

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES



3 3433 08230968 7

524

THE
NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

PRESENTED BY

Max J. Kohler Esq.

January 2, 1919.

Wolf
AGZ

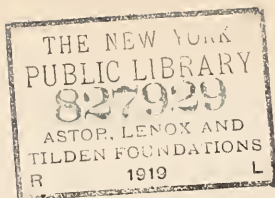


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

The Presidents I Have Known
from 1860-1918

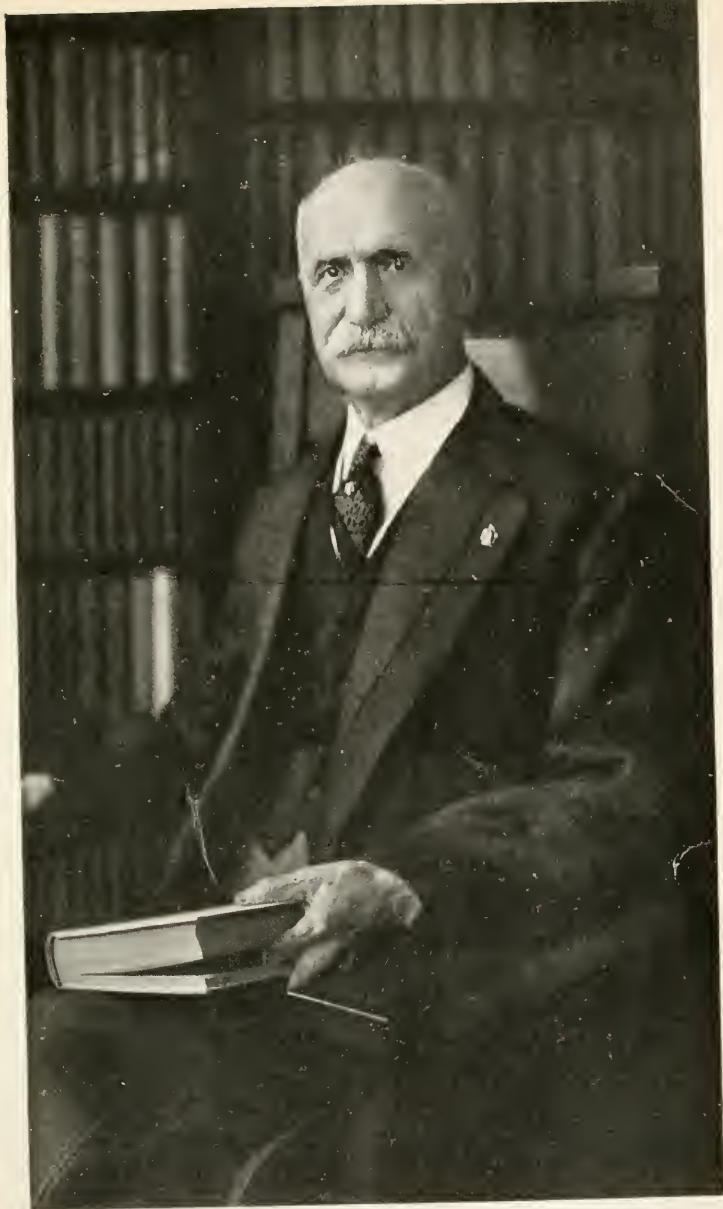
By SIMON WOLF

PRESS OF
BYRON S. ADAMS
WASHINGTON, D. C.



COPYRIGHT
1918
BY SIMON WOLF

NON
NON
NON



Sincerely
Simon Hoff

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

GENERAL INDEX.

Title	i
Dedication	v
Foreword	vii
Author's Preface	xi
Buchanan	1
Lincoln	4
Johnson	50
Grant	63
Hayes	99
Garfield	109
Arthur	132
Cleveland	136
Harrison	154
McKinley	167
Roosevelt	184
Taft	292
Wilson	403
Humorous Incidents	447

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Simon Wolf	Frontispiece
James Buchanan	1
Abraham Lincoln	4
Andrew Johnson	50
Ulysses S. Grant	63
Statue of Religious Liberty.....	89
Rutherford B. Hayes	99
James A. Garfield	109
Tewfik Pacha	114
Arabi Pacha	125
At the Temple of Luxor.....	130
Chester A. Arthur.....	132
Grover Cleveland	136
Benjamin Harrison	154
William McKinley	167
Laying Corner-stone of Jewish Temple.....	181
Theodore Roosevelt	184
Leo N. Levi	208
John Hay	223
William Howard Taft.....	292
Presentation of Gold Medal to President Taft.....	322
James Bryce	333
Wendell P. Stafford	338
Joseph G. Cannon	342
Charles H. Lauchheimer	393
Julius Stahel	394
Woodrow Wilson	403
Josephus Daniels	406
I. O. B. B. Hebrew Orphans' Home.....	412

DEDICATION.

To the memory of my dear and sainted mother, whose inspiring optimism and constant teaching of the Golden Rule gave impulse and direction to my course of life, this book is affectionately dedicated.

By the Author.

Foreword by

Mr. Justice Wendell Phillips Stafford

of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia

The only foreword that seems to be appropriate is a word of congratulation to those into whose hands this book may fall. No introduction is necessary, to the book itself, for wherever it is opened it will make itself charmingly familiar. No introduction of the author can be needed, because he is his own introducer, introducing both himself and others, and no one else could do it better. You have only to accept the offered hand and go with him on his interesting way.

You will find here a large company of distinguished people aside from the Presidents themselves, whom you are especially invited to meet. You will find yourself refreshing your recollection of a great period in American history. You will get many glimpses of what was going on behind the scenes in Washington. You will listen to delightful stories. You will be touched by pathetic incidents. You will be moved to laughter and perhaps to tears. You will see the anxious face of Buchanan, the haggard, far-away look of Lincoln, the narrow self-willed expression of Johnson, the imperturbable demeanor of Grant, the gracious personality of Hayes, the large, magnetic presence of Garfield, the courtly bearing of Arthur, the indomitable figure of Cleveland, the cold self-possession of Harrison, the winning smile of McKinley, the restless and virile movements of Roosevelt, the massive form and bland

good-fellowship of Taft, and accomplished ease and dignity of Wilson. You will find yourself present at many interesting meetings, where your presence will not hinder the free disclosure of personal traits in these and other noted characters of the time, and as you move through the changing scenes, you will come to have a warm admiration for your conductor—so witty, so full of intelligence and kindly human interest, so frank and engaging in his revelation of himself and his activities, so devoted to the welfare of his people, so indefatigable in his efforts, so eloquent in his appeals, so broad in his sympathies, so unqualifiedly American in all he does and says. Born in a little town in Bavaria, feeling the heel of the oppressor in his youth, coming to this country while yet a boy, “clerking it” in a country store, studying law and securing admission to the bar, coming to Washington at the beginning of the Civil War and entering at once upon the public spirited and benevolent tasks which have occupied his days from then till now, winning the confidence of leading men, broadening and strengthening his influence, using all he gained for the service of his less fortunate fellows, making himself a new sort of tribune of the helpless and needy in the departments of power, filling important positions at home and abroad, enlarging the circle of his friends till they include all sorts and conditions of men, and becoming in his own way the typical man of his race in this country, he has been nothing more truly or more completely than this—a fearless, honest, uncompromising defender of free principles, a loyal and patriotic American.

That, I am sure, is what he would be willing I

should say in attempting to describe him. He passed his seventieth birthday amid grateful acclamations. He has now passed his eightieth with still increasing praise, and he is doing well to give us in these pages a record, incomplete though it must be, of the striking events of which he has been a part, with faithful portraits of the eminent personages he has known.

The lesson taught by this volume will not be overlooked at a time when some are skeptical enough to doubt the loyalty of large numbers of their fellow citizens born under other skies, many of whom are perhaps more capable than we ourselves of measuring the wide gulf between free and despotic institutions, and who are no less determined than we that "government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

In the evening of a busy life, now prolonged much beyond the span allotted by the Psalmist, my memory reverts at times to those events and incidents in my experience of the past sixty years which are related, more or less directly, to affairs of national and international importance, and in which it fell to my lot to be an active participant.

Especially marked among these recollections are those of the Roumanian Mission; the famous Kishineff petition; the preventing of more than one hundred thousand worthy immigrants from being deported, and the continued struggle against the enactment of the literacy test for immigration which ended, for the time being, in the passage of that absurd piece of legislation over its third presidential veto in February, 1917; the Statue of Religious Liberty erected in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, under the auspices of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith; the many years of agitation for the validation of the passports of American Jews in Russia, which culminated in the abrogation of our discredited treaty with the Czardom in 1912; the malicious slurs on the Jewish people as having shown a lack of patriotism and courage during our Civil War, set in circulation from time to time after its close, which impelled me to the publication of my book, *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, in refutation of that calumny in 1895, and various other episodes of a like nature.

Most of these movements naturally centered at the

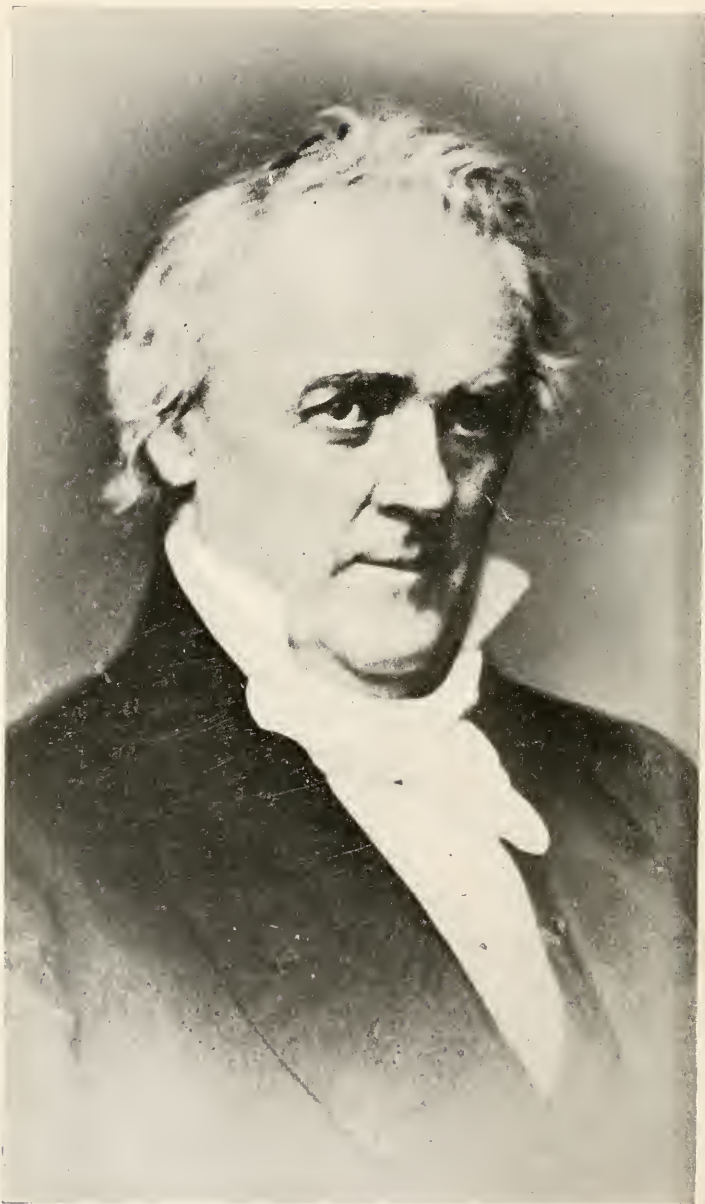
national capital, Washington, where, as my home city throughout all these years, I had the honor, as officer or member of various national and international organizations, of representing these bodies and thus, in a sense, the Jewish people especially, before the several departments of the national government as occasion required. So it was that I came to know the successive Presidents of the United States, from the great martyr President, Abraham Lincoln, in the crucial days of the great war to make America safe for freedom, to the present chief magistrate of the nation, Woodrow Wilson, in these no less crucial days of the yet greater war to make the world safe for democracy.

In the year 1916 at the request of some of my friends, I jotted down a series of these recollections and they were published during that year, and in 1917 in the American Hebrew, New York, under the title "Presidents I Have Known." Dealing as these narratives did with various subjects of historical importance, they appear to have attracted for that reason a degree of attention that I had scarcely anticipated. Recognizing the significance of this aspect of the matter I have gone ahead, quoting authentic documents where these were to the purpose, and rounded out my earlier recollections with those of the later Presidents whom I have known. Leaving these memoirs under that title I turn them over to my readers in the hope that, however cursory my jottings, they may yet serve to throw some further light, if only a sidelight, on a period replete with events of far reaching importance to the world.

SIMON WOLF.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

TILDEN • LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



JAMES BUCHANAN
1857-1861

The Presidents I Have Known from 1860 to 1918

JAMES BUCHANAN

For many years I have been urged to write the reminiscences, experiences and observations incident to my knowledge of the Presidents of the United States, from the days of Buchanan up to the present incumbent. I have never before had the time to do full justice to this interesting and important chapter of American history, but now while summering at a restful place, I feel the impulse to attempt in a restricted sense what has been so urgently requested by many friends.

Residing in Ohio, in the hotbed of politics, it was but natural that I should become more or less identified and interested in one or the other party. Like so many other immigrants who were coming across the seas, when arriving as a lad my inclinations were for the Democratic party. The word "Democracy" contained something inspiring and elevating. Later years disenchanted me from that first opinion, and thus it was when the Democratic convention of 1860 met in Charleston, S. C., I was an alternate delegate and witnessed the exciting scenes which preceded the Rebellion. Indeed all that was said and done there was but a chapter in that tragedy which fortunately ended in the Union being stronger than ever.

