no Torah, and the Jews did not derive their high estate from Moses but Moses derived his high estate from the Jews." (Cuzari 11.56.)

The Jewish religion is the crowning achievement of our people and our supreme gift to civilization. It possessed such vast reservoirs of spiritual truth that it has been able to sustain and inspire generations upon generations of our people and to retain their sacrificial loyalty under all circumstances and upon all levels of culture. It thus became the strongest factor in the survival of our people, the קשר של קיימא, the enduring tie. It is doubtful whether the Jewish people can long survive in the diaspora without it—unless the other survival factors are reinforced to a degree which will compensate such a major loss. Jewish secular cultural autonomy may be possible in countries where the Jewish groups achieve minority rights. In such countries the Jewish group may survive even if divorced from religious loyalties. This is possible, though not probable. But in countries where minority rights are not possible, where there exists no active anti-Semitism which forces the Jew back upon himself, the task of Jewish survival will become increasingly difficult as religion loses its influence upon Jews and therewith also its power of national conservation. Those religious leaders, therefore, who are, today, teaching the religion of Israel to their people are not only leading them to fountains of living truth which can sweeten and refresh their individual lives, but are also conserving

the most potent force which, throughout the ages, has sheltered and preserved the Jewish people.

But such religious leaders should not attempt to substitute a part for the whole—even if it is the major part. Havelock Ellis, in his introduction to J. K. Huysman's *A Rebours* makes the interesting observation that the essential distinction between the classic and the decadent in art and literature is to be found in the fact that in the classic the parts are subordinated to the whole, whereas in the decadent, the whole is subordinated in the parts. "The classic strives after those virtues which the whole may best express; the later manner (the decadent) depreciates the importance of the whole for the benefit of its parts, and strives after the virtue of individualism."

Jewish life also possessed in its great epochs this classic balance, and the aim of religious leaders today should be to restore it. Many tributaries flow into the historic channel of Jewish life. In recent years some zealous and mostly uninformed partisans have attempted to reduce Jewish life to what is only a fraction of itself—to race or nationalism or folkways or theologic abstractions. Quite unconsciously they are all falsifying Jewish life. It is a mark of decadence in the diaspora that so many of our people have lost the sense of the classic harmony in Jewish life and are attempting to substitute a part for the whole.

It is the *total* program of Jewish life and destiny which the religious leaders of our people should stress today—the religious and moral values, the universal concepts, the mandate of mission, as well as the *Jewish people itself*, and all its national aspirations. Thus the strength and security of our life will be retrieved, and, whether in Palestine or in the diaspora, we shall move forward unafraid upon the road of our destiny.

RELIGION

in Present-Day Jewish Life

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RELIGION

in Present-Day Jewish Life

MANY factors have tended to make religion of secondary importance in the life of our people.

Religion, generally, has been pushed into a subordinate position in the Western World. Science has steadily divested it of many of its franchises. The satisfactions which men experienced in the increase of power, wealth and material well-being, yielded by science, placed the latter upon the pedestal which was formerly occupied by religion, whose gifts were now less prized and sought after. Science successfully refuted many pronouncements which were made by religion in its sacred texts concerning the universe, nature and man. This cast suspicion upon much else in religion. The separation of church and state, the growth in civil authority and the contraction of ecclesiastical authority, the secularization of education and, in the realm of speculative thought, the divorce of philosophy from theology—all these were both cause and effect of the diminishing importance of religion in modern society.

Other forms of loyalty clamored for supremacy, nation, country, race, class. Each of these derived its sanctions and mandates from sources other than religion, and proceeded to construct systems of thought with little or no reference to it.

The Jewish people left the ghettos of the Western World at a time when these secular movements were unfolding. The world from which the Jews emerged was thoroughly pervaded by religion. It had been thus pervaded for centuries. Every phase and activity of life was bound by its discipline. Nevertheless, the Jews yielded to the new temper of the age as readily as any other people. In some countries they not only caught up with the new secular mood of the Western World but out-distanced it in dogmatic ardor and intensity.

There transpired among the Jewries of Western and Eastern Europe not only reform movements designed to revamp their religious ideas and practices, to "modernize" them and to bring them into consonance with the new outlook of Europe, but also strong centrifugal movements away from Judaism altogether—movements of flight, not towards other faiths so much—these latter flights were dictated, as a rule, by careerism and social escalade—but towards religious negativism and indifference, expressed in non-affiliation with the synagogue and in a renunciation of the entire religious regimen of Judaism.

This flight from Judaism was also motivated by strong political and economic considerations. Throughout the 19th century, Jews struggled for emancipation. They reached out after complete equality. They believed that their distinctive religious beliefs and traditional way of life segregated them and disadvantaged them among men. They further believed that by surrendering them they would succeed in acquiring those rights and privileges which other peoples possessed. This political and economic motif behind the flight complex was soon rationalized into a system of thought, conveniently neutral and agnostic, which discounted religion generally and proclaimed that the scientific progress of mankind had finally cutstripped religion

and that while religion may still have a certain usefulness for the young, the poor and the unenlightened, cultured and prosperous folk can get along very well without it. All religious and racial differences were certain to be merged very soon in a common brotherhood of men, dedicated to the life of pure reason. The mighty accents of the American and French Revolutions and the other up-surgings political struggles of the century reverberated through all this hopeful and wishful thinking. Thus Enlightenment and Emancipation were the Pied-Piper whose music beguiled many Jews away from their ancient loyalties and spiritual securities.

The wealthy and the well-placed Jews especially pampered themselves with these comforting notions. The richer they became and the more important positions they occupied, the less need they had for religion. The upper classes which succeeded in reaching, if not the center, then at least the periphery of the non-Jewish world, were most supercilious in their attitude towards Judaism. When men are prosperous they find it easy to dispense with God—especially with a Jewish God.

Fortunately not all Jews were of the same mind. Many refused to exchange spiritual treasures for material advantage. They saw neither the need nor the wisdom of it. They were of the opinion that if freedom and equality are to come to all men, they should come also to the Jews as a matter of right, as a restoration of that which belongs to them and to all men as a natural endowment, and not in payment for unwarranted sacrifices of religious convictions, a distinctive culture and an historic way of life. They furthermore suspected that the new millennium might turn out to be quite as much of a mirage as many others in the long past of Israel, and, on the basis of past experiences, they feared that should another such reaction in their political and economic fortunes set in, Jews would find themselves spiritually shattered, homeless and utterly bereft, unless they had the secured sanctuaries of Jewish life and faith into which to retreat for refuge and solace. Many other Jews, out of force of habit or because of the strong appeal of ancient ties and memories, remained constant. So that Judaism was not lost.

Throughout the 19th and the early 20th centuries, wide and ominous cracks appeared in the beautiful facade of European Enlightenment and Emancipation. Startling eruptions of violent anti-Semitism occurred, at one time or another, in nearly every country of Western Europe. Medievalism raised its ugly head over and over again, either as a Magyar blood libel or a Germanic literary pogrom or a Gaelic "cause celebre" or an outright Slavic slaughter of Jews. The rains sadly disfigured the wall "daubed with whited plaster," and the foundations thereof were uncovered.