I remember Benjamin F. Butler, a delegate from the State of Massachusetts, who had a half vote, cast it fifty-seven times for Jefferson Davis. It was a notable event and made a deep impression. And yet this same Benj. F. Butler when the war broke out be-

came a Union general and was one of the most determined to bring his former choice to condign punishment. As is well known, that convention adjourned to meet again in the City of Baltimore, and I also witnessed the memorable scenes there enacted. The Ohio delegates, consisting of men who afterward became national figures, such as Henry B. Payne, George H. Pendleton, General James B. Steedman and others, were staunch Douglas adherents, while Thomas W. Bartley, brother-in-law of the Shermans and Ewings, was a pronounced pro-slavery Democrat, and so bitter and acrimonious became the arguments in the delegation that Bartley was finally ejected from the room as a traitor, not only to the Democratic party of Ohio but to the country. It was a scene almost tragic as Bartley walked out with bowed head and yet determined in his opposition to Douglas.

I shall not attempt to go into the historic character of those days, but while in Baltimore some friends suggested that we go to Washington and pay our respects to the President of the United States, James Buchanan. We were admitted, and the careworn face, deep sunken eyes and furrowed cheeks of the President, I shall never forget. He greeted each and every one of us most cordially, and when I told him I was of German-Jewish extraction, his face lighted up for a moment and he said that was a good stock in both directions, and he had a great admiration for Germany and what it had accomplished and he also looked upon the Jewish people as a superior class of American citizens. I never did believe that James Buchanan was a traitor or not sincerely devoted to the best interests of the Union. His misfortune was that he was educated and schooled in

conservatism; he was wedded to states rights and to ante-bellum ideas and lacked the knowledge of the gravity of the situation and the evolution that had been caused by anti-slavery agitation and the publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

During this same visit to Washington, I also called on Stephen A. Douglas, for whom I entertained great respect as a leader of progressive democratic thought, and I am happy to know that when the Civil War did come he threw aside partisanship and rose to the very heights of American patriotism, giving loyal support to his opponent, Abraham Lincoln. When I saw Mr. Douglas and told him he had two sincere, warm admirers in Henry Greenebaum of Chicago and myself, he facetiously remarked, "That is a good set-off for Judah P. Benjamin."

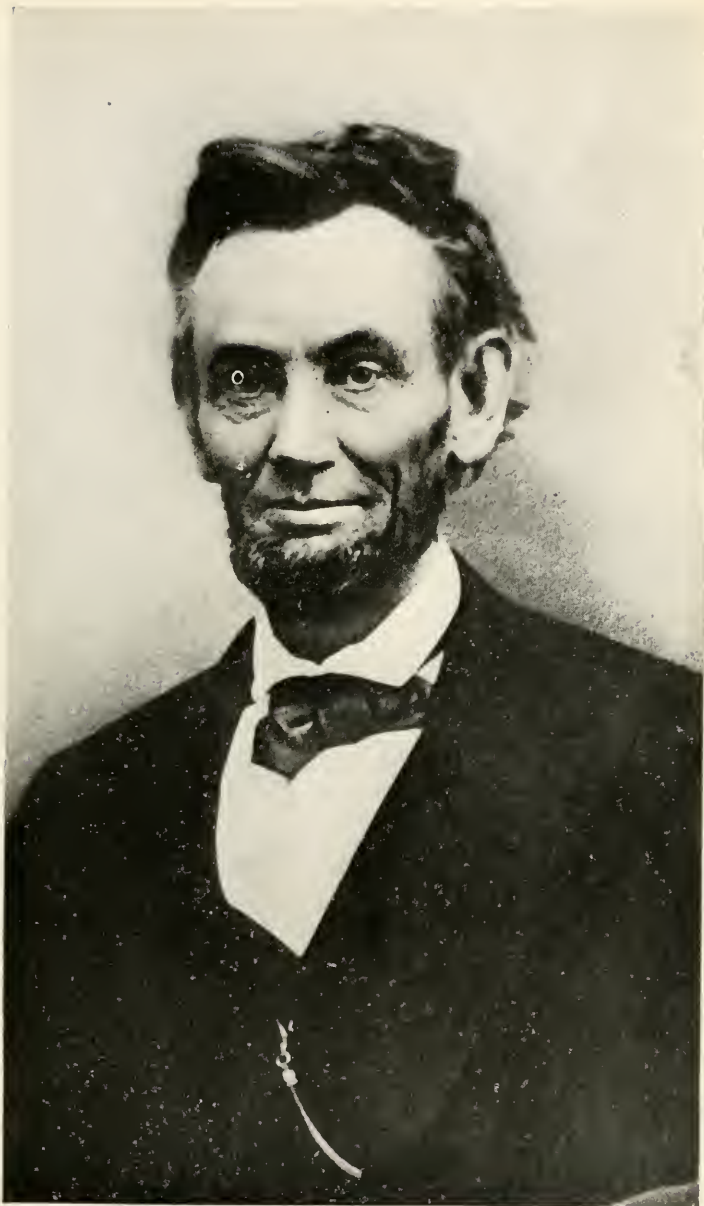
The Civil War with all its consequences, came and terminated, leaving the country more closely united than ever, and bringing within the fold of American citizenship four millions who by one stroke of the President's pen were emancipated and raised from the depths of degradation to the heights of American opportunity. Those were solemn days; men and women were assertive and active in their various vocations of life and every moment was filled with danger and hope. There was a strong band of men and women who in the darkest hour of that great struggle never yielded for a moment, but rose each day more hopeful until all their highest ambitions and aspirations were finally realized, as they will again be realized in our present great struggle.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

He knew to bide his time,
And can his fame abide,
Still patient in his faith sublime,
Till the wise years decide.
Great captains with their guns and drums,
Disturb our judgment of the hour,
But at last Silence comes;
These are all gone, and, standing like a tower,
Our children shall behold his fame,
The kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first American.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

I will not attempt to go into an historical resumé of all which Abraham Lincoln accomplished. That has been done by numerous historians and biographers. I can only give a pen picture of that which I experienced and observed. In July, 1858, while I was visiting in Chicago, Abraham Lincoln delivered an address on the law of equal freedom, and although Mr. Greenebaum and I were admirers of the "Little Giant of the West," Stephen Douglas, yet like all fair-minded people should ever be, we were open to conviction and concluded to hear Mr. Lincoln. It was the first time I had ever seen the Great Emancipator, and the impression made was one that has never been obliterated from my memory. Tall, gaunt, with his clothes hanging loosely, solemnity about his features, his eyes beaming with an intensity born of conviction, he looked to me then, as he did many times afterwards, the personification of realism, strength of thought and purpose. We went away



ABRAHAM LINCOLN
1861-1865
(Taken one week prior to death)

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

from that hall more patriotic than when we entered it, and while our political convictions had not been changed by anything Mr. Lincoln had said, our love of the Republic was materially increased. I will always remember with what enthusiasm we prognosticated the future greatness of Mr. Lincoln as a statesman and an American. Mr. Lincoln stands before me today, as he did the day when I first had the honor and privilege of hearing him.

I have on several occasions given the history of the Jewish soldier whom he pardoned at two o'clock in the early morning. While seated in my office prior to going to my home, I received a telegram from a town in New England asking me to wait for a letter that was coming by express. The letter came, and it stated that a young soldier, American born, of Jewish faith, had been condemned to be shot and the execution was to take place the next morning. It was in the crucial days of the war when every soldier was needed at the front and when Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, had threatened to resign unless the President would stop pardoning deserters. It seemed this soldier could not get a furlough. His mother, who was on her death bed, had begged for his return, to lay her hands lovingly on his head and give him a parting blessing. The filial love was superior to his duty to the flag, and he went home, was arrested, tried and condemned to be shot. For a moment I was dazed and uncertain as to the course to be pursued. Night came on apace, and finally I concluded to call on the Hon. Thomas Corwin of Ohio, who was on intimate terms with the President. Mr. Corwin, as ever, was most gracious, but said, "My dear Mr. Wolf, it is impossible to do anything in this

direction. The President has been maligned for being too generous and liberal in this respect." But I begged so hard that finally Corwin sent word over to the White House, inquiring whether an interview could be secured. The word came back, "Later in the night," and it was two o'clock in the morning before we reached the President.

The whole scene is as vividly before me as in those early hours of the morning. The President walked up and down with his hands hanging by his side, his face wore that gravity of expression that has been so often described by his historians and biographers, and yet he greeted us as if we were his boon companions and were indulging in an interchange of anecdotes, of which he was a past master. Corwin told him why we had come. He listened with deep attention, and when Corwin had exhausted the subject the President replied, "Impossible to do anything. I have no influence with this administration," and the twinkle in his eye was indescribable: "Stanton has put his foot down and insists upon one of two things, either that I must quit or he will quit." Corwin turned to me and said, "I told you, my dear friend, that it was hopeless," and was about leaving the room. I said, "Mr. President, you will pardon me for a moment. What would you have done under similar circumstances? If your dying mother had summoned you to her bedside to receive her last message before her soul would be summoned to its Maker, would you have been a deserter to her who gave you birth, rather than deserter in law but not in fact to the flag to which you had sworn allegiance?" He stopped, touched the bell; his secretary, John Hay, who time and again spoke of that occurrence, came

in; he ordered a telegram to be sent to stop the execution, and that American citizen of Jewish faith led the forlorn hope with the flag of his country in his hands at the battle of Cold Harbor and was shot to death fighting heroically and patriotically for the country of his birth. When months afterward I told the President what had become of that young soldier, he was visibly moved and with great emotion said, "I thank God for having done what I did." It was an impressive scene, one full of pathos and sublime humanity, and is engraved on the tablets of memory as no other incident of my whole life.

Another incident purely social and yet full of wit and humor was when a committee of the Washington Literary and Dramatic Association, of which I was president at the time, invited President Lincoln to be present at the 300th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth. It was at Carusi's Theatre that the entertainment was to take place, and by the way, the Washington Literary and Dramatic Association was the only one that celebrated the 300th anniversary. We had invited the English Minister, Lord Lyons, Secretary Seward and President Lincoln. Lord Lyons and his Secretary of Legation, Sir Edward Malet, who became my colleague as Consul General in Egypt in '81, and Mr. Seward were present. The President, on account of pressure of business, was unable to be with us. But when we invited him, he said, "Well, boys, what among other things are you going to play?" We told him "Hamlet." He instantly responded, "Why would I not make a splendid grave digger, for am I not quoted as a fellow of infinite jest and humor, and is not my present life typical of that vocation?"

The day after he had signed the Emancipation Proclamation, in company with the Hon. John A. Bingham, a member of Congress from Ohio, who afterwards was the prosecuting attorney in the trial of the conspirators for the assassination of the President, we called at the White House, and it gave me pleasure, and indeed it was a privilege, to congratulate the President upon that momentous act which freed four millions of black men. His reply was terse and logical: "It was not only the negro that I freed, but the white man no less," which anyone conversant with history and what has since transpired in the southern portion of our country must concede is absolutely correct.

Another memorable scene was when James E. Murdock, the great actor, read "The Wild Wagoner of the Alleghanies," written by Thomas Buchanan Read, the Ohio poet, in the Senate Chamber of the United States. When Murdock came to the passage describing how the saviour of the nation would come from the far west, the side door of the Senate Chamber opened and there stood Abraham Lincoln. It had not been prearranged, but it was one of those psychological moments that occur so often in the life of an individual as well as of a nation.

One day the Associated Press brought a telegram signed by Benj. F. Butler, who commanded at Fortress Monroe, stating that his troops had captured 150 rebels, 90 mules, 60 contrabands and four Jews. It was so entirely un-American (and uncalled for to associate American citizens of Jewish faith in a manner that was discreditable) that I called on the President, and for a moment he enjoyed what he called the joke, but when I brought to his attention the slur

and unjustifiable insinuation, he agreed with me and gave me a pass to go to Fortress Monroe. General Butler received me with cordiality, invited me to dinner, and we had a pleasant talk. He, like so many other generals who have made mistakes, claimed that he knew nothing of the message, that it had been sent by a subordinate and that he would have the error corrected at once, regretting the incident and assuring me of his warm friendship, not only personally but for those whom I represented, and I must say that his promise in this direction was made good afterwards.

Time and again I saw President Lincoln riding out to the Soldiers' Home, his summer residence, surrounded by a guard, his face bearing that same far-away look that characterized his many days of care and suffering at the White House.

When I arrived in Washington in June, 1862, I bore with me a letter of recommendation to Secretary Edwin M. Stanton, written by his former partner, Colonel George W. McCook of Steubenville, Ohio. After reading the letter, the Secretary, looking over his glasses with a look as determined as all of his acts were, said to me, "Young man, if what Colonel McCook says is true, you have no business in the Department; get outside; and if it isn't true, I have no use for imbeciles." I took his advice, and have been thankful ever since.

During the heat of the war, quite a number of Southern refugees were trying to pass through Washington to their Northern friends. They were promptly arrested and imprisoned. They sent for me as their attorney to secure their release. One day while I was in Philadelphia a detective came

and said to me that I was under arrest and was to be taken to Washington. I was brought before Colonel Baker, the Chief of the Detective Corps, whose office was opposite the Willard Hotel. Captain William P. Wood, the keeper of the prison, was in the room at the time. Baker in a very brusque tone said he would send me to the Capitol prison as a traitor; that I was not true to the Union, and that I was helping the enemy to escape. Before I could make any reply, Captain Wood said, "That is not true, Colonel Baker. I know Mr. Simon Wolf; he is as loyal and patriotic a citizen as lives, and he has the right as an attorney to do that which his profession imposes." Baker said, "Captain Wood, who is the head of this Detective Bureau?" Wood answered, "You are, but there is someone higher than you to whom I will take Mr. Wolf." Baker said, "I don't care; take him wherever you want to go." Wood took me to Secretary Stanton.

Before we left Baker, and during the discussion, he said to me, "You belong to the Order of B'nai B'rith, a disloyal organization, which has its ramifications in the South, and your organization is helping the traitors." This statement I indignantly denied, and told Colonel Baker that it was absurd on its face; that the Order of B'nai B'rith was educational and philanthropic, and its members, at least in the North, West and East, were as true to the Union as any other portion of American citizens.

When we reached Secretary Stanton's office, Captain Wood explained the situation, and the Secretary promptly had me discharged, stating it was an outrage which he would not tolerate for a moment. He

said, "Mr. Wolf, you have done your duty and I know that you are a loyal citizen."

After the surrender of General Lee, the City of Washington was illuminated on the night of the twelfth of April, 1865, and the citizens en masse went to the White House where the President was being serenaded and where an address from him was expected. In passing down H street, between Sixth and Seventh, I noticed that one house was dark and not illuminated. It turned out subsequently to have been the house of Mrs. Surrat, who was hung as one of the conspirators in the plot to assassinate the President. At least such was the claim at the time. Personally I doubt whether outside of her connivance to capture the President, she was a party to any assassination. But excitement ran high at that time and reason was subordinate to passion. There was an immense aggregation of human beings in front of the North Portico of the White House, and the President, in response to tumultuous applause and cheers, made his appearance. It was an eventful sight, one that I am sure has never been forgotten by any of those who were present and are still living. At the close of his remarks, which were full of human feeling, patriotic fervor and the inspiration of humanity, indicating not the conqueror, but the friend and saviour, the band struck up "Dixie," and with an inimitable humor characteristic of the great American, he said, "Yes, and we have captured that."

The famous order No. 11, ostensibly issued by General U. S. Grant (and which was afterward disproven, as I will show in my article on President Grant), which excluded Jews as a class from the army, caused a great wave of indignation. Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise,

of Cincinnati, took up the matter with President Lincoln; he in turn directed General Halleck to have the order rescinded. In the *Rebellion Record*, published by Act of Congress, mention is made of the order, and a copy of the telegram to General Grant wherein it is stated that the Jews were loyally doing their duty as soldiers, sailors and citizens. I heartily cooperated in this whole affair then and afterward.

It is the irony of fate that I should speak in my reminiscences of the great martyr president, the great American, the emancipator, the loyal citizen, the man of immortal fame whose classic words on the field of Gettysburg will forever be the slogan for men of all nations to repeat in behalf "of the people, by the people and for the people."

On the fourteenth day of April, 1865, I had fully contemplated going to the theatre to see the performance of "Our American Cousin," as I was fond of Sothorn as Lord Dundreary, but illness in my family at the last moment prevented, and it was not until the morning of the fifteenth that I learned of the terrible tragedy that had been enacted the night before by the madman, John Wilkes Booth. Let me say here in parenthesis that I knew Booth well. We had played on the amateur stage together in Cleveland, Ohio, and I had met him that very morning in front of the Metropolitan Hotel. He asked me to take a drink. He seemed excited, and rather than decline and incur his enmity I went with him. It was the last time I ever saw Booth. He had just returned from the National Hotel, where he had been calling on the daughter of a Senator. For the third time he had offered his love and for the third time she had declined. What would have been the con-

sequence had she accepted, it is not for me to conjecture.

I had living at my house at the time John H. Collier of Illinois, who for a few months was my partner. He had come after the second election of Lincoln, knowing the President intimately, to practice law, hoping in consequence of that acquaintance to secure a good line of business. I had gone to bed early on the night of the 14th, arose early on the morning of the 15th, walked downstairs and found the vestibule door open and the gas still burning. Knowing the bibulous characteristics of my friend Collier, I took it for granted that he had not come in, or possibly thought that I was still out. I turned the gas off and walked back upstairs to his room, and as I turned the knob it turned from the inside and we stood face to face. I said, "John, you didn't shut the door and turn the light out." He said, "No, I did not." "What's the trouble?" I said, and he replied, "My God, don't you know what happened? Lincoln was assassinated, Seward and his son Frederick severely wounded, and we are not sure but what General Grant has been killed." You can imagine the horror and agony of the moment. We walked downstairs together and as we got to the front door the bells of the churches tolled the death knell of the Great Martyr. He passed away at 7.22 in the morning, surrounded by members of his family and his cabinet and secretaries, and as his spirit took its flight, Stanton said, "He now belongs to the ages."

A curious incident connected with this tragedy was that the President died in the house of a German tailor named Petersen, who was a rank secessionist and also given to indulging freely in spirits. He was

taken hold of by the soldiers and confined in the basement of the house, for he was raving mad at the idea of an abolition president being brought to his house. The building was afterward purchased by an attorney of Washington, who subsequently sold the house to the government, and it is now the Lincoln Museum of the City of Washington.

After the tragedy I was compelled to remain in my house until after Booth's capture, for unfortunately I resembled him very much in feature. So much so, that Theodore Kaufman, the historical painter, asked me to sit for him for his famous painting of "The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln."

The morning of the death of the Great Martyr will ever be memorable. It was as in the case of Napoleon, when nature seemed to be all in convulsion, he died. So in this instance all was gloom and darkness; the most dismal rain and plaintive wind howling that I ever experienced. The strength of the nation was then and there made manifest by its calmness and dignity, although completely bowed down and prostrated by sorrow. Friend and foe, men who had fought for the Union and those who had fought for secession, vied with each other in acclaiming the man who had brought the nation out of the depth of danger and despair and who was not permitted to live to see the fruition of all his sacrifices and labor. But what Lincoln wrote on the pages of universal history lives today and will forever live as the grandest exposition of Republican and Democratic ideals and strength, a vindication of character in the man who though lowly born rose to the topmost round of the ladder to bless and to en-

rich and to enoble, not only his own country, but all the countries of the world.

O Captain! My Captain, rise up and hear the bells
Rise up—for you the flag is flung—for you the bugle
thrills;

For you bouquets and ribboned wreaths—for you the
shores acrowding;

For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager
faces turning;

Hear Captain! dear Father!

This arm beneath your head,

It is some dream that on the deck

You've fallen cold and dead.

WALT WHITMAN.

It will be found interesting to read from my diary of the year 1865, up to the time of the President's assassination:

SUNDAY, January 1, 1865—Rode to Gov. Stanton's, of Kansas fame. Seaton retired. Sherman in Savannah; rebels whipped, and the condition of things generally on good footing.

TUESDAY, January 3d—Gold 227. Rumors of peace, but no foundation in fact.

MONDAY, January 9th—Nothing new, save rumors of peace. Were they true, it would be delightful. Savannah has veered into the Union lines. Bayonets accomplish much, especially when handled by brave men. Amendment of Constitution abolishing slavery up in Congress. Hope it will pass, for after all is said and done, the war owes its origin to slavery.

TUESDAY, January 10th—All is not well, although it is hoped that it will end so. Fessenden nominated

for Senator from Maine, an excellent choice. Major-General Butler removed on the 8th; sent to Lowell; something that should have been done long since; an American politician with the instincts of a Greek, "The Moor has done his worst, he can go."

WEDNESDAY, January 11th—Considerable controversy about Butler's removal. All agree, however, that he is no general.

MONDAY, January 16th—News of Everett's death. He died yesterday in his seventieth year. He was a man of decided ability and talent, accomplished and patriotic. He adorned every station; his death is a nation's loss. F. P. Blair, Sr., who had gone to Richmond, has returned today. Rumor assigns him to have effected measures for peace. Heaven grant it so.

TUESDAY, January 17th—At the draft meeting. General Butler before committee on the conduct of the war, in relation to the Fort Fisher failure. While he was explaining on the map the utter madness of the attempt, Senator Wade received a telegram of its capture by Porter and General Terry on Sunday last. Comment unnecessary; he subsided like a bladder. The Charleston and Richmond papers write very despondingly. The day of doom has come. The mills of the gods grind slowly but they grind exceedingly well. I predict the speedy close of war.

THURSDAY, January 19th—More news from Wilmington. The capture of Fort Fisher was a great triumph and shows the difference between a charlatan and a general.

FRIDAY, January 20th—Blair off to Richmond again. There is some chance for peace, even the Rebel Congress seems to be imbued with it. I hope it may be

so. The oil discoveries seem to rival the gold fever of '47 and '49 and is another source of national wealth.

SATURDAY, January 21st—Generals Grant, Sheridan and Burnside here. Charleston will soon be ours. All concur in coming of speedy peace.

MONDAY, January 23d—Blair nor Livingston not yet returned from Richmond. Lively time in the House about Butler. Brooks assailed him and Stevens replied, and of course with his usual bitterness.

TUESDAY, January 24th—The Smithsonian caught fire today and was partially destroyed. Fort Caswell captured, also 162 guns. Wilmington must now fall an easy prey. The enemy abandons the coast. Called on Hon. R. E. Eckley of Ohio, also on Gen. Schenk.

WEDNESDAY, January 25th—Everything is dreadfully high. One must make a fortune to live here. Coal \$16, coffee 60c., sugar 35c., flour \$17, butter 70c., meat 30c., a good coat \$100, boots \$16, wages and fees the same rate as before the war and discontent is spreading.

THURSDAY, January 26th—Peace rumors stronger than ever. A counter revolution south. Lee dictator, Johnson reinstated, Davis defied in his own stronghold. Secession among the secessionists.

SATURDAY, January 28th—A great deal of talk about peace, but I fear it will lead to nothing. Gen. Butler's friends are injudicious enough to push his claims. There can never be a union of states if the sword alone has to cement the bond. This way will only end in conquest.

TUESDAY, January 31st—*Gloriga de profundis*. Congress today by constitutional amendment abolished

slavery throughout the Union, an act as historic as Independence Day. I doubt its constitutionality but who can doubt its justice. Peace commissioners are said to be on their way here. I trust good may come of it.

WEDNESDAY, February 1st—Events crowd hurriedly. It is reported and no doubt true that Peace Commissioners have reached, if not our city, our lines. They are Stephens, Hunter and Campbell. Seward is reported to have gone to Fortress Monroe to see them. Great satisfaction on the amendment of Constitution. Gold 203.

THURSDAY, February 2d—Another eventful day. The President and Seward have gone to see the southern commissioners at Fortress Monroe. Much speculation is rife. What a boon peace is and how lightly appreciated.

FRIDAY, February 3d—Peace rumors fly thick. Gold 209.

SATURDAY, February 4th—President and Secretary Seward return and no success. They claim independence. They can have it if they gain it.

MONDAY, February 6th—The papers still claim that peace will ensue from late conference. Gold 213.

TUESDAY, February 7th—The Army of the Potomac has made an advance. Sherman is closing on Charleston. The Rebel press is one voice in favor of war. The loyal press is very conservative and peaceful, yet ready to fight it out.

THURSDAY, February 9th—The advance by Grant has been repulsed and we have sustained a slight loss. Southern papers are clamorous for war and denounce Lincoln and peace. They will not yield save in destruction.

FRIDAY, February 10th—The President's message and accompanying documents in relation to peace were read today in Congress. They are very explicit as to how the conference was brought about, but precious little as to the conference. I fear the negotiations were more a political trick than the statesman's. Went to Ford's theatre. General Grant, General Burnside and the President were there. More saw them than the play.

SATURDAY, February 11th—General Grant in the city. At the House and Senate received with distinguished honor. Went to President's levee. No war news. Living fearfully high.

TUESDAY, February 14th—Sherman said to be within two miles of Charleston. The speech made by Benjamin at Richmond is fiery and bold and yet he is abused by the press. And why? Because he is a Jew. Go where you will and this serpent of the middle ages rears his envenomed head.

WEDNESDAY, February 15th—Senator Hicks, who died on Monday, was buried today with unusual pomp and parade. He deserved it for he was true in the dark and troubled days of '61. He alone of all southern governors breasted the waves of secession. Every article of living continues high.

SATURDAY, February 18th—The news from Sherman's corps is decidedly refreshing and gives substantial token of a speedy and lasting peace.

SUNDAY, February 19th—News is exciting. Grant telegraphs that Sherman's forces have captured Columbia, S. C., the capital of the hot-bed of treason.

MONDAY, February 20th—Charleston has been evacuated. The city is in possession of our forces. At last the day of doom has dawned and the Hotspur

Chivalry are made to feel the folly of their suicidal course.

FRIDAY, February 24th—Another day of triumph. Wilmington and Fort Anderson were captured on the 22d and Washington's birthday has received additional lustre. In the evening to the draft meeting where we had a stormy time, but by boldness I succeeded in quelling the storm and the conclusion was peace and harmony.

MONDAY, February 27th—Gold 200. Congress busy. Louisiana not admitted. The chances of an immediate peace are as remote as ever.

TUESDAY, February 28th—The oil fever is now raging in every part of the Union, and from what Hosmer writes me from Montana the gold and silver lodes are all the rage there.

FRIDAY, March 3d—Last day of this Congress. In company with Taylor and Goodrich was at the House and Senate until 12 m. Nothing from Sherman or Grant.

SATURDAY, March 4th—Inauguration of Mr. Lincoln for another term. The procession was small and ceremonies curtailed on account of weather, which up to 12 o'clock was miserable, but then the "Sun of Austerlitz" burst forth and the new administration was ushered in by glorious signs as the old passed off in clouds and storms. An immense number of people are here. The inauguration was brief and to the point. Lincoln all over.

TUESDAY, March 7th—Hugh McCullough confirmed as Secretary of the Treasury, an appointment which is financial and not political. The 7/30 loan goes off like hot cakes and Jay Cooke is now or expects soon to be the Rothschild of the United States.

FRIDAY, March 10th—Harlan of Iowa, Secretary of Interior, vice Usher, removed, to take effect May 1st. Jno. P. Hale, Minister to Spain. Freeman Clark, Comptroller of Currency. Gold down to 184. No certain news from Sherman.

MONDAY, March 13th—The news from the South is very encouraging. Gold is going gradually. Mr. Lincoln is ill. The severe labor of shaking hands has undermined his health. May Heaven spare his life.

TUESDAY, March 14th—Sheridan has got within striking distance of Richmond. Sherman telegraphs that he is all O. K. near Fayetteville, N. C.

WEDNESDAY, March 15th—News from the South very encouraging. Gold 172. Stocks buoyant. Failures in New York, Philadelphia, etc., and the crash is imminent.

SATURDAY, April 1st—Battle of Five Forks and removal of the gallant Gen. Warren who turned the battle of Gettysburg into victory.

MONDAY, April 3d—Capture of Richmond, Washington in a delirium, men walked the streets as if they were intoxicated.

MONDAY, April 10th—Surrender of Lee and end of war; no doubt a great American soldier on the wrong side.

TUESDAY, April 11th—Speech of the President. A memorable evening.

THURSDAY, April 13th—Grand illumination. All houses lighted.

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 1865.

Murder of Abraham
Lincoln President
of the U. S. by John
Wilkes Booth, at Ford's
Theatre 10 P. M.