Some Jews were quick to read these warning signs. They returned to their faith and their people as if to a shelter from a gathering storm. Others, however, persisted in their hypnosis, discounted these evidences of an underlying menace and blithely proceeded on their way. In the generation before the World War, Judaism in Western Europe touched bottom, and it languished also among vast sections of Jewry in the United States.

Then came the World War which unleashed all the furies. Who can number the high hopes of mankind which perished upon its battlefields? What was apparently won, was actually sunk and lost in their bloody bogs—freedom, democracy, the self-determination of peoples, the rights of minorities and the vision of an international order based upon law, justice and peace. Out of the ten million graves of the need-

lessly slain, there arose the dread ghosts of hatred, of national and racial passions, of arrogance and vindictiveness, of widespread want and bitter class struggle, and of a dread stampede towards force, violence and terror as life's sole technique. These ghosts are dancing today their "dance macabre" in the hearts of men and nations. Civilization is plunging into darkness and chaos. A paganism far more crass and cruel than that of antiquity is engulfing the whole Western World.

For the Jewish people, the World War and its aftermath spelled Golgotha! A quarter of a century of mounting disasters and calamities culminating in the unprecedented horrors of recent months. Great Jewish communities, rich in history, culture and achievement, among whom the dream of a free, enlightened and tolerant humanity was most ardently cherished, have been plunged into Hell. Gone for them are Enlightenment and Emancipation. Gone are the dreams of human brotherhood and equality. Gone are the beckoning horizons of great careers and great service. Gone are all shelter and all security. Gone, even, the scant and tenuous security of the ghetto! Into exile, broken, stripped and impoverished, they must go, even as their forefathers before them, who knew neither Enlightenment nor Emancipation. From countries and homes where they had known dignity, honor, power and wealth, Jews, in their mounting legions, must now wander forth, bewildered and disillusioned into a bewildered and disillusioned world.

For the world, generally, stands today bewildered and disillusioned. The strong and sure foundations upon which it had builded its life have been rudely shaken. That high optimism which fed upon truly remarkable achievements in every scientific field has vanished. Marvelous had been the vistas which opened up before the eyes of men in the preceding century. Men could dream then and men did dream, unabashed, of a glorious and uninterrupted progress for mankind, of an unending conquest of nature, and of building, in a world of abundance, a civilization free from all poverty, ignorance and war. "In the nineteenth century", wrote Victor Hugo, "war will be dead, the scaffold will be dead, hatred will be dead, frontiers will be dead, royalty will be dead, dogmas will be dead, man will begin to *live*!" But here we are in the twentieth century, and war is not dead, the scaffold is not dead, hatred is not dead, frontiers are not dead, royalty is not dead, dogmas are not dead, and man is beginning to *die*. The vista which stretches before our generation today ends at the edge of a wilderness. For twenty-five years now, men have lived in a world of mounting hate, intolerance, and bigotry, of revolutions, invasions, wars, of the rise and fall of empires, and amidst the slaughter of millions of their kind. Great peoples have destroyed their liberties and enslaved themselves. Millions of men cower today in terrorized submissiveness. The wealth of nations is being drained in preparation for wars which will also drain the lives of their people. The mind of man, trained and sharpened by generations of scientific education, is now applied to the perfection of the war technique. So that the discoveries which science records in our day in such great numbers no longer fill the hearts of men with pride or enthusiasm. They suspect that these things will not contribute either to their happiness or security, or to greater decency in the world. The human spirit stands today frightened, weighted down with apocalyptic foreboding, as if awaiting the crash of doom.

The thoughtful among men have accordingly begun to search earnestly for some way of salvation—a road away from disaster. They are seeking desperately hard to

rediscover that vision which was somehow lost amidst the brilliant pageantry of scientific achievement in the last century, to the hurt and sorrow of the world. They understand now what the wise men of the earth have always known: that increased knowledge does not necessarily mean increased goodness or happiness, that facts are not in themselves blessings, that "truth can make us mad as well as free," that the prolongation of human life is not the same as the improvement of human life, that the acceleration of a process does not always insure a finer product and that change does not necessarily spell progress. They realize now that the fault is not with science or education or democracy, as such, but with the interpretation which men put on them, with the omnipotence and autonomy which they ascribed to them, and with their failure to understand that science, education and democracy are means and not ends in themselves.

What has been tragically missing in our civilization has been the compelling and coordinating belief in the great human goals which religion, and religion alone, has set for mankind, and towards the attainment of which science, education and democracy must contribute, if they are to fulfill their sole function. Mankind lost sight of these goals. Therefore human progress today has no clear direction. Good material and good tools are not enough for the builder. He must have a plan. To build a noble and enduring society, it is not enough to have wealth and intellect. Mankind must be possessed of the architectural plan, which the spiritual vision of man designed, and it must have the will and loyalty to follow that plan. That will and loyalty only the moral sense of man can provide. Without faith in God, the reality of spiritual vision as well as the sanctions of morality are quickly denied and rejected in the world.

Mankind's way of salvation is the way which leads back or forward to God.

In the same way, and even more earnestly, are thoughtful Jews reaching out today for the religious vision of Jewish life. For ours is a double measure of disillusionment and a double measure of misfortune. More than any other people do we require today the everlasting arms of a great religious conviction to sustain us.

To thoughtful Jews it is becoming increasingly clear that there are no substitutes in Jewish life for religion. Neither philanthropy nor culture nor nationalism is adequate for the stress and challenge of our lives. All these interests can and must find their rightful place within the generous pattern of Judaism. But the pattern must be Judaism, the Judaism of the Torah, the synagogue and the prayer book, the Judaism of the priest, the prophet, the saint, the mystic and the rabbi, the Judaism which speaks of God, and the worship of God, and the commandments of God and the quest of God. Most eloquently did Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, in his "Misillat Yesharim"—the Path of the Upright—define Judaism in terms to which every classic teacher of Israel, I am sure, would have subscribed:

"We thus see that the chief function of man in this world is to keep the commandments, to worship God, and to withstand trial. The pleasures of this world should be only the means of affording that contentment and serenity which enables man to apply his mind to the fulfillment of the task before him. All of man's strivings should be directed toward the Creator, blessed be He. A man should have no other purpose in whatever he does, be it great or small, than to draw nigh to God and to break down all separating walls, that is, all things of a material nature, be-

tween himself and his Master, so that he may be drawn to God as iron to a magnet. He should pursue everything that might prove helpful to such nearness, and avoid everything that is liable to prevent it, as he would avoid fire. In the words of the Psalmist, 'My soul cleaveth to Thee; Thy right hand upholdeth me fast' (Ps. 63:9). Since man came into the world only for the end of achieving nearness to God, he should prevent his soul from being held captive by the things which hinder the realization of that end."

Our leaders would do well to understand this. Our people, and more especially our youth, require, now that Jewish life is entering again upon an age of persecution and martyrdom, more than the example of generosity towards our unfortunate brothers overseas, and more than the example of a valiant defense of Jewish rights at home. They require the example of the practice of Judaism, as Luzzatto defined it: "to keep the commandments, to worship God and to withstand trial"—the example of religious discipline, piety and sacrificial loyalty. These leaders must help us to rebuild our inner world, now that our outer worlds are beginning to crumble again.

There have been many false prophets of "ersatz" Judaism in our midst who have frequently misled our people. There were those professional social-workers who announced that a full complement of scientifically administered hospitals and orphanages and other social agencies was a sufficient "vade mecum" for the Jewish people, and that the synagogue and the religious school were quite unnecessary. At best they were to be tolerated only as a concession to those who still take such things seriously, and in order not to create unpleasant friction in the community. Such social-workers had many ready adherents among our would-be assimilated and rich Jews.

There were certain Jewish educators who resented the intrusion of religion in their ultra-scientific curricula. Judaism, they said, was not a religion, but a way of life—that is to say, *their* way of life, which of course, was non-religious or anti-religious. Jewish education should, therefore, not be religious at all, only nationalistic and linguistic. At best the religious note might be smuggled in, but only as a concession to old-timers and cranks who don't know any better.

There were those Jewish spokesmen who offered Jewish nationalism as a substitute for Judaism, forgetting nationalism as such, unredeemed by a moral vision and responsibility, has sadly fragmentized our world, provincialized its peoples and is driving nations madly from one disaster to another; forgetting, further, that there is a widely-felt and widely answered need for religion and religious institutions even among peoples, whose national life is already fully established in their own lands and who are possessed of a rich national culture. Amos, Isaiah and Jeremiah felt the need to preach religion—God and obedience to God's moral law—to their people even though they were established as a nation in their own land and spoke their own language. It is not possible to brush aside the spiritual needs of Jews in the diaspora, and their problems of survival as Jews in lands outside of Palestine, where most Jews will continue to live, merely by talking long, loud and enticingly about Palestine. The upbuilding of a Jewish national home in Palestine is one great, urgent and historically inescapable task of Jewry. The upbuilding of Jewish religious life in America and elsewhere throughout the world, inclusive of Palestine, is another. One is no substitute for the other. One is not opposed to the other.

Again there were other Jews who advised their people that Judaism can well be

laid aside, now that the proletarian Messiah has already appeared in the land of the Slav, riding upon a droshky, and the Kingdom of Heaven was near at hand.

All these false prophets have had their clamorous hour among us. But their hour is over. Thoughtful Jews are turning to the sure and classic highways of Jewish life and thought. We are not likely to be beguiled again, at least the men of this generation, by these prophets and their alien teachings.

Humanity has sickened of its Godless civilization. Because the spiritual interpretation of human destiny was allowed to languish, other interpretations have come to life and are now driving mankind mad. For when God is dethroned, His throne does not remain vacant for long. Some false god, some Wotan, Moloch, Mammon or Mars soon occupies it. Because the ideal of the Imitation of God was banished from the hearts of men, the imitation of some Satan is now the ideal. In place of piety, reverence, humility, compassion, self-sacrifice, other qualities—insolence, cruelty, aggression and combativeness are now extolled. Because men have rejected the ideal of the sanctification of human life under God, they now have a world in which human life is cheap, in which the stature of the individual has been reduced, his rights usurped by the state, his labor a commodity and his life just a statistical item. Because the world rejected God, it rejected also Man, fashioned in the image of God, possessed of a sacred and inviolable personality, endowed by His Creator with certain inalienable rights. Because men have ignored the sovereignty of God's moral Law, they have a world in which men, parties and governments have set themselves up above all law. Where there is no longer the Law of God, there ensues the law of the Duce, the Fuehrer, or the Commissar before which all men must tremble.

Now that lights are going out everywhere in the world, men are turning to the Light of God.

Jews can do no less. Jews will do no less. I sense an incoming tide of faith among our people, a faith charged in some instances with deep mysticism. It should not surprise us and it would be in keeping with similar moments in our past history, if our age should witness a strong mystic movement among our people. Such mystic movements followed the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal at the close of the 15th century and the appalling disasters which overtook Polish Jewry in the 17th century. The present-day expulsions of the Jews from Germany and Austria, the dismal plight of Jews throughout Eastern Europe, the stress under which Israel finds itself everywhere, coupled with the distressed mood of mankind generally, may give rise to a strong mystic movement which will express itself in religion, literature and art and in personal habits of thought and conduct.

In a sense, the problem of the survival of Judaism is much simpler in our day than at any time in the past. Our leaders need no longer expend the energy which was expended during the last century to persuade Jews to remain Jews. The doors of escape from Jewish destiny have been shut. The choice confronting intelligent Jews today is a very simple one. They have realized that God has not placed the shears of destiny—to be, or not to be—in their hands. Forces which they have not summoned are driving all would-be escapists back upon their people. Somehow there has always been an element of unavoidable compulsion, of the inevitable, in Jewish experience. It is the "Ba'al Korcha" element, the quality of shunless destiny. It was under such compulsion, the Rabbis declared, that our forefathers accepted the Torah

at Mount Sinai . . . "And that which cometh into your mind shall not be at all; in that ye say: 'We will be as the nations, as the families of the countries, to serve wood and stone. As I live, saith the Lord God, surely with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm, and with fury poured out, will I be king over you . . . And I will cause you to pass under the rod, and I will bring you into the bonds of the covenant.' "

The choice today is not between survival and extinction, but between doom and destiny, between burden and mission. Shall we live our Jewish lives greatly or meanly? Shall Jews walk "darkling to their doom" or advance confidently and exultingly to their destiny along the eternal road which stretches from Ur of the Chaldees to the distant messianic lands of "Acharit Ha-yamim"? Shall we quarrel with our fate and beat helpless hands against the unyielding bars of circumstances or shall we, by a miracle of faith, remembering that "stone walls do not a prison make" cease to be the unwilling prisoners of circumstance, and in the service of God, and of God in man, become magnificently free?

"The slave of God—he alone is truly free." Our choice to-day is between the "Ol Malkut" and the "Ol Malkut Shamayim"—between the yoke of earthly kingdoms, which is grievously hard to bear, and the yoke of the Kingdom of God, which makes all other yokes easy to bear.

What hands shall weave the loom of our future years? Our *own* hands, tender and skillful, drawing the golden strands from our own treasures of wisdom, piety, passion and dreams, which all the goodly folk from Abraham to our own day have stored for us, or shall alien hands, rude and unsympathetic, weave the web of the destiny of ourselves and our children?