Secretary and Adj. Sec
Seward mortally woun-
ded by parties unknown.
The City one
Scene of Excitement. Im-
mense Sorrow and Consternation.
Bells Tolling, people
hurrying, all kinds in
Concert mourning among
the trees, & this is the
Anniversary of the Fall
of Sumter, the fourth
year of this bloody
Rebellion, ending in
Assassination.
Apathy & Eternal Infamy
to Traitors

SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 1865.

At twenty two minutes
past Seven A. M. at
House of edo Peteren
German Tailor the President
Surrounded by the Cabinet
his distracted family
at his last, and the
of the great and good
man was before its
Such gloom & misery
Barrow was never seen
The Heavens are thrown
the Rain pours down, &
Nature sympathizes with
our great Lord.

Treason has done
wonder, the Madmans
have slain their best
and have now launced
their Lives upon the
tous Ocean of Johnson
& Memphis, at 12 30 to
B. P. Johnson was sworn

Before the Republican National League of Washington on the 12th of February, 1888, Lincoln's Birthday, as one of the speakers, I said:

"I offer no excuse for speaking on a day sacred to millions of people, for I consider no day sacred enough to speak in praise of the memory of him whose birth we are celebrating today. As the power of electricity is in its embryo condition, so the fame and glory of Abraham Lincoln are commencing to dawn on the appreciation of mankind. I did not come here for the purpose of enlightening you on his history or his achievements; that has already been done by abler minds than mine. I came here as one whose ancestors also were in bondage, whose brethren are yet in political and social bondage; not in this, but in other countries, and to whom and for whom Abraham Lincoln achieved as much freedom and liberty as ever the laws of my ancestors have conferred religion and civilization upon mankind. I consider an occasion of this character should be educational; to educate the people of the United States to a full and merited appreciation of all that Abraham Lincoln was and accomplished, not as a Republican President, but as an American citizen. I believe that occasions of this character should become so thoroughly appreciated in that portion of the United States which he freed as that portion of the United States from which he sprang. For I know while the colored men of our nation have been emancipated, the white men, by that same stroke of his pen, were equally emancipated; for what enslaved the one degraded the other. And the time will come, and not in the far distance, when

Americans in every part of the United States will bless the day that gave birth to Abraham Lincoln, and will bless the day when the North was courageous and strong enough to elect him, and bless the day when slavery was wiped away from the statute books of the United States.

AN EDUCATIONAL DAY

As I said, this should be an educational day, for Mr. Lincoln was not only an American, he was in the highest ideal a typical American—the very incarnation of all that was just, true and manly, not only for the Christian but for the Jew, not only for the white man but for the negro, not only for the American but for all men, no matter from what part of the world they came. And at no time in my career was I impressed more with this fact than when, on the banks of the Nile, representing our great country abroad, one night between 12 and 1 o'clock, when banqueted by one of the native vice-consuls of this country. His son, who had been educated in Syria at the American College, arose and toasted the memory of the great emancipator, speaking of Lincoln in language that will ever remain in my memory—beautiful, terse, glowing. And there, in the midst of the Egyptian ruins, with fountains on one side and flowers on the other, this remnant of a decayed race, amidst all that which nature and art had once made so glorious, the Egyptian bondsman, now and ever under the heel of the European task-master, gave forth his meed of praise to the great American; and I, a descendant of the exiled race, there to listen, praise and applaud.

“As the memory of great men is celebrated from time to time in all climes, so the memory, deeds and achievements of Abraham Lincoln should forever be. We have Shakespeare anniversaries, we have Washington Birthdays; we have Burns, Byron, Longfellow, Bryant and other men in all walks and channels of life, that have accomplished a great deal for the advancement of our species, for the elevation of our kind, for the radiation of thought and morals, who are gratefully remembered on their anniversaries. And I ask you, where would all those of our modern men have been had it not been for Abraham Lincoln to have given impetus by his life, to have given character by his achievements, to have immortalized truth and virtue as no other American has ever done? And, therefore, we should revere his memory and we should make his birthday national, to educate our young men and young women, who perhaps may be falling by the wayside into materialistic views; teach them that there is something yet in life worth living for; that it is not the college, it is not birth, it is not wealth, that alone accomplishes great things in this country; but it is character and truth, nobility of soul and virtue of example that shall live for all time, and that will find their echo and their true response in the heart, not only of every American, but in the heart of every man that loves liberty and mankind.”

REVIEW OF ARMIES OF EAST AND WEST

This sketch would be incomplete without incorporating as a part of that history the thoughts that came to me at the time of the great review, when the

armies of the East and the armies of the West were being mustered out, May 24th and 25th, 1865.

For four years a civil war had raged; thousands and thousands had been killed on the field of battle; other thousands wounded who carried through life the evidences of battle; thousands of homes and billions of property destroyed; the beautiful savannahs of the Southland laid waste—and now peace had come. And while the conquered, maimed heroes of the South were wending their steps to their homes, proud and erect, as if they had been conquerors, to build anew for themselves and their families reconstructed homes under new conditions, the conquerors, the heroic soldiers of the Republic, were marching in serried ranks, their tattered banners floating in the beautiful May sky, to be reviewed by the President of the United States and the members of his cabinet. It was a sight that can never be forgotten and that stirred every heart.

HEROES OF THE WAR

There was the great general, who said little, but did so much to bring about the glorious end of the internecine strife, Ulysses S. Grant. There was the hero who marched through Georgia, whose prophetic words then, "War was hell and could not be refined," had been more than verified, Gen. Wm. Tecumseh Sherman. There was George G. Meade, hero of Gettysburg, who, like the State from which he came, formed the keystone of the arch in the great galaxy of heroes. Then came that soldier *sans peur et sans reproche*, Winfield Scott Hancock, who on many a field of danger and doubt had rescued victory. There was the dashing, sturdy Philip H. Sheridan, who

seemed the very embodiment of the god of war. Then there came galloping up the avenue with his blond hair floating around a beautiful head, a wreath of flowers in one hand, a sword in the other, his bridle rein in his mouth, the very incarnation of victory, Gen. George A. Custer. Then came the Have-lock of the army, one-armed Gen. O. O. Howard, the gallant Henry W. Slocum, and many of the subordinate officers and privates who have since risen to national fame, notably Joseph Benson Foraker, Governor and Senator from Ohio, whose gallantry on the field was only exceeded by his bravery and outspoken course as a statesman. There were also two gallant volunteer leaders, Gens. John A. Logan and Frank P. Blair. Then there was Gen. Edward S. Solomon, who on the field of Gettysburg, when the guns of Lee were thundering down on the plains, prior to the great charge of Pickett, had stood solitary and alone smoking his cigar, with a bravado that inspired the admiration of the whole army. There was Gen. Leopold Blumenberg, of Baltimore, who had lost one of his legs at the battle of Antietam, marching along with an elan worthy of a younger man. There was Capt. J. B. Greenhut, of the famous Eighty-second Illinois, whose brilliant record in the army is still the inspiration around the campfires of the Grand Army of the Republic. There was Leopold Karpeles, one of the medal-of-honor men, who snatched a rebel flag in the midst of the carnage and bore it triumphantly to the Union side, and who in turn became the banner bearer of his own troop and stood valiantly in the midst of the most terrific fire, holding the flag of his adopted country aloft as a symbol and an inspiration.

SOLDIERS OF THE REPUBLIC

I speak of this comingling of names for a purpose. It symbolizes our country and all that the word typifies. The men who marched down the avenue in those memorable May days of '65 were not Catholics, not Protestants, not Jews—they were soldiers of the Republic, American citizens who had left their homes in defense of the flag and the glorious institutions of their fathers, who were returning to their peaceful abodes not as conquerors, not triumphant over a fallen foe, but gladdened that their heroism and valor had brought the men of the North and South closer together and cemented into indestructible friendship and better appreciation the common citizenship of the great Republic. At no period of the world's history was there a greater pageant or one that testified more to the sublime teachings of our national life than that great review.

Here was a great commander, surrounded by his glorious staff, an army that was ready to obey his call, yet not a sound was heard of establishing an empire or disturbing the peaceful conditions of the country. All were again citizens, whose ambition and greatest endeavor it was to clear away differences and to establish more perfectly the great fabric, reared by the valor and heroism of those who had fought at Valley Forge, as well as those who were victorious at Five Forks.

How well it would be if in all the affairs of our social, intellectual, moral and business life we could bring home to one and all the grand example of that army. The lessons that are derived from their action—that is, that we are a nation of men, not sectarians; that we are Americans, whether by birth or

adoption; that the right of this assumption has been established in a thousand forms in peace and in war; that this is not a government of Christians nor a government of Jews, but "a government of the people, for the people and by the people."

Pity it is that the great President, the greatest American that ever lived, should not have survived to see the pageant that he had done so much to create, but there was not a single soldier that marched or any of the spectators that gazed upon that great army but felt a tear drop in memory of him who sleeps in the tomb at Springfield, Ill., whose example has circled the world in its magic influence and whose heroism and self denial, humane heart, outshone all his contemporaries, and will live to bless future generations.

The young men of today, whose lives have been cast in pleasant places, do not, as they should, realize the great problem that confronted the nation in those crucial days of '61 and '65; but it should be now, more than ever, their duty to defend the flag, to uphold its institutions and to prove themselves worthy of the great heritage which they enjoy, and to extend not only a cordial but fraternal greeting to the surviving heroes who will honor the nation's capital with their presence, and to assure them that our heart's deepest appreciation flows to them for the inestimable services rendered by them in the darkest days of the Republic.

VARIOUS INCIDENTS.

MY FIRST INTERVIEW AND EXPERIENCE WITH
HORACE GREELY

In the years 1862 to 1867, there existed in this city an organization entitled The Washington Literary and Dramatical Association. It was composed of representative men of different nationalities and creeds. There was no prejudice in the organization—merit and service were the recognized factors in its curriculum. Among other features, they had a course of lectures during the winter months, and that of 1865 and 1866, after the close of the war, was particularly notable, having for its star speakers, Horace Greely, Park Benjamin, R. J. de Cordova, Hosmer, the author of "The Octoroon," Bayard Taylor, and others too numerous to mention.

Horace Greely, owing to his pronounced abolition sentiments, had never been permitted to speak in Washington, and thus a number of associations were anxious to secure him as a lecturer. I was President of the Literary and Dramatical Association at the time. I sent a letter to Mr. Greely, asking him to lecture for us, telling him the material of which we were composed, and that we were striving to bring into closer touch men of all shades of opinion, to the end of bettering American citizenship. He promptly replied that the platform I had outlined was in accordance with his life-long views that he had always had a great admiration for the Jews on account of their splendid historical achievements and endurance, and therefore he would come.

On the evening of the lecture, Odd Fellows' Hall on Seventh Street, Northwest, between "D" and "E"

Streets, was jammed to the door. Naturally a large number were anxious to see Horace Greely; others to hear the great American abolitionist; still others the editor of the New York Tribune; while naturally a respectable number came out of sincere admiration and affection for the friends of the oppressed. I introduced him simply by stating, "I take pleasure in presenting the speaker of the evening, Horace Greely, the friend of humanity." There was a ripple of applause, and during his lecture, which lasted an hour and a quarter, there were several manifestations of approval and no dissent. He was optimistic throughout; spoke of the past, and of the assured prosperity of the nation, now that slavery had been abolished and the states reconciled. He hoped for a happy future. At the close of the lecture I escorted him to the Tribune office, which was then on Fourteenth Street, opposite Willard's Hotel, and when seated (there never having been a word exchanged between us as to his terms), I asked him what we owed him. He promptly replied, "Nothing." I said, "No, that won't do, Mr. Greely. We have done very well, and we want to pay you." And he said, "Oh, you young men need all you have made—it has given me great pleasure and indeed it was a privilege to be with you." I insisted, however, and handed him a one hundred dollar bill, which he reluctantly took. He put his hand in his pocket and drew out a dilapidated pocketbook that almost fell to pieces, and slapped the hundred dollar bill into it, and then commenced talking to me about the Jews and their achievements, and denouncing the prejudice that unfortunately had made them victims of oppression throughout all ages. In the midst of the conversation

there was a knock at the door, and Greely with his shrill voice said, "Come in," and a man came into the room. The moment Greely saw him he said, "Why, halloo, Jim; I thought you were West." The man replied, "Yes, I was West, but I couldn't make it go, so I came back to Washington with my wife and child and am stranded." Greely at once laughingly replied, "Why, that's fortunate"; and out came the dilapidated pocketbook, and he handed Jim the hundred dollar bill.

This whole transaction was so thoroughly characteristic of the great editor and patriotic American that it should not be lost to history.

Years afterwards a friend of mine then living in Baltimore, a respected and representative merchant of that city, of Jewish faith, but who has since died, was coming from New York to Baltimore, and the train being late, said his prayers in the Pullman car, and in connection therewith used the phylacteries on his forehead and arms in accordance with the Orthodox custom of the Jewish faith. Mr. Greely, who was in the same car, came up to him very much interested and asked him all about what he was doing, and admired him for the courage of his convictions, not ostentatiously, but piously and religiously doing that which he conceived to be his duty. My friend became equally interested and asked Mr. Greely to stop with him, it being Friday evening, the opening of the Jewish Sabbath, to partake of the evening meal with him, which invitation Mr. Greely accepted. He watched with great interest the lighting of the Sabbath lamp and the blessing by the mother of the household, heard the prayers recited, and was as devout during the whole evening as if he had been a convert to the Jewish faith. When Greely became

the nominee of the liberal Republicans and the Democratic party, my friend wrote to him that he regretted exceedingly that he had been put forward as the victim of scheming politicians, but nevertheless, as a matter of recognition and admiration for him as a man and patriot, he would vote for him.

Just after the attack on Ft. Sumter, the Jewish Congregation, worshipping in the Eagle Street Synagogue, Cleveland, Ohio, raised the American flag in evidence of their patriotism and devotion. The exercises commenced by a choir of young ladies singing the "Star Spangled Banner" in a very spirited manner.