Now that many doors are closing, should we not open wide to our children the doors leading to the treasure-troves of their own people's spiritual and intellectual wealth, for their future sustenance, inspiration, solace and pride? The days ahead will be hard days for them. Until the world completes the latest stage in its economic transformation and steadies itself again, after a long, violent period of readjustment, Jews, because they are everywhere an exposed minority, easily blamed and easily victimized, will be hammered on the anvil of every world event. The days ahead will be hard days for our children, but they need not be ignoble or unrewarding days. Give them their total heritage—the copious bounty of Judaism—the Torah, the synagogue, the prayer book, the noble literature and the beautiful language of their people. Give them the millennial companionship of their kinsmen and their kinsmen's heroic faith and dreams and their matchless saga and they will be matched with their great hour. They will then come to understand what it is in our heritage that has kept us alive; what it is that laid waste the paganism of the ancient world and now finds itself again in mortal combat with another paganism which it is also destined to destroy; what it is that makes their people the brunt of attack whenever privilege, power and reaction make a major onslaught on the precious hopes of mankind, and why the ancient ideals of their people are forever the battle-cries of upstruggling humanity. They will then come to understand that it is not because we are weak or unworthy that barbarous governments have vowed to destroy us, but because we are strong, and they fear us. Not us, but the faith which is in us, the torch which is in our hearts and the passion which is in our blood for the prophetic mandates of our Jewish heritage, for justice, freedom, brotherhood and

peace, for the vision of Ir Ha-Tzedek, Kiryah Ne'emanah, the City of Justice, the City of Faith, in place of the Ir Ha-damim, the City of Blood, built upon the pride of blood and upon glory drenched in the blood of the conquered, the despoiled and the slain. These reckless adventurers of Power, who have put all ethics, all science and all religion in the service of a design for Power, who have made all ethics relative to tribal temperament and national interests and only Power, absolute, who have forced upon civilian life the discipline, the dumb obedience, the drill, the barrack room, the court martial, the censor, the espionage system, the whole code, complex and outlook of the military, and, by so doing, have destroyed civilian life completely, these present-day heirs of the tradition of Ishmael—the "Pere Adam," the Wild Man, "whose hand is against every man and every man's hand is against him," these heirs of the traditions of Esau, the Hairy Man, the "Ish Tzayid," who sees life only as the hunter sees the hunted, and who delights "to live by his sword,"—these abhor and dread the tradition of Jacob, the "Ish Tam," the man seeking perfection through rational and moral pursuits, "Yoshev Ohalim," content to live in the peaceful tents of work and study, devoted to the greatness of morals instead of the morals of greatness. . . .

And understanding this—and understanding further that they must now become the active trustees of this classic tradition of civilization—they will, along with all other men of good will, feel themselves challenged. They will not be ashamed or cast down. They will face their world without fear or apology. They will not seek the world's approval—only God's. They will not be afraid of hostile voices—only of their own voice when silenced in fear. The insolence and naked impudicity of the heathens who rage will never humiliate them, only their own apostasy, back-sliding and fear. They will try to be worthy of their great hour of testing!

For each young heart will say: I stood with Abraham in his lonely vigil and read the destiny of my people in the stars. With Isaac I built the altar of a patriarch's stern faith and ultimate sacrifice. At Jabbok's ford I learned to wrestle through the night with the dark angel of despair and to wrest a blessing at the break of dawn. With Joseph I dreamt the dream of sheaves and stars and climbed the steps from a dungeon's pit to a prince's throne. I wandered with Moses, an alien prince among an alien people. Unshod, I knelt with him before a vision in the wilderness, and from within the inextinguishable fires of God I heard the Voice summoning to duty and freedom. I saw the lightnings and the clouds, and heard the thunder roll around Mt. Sinai, and witnessed the everlasting covenant between my people and its God. I learned how to suffer and hunger in long and weary marches to reach a promised land. I was with Joshua fighting at Gibeon, and with Deborah by the waters of Megiddo, when the stars in their courses fought against Sisera. I stood with the blind Samson in his agony, and heard the wild cry of his desperate courage as he pulled down the temple over the Philistines. I heard Samuel admonish his people to remain free, and not to reject God by enslaving themselves to a king. I listened to the harp of the shepherd king, David, and saw the great king cowering before the righteous wrath of the prophet, and bowing in contrition before the majesty of the overarching Law of God. I prayed with Solomon in the Temple which he dedicated as a House of Prayer for all peoples, and I learned of a God Whom Heaven, and the Heaven of Heavens, cannot contain, and Whose compassion extendeth to all, even to the

stranger who cometh out of a far country.

I marched with the resolute band of the prophets who came to destroy old worlds and to build new ones. I shuddered at the wrath of their spirit as they lashed out against oppression and injustice, against false gods and gilded idols, against blind leaders and lying prophets. I warmed at their infinite compassion for the weak, the denied, and the wronged. From them I learned the nature of Mission and what a raging fire within one's bosom and unfulfilled mandate of God may become.

I wandered with my people by the slow-moving rivers of Babylon, and I heard their oath of deathless loyalty "If I forget Thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her cunning." I entered their humble and improvised synagogues, and I discovered that prayer and devout study are beautiful, and as acceptable to God as the sacrifices of the priests in the Temple, and the songs of the Levites.

I returned from captivity, and standing with those who rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, I learned how a people can build upon ruins. I sat with the sages and scribes who piously taught and interpreted the word of God, and molded a people's reverence for its spirit ensarined in a timeless Book. I moved among the mountains of Judea, pulling down the heathen altars, with the lion-hearted sons of the Maccabees. I saw the miracle of a single cruse of spiritual oil inexhaustibly illumine the rededicated temple of their faith. I was the companion of the gentle Hillel who revealed to me the whole of the Law in the single kernel of neighborly love; and of Akiba who knew how to inspire a revolution, defy an empire and die a martyr.

And then into the long dark exile I wandered with my people, into many lands over which cross and crescent reigned, and I walked with them the weary highways of the world. I was with them when they drank deep out of the bitter chalice of pain, humiliation, cruelty, and hate. But never did I fail to sense the stress of their imperious vision, their pride of a great past, their hope of a greater future, their superb courage, their unflinching faith. Philosophers, poets and saints never failed them in the lands of their dispersion, and the light of their Torah was never extinguished.

And then I saw the night lift and the dawn break; and into a reborn world, drenched with a new light of freedom and justice, I marched with them exaltingly. I heard the shackles fall from off their limbs. I saw the radiance of their emancipated minds and hearts. I beheld them, mounting as on eagles' wings, rising to bless the world with matchless gifts of heart and mind in every field of human creation.

And now I see the night descend again, and into the dark and the storm my people are wandering forth again. Shall I leave them now? *Can* I leave them now? Shall I part company with this immortal band? They have become too dear and precious to me. The urgency of their pilgrimage is now coursing thru my own blood too. Their beckoning shrine is now the shrine of my quest also. Like unto the first pilgrim, out of Ur of the Chaldees, I, too, seized by the hand of God, am listening to the Divine summons: "Get thee out of thy country . . . and from thy father's house, unto a land which I will show thee . . . and I will bless thee, and thou shalt be a blessing . . ."

Seeing Our Problem Against the Larger Background

TEXT OF RADIO ADDRESS

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

*National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal
for Refugees and Overseas Needs*



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Seeing Our Problem Against the Larger Background

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

CZECHOSLOVAKIA has ceased to exist as an independent country and the situation has again changed for the worse. Hitler destroyed it. The Czech nation has been absorbed and politically obliterated within the Third Reich. Slovakia, too, is now a German protectorate. Thus the Nazi Government which in six short years has made stateless and homeless two million people, Jews and non-Jews, is now shattering the lives and fortunes of hundreds of thousands of new victims in a conquered land which is non-German by race, and which until recently was a free and tolerant democracy. Another half million potential refugees, Jewish and non-Jewish, have been created overnight. All who had loved their country too dearly, and had resisted too loyally Nazi propaganda and penetration, all who belonged to a differing political faith, all who had fled from Germany to Czechoslovakia for refuge, and all Jews, and those who are declared to be Jews by the infamous Nuremberg race laws, are tonight marked and doomed men—they and their wives and their children. Many are already in concentration camps. Many more are on their way there, to taste the savage brand of Nazi sadism and "Schrecklichkeit."