The flag was presented to the congregation by Mr. B. F. Peixotto, accompanied by appropriate remarks on behalf of the young ladies who had made it. I also made a short talk in honor of the occasion, to the following effect:

"On the shores of classic Italy, rich in eloquence, philosophy, arts and sciences past, but forever enshrined among the devotees of the beautiful, Freedom has again planted the banner of emancipation, and its enthusiastic sons are marshaled by a chief, whose Garibaldian will in after times be as much the theme of the poet as the white plume of Henry of Navarre, or the grey coat of him who sleeps 'neath the dome of the Invalides.

As Americans—as Israelites—we contemplate with peculiar delight Feudalism and Priestcraft swept away, and leaving in its stead Institutions evoked by the free and untrammelled choice of a Nation of Freemen.

But while glorious Italy is struggling to emancipate itself from the thralldom and bondage of ages, dedi-

cating the fair and genial soil to posterity, for fraternal, united and free purposes—we see here in our own fair land—fairer than the sun of God ever shone upon—misguided, ambitious demagogues, forgetting their duty and allegiance to their God and country, enlisted to destroy and upheave the foundations of our common Union, erasing the letter and spirit of the Constitution, as our conscript Fathers made it, and trampling upon that glorious emblem of nationality, whose spangled and starred folds have shed a halo of glory and renown upon the name of America.

Here in the noonday of civilization, art and science, we see men usurping the prerogatives of justice, aiming to destroy Freedom, move back the dial of progress, and to perpetuate that from which we have fled; will we stand idly by and see this done? No! Never! The descendants of those warrior heroes whose gallant deeds have been enrolled on the illumined pages of Sacred History, will never permit the home of their adoption to be desecrated, the last sanctuary of freedom to be despoiled by the unholy touch of Traitors and Rebels.

And this, the 16th day of May, 1861, shall be to your posterity the Mecca at whose shrine they will worship, for it is on this auspicious genial May day their sires pledge anew, their lives, fortunes and sacred honor to a cause for which they have suffered in every clime, and for which they are today ready to sacrifice all they have by industry and prosperity amassed, and as a slight memento of your sincerity and devoted adherence to a cause for which your every heart's pulsation beats, you have this day dedicated the Holy of Holies, and as that starred emblem, the patriotic gift of your fair daughters, floats in all

its beauty and grandeur from the Dome of your Sanctuary, so shall it again wave—the shield of protection to a pursued Kozta and fleeing Kossuth—from the shores of the Atlantic to the furthest confines of the Mexican Gulf.”

Curious that fifty-six years thereafter, when the United States declared war against Germany in April, 1917, it was the Jewish Congregation worshipping on Eighth Street, Washington, D. C., that raised the flag on the Temple to again give evidence of their spirit of true Americanism, and on which occasion I made a short address.

In the fall of 1864 there were unjust attacks made upon American citizens of Jewish faith, which were not only local in Washington but throughout the country. It became so virulent that I was impelled to write a letter to the New York Evening Post, setting forth in a clear and convincing manner the injustice done to American citizens whose loyalty and devotion to American institutions in peace and in war could not be questioned.

DEFENCE OF THE JEWISH RACE—PREJUDICE REBUKED.

Ignorance is said to be the foundation of prejudice and intolerance. I know not how true this axiom may have been in the remote past; it certainly is not true in the present, for the higher you ascend in the scale of intellect and officers of the public service, the more bigotry and prejudice do you find. My heart is sick, my brain weary, my hopes dampened by these manifestations, not alone in the social, but radiating from the highest official circles. I am not one of those who have raised an immediate outcry if perchance a criminal was called a Jew, nor have I

assumed that, because some subservient, pliant editor launched forth his slimy vituperations, they were the opinions of the American Press; nor do I claim to be a religious Israelite, but I do claim to be an Israelite and American. I espouse this cause from pure motives, because there is a living vital principle involved. I know full well that it is useless to argue or reason with men whose inborn feelings are fixed and adamant, who acknowledge no other criterion but that which their avarice has engendered and their peculiar loyalty cemented. But I do appeal to that American community whose proudest boast has ever been to be free from prejudice, and whose pathway has been one scene of triumph in the walks of freedom and culture.

I am to you a stranger; you to me a household word. Years ago I swore allegiance to the star of your destiny, and more particularly since the appearance of that beautiful and gifted criticism on Shylock, as portrayed by Edwin Booth; for he who could indite the following is not alone the truthful historian, but the friend of humanity.

“Shakespeare but followed the lofty impulse of his nature in holding up to execration that unquenchable lust of lucre which marks the race, although he does not show that this passion was but the effect of that persecution which, by crowding the Jew out of every honorable pursuit, and thus cutting off his nature from every sympathy with the world around, sharpened and edged the keen corners of his brain for the only pursuit left to him. It is true that money-changers once spit on in the Ghetto are now hugged in the palace. Rothschilds and Foulds, Belmonts and Benjamins, are found in the ante-chamber of princes and presidents. But we fear that it is not so much that the prejudice against the Jews

has ceased, but that the love of money has increased; not that the Jews have become as Christians, but that Christians have become as Jews.

“But if Shakespeare was just in this respect he was not so in the picture he has drawn of the Jew’s craving for revenge, and in the contempt with which he is treated by his daughter. Revenge is not a characteristic of the Jew. He is subject to sudden storms of passion, as in Shylock’s scene with Tubal, but that intellect which always stands sentinel over the Hebrew soon subdues the gust. * * *

“Jews also shrink from physical contests. Their disposition is to triumph by intellect rather than violence. It was this trial more than any other which rendered them in the Middle Ages so repulsive to the masses, who were all of the Morrisey and muscular Christianity school. The contempt of a daughter for her parent is equally uncharacteristic of the Jew. The Jews are universally admired for the affections which adorn their domestic life. The more they have been pushed from the society of the family of man, the greater the intensity with which they have clung to the love of their own family.

“No one can ever have visited the houses of the Jews without having been struck by the glowing affection with which the daughter greets the father as he returns from the day’s campaign and the slights and sneers his gaberdine and yellow cap provoke, and without observing how those small, restless eyes that sparkle and gleam like snakes in search of prey, shine out a softened loving lustre as they fall upon the face of Rebecca or Jessica, or Sarah, and how he stands no longer with crooked back, but erect and commanding as he blesses his household gods with an exultation as vehement as the prejudices which during the day have galled and fretted his nature.

“To do justice to the grandeurs of the Jewish race, and to brand with infamy its infirmities, it is not enough to produce a repulsive delineation of the latter. It would be only just to give expression to

the former, and to exhibit that superiority of intellect which has survived all persecutions, and which, soaring above the prejudices of the hour, has filled us with reluctant admiration on finding how many of the great events which mark the progress of the age, or minister to its improvement, or elevate its past may be traced to the wonderful workings of the soul of the Hebrew and the supremacy of that spiritual nature which gave to mankind its noblest religion, its noblest laws, and some of its noblest poetry and music. * * *

Were these times not extraordinary and the prejudice now existing not rioting in an insanity of abuse, I might with profit stop and let your glorious words be our best defence. But the war now raging has developed an intensity of malice that borders upon the darkest days of superstition and the Spanish inquisition. Has the war now raging been inaugurated or fostered by Jews exclusively? Is the late democratic party composed entirely of Israelites? Are all the blockade-runners and refugees descendants of Abraham? Are there no native Americans engaged in rebellion? No Christians running the blockade, or meek followers of Christ within the folds of Tammany?

We have been branded and outraged for four long years, until discretion has ceased to be a virtue, and it is incumbent upon you, the father of the American Press, to give us a hearing through the columns of your valuable journal.

Why, when the authorities arrest a criminal, telegraph immediately throughout the Union that a Jew, or another Jew blockader has been caught? Do they, when they catch a James Maloney, say a Methodist

or Presbyterian has been caught? Is it, then, a crime to be born a Jew, which has to be expiated upon the the altar of public opinion by a life of suffering and abuse?

We have no country by inheritance; scattered over the wide world we find a home and refuge wherever tolerance and freedom abide. We become by adoption natives of the soil, and give our toil and devotion to the land and the flag. That local politicians, and even some metropolitan journals, have enunciated the lie that we are cowards; that none of us are in the army, and if so, on the other side.

And this standing paragraph has gone the rounds of the press, to the shame and disgrace of an intelligent public, and no rebuke so far has been administered by any journal save those whose circulation is exclusively among the persons maligned.

I know, and I can produce the proofs, that some of the grandest acts of heroism performed during this war were done by Jews. That more than a thousand commissioned and non-commissioned officers and thousands of privates are serving in the Union army, whose faith is in God and their country. Who was it that on the banks of Green River, in the spring of 1862, when a company of the Thirty-second Indiana Volunteers were attacked and surrounded by thousands of Texans, stood single-handed and alone against those fearful odds, scorning to surrender, killing and wounding eight of his assailants, and at last yielding his life a sacrifice to duty, and thus saving his scattered regiment? Lieutenant Sachs, a Jew!

But was this act of bravery chronicled as the deed of a Jew? No; nor is it any more necessary than

that the other should be done, only it marks the contrast.

Was the name of that gallant man and patriot, Colonel of the One Hundred and Twentieth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, who was severely wounded, serving under Grant in the famous and immortal Vicksburg campaign, who was advised and entreated to resign, but who gave a decisive no, saying that he embarked in this contest to see his country free and united or his life ended, and who at last fell by a rebel bullet in that fatal Red River expedition, May 4, 1864—Marcus M. Spiegel, a Jew—ever mentioned as such?

Was your own brave citizen, Lieutenant-Colonel Newman, who offered his life as a sacrifice, and who upon his dying bed received the promotion of a brigadier-generalship ever mentioned as a Jew?

But why multiply words. I could go on quoting incidents by the thousands, and no one is or should be more conversant with them than the departments at Washington, whence proceeds so much of this foul heresy and poisonous inoculation.

Are all the copperheads Jews because Belmont was the chairman of the Democratic Convention?

Is your own honored and talented citizen, Abram J. Dittenhoefer, elector on the Lincoln ticket, a traitor because he is a Jew?

Is Moses A. Dropsie, Esq., one of Philadelphia's most gifted and talented lawyers, and who has been ever an active, untiring abolitionist, a traitor because he is a Jew?

Least of all, should the dominant party, which claims to be the "*avant courier*" of truth, give expression to the intolerance sown broadcast; it certainly

has not been decreed that the United States should feed this growing sentiment, which has almost died out in Europe. The party that has espoused the personal freedom of the negro is certainly not the one to launch forth its decrees and bulls against another portion of the human race.

Several parties have been lately arrested and are being tried by the proper tribunals for an attempt to sell goods contraband of war, and contrary to the laws of the land. Fortunately there were some Christians among the number, or else the Press would have teemed with abuse, and the telegraph would have lightened its startling news of "another batch of Jew blockade runners caught." As it is, the journals have been coy as doves; only when a Christian firm has been released or tried, it was officially announced as such; but when some unlucky son of Israel shared the same fate it was chronicled as a *Jew* released.

To us there is nothing odious or revolting in the term "Jew"; we are proud to be Jews, as history, art and science glow with the pages of our triumph; but it is here used in this connection as a term of reproach, abuse, and to add to the malignancy of bigotry and fanatic.

For several weeks an article has gone the rounds of the press, detailing in colors that would do a Darley no dishonor, a conversation between a certain "humble tobacconist of Baltimore" and the President of the United States. The article says "a deputation of twelve Jewish tailors and cutters," etc., etc. Now not one Jew was among them; they were Christians and Republicans. It says "that a wealthy Jew secessionist *tried* to be released," etc. Equally

false, and the President is then praised for his firmness for refusing, etc., etc. Fortunately I have an abiding faith in the good sense and patriotism of the honored Chief Magistrate, and that he will not pander to every vagabond scribbler who comes fawningly begging a few crumbs from the official loaves.

Was this scribbler aware that the brother of that "tobacconist," and who had vouched for the loyalty of this same secess Jew, was a major in the Army of the United States and a provost-marshal of Maryland, who was severely wounded in the battle of Antietam, losing a leg, and who is one of the most active loyalists of Baltimore? General L. Blumenberg, a Jew.

Is it the Government of the United States that is pursuing this crusade against these citizens, or is it fostered and tolerated by its agents and the press?

I am not now pleading the cause of the Jew, but I am defending the principle that underlies our public institutions, our private worth. Are we to go on in this uncalled for vituperation, and sowing the wind to reap at last the whirlwind?

When you catch anyone guilty of a wrong, announce the fact "that John Jones was this day caught," etc. Make no distinction, arouse no local pride, foment no prejudice, and thus only can we as a nation become national, free and independent; for when the day dawns upon peace, let the sun of liberty illumine every nook and cranny of American soil, and let its resplendent effulgence dispel from every heart the last vestige of prejudice against creed or color, and let us be one in speech, one in sentiment, united in purpose and gloriously great in our love of destiny.

SIMON WOLF.

Washington, D. C., November 20, 1864.

The letter was published and elicited the following editorial comment from said paper:

THE HEBREW RACE

We publish on our first page a heartfelt protest of Mr. Wolf, of Washington, against the flippant and contemptuous phrases which the newspapers often use in speaking of the Israelites. His sensitiveness is natural under the circumstances, and, indeed, considering the provocation, it can not be said that he uses language too strong in his rebukes of a prevalent prejudice. But we are inclined to believe that the writer does a slight injustice to journalists and others in ascribing to animosity what is generally the result of inadvertence—a culpable carelessness, we admit, but not a wilful offense.

Our correspondent is pleased to compliment the Evening Post on its uniform courtesy towards all races and religions, but the virtue we possess is due exclusively to our system of political opinions, which demands, in the language of Jefferson, "equal and exact justice to all men," because they are men; and which will not be satisfied with any condition of society or any state of sentiment that does not cheerfully acknowledge the universal brotherhood of the human kind.

My letter was republished in the Jewish Occident, edited by Rev. Isaac Leeser, of Philadelphia.

President Lincoln's attention having been called to this letter, voiced his indignation in no uncertain terms, stating at the same time that no class of citizenship in the United States was superior in patriotism to those of Jewish faith.

The Washington Chronicle had an editorial comment to the following effect:

“The writer, as we learn from the *Post*, is a citizen of Washington, and he certainly presents his case with ability and candor. It was once said by a distinguished minister that every people persecuted were apt to believe all men to be their enemies, and this is true in more than one sense of the Hebrews, and yet in our great struggle for human freedom many of the bravest and best defenders of the old flag have been Israelites. The great party which re-elected Mr. Lincoln, and intends to restore the Union on the most liberal basis, is a party which ignores sects and sections, and if it could lend itself to a proscription of any man because of his religion or his color, it would deserve to go down into utter and inevitable infamy. Hence it is that we recognize in the article to which we refer, and in the endorsement of the New York Evening Post—one of the oldest and ablest of the Republican journals—that spirit by which alone the present organization of the friends of the Federal Union can be preserved and perpetuated.”

Mr. L. E. Chittenden, who at one time was Register of the Treasury, relates in his “Recollections of President Lincoln,” a remarkable episode of the Civil War. Two Confederate cruisers were ready to leave English ports to prey upon the commerce of the United States, when our Minister to London, Charles Francis Adams, interposed. The English Government as a concession stated that if a guarantee fund of five million dollars was deposited to the credit of the English Government by the United States as

a guarantee against any damages that hereafter might be awarded to the Confederacy, the ships would not be allowed to sail. There was no cable at the time, and Mr. Adams was in great distress, when an English gentleman came to the rescue and made the deposit of five million dollars which prevented the sailing of the cruisers.

This episode is given at length in Mr. Chittenden's "Recollections," and reproduced in my book "The American Jew, as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen."

In correspondence with Mr. Chittenden after the appearance of his book, I called his attention to my belief that the English gentleman was a Jew, to which Mr. Chittenden replied that he was not in a position to deny or to affirm, as the name of the generous person was, at his request, withheld.

Recently I had a letter from a gentleman from one of the towns in Pennsylvania, in which he asked me, having read in the American Hebrew my sketch of Abraham Lincoln "Do you think Lincoln was a Christian, an Infidel, a Deist or a Spiritualist? Did you ever hear him make any remarks on the subject? Did you ever hear him utter an oath, or tell an obscene story? Do you know him to have been a temperance man, or a prohibitionist?" To which I replied:

"Your letter is at hand. I do not know to what particular sectarian belief Mr. Lincoln adhered. I only know that in the ideal humanitarian sense he was a Christian, and one who, like "Abou Ben Adhem," loved his fellowmen.

"I do not believe he was a prohibitionist. I do know that he was a man temperate in all things, which is the test of character.

“I never did hear him tell an obscene story. He did use many anecdotes to illustrate a point, and particularly the famous one when preachers from the West came and asked him to discharge General Grant because he drank too much whiskey, and Lincoln promptly asked them whether they could tell him where he bought it, as he would like to have some purchased and send it to some of the other Generals.”

The following is an extract from an address delivered by me before the German Societies of Washington at their celebration in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday on February 12, 1898:

“In the month of February, the American people have the honor of celebrating the birthdays of two of the greatest men the world has ever known—Abraham Lincoln, born on the 12th, and George Washington, born on the 22nd. The question is, which was the greater and the more to be revered by the people of the United States. Washington was the founder; Lincoln the preserver. Washington sprang, you might say, from royalty. He had in his veins what is known as the blue blood of Virginia, and while he was great in war and great in peace, yet when compared with Abraham Lincoln the divergence is great.

Abraham Lincoln was one of the people, with the people, and for the people. He sprang directly from the ranks of the people, and there are none of our public men who understand the people, are as familiar with their desires and needs and appreciate true democracy as did the great martyr President. I believe with many others that certain people are born for a certain age. Abraham Lincoln was cre-

ated by the great God to live at a time when such a hand and mind as his was necessary to preserve the union and free the slave.

We are here today as American citizens, to show that those to the manner born have no mortgage on the love and affection borne the great Lincoln. As time goes on what this man was and what he accomplished is the more fully known and appreciated. One hundred years from now his character will be held loftier, more noble than it was among his contemporaries. This is but natural. The magnificent nation he preserved and did so much to upbuild will grow and become still greater, and the principles of liberty and freedom for which he died will be more fully understood and their true value realized and appreciated. Our children and our children's children will hail the name and revere the memory of the war President as the greatest friend of all citizens. His companions on the field of battle and in peace were men prominent in the history of all nationalities in the United States.

Abraham Lincoln's humanity was beyond question. He never knowingly did anyone the slightest injustice. His heart went out to the people. He did not use his pen to seal the fate of any man, with the exception of Gordon, the convicted slave catcher and trader. The man who with one stroke of his pen wiped off the statutes that stain of the nineteenth century could not reconcile himself to let this inhuman slave catcher live.

Lincoln's name and fame will never die, as long as self-sacrifice and true democracy is appreciated. We Americans, who fought with him and in support of the principles he represented, must see to it that

his name, fame and achievements shall live for all time and his memory be revered by us with affection and loyalty." These sentiments of patriotism and love of the flag are cherished in this world war as they were in the Civil War.

On the occasion of my seventieth birthday Miss Ida M. Tarbell wrote in my Year Book the following:

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in." As good a sentiment today, is it not my dear Mr. Wolf, as when your friend, Mr. Lincoln, uttered it nearly forty years ago.

Sincerely,

IDA M. TARBELL.

October 31, 1903.

On my eightieth birthday the same author, in sending me a copy of her world-famous book on Lincoln, wrote the following:

MY DEAR MR. WOLF: I have always counted it a privilege to meet anyone who knew Abraham Lincoln. I count it an honor that one who stood where you did in the Civil War, should not only want my Life of Lincoln, but want my name in your copy. I place it with pleasure and with all good wishes.

IDA M. TARBELL.

October 28th, 1916.

In my Seventieth Year Book, Carl Schurz wrote the following:

“Gold is good in its place, but living, brave, patriotic men are better than Gold.”—Abraham Lincoln.

To my old friend Simon Wolf, the patriotic, high-minded and useful citizen of the great Republic, the heartiest greetings on his seventieth birthday.

C. SCHURZ.

As John Hay was one of the Secretaries and biographers of President Lincoln, it gratifies me to give in this sketch his beautiful tribute, written in my Seventieth Year Book:

Dear Mr. Wolf:

I congratulate you not only upon seventy years of a well-spent life, but also upon the mental, moral and physical soundness and vigor which are the guarantee of many more years of usefulness to your country and to humanity at large.

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN HAY.

For four years the *London Punch* lampooned Mr. Lincoln. After his assassination, the following poem, which can not be too often republished, appeared in *Punch*:

“Beside this corpse that bears for winding sheets,
The stars and stripes he lived to rear anew,
Between the mourners at his head and feet,
Say, scurrile jester, is there room for you?”

“Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer,
To lame my pencil and confute my pen,
To make me own this hind of princes peer,
This rail splitter, a true born king of men.”

ANDREW JOHNSON

Andrew Johnson was nominated in Baltimore as Vice President with Abraham Lincoln running as President for the second term. As is historically known, there had been a great deal of dissatisfaction among some of the Union men, especially in the border states, and a movement indeed had been started by Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, and S. C. Pomeroy, of Kansas, to prevent the nomination of Mr. Lincoln, and therefore the leaders of the Republican party deemed it wise to nominate a Southern border state Union man.

Andrew Johnson was the one selected, having by virtue of his stanch and patriotic course in the state of Tennessee done loyal service, which in reality saved that state from giving more substantial aid to the Confederate cause. His outspoken bitterness, amounting almost to hatred, against those who were in rebellion, was so pronounced that when Abraham Lincoln was no longer President the Union men throughout the country felt a great deal of apprehension as to the course Johnson might pursue, inasmuch as his public utterances had lacked discretion and diplomacy.

Senator William M. Stewart, of Nevada, in his autobiography, states that Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, and he, as a committee from the Senate, called after Lincoln's death at the Kirkwood Hotel, on Pennsylvania Avenue, to inform Mr. Johnson of the death of the President, and to have him sworn in as the successor. It is hard for me to believe that the physical condition of the incoming president was as described by Stewart, and therefore I will not



ANDREW JOHNSON
1865-1869

1881
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

repeat what might have been partly imaginary and partly inspired by the terrible vindictiveness that Senator Stewart felt for Johnson. Enough to say that he was sworn in as President of the United States, and the first great work that the President had to deal with was the trial and execution of those who had attempted the lives of Mr. Lincoln and the two Swards, etc. The chief actor, Wilkes Booth, had been shot to death and therefore had passed beyond the reach of the law. The others were duly tried, including Mrs. Surrat, and were executed on the ground which is now known as the War College in Washington. Great efforts were made, which unfortunately were not successful, to secure the pardon of Mrs. Surrat, or at least a stay of her execution. Indeed, it is a curious fact in history that while the demand for clemency came from Northern men and women largely, it was after all President Johnson who was inexorable in his determination to have her executed. It was a tactical and political blunder from every standpoint, but as has been shown in the French Revolution, so at the time this incident happened, reason and mercy had practically been dethroned and passion reigned supreme.

My intercourse with Mr. Johnson from many standpoints was of a very pleasant character. I remember well when he was the guest of the Washington "Schuetzenverein," which literally means a target association, which had its annual festival to which the Presidents of the United States from time to time came and were the guests of honor. Mr. Johnson claimed to be an excellent shot and was taken to the booth to shoot at the target, and knowing as I did that even great men can be tickled by a straw, I had

instructed the target master in advance, to be sure that when President Johnson had fired his shot, to bring the target showing that he had hit the bull's-eye. He was very much gratified at the result, and said jocosely that in all his life he had tried to hit the bull's-eye, not always as successfully as in this instance.

I was not an applicant or candidate for any office, but the President seemed to have taken a liking to me and offered me the position of Consul General to Cuba, which at that time was very tempting and of more importance than now. But I respectfully declined, as I did not care to enter into any political office subject to the whims and caprices of Presidents or politicians. This phase of thought became a subject of future revision.

Mr. Johnson's political course was weird to such an extent that the Republican leaders finally concluded to impeach him, and I can best express that phase of his career in the following historical resume of that event.

There have been quite a number of impeachments for high crimes and misdemeanors, supposed to have been perpetrated by the rulers of various countries. Charles I and Louis XVI were executed after what were declared to have been fair and impartial trials. We have been more fortunate in this country, in not having had any of our rulers brought to the block, but we have had an attempt to impeach a President of the United States, to declare him unfit for the position to which he had been chosen, and fortunate it was for the nation, and for the future welfare of our people, that, at the crucial moment, there were found in the Senate of the United States

seven statesmen who separated from their conferees, then in the majority, and voted in opposition to prevent the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States.

Those were days of great excitement. The political waves ran high, threatening to engulf the nation with disaster. It required not only wise statesmanship, great forbearance and intellectual poise, but also a steady hand to guide the ship of state through the seething and surging torrents into the port of safety. From the day when the committee on impeachment of the House of Representatives filed into the Senate of the United States, and in the name of all the people of the whole country, attempted to prove Andrew Johnson guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, up to the day when the Senate by a legal majority declared the President not guilty, I was constantly in attendance, morning, noon and night. I took no stock in the attempt of the impeachers, looking upon their course as not only momentous and fraught with the greatest danger to the Republic, but also considered it as it has since been proven, a step toward Mexicanizing the United States, and establishing a precedent that each and every political party, when disgruntled or dissatisfied with the head of the nation, could use for the purpose of overthrowing the will of the people to suit their own political ideas.

I can see the Representatives of Congress filing into the Senate now. There was Elihu B. Washburn, of Illinois, one of the famous Washburn brothers, who claimed to be the "inventor" of General Ulysses S. Grant, having recommended him specially to President Lincoln, and who subsequently for three days was Secretary of State under General Grant's first

administration, and then Ambassador to France, where he made a great reputation during the Franco-German War as being a protector of the Germans in France. Then came the ascetic Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, who was looked upon as the great commoner, and who exemplified his characteristics by his last will and testament, in which he desired to be buried in the negro cemetery at Lancaster, so as to be sure of being among friends when dead, as he had been a staunch defender of their rights when living.

Then came Governor George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, who afterwards became a Senator and later Secretary of the Treasury, whose brain was all aflame with that spirit of puritan indomitable energy that has made the New Englander a conspicuous figure in our history.

Then came John A. Bingham, of Ohio, a great jurist, accomplished orator, statesman and diplomat, finishing his career as the representative of our Government in Japan years after, and who had the unhappy duty thrust upon him of being the Judge Advocate in the historical trial of the conspirators in Abraham Lincoln's assassination. This tragic incident, as Mr. Bingham often afterward told me, was a source of the keenest sorrow to him, especially as it involved the hanging of a woman. In these days of suffragettes, where women claim every privilege, I suppose there wouldn't be so much sympathy.

The mention of Mr. Bingham's name reminds me of an incident in my own life, when years before in Ohio, I was on the witness stand in an important case involving a great deal of property in which relatives of mine were concerned. Mr. Bingham was the counsel for the plaintiff, and had me on the stand,

although a mere lad, for two days, cross-examining me. At the close of his cross-examination, he turned to the judge and said, with a great deal of grim humor, "One thing is sure, your honor, this young man will rise to great prominence, either in the recognition of his fellowmen, or by being hanged as an accomplished liar." It is for others to say whether the prophecy of Mr. Bingham has been realized. One thing is sure, I have not been hanged as yet.

Then came the mighty warrior, Major General John A. Logan, of Illinois, whose every impulse was to fight for that which he conceived to be right, and whose raven locks and swarthy face gave no indication of that spirit of fairness and mercy which were the pulsating beats of his generous heart.

Then came Major General Benjamin F. Butler, whose personality has already been described in the Lincoln sketch.

A NOTABLE GROUP OF MEN

In the Senate itself there was a notable group of men, whose names have gone down into our political history, presided over by the Chief Justice of the United States, Salmon P. Chase, whose political ambition had been crushed and who was soured in temper by the seeming ingratitude of the Republic and the stupidity of his political admirers. No man in our history died more disappointed than did the great Secretary of the Treasury and Chief Justice, whose name and fame had been a rallying cry for abolitionists and Republicans, and it was bitter for him to sit there and see the possible outcome of a President deposed for the benefit of one whom he intensely hated, to wit, Benjamin Franklin Wade,

of Ohio, the acting Vice President of the United States.