A veritable man-hunt is on. No one will escape. The borders are closed. The occupation of Czechoslovakia was as swift and unexpected as was that of Austria. There was no chance of escape. Men are trapped. The March horrors of Vienna are tonight being reenacted in Prague. Many are committing suicide. Frightened people are seeking temporary sanctuary in the consulates and legations of foreign nations. The notorious and well-oiled Nazi routine of expropriation and confiscation, of robbing men of their businesses and possessions, and driving them from their positions and professions, is in full swing. When that process is completed, another half million or more of "plundered, profaned and disinherited" human beings will be cast out as human debris upon the mercy of the world.

Close upon the heels of this disaster comes the news of further anti-Jewish legislation in Hungary. Hungary has now absorbed one of the dismembered parts of Czechoslovakia—Ruthenia—which has a substantial Jewish population. Many Jews of Hungary will be forced to emigrate as a result of the new legislation which sharply restricts, and in many instances, completely destroys their opportunities to earn a living.

Likewise during this week, Great Britain, following the breakdown of the London Round Table Conference, announced its own tentative plan for Palestine. By the terms of this plan, Jewish immigration into Palestine will be reduced to an average of some fifteen thousand a year for the next five years. Jews had hoped that Palestine would serve as a ready and welcoming haven for the vast number of homeless refugees from all parts of Europe. Palestine is capable of absorbing a hundred thousand new immigrants a year. Under the terms of the Mandate, Great Britain had undertaken to facilitate Jewish immigration into that country and to assist in the upbuilding of the Jewish National Homeland. It is now contemplated drastically to reduce Jewish immigration in order to insure that the Jews shall forever remain a minority in Palestine.

Thus, at a time when a tragic and overwhelming catastrophe has overtaken the Jewries of Europe, forcing myriads of them to wander forth in search of new homes, the doors to their own national homeland are to be steadily closed to them. The same wrong-headed and bankrupt British foreign policy of unilateral appeasement, which has been responsible for the dismemberment and annihilation of the brave and gallant little democracy in Central Europe, is now visiting a similar fate upon the Jewish Homeland in Palestine. In both cases, terrorism and lawlessness have been rewarded, and loyalty, labor and law have been flouted and betrayed.

The prospect for millions of our people in Europe today seems hopeless indeed. But our history knows no hopelessness. We have passed through the deep, dark waters many times before. We are an ancient people. Thirty-five centuries have hardened us. We have learned how to draw strength from danger and defeat. In every testing hour of our history, in every time of wrath, we found our sure and strong defense in a reinforced loyalty and solidarity, in great love and ready sacrifice. And above all in confident faith in the Guardian of Israel who neither sleepeth nor slumbereth:

"My flock was scattered for want of a shepherd, and became food for all the beasts of the field; my flock wandered over all the

mountains and over every high hill; my flock was scattered over all the face of the earth, with none to seek or search for them. . . .

"Thus saith the Lord God: Behold, here am I, and I will seek and search for my flock. As a shepherd searches for his flock on a day of whirlwind, when his sheep are scattered, so will I search for my flock; and rescue them from all the places to which they have been scattered, on the day of clouds and thick darkness."

The tragic fate which has now overtaken Czechoslovakia should make it clear to all men that the organized attack upon the Jewish people in many parts of Europe is not an isolated phenomenon, to be explained in and by itself, but rather part of a larger sinister design. It is part of a major offensive, along the entire front, not alone against the rights of all minorities, but against the rights and independence of all smaller nations. Imperialism is on the march again in Europe—and in that part of Europe which has always been the bloody arena of rival imperial ambitions. Minorities and small states are pawns in this desperate and infamous game of empire. They are first enmeshed in a web of scandalous intrigue, conspiracy and propaganda, and then ruthlessly and cynically sacrificed to power politics. The smaller states, which lie across the path of expanding empire, are systematically disrupted from within, disintegrated and then absorbed.

In this skillfully elaborated technique of disruption, anti-Semitism has served as one of the handiest and most effective weapons. Anti-Semitism of the post-war era in Europe has been purely political and governmental. It is neither religious nor racial. It is not the attitude of peoples but the incitement of politicians and Fascist adventurers and agents of imperial intrigue. The racism of the Nazis was only a grotesque façade for a cunning and conscienceless political strategy by which to divide the German people, discredit liberalism and democracy and disrupt the German Republic. Since their coming to power, the Nazis have consistently employed anti-Semitism to confound the political life of those countries which they have marked down as stepping stones in the imperial expansion program of the Third Reich. By means of it, they succeed in destroying their democratic forms of government. They sow discord and disunion among their people and undermine their power of resistance to Nazi aggression.

Some of the smaller nations and minority groups of Europe beguiled themselves into believing that it was only the Jewish minority which would be singled out for persecution and destruction. They were immune. Some of them even introduced within their own borders some of the anti-Semitic tactics and

practices of Berlin, and consented to act as Nazi marionettes. They cried grievously. They should have taken warning from the Nazi persecution of the Jews. When the elementary rights of one minority group are flouted with impunity, the rights of all minority groups are endangered. When law is denied to one, tyranny is likely to overtake all. When there is no respect for the inalienable rights of men or religions or races which are too weak to defend themselves, there will be no respect for the inalienable rights of nations which are too weak to defend themselves. Hitler, the arch anti-Semite, has now finally revealed himself in his true colors as the arch-enemy of all minority groups and small nations in Europe. The rape of Czechoslovakia is part of the same outrageous scheme of power politics and empire-building as is the robbing and looting of the Jewish group in Germany, and the shameless exploitation of anti-Semitism.

The Jewish problem in Europe is thus bound up with the whole problem of the protection of the rights of minorities and of smaller nations. It is part of the problem of collective security in the world. It is also bound up with the classic ideals of liberty, peace and brotherhood, whose progress has been so sharply interrupted in our day. When this progress will be resumed it is difficult to say. Hard and desperate days lie ahead for mankind—for Jews and non-Jews alike. The forces of reaction and blackest tyranny are triumphantly on the march. Democracy has suffered one severe defeat after another. The League of Nations lies shattered and discredited at our feet. The free spirit of man stands shaken and frightened today in a dazed and apocalyptic mood, as if awaiting some crash of doom.

But though our hearts are heavy and our minds perplexed, we should not despair. We should try to understand our age against the background of the ages. We should endeavor to appraise our present hour in terms of what has gone before. In so doing, we shall gain perspective, confidence and courage.

What seems like Armageddon at first, is in reality but another bitter skirmish in the age-old and irrepressible conflict between the religious and moral traditions of mankind, as represented in Judaism and Christianity, symbolized in the concepts of law, freedom, peace, brotherhood and the inviolable rights of man—and the indurate traditions of paganism symbolized in the concepts of power, state idolatry, autocracy, militarism, conquest and war.