Wade was the constant target of each and every one, for he was to be the residuary legatee of this tragedy. I knew Wade well in the old days in Ohio, esteemed him highly as a sincere and public-spirited patriotic American, but he was a bitter, malignant partisan, who never could see any good in any one opposed to him, and thus his judgment was warped, and his most generous impulses were also more or less tinctured with that spirit of acrimony born in partisanship. And there sat the mighty Olympus of the Senate, Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, whose frown was potential, whose utterances were dominant, who combined the classic oratory of Cicero with the scholarship of Bacon, but whose characteristics are summed up in an anecdote of President Grant's, who, when told that Sumner did not believe in the Bible, sententiously said: "How could he; he did not write it?"

GIANTS OF THE SENATE

There were mighty giants in both branches of Congress, but notably in the Senate, where the leaders of a great party, who had been prominent figures in the Civil War, represented the various States. There sat men whose names have become a household word in the political history of our country; such as Sherman, of Ohio; Chandler, of Michigan; Conkling and Morgan, of New York; Wilson, the Natick cobbler of Massachusetts, afterward Vice President of the United States; Morrill, of Maine, and Morrill, of Vermont; Cameron, of Pennsylvania; Conness, of California; Drake, of Missouri; Edmunds, of Vermont;

Harlan, of Iowa, father-in-law of Robert T. Lincoln; the great war Governor of Indiana, Morton; Pomeroy, of Kansas; Stewart, of Nevada; Williams, of Oregon, afterward Attorney General under Grant's administration; Governor Yates, of Illinois; Bayard, of Delaware, afterward Secretary of State under Cleveland; Hendricks, of Indiana, afterward Vice President, and others too numerous to mention.

From all parts of the United States people flocked into the nation's capital to watch with eager interest and keen anxiety the outcome of this great historical, epoch-making event. There was no such thing as night time. The hotels were crowded. Caucuses were being held from right to left; intrigue vied with intrigue. Fair women threw their blandishments into the scale, and the very air was surcharged with sulphuric vapor that threatened to stifle the very heart of the nation.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S COUNSEL

The counsel for the President, Henry M. Stansbury, William M. Evarts and William S. Groesbeck, were the best that the nation could afford. Henry M. Stansbury, at one time Attorney General of the United States, was a son-in-law of the elder Thomas Ewing, and a brother-in-law of the junior Thomas Ewing. In this connection, I am also reminded of an anecdote. When Thomas Corwin, the greatest political stump speaker of our history, was seated in his office one day, Thomas Ewing, Jr., came to him and asked him to assist in trying a case in court. Corwin said: "Why nonsense, your father is the greatest lawyer in the country, your brother-in-law, Stansbury, stands equal to the best, and you're no

slouch yourself. What do you want me for?" And Thomas Ewing, Jr., replied: "We don't want you very much so far as your legal services are concerned—we need you to play the buffoon to the jury."

William M. Evarts, of New York, whose wonderful ability is universally recognized and whose state papers made an important era in the department over which he so eminently presided, was afterward Secretary of State and United States Senator. I remember John Sherman telling an anecdote about Mr. Evarts. A committee from New York called on Mr. Evarts, asking him to speak at a certain function, but requested that he would not indulge in the long sentences to which he was universally addicted. To which Mr. Evarts replied, "Criminals never do like long sentences." William S. Groesbeck made the most important argument in that famous trial.

The headquarters for the counsel of the President was the famous hostelry, Welcker's, which was opposite the residence of the imperious Senator from New York, Roscoe Conkling, and the German Minister Baron Gerolt, the great friend of Abraham Lincoln. Welcker's was as well known in its day as Delmonico's in New York is now. Many a famous dinner was given there by parties interested in party and political legislation. The famous Samuel Ward, whom Crawford has immortalized in one of his novels, and who was a relative of his, gave many a royal feast to those engaged in matters in which he took a deep interest. During the whole trial, Welcker's was the center of attraction, and the newspaper correspondents outclassed themselves in vain attempts to get information from the counsel or from

statesmen who were visiting. After this great event, when Charles Dickens visited Washington and gave a course of readings, he was a guest at Welcker's, and one night, or rather morning, at a dinner given by me in his honor, he expressed the greatest interest in the historical events that had had their foundation at the hotel at which he was stopping. I remember a witticism of Dickens, when one of the guests asked him whether he had ever seen the sun rise, and his reply was, "Often, when I went to bed."

THE IMPEACHMENT TRIAL

The trial dragged its weary length from day to day, and excitement, bitter political rancor, animosity, crimination and recrimination grew until at last the fateful hour came for a vote, John A. Bingham, of Ohio, having made the closing argument for the plaintiff. His peroration still rings in my ears. Great applause followed its close, and those who are not conversant with the effect of his speech might have supposed that the doom of the defendant was sealed, but as has been proven time and again in the campaigns of Bryan and McKinley, and Bryan and Roosevelt, the one got all the applause and the others were elected to the Presidency of the United States. It was to me as if the heart of the nation stood still, waiting on the words "yes" or "no." You could scarcely drop a pin in that vast audience without its being heard. Every eye centered on the Senators as their names were pronounced, who were to establish once and for all a precedent for the perpetuity or the destruction of the Republic.

Names were called and a vote was given. "Aye" for the plaintiff, "no" for the defendant. The cru-

cial moment came when the name of William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine, was pronounced. It had been an open secret for days that Mr. Fessenden, with his wonderful grasp of statesmanship and sound reasoning, had come to the conclusion that President Johnson was not guilty of the crimes charged and that he would vote "no." In his lithe and slim figure there was not the slightest tremor of excitement, but calm as justice, impenetrable as fate, he pronounced the magic word "no." There was a throb throughout the vast Senate chamber, and each and every one felt that that was the beginning of the end. Fowler, of Tennessee came next, and voted "no." Grimes, of Iowa, answered "no." Henderson, of Missouri; Trumbull, of Illinois; Ross, of Kansas, and Van Winkle, of West Virginia, followed in close succession, and fearlessly voted "no," and as the last name was pronounced, the true friends of the Republic breathed a sigh of relief, while those who claimed to be equally true to the best interests of the Republic were frantic in their denunciation, charging conspiracy, bribery and corruption. And yet these seven immortals above named will stand in the annals of our country as the great apostles of reason, of statesmanship and of the true conception of a Republic. It was only the other day that the last of the seven was summoned to eternal rest, John B. Henderson, of Missouri. And what was the political fate of all these seven men? Their fate was the fate that is meted out by ungrateful people and Republics. They were hounded, denounced, pilloried and looked upon as traitors, not only to their party, but to their country. Time has vindicated their judgment, and placed them on that pinnacle where they so justly

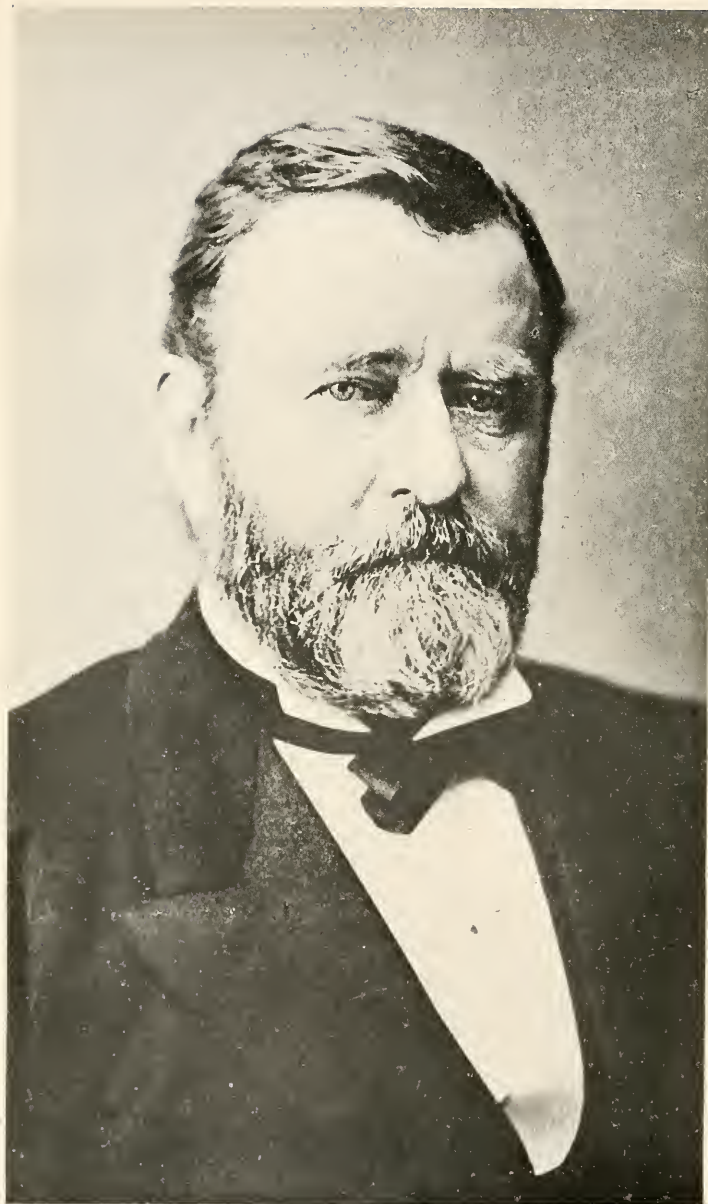
and rightly belong. Henderson was admonished by letters, telegrams and personal visits from his constituents in Missouri, that he would be "a political dead duck" if he voted against impeachment, and Henderson made the famous reply: "Clay said he would rather be right than to be President; I would rather do right than be Senator," and with that declaration he signed his political death warrant.

And finally, was Andrew Johnson guilty of the crimes and misdemeanors charged against him? Had they been leveled at any ordinary individual there would not have been a question of the utter disregard by any one of the allegations made against him, but being President of the United States, who had gone back on what were supposed to be pledges of political fealty, he became the target, and would have fallen from his high office had it not been for the seven immortals. Andrew Johnson was, as so many of our great Americans have been, a man of the people, who had risen to eminence from obscurity, and who, living in a state that was over-run with sentiment of secession, in the most crucial hour of our country's history, the Civil War, stood firm as the Rock of Chickamauga for the preservation of the Union, and took his life in his hands as Governor of Tennessee and commander of a part of the army, to evidence his patriotism and belief in the Constitution of the United States. I know of no more wonderful episode than the one which I witnessed when, long after, the State of Tennessee returned him to the Senate of the United States, and he became the comrade of many of the men who had at one time voted to disgrace and dethrone him. I sincerely believe that Andrew Johnson was thoroughly

honest and patriotic, and when those who traduced and maligned him were criticising even Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson stood shoulder to shoulder with his fellow compatriots fighting for the preservation of the Union.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATION



ULYSSES S. GRANT
1869-1877

ULYSSES S. GRANT

During and after the impeachment trial of President Johnson the Republican leaders had selected General Grant as his political successor; his nomination was not a surprise and his renomination was a logical result of the opposition and venomous attacks he had to endure. In both campaigns I participated, making speeches in different parts of the country, notably Ohio and Indiana. This campaigning made life friendships and gave me valuable education. When you have Democracy looking up at you it is the most exciting moment of a speaker's career and makes the blood tingle in every vein. The hustings are the political schools of the nation; all of our great statesmen and orators owe their fame to this valuable adjunct.

Chauncey M. Depew, at one of the dinners given by the Ohio Society of New York, made this memorable statement: "Some men are born great, others achieve greatness, and some are born in Ohio." It can be truthfully stated that two of these observations are undoubtedly true of the man about whom I am writing this sketch—Ulysses S. Grant achieved greatness, and was born in Ohio.

It was at Willard's Hotel that I had the first glimpse of General Grant. I confess that he did not impress me as being anything extraordinary, an opinion that was shared then by a large number of his countrymen, but which time and experience completely dispelled. I did not see him again until the great review of May 24 and 25, 1865, after the war was over. I occupied then an office prominently situated, to wit, at the corner of Seventh street and Pennsylvania

avenue, over the Central National Bank, and therefore had a splendid opportunity to see that great historic pageant. Grant on that day represented in his outward demeanor an absolute repose, the temper and spirit of the American people, calm yet firm, deliberate and assertive. There was no vindictiveness in his face; the fires that lighted up his eyes were not those of grim satisfaction at being the conqueror, but rather those of a man who was pleased to know that the country was once more united and that the war, with all its horrors, had ceased. There was nothing of the Roman Cæsar manifest; on the contrary, the loftiest spirit of civilization which permeates and dominates the close of the nineteenth century.

From that time on for several years, I had frequent opportunities of meeting General Grant, and I knew that in due course of time he would unquestionably be the candidate of the Republican party for President of the United States. I was most anxious to get at the inside history of "Order No. 11," which bore his signature and which had caused feelings of indignation throughout the United States on the part of those American citizens who were of the Jewish faith. That Order, if inspired or dictated by General Grant, would have stamped him with extreme liberality as having an utter want of appreciation of the real duties of an American commander-in-chief.

From what I had read and knew of General Grant as a public character, and what little I had seen of him personally, I felt confident that an erroneous impression existed and that injustice had been done the General and his great reputation. It was a very

delicate matter, inasmuch as a great deal of public comment had been made, some of the newspapers, then as now, rushing heedlessly and needlessly into print without a full knowledge of the facts. I therefore approached General Badeau, a member of his staff, also General Horace Porter, with whom I was on quite intimate terms, for the purpose of getting at the true inwardness of that Order, and received the following letter, under date of April 22, 1868:

“Mr. Simon Wolf,

“DEAR SIR:

“General Grant directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April 14, in which you allude to an order issued by him in 1862 ‘banishing the Jews from the Department of the Tennessee,’ and in which you ‘most respectfully ask as an American citizen and an Israelite, whether this order was intended then or since to reflect in any way or manner on the Jews as a class or whether it was not an order directed simply against certain evil designing persons, whose religion, however, was in no way material to the issue.’ While General Grant is extremely anxious to avoid thrusting himself into anything approaching a controversy on such a matter, he yet can not fail to observe the cordial tone and spirit of your note, and out of respect to that, he instructs me to say that the order was as you suppose ‘directed simply against evil designing persons whose religion was in no way material to the issue.’ When it was made, the guilty parties happened to be Israelites exclusively, and it was intended to reach the guilty parties, not to wound the feelings of any

others. It would have been made just as stringent against any other class of individuals, religious, political or commercial.