The outcome of this conflict cannot be in doubt. Man, though frequently yielding to fear, pressure and panic, will not permanently submit himself to intellectual and spiritual serfdom, however great the deceptions and beguilements which a cynical

government, bent upon power, will through a thousand and one forms of propaganda, practice upon him. In the long run, man will accept no substitutes for the autonomy of his spirit and the sovereign freedom of his questing and adventuring mind. Man does not wish to be a robot, or the blind instrument of some usurping state bureaucracy. Man wants freedom and dignity and a sense of personal and inherent worth. There is also something in man which at long last revolts against the mystic adoration of force, the everlasting brandishing of fists and against national and racial chauvinism and exhibitionism. There are deeper sources of human inspirations whence well up irrepressibly the redemptive power of compassion, love and good-will, the ideals of human solidarity, justice and peace.

Mankind will sooner or later return to these classic ideals of civilization. We are not at the end of a way, at the edge of a wilderness, but on a long broken detour. We shall return to the golden highway. But this return will not come about automatically and as a matter of course, but only as the result of the patient labor and the heroic faith of those people who, in spite of the world's vast turmoil, still think with a minimum of bias and feel with a maximum of self-restraint—who have lost neither their vision nor their perspective, who are conscious both of their strength and of their mission, and who are determined to carry on, even as a saving remnant, in these times of spiritual crisis and tribulation. Upon these people, working faithfully each in his sphere, to preserve the precious values of a free society, rests today the ultimate salvation of our world.

There are periods in human history when conditions become so bad and problems so involved and seemingly impossible of solution, that whole generations are seized with a desire to escape. Men begin to yearn for some distant hermitage of tranquillity from which the urgencies and anxieties of a distant world would be excluded and wherein all life would be beautifully simplified. Here and there an individual may free himself from the coils and involvements of his day and age and find sequestered peace in some isle of ease. For the millions of men, this is quite impossible. There is no running away. There is no peaceful valley to which the masses of mankind can retire, and, amidst peace and pleasant labor, live unhurried and unharassed lives, savoring all the loveliness of existence.

It is only out of the hard and bitter realities of life, through struggle and suffering, by means of hard planning and building, slowly and with many heart-breaking setbacks, that men can construct a cleaner and lovelier order of life for themselves and

for their children. For all men of spirit this age should be a challenge, not a disillusionment, or a despair.

We Jews, especially, should learn to see our problem against the background of the entire world's problem, and also against the background not of the last few years, but of generations, nay centuries. We are bearing today a double load of the burdens which all free men are bearing. Frequently that has been our fate in the past. It is our cross and our crown and our immortality. Perhaps it is the key to our strange destiny so underlaid with grandeur and with pain. We never succumbed, and as long as we remain faithful to the God Whose name and nature our seers revealed to mankind, as long as we serve Him in simple truth, in justice, in love and in sacrifice, dealing our bread to the hungry, bringing the poor that are cast out to our homes, and satisfying the afflicted soul, so long will light ever rise in our darkness, and the gloom shall be as the noonday. . . .

For us Jews, too, this age of surge and thunder, of suffering and menace, should be a compelling and undeniable challenge, not a disillusionment or a despair.



March 18, 1939.

The Refugees and the World Conscience

Radio addresses by

THOMAS MANN

BISHOP BERNARD J. SHEIL

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

RABBI JONAH B. WISE

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National Broadcasting Company

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Aspirers

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL
FOR REFUGEES & OVERSEAS NEEDS

on behalf of

JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE
UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL and
NATIONAL REFUGEE SERVICE

342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

A Work of Patriotism

BY RABBI JONAH B. WISE

National Chairman

United Jewish Appeal for Refugees and Overseas Needs



I WANT to speak to you tonight about the great task which American men and women of the Jewish faith have undertaken. The task is done at the command of religion, that religion common to all men and women in the United States, whether they be of Protestant, Catholic or Jewish origin. It is done so that there will be greater justice in the world.

We read in Deuteronomy, Chapter 15, Verse 7:

If there be among you a needy man, one of thy brethren, within any of thy gates, in thy land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thy heart, nor shut thy hand from thy needy brother; but thou shalt surely open thy hand unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need in that which he wanteth.

In this spirit we have tried to provide for men, women and children who have been exiled from Europe and have, as millions and millions have done before, turned their faces to this country for that new life which is the essence of our democracy. This work is being done by the National Refugee Service. I cannot go into it in detail but I can say that it is more than a charity. It is a work of patriotism on the part of American citizens. It takes the newcomers who would otherwise be a problem to the general polity of our country and assumes responsibility for them. I know of no more patriotic program in this important field and I know of none that has been sustained with higher spirit and with greater service to our country.

THE second beneficiary of the United Jewish Appeal is Palestine. Those who turn to the East in reverent recollection of the land of Holy Writ, of the Prophets, of the singers in Israel and of Jesus are amongst the great patriots of our land. Palestine today offers a refuge and a haven to so many thousands of our distressed brethren that it seems again to be to those escaping from Egyptian bondage a "Promised Land." Zionists and non-Zionists are giving generously to support and sustain a program of

civilized development and reclamation of a country which twenty years ago seemed barren and a hopeless waste. It is to the credit of the Jews who have settled and worked there that out of the rocky surface and thin soil of Palestine a land promising to flow with milk and honey has begun to grow. The United Palestine Appeal finds means from the physical charity and the intellectual generosity of all shades of Jewish opinion to assist in this civilized process and thereby to bring succor to thousands and thousands who would otherwise be completely homeless wanderers upon the face of the earth.

THE Joint Distribution Committee has toiled unremittingly since 1914 to relieve distress and to create hope for millions of our fellow Jews and for non-Jews, first in Eastern Europe and in Palestine, and now, because of the war, throughout the world. Its means are limited but its ideals are Messianic. We almost seem to be facing the situation described in Deuteronomy, Chapter 15, Verse 11:

For the poor shall never cease out of the land; therefore I command thee, saying: 'Thou shalt surely open thy hand unto thy poor and needy brother, in thy land.'

Let those who feel that they are too weak to help remember that the meek redeem the earth, that those who abate their judgment of the political problems, the economic problems and the theological problems which distress humanity and offer their whole to the poor and needy are just those meek by whom all humanity will be redeemed.

These three organizations I have told you about only in the most general way. They must have their place in the present thinking of all humane men and women as they have earned their places in the history of humanity.

These are noble causes. These are the fulfillment of American ideals and of Jewish hopes. They carry out the mandates of religion, the teaching of the Prophets and the behests of Jesus. Certainly, as Americans, as Jews or as Christians we must rally to those who have undertaken this service and help them to provide means to carry it forward.

As I sit here looking at this microphone, a symbol of how high our civilization can aspire to elevate its mechanics through its mind; as I sit here looking at Thomas Mann, a symbol of how high our civilization may aspire to elevate its flesh through the spirit, I realize that he is here to plead for help for those who have allied themselves with the spiritual and the hopeful of humanity.



The Dangers Facing Democracy

BY THOMAS MANN

THIS country has an earnest desire to find the truth behind the news, to learn the "inside story" of momentous events; it even has institutions solely devoted to the exposure of foreign propaganda.—Well, then, what is the inside story of anti-Semitism? For, let none of my listeners deceive himself, this special form of racial hatred does not confine itself to the unspeakable horrors which it is perpetrating on a scale putting all previous atrocities in the shade. Oh, no, the anti-Semitism of today, the streamlined, artificial anti-Semitism of our technical age, is no end in itself; it is nothing but a wrench to unscrew bit by bit the whole machinery of our civilization. Or, to use an up-to-date simile: Anti-Semitism is like a hand-grenade tossed over the wall to work havoc and confusion in the camp of democracy. That is its real and main purpose.

Who says so? Is it my own theory? Oh, no, I quote only. Why, the chief instigators of World anti-Semitism themselves openly boast of their cunning devices: how to disrupt strong nations by making them "Jew-conscious" and thereby forgetful of democratic conscience. To them anti-Semitism and nationalism are nothing but very useful tools in their attempt to conquer the world by "boring from within". Let us look at their technique for a moment.

It works in a twofold way, making friends, unmaking enemies. First of all, anti-Semitism appeals to those wretched people who, in order to feel bigger, must crush others under their heel. I hear them saying to themselves: "I may be a nobody, but, at least, I'm not a Jew! So I *am* something—something noble!"—Anti-Semitism, I maintain, is the mob's substitute for nobility.

To those, however, who are wary and ashamed of racial hatred, the arch-seducers speak: "Why bother about all this exaggerated talk"—so they say—"of persecution, deportation and starvation? This is not your business!

Let the Jews"—so they say—"look out for themselves; don't you interfere lest you come to grief yourselves! Leave the Jews to us, and we promise to leave you alone."

BEWARE of such talk! The peoples of Europe were trapped that way, only to discover later that the onslaught against the Jews was but the starting signal for a general drive against the very foundations of Christianity. That humanitarian creed for which we are forever indebted to the people of the Holy Writ, originated in the old Mediterranean world. What we are witnessing today is nothing else than the ever recurrent revolt of unconquered pagan instincts, protesting against the restrictions imposed by the Ten Commandments. The Jews of Middle Europe had the misfortune, as living exponents of this old Mediterranean culture, to earn the wrath of the younger Nordics first.

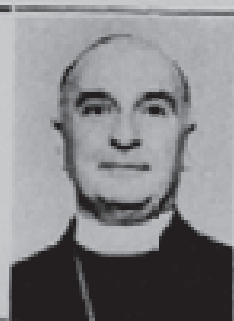
The Jewish cause is, therefore, not a Jewish question alone. I am a gentile myself, and I support the United Jewish Appeal, because I know from bitter experience that the flames in which the Jew burns, will not stop at his stake, but will lap the surrounding houses. We shall all perish if we are not on the alert to quench these flames before it is too late. This fire is as fateful as that conflagration of which the Germanic saga speaks: "Muspili", or The Twilight of the Pagan Gods. Let us hope that this new Twilight will not bring about the pagan god's resurrection, but will be followed by Dawn—let us pray that the martyrdom of the Saviour's people may turn into salvation for a whole suffering world.

An Appalling Chapter in History

BY THE MOST REVEREND

BERNARD J. SHEIL

Bishop of Chicago



WE who possess the treasure of peace cannot consider ourselves as unconcerned spectators in the drama that is being enacted in Europe today. We are of one mind and one heart in our solemn determination that we shall not be drawn into the great conflict that has placed millions of men under arms and brought untold suffering and destruction to large numbers of civilians. But in our determination to remain neutral, we cannot remain indifferent to the distress and the tragedy of innocent men, women and children whose homes have been destroyed and whose lives have been uprooted. As Americans we have never failed to extend the hand of sympathy and comfort to the victims of disaster, be they of war, famine, earthquake or disease, nor have we in the past turned aside from the pleas for assistance from the victims of racial or religious intolerance.

They, the victims, are beneficent and constructive workers whose labors have contributed greatly to the welfare and culture of their nations. Some of them are shining lights in law, in medicine, in art, in literature, in science. They are brilliant scholars whose fame and achievement are known and revered throughout the learned world. All these by the thousands, with all their earthly possessions confiscated, are exiled from the land which has been their ancestral home for centuries. They are set adrift upon the high seas, not knowing where they can find a haven of peace and security for their weary, racked bodies, their crushed, bleeding hearts, their tortured minds. What wonder if thousands of them have died of exposure, hunger and disease. What wonder if thousands of them have been crushed under the grinding weight of tragic despair because they could see no star of hope shining in their darkened sky.

IN all the sad, bitter story of man's inhumanity to man, few chapters are more appalling than the scene of cold, calculating, unbridled cruelty now passing before our eyes of which the Jewish people are innocent, un-

provoked victims. The heart that is not profoundly moved by sentiments of grief, of sympathy and compassion at the sight of this ghastly crucifixion of a great, ancient and cultured people is dead to all the nobler impulses of civilized man. When the sacred, inherent, God-given rights of human nature are trampled underfoot by savage, pitiless tyrannic power, when every high and ennobling concept of religion, of civilization and humanity is scorned, condemned and despised by godless, upstart tyrants drunk with unlimited power, the whole structure of civilized life is endangered.

THE situation which now confronts us is not, therefore, a problem for the Jews alone. It is a problem which no less deeply concerns Catholics, Protestants and men of good will everywhere. We cannot behold with cold unconcern the sufferings, the misfortune, the ruthless persecution of our fellow men without treason to the highest and holiest precepts of religion, without abdicating our manhood, stultifying our reason and debasing our character. As the great Lincoln expressed it: "Those who care not for the liberty and happiness of others deserve not liberty and happiness for themselves and under the providence of God they cannot long enjoy them."

But our immediate concern is to provide the means of life for the thousands, perhaps millions, who have been deprived so cruelly and unjustly of every means of sustenance. What can be more appealing than the agonized cry of women and little children who are hungry, cold, naked and shelterless? Women and children whose gaunt eyes, haggard faces and emaciated bodies plead with us more eloquently than any words which human lips may ever have the power to utter.

MY dear Jewish friends, you know much better than I that this picture is not the creation of a fertile imagination. It is a grim, tragic reality. Many of you have friends, relatives and dear ones beyond the sea, who cannot survive unless speedy succor comes to them.

The ringing command of the New Testament was no less vigorously issued by the great prophets of ancient Israel. "Feed the hungry. Give drink to the thirsty. Clothe the naked. Shelter the homeless. If you have little, give something of that little. If you have much, give generously of your abundance." You are the one human hope of your sorely pressed blood brethren. If you fail them, they must inevitably perish.

My dear Jewish friends, we Catholics can share with you to the full your deep anguish at the present dread hour. We too have our appalling

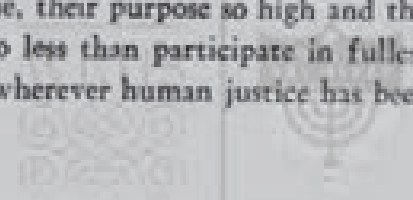
refugee problem. We too have our millions of men and women who are the helpless and innocent victims of the same tyrannic power as yourselves.

Only the other day, testimony given before a Senate committee showed that: "Unless food, clothing and shelter are provided for them within the next few months, seven million Poles must inevitably die of starvation and exposure."

Children of the ancient blood of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob, of Moses, of David, of Isaiah, of Jeremiah and of Daniel, you have never turned a deaf ear to your distressed and oppressed brethren in the past. By all your sacred traditions, by all your holy memories of the illustrious past which is yours, you will not fail your persecuted, starving brethren of today.

I am happy to endorse the activities of the United Jewish Appeal for Refugees and Overseas Needs because it represents a far-reaching, systematic plan of rehabilitation, relief and resettlement which will mean new life and new homes for many thousands in the distressed areas of Europe.

The activities of the three organizations comprising the United Jewish Appeal are so humane, their purpose so high and their values so noble that Americans can do no less than participate in fullest measure in the work now going forward wherever human justice has been throttled.





Building A "Maginot Line" of Compassion

BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

National Chairman

United Jewish Appeal for Refugees and Overseas Needs

MANY small nations and minority groups, besides the Jews, are today met by the same water-course, and are drinking of the same bitter waters of persecution. The Jews of America are no longer the only ones who are faced with the necessity of providing relief for their brothers abroad. For some time now, both Catholics and Protestants in the United States have had to do the same thing for the members of their faiths who suffer in Nazi Germany. More recently, invaded and war-ravaged Poland and Finland have been compelled to appeal to the generous heart of America for public loans and private relief aid. Thus a common foe who has brought measureless tragedy to countless human beings, regardless of their race or creed, has finally united men of good will, of all races and creeds, in the common task of human rescue and succor. We have become allies in a ministry of love, to the denied and the dispossessed of the earth, who can survive only because of our active compassion for them, and who will cling to hope only as long as their faith in our humanity is justified.

Through the material help which we dispatch to our fellow human beings who have been beaten in body and harrowed in spirit, who have lost their homes, possessions and careers, or who are hungry, hounded and exiled, we are saying to them: "Be strong and of good courage! You have not been forgotten! Millions of loyal hearts the world over beat with love and solicitude for you! Your day of vindication and restitution is sure to come!"

WE who are raising or contributing to relief funds at this time in order to assist the victims of aggression, tyranny and intolerance abroad, are doing much more than extending help to men, women and children in their dark hour of need, and, in so doing, are assuming our elementary and inescapable human responsibilities. In a profounder sense, we are building dikes against the flood of spiritual anarchy which is engulfing our world. We are throwing up a Maginot Line of human compassion

across the path of an invasion which has been threatening the very character of our civilization and the whole spiritual life of man. Increasingly, callousness to human wrong and suffering, and unconcern with the breakdown of standards of human decency have spread among the peoples of the earth. A selfish and comfortable attitude of detachment and non-involvement in the sufferings of a riven and menaced world has steadily manifested itself in our midst. Spiritual isolationism has grown into a far graver threat to civilization than economic isolationism. The common bond of humanity is in danger of being snapped—that mysterious spiritual cord of human sympathy, the quick and loyal response of one man's pity to another man's suffering, the sense of moral outrage at the sight of wanton human cruelty. This moral aloofness and indifference of our times are far more serious than the spread of dictatorship, for they spell the doom of any hope or any effort ever to free mankind from the curse of dictatorship. Such hopes and efforts are nourished only by the spiritual nature of man, by his strong sense of human solidarity, and by the compelling mandates of brotherhood and reciprocity. "It is through fraternity that liberty is saved", declared Victor Hugo. Even political and economic isolationism have proved vain and dangerous doctrines in our day. Spiritual isolationism would completely fragmentize our world, and reduce it to hopeless anarchy.

THE great national relief appeals which are being made in our country today, such as the United Jewish Appeal, in behalf of suffering humanity, are encouraging evidences of a strong opposite tendency, of a firm resolve on the part of men and women who are still free, to strengthen the common bond of humanity, to fortify the spirit of universal sympathy and interdependence, and to reintegrate the shattered spiritual life of the world. Whereas other voices—hard and cruel voices—are shouting into the confusion of our day, words of division, of hate, threat and abuse, words freighted with the mischievous conceits of superior and inferior peoples, of master and slave races, or with the dark doctrines of class struggle, purges and liquidations, the voice of our humanitarian relief appeals, such as the United Jewish Appeal, is the still small voice—but withal, the eternal and undeniable voice—of unity, of love and healing, of brotherhood, freedom and human equality. And as long as that voice remains unsilenced amidst the sound and fury of our world, so long will there be hope for a redeemed humanity.

Life has been particularly hard in the last few years on small nations and minority groups. They are the first victims, wherever and whenever the law of force banishes the law of justice. The Jewish people in Europe was the first to feel the blows of lawless, state violence. All kinds of specious and deceitful reasons were invented to justify the mortal wrongs which were being perpetrated upon this helpless minority. Actually there was but one reason—as other small nations and minority groups were soon to learn—the total breakdown of the reign of law in the heart of Europe, and the enthronement of the reign of lawless men. In quick succession, the peoples of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Poland, and now Finland, have been made to feel the flail and whips of this cynical and outrageous lawlessness.

OUR national relief funds, in themselves, cannot, of course, stop these inextinguishable crimes against men and nations, but they are prophetic of a passionate resolve on the part of men who have refused to surrender their spiritual heritage of dignity and freedom, that some day these *shall* be stopped, that some day aggression and tyranny *shall* cease, that some day racial and religious minorities *shall* be protected from despoliation, and that some day, *every* historic people shall be confirmed in its national and political inheritance.

Three great causes are served by our United Jewish Appeal. First, through the Joint Distribution Committee, food, raiment, shelter and medical care are, as far as possible, provided for men, women and children in the war-ridden and hate-riven areas of Central and Eastern Europe, and wherever possible, assistance is given to refugees to emigrate and to find new homes. Secondly, through the National Refugee Service, help is extended to those who come to our own shores to adjust themselves as quickly as possible to the American way of life, and to enable them to put at the service of our country whatever ability, gifts and talents they may possess—and many of them are richly endowed and will make valuable contributions to the life of America. Finally, through the United Palestine Appeal, assistance is given to the rebuilding of the land of Israel, as a new homeland for an ancient people, long denied a national home. Palestine, in the last few years, has been the largest haven of refuge for Jews who have been driven out upon the dark and broken roads of exile. For decades, now, and more especially in the last few years, Jews have been building in their ancestral home, a new and noble center of life and culture. They have been building there upon the ruins of ages, planting flourishing colonies amidst

the rack and desolation of the centuries, and founding towns and cities where the waste and dreary wilderness once stretched. Five hundred thousand Jews have already found a new home there, and a new life and hope.

In the nigh universal black-out for mankind generally, and for our people particularly, the noble causes which are served by the United Jewish Appeal are bright lamps in the dark, which tell that life is still going on in the heart of the darkness, and that the creative mind and heart of Israel are still bent upon their eternal tasks, unbroken and undefeated. They are grateful reminders that we have not resigned ourselves to the triumph of the new barbarism. Neither mankind in its quest for freedom, and a kindly way of life, nor Israel, in its quest for freedom and the right to live, has reconciled itself to defeat. The darkness is here, of course, gross and almost impenetrable, but within that darkness still burn the inextinguishable fires of God.



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