“I am, Sir, very respectfully,
“Your obedient servant,
“ADAM BADEAU.”

I was not fully satisfied with this, and again wrote, to which General Badeau replied as follows:

“March, 1868.

“My Dear Mr. Wolf:

“I have brought your request to the attention of General Grant, and while he would like very much indeed to comply therewith, yet he fears that any statement made by him would be misconstrued by the general public. He therefore prefers not to make any explanation other than that you have already received. He desires me to express his hearty and sincere appreciation of the interest you have taken, knowing that your motives are actuated by friendship and a desire to do justice not only to himself, but to the people whom you so worthily represent.

“Very truly yours,
“ADAM BADEAU.”

This gives emphasis to another feature of General Grant's character which has not been sufficiently commented upon, that is, his absolute unselfishness and extreme modesty. He preferred to suffer under the stigma of reproach and misunderstanding rather than have the public believe that at that juncture he was catering for the good wishes and possible votes of American citizens of Jewish faith. After his elec-

tion, I asked General Badeau for permission to publish the correspondence, and received the following letter, dated December 11, 1868:

“My Dear Sir:

“I can see no reason why the letter I wrote you last summer relative to General Grant’s Order No. 11, should not be published, as you request.

“Very respectfully yours,

“ADAM BADEAU.”

After General Grant’s nomination, while visiting in Boston, I published in the *Transcript* of that city, the following letter, which was copied all over the United States:

THE JEWS AND GENERAL GRANT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOSTON TRANSCRIPT:

In the *Boston Post* of Wednesday an article appeared headed “Grant and the Jewish Vote,” signed by “Max.” I do not know who Max is, whether he is an Israelite or a Mohammedan, not being material; but to his conclusions I entirely object, as being illogical, erroneous, and decidedly anti-Jewish.

No one, even the General, denies that the order was proscriptive, but in one sense not uncalled for. The General never meant then, since, or now, to proscribe the Jews because they were such, *but simply to banish from his camp the Lazzaroni who infested it*. Unfortunately the order was ill-worded, but that is no reason why *American citizens* should be betrayed from their allegiance to principles, and turn to a party that advocated the reverse of what is right and true.

I protest in the name of enlightened Judaism against this dragooning system and continually harping on the "old ancient grudge."

We are not Jews in any political sense. We are, what is of far more value, American citizens, and as such can and will vote for the candidate of our party, be that Grant or Seymour. The ages of persecution have passed into oblivion, but the lessons taught have not been lost, for we know that here, free as the air, we breathe, we can worship God according to the dictates of conscience, that we owe no allegiance to class, and that the fostering of prejudice and the accursed spirit of exclusiveness that have marked our race should cease and forever, being detrimental to the development of free thought and true progress.

Accursed will be the day when Jews as a class commit the unpardonable crime of becoming sectarian in their politics, Know-Nothings among Americans. If such a thing should come to pass I wish to place my protest on record, for no matter how much of an error Gen. Grant or anyone else may have committed, I will not forget what I owe the country that has fostered and protected me in the exercise of free thought. I will not forget that if oppression and prejudice have overtaken us, they were mainly attributable to the very sectarian spirit that is here sought to be perpetuated.

You, Mr. Max, or any other Israelite, can in your individual capacity as American citizens, vote and speak against Gen. Grant—that is one of your inalienable rights and privileges; but forbear to use it in a religious sense.

I know General Grant and his motives, have corresponded with him on this very subject, and assert

unhesitatingly *that he never intended to insult any honorable Jew, that he never thought of their religion*; that the order was simply directed "against certain evil designing persons, who respected neither law nor order, and who were endangering the morale of the army." General Grant is not the only man who, during the war, committed wrongs against the holiest rights. Fremont, Burnside, even the lamented Lincoln, were not free from them, and Congress had to legalize, subsequently, acts performed against the plainest rules of law and justice; but the emergencies of the time made them necessary, and an Anglo-Saxon race, ever ready to defend their principles, suffered these wrongs because they were necessary to the preservation of the Republic.

Having lived in Washington for the last six years, I know how many of our people were indifferent to the cause, and how many only cared for the spoils. This they had, however, in common with other persons, and I took occasion to defend my race against cruel aspersions and uncalled for prejudice; but yet I could not shut my eyes to the fact that hundreds infested the camps who were spies, blockade runners, etc., who, owing no allegiance to the Government, having ever a passport near, endangered the army, laughed at army regulations and orders, and when caught attempted to bribe their way to freedom. This was a state of things highly demoralizing, and the General in a moment of just indignation, in an hour of great peril, issued this order, never contemplating any wrong against honest, patriotic Jewish-American citizens.

The order never harmed me—never harmed any-

one, not even in thought, except those whom *we as Jews despise and hold in contempt.*

It would be perfect folly to suppose for a moment that the Jews have found in Grant another Titus, for he is fully aware of the noble deeds performed by thousands of Jewish privates, and hundreds of Jewish officers during the late war; and I know that some of his warmest friends, even in Washington, are Jews. The bugbear of what he may do when he becomes President is childish. He will do his duty as the law and the will of the people, through their chosen representatives, prescribe; *no more—no less.*

This great love, all at once exhibited by the Democratic party or any other party, this great tolerance prated about by Christians for Jews, is simply absurd. We are not Jews except to God; we are to the country what Mr. Smith, Mr. Jones or Mr. Brown are—citizens. We seek no tolerance from anyone, in this age of progress and ennobling humanity. *Tolerance is for slaves, not for Americans.*

SIMON WOLF.

Boston, August 6, 1868.

It proved satisfactory to the majority of the people to whom it was addressed, although I have no doubt there are still some who believe that Grant was actuated and inspired by *Rishus* (prejudice); in other words, who cannot alienate themselves from the feelings engendered by the Civil War. After his election, I had a long and interesting conversation with him, and then for the first time he told me that he had had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the said order; there were official blanks at the headquarters, just as there are official blanks in the differ-

ent courts, in the one case having the name of the General printed and in the other that of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, which were used in making orders; that said Order No. 11 had been issued from headquarters upon the report made by General Sherman, who had complained that there were a large number of citizens, notably Jewish, who were violating the rules and laws of war in running the blockade and in purchasing cotton contrary to legislation, and that it was demoralizing and proving very injurious to the service; in consequence of which, in the absence of General Grant, the order was made by one of the staff officers, but unfortunately bore the name of the General, and he never would state the facts as here given, simply because he did not wish anyone, as he stated, to suppose that he was seeking public applause; he would rather suffer in silence.

The facts were also substantiated by the records. But his subsequent conduct during the eight years of his incumbency as President gave the lie to all insinuations and innuendoes that had been made against the integrity and liberality of Ulysses S. Grant. Assertions and beliefs amount to nothing; facts tell on the pages of history, and I here distinctly state that during those years President Grant did more on and in behalf of American citizens of Jewish faith, at home and abroad, than all the Presidents of the United States prior thereto or since. This may seem almost incredible, but I speak by the card. No one during that time, except those immediately surrounding him or the members of his Cabinet, saw President Grant oftener than myself, whether fortunately or unfortunately, having been appointed by

him as Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia, a position which I did not seek nor covet and to which I was appointed in my absence from the city at the instance of General Rawlings, Secretary of War.

I was seated with Mr. Julius Bien, of New York, at the Astor House when the afternoon papers were brought in, and there for the first time I was made aware of my appointment. I fully determined on returning to Washington to decline the honor, but discovered to my regret that a protest had been filed with the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia on the score that I was a Jew. They did not question my manhood, my morals or my Republicanism, but solely on the old, old cry of not being a Christian. Realizing that there was a principle at stake, and that if I was confirmed I could always resign, I made the fight before the committee, of which former Vice-President of the United States, the Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, was chairman, and I am happy to say that I was unanimously confirmed. Unfortunately, illness in my family prompted me to continue holding the office, which I did from April, '69, until May, '78, about which I will speak in the sketch on President Hayes. How often have I been compelled to speak of this cowardly opposition on the part of certain people to those who happen to differ from them in their ideas of faith. In a Republic such as ours, men are not appointed on account of their religion, but on account of their party fealty and merit. Any other course would be detrimental to the best interests of the Republic.

The first time I saw the President after my confirmation, he said, "You have been so highly recom-

mended by General Rawlings, whose judgment is almost infallible, that I rely on you never to deceive me. I learn that you represent your co-religionists, that you also stand well with the German-American element. I may want to see and consult you often; when I can no longer trust you, I shall ask for your resignation." He never did, not even when under temporary fire. That was General Grant's strength—unfailing trust in those in whom he confided, the men who had been his comrades on the line of battle, whose courage he had tested, were steeled to him against all attacks. Unfortunately, some betrayed that trust, but the General never complained.

Thus I became officially connected with the administration of my choice. Being identified with the Republican party, looked upon, whether justly or not, as a representative German and Jewish American citizen, resident of Washington, there naturally poured in upon me from every part of the United States, petitions, applications and requests for office under the general government, for pardons of persons who had deserted from the army; for the restoration of minors who had enlisted without the consent of their parents; for violators of law who had been sent innocently in several instances to prison; to aid in securing American representation in Roumania; to prevent the exportation of American arms during the French-German War; to secure the immediate and prompt good offices of our government so as to prevent the wholesale deportation of Jews from Russia; to have the President as our guest through the means of my invitation time and again at the annual festivals of the Washington Schuetzen Verein, at the laying of the corner-stone and the dedication

of the Steuben monument, which is now standing in front of the Good Hope Orphan Asylum, in Anacostia, D. C.; at the dedication of the Jewish Orthodox Synagogue at the corner of Sixth and G Streets, at which the Rev. George Jacobs, of Philadelphia, officiated; at the fair in aid of the sufferers of the German-French War; and indeed on numerous occasions where his presence gladdened one and all and where he ever bore himself with a simplicity most charming.

He was so much impressed at one time with the zither players and Tyrolean singers whom he saw and heard at the Schuetzen Park that he asked me to bring them next day to the White House so that Mrs. Grant could hear them also. Of course these performers were highly elated at the honor accorded them, and the next day I took them to the White House, and soon every employe and official connected with the White House listened to the music and songs of the Tyrol. Much to our surprise and pleasure, the President himself came in, although as is well known, he cared very little for music of any kind except military, yet he seemed to again heartily enjoy the occasion, as he had done the day previous.

It is proper in this connection to reproduce the conversation had with President Grant when Benjamin F. Peixotto and myself called upon him after Mr. Peixotto had been appointed as Consul to Roumania. The President uttered the following words:

“Respect for human rights is the first duty of those set as rulers over nations, and the humbler, poorer or more abject and miserable the people be, be they white or black, Jew or Christian, the greater should be the concern of those in authority to extend pro-

tection, to rescue and redeem them and to raise them up to an equality with the most enlightened. The story of the sufferings of the Hebrews of Roumania profoundly touches every sensibility of our nature. It is one long series of outrage and wrong, and even if there be exaggeration in the accounts which have reached us, enough is evident to prove the imperative duty of all civilized nations to extend their moral aid in behalf of a people so unhappy. Prince Charles and his ministers and the public men of that country may be brought to see that the future of their nation lies in a direction totally opposite to these laws, and persecutions, whether great or petty, which have hitherto so invidiously marked its character. It is not by Chinese walls or Spanish expatriation that nations can hope to make progress in our day. I have no doubt your presence and influence, together with the efforts of your colleagues of the great powers with whom, in this matter, you will always be prompt to act, will result in mitigating the evils complained of and end in terminating them. The United States, knowing no difference between her citizens on account of religion or nativity, naturally believes in a civilization the world over which will secure the same universal views."

The substance of this, commencing with the words "the United States," was embodied in the circular letter given to Peixotto. There is no paper on file in the State Department of our Government that so truly and characteristically represents the spirit and genius of our institutions as this simple letter. It was not written for the President, but by him in our presence, and the words flowed naturally from a heart full of human sympathy, and as classic as his

own memoirs, written under great physical strain and stress at Mt. McGregor.

On the 12th day of May, 1870, I received the following letter from Schuyler Colfax, who was then Vice-President of the United States, in answer to a request of mine to have a resolution introduced in the matter of the Roumanian outrages:

“Washington, May 12, 1870.

DEAR SIR:

I have received your letter, but having heretofore presented several invitations to the Senate informally, I have been reminded privately by Senators that they were not within the 24th rule, which limits the Documents that may be submitted to the Senate by its presiding officer. I would suggest that you have the invitation presented by some Senator to whom the restrictive rule does not apply.

In great haste,

Yours truly,

SCHUYLER COLFAX.”

I took his advice and the resolution was subsequently introduced by Senator Schurz.

On April 12, 1872, I received the following letter from the State Department, signed by Hamilton Fish, in answer to a letter of mine asking the Department of State to instruct our Consul at Bucharest to protest against the outrages practiced on the Israelites of Roumania:

“Department of State,
Washington, April 12, 1872.

To S. Wolf, Esq.,
Recorder of Deeds,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:

Your letter of the 9th instant has been received. In reply, I have to state that this Department has addressed an instruction to Mr. B. F. Peixotto, the Consul of the United States at Bucharest, authorizing him to remonstrate against the outrages committed upon the Israelites in Roumania.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

HAMILTON FISH.”

There was a genial humor about President Grant which no one not familiar with him could ever have imagined. I remember when Congressman Clark, then representing one of the districts in Texas in the days of carpet-bagging, presented some of his Texas constituents, and after being introduced, Grant looked up with a twinkle in his eye and said, “Clark, what were the names of your constituents before they migrated to Texas?” Again, while awaiting to have an interview with him, some enthusiastic politicians were observing to the President that it was a shame and outrage that John Morrisey (the noted prize-fighter) should be a member of Congress, and Grant replied sententiously, “Not at all, this is a representative form of government and I have no doubt that John Morrisey fairly represents his district,” and after a good hearty laugh on the part of those present, the President further observed, “I know John Morrisey

well and esteem him highly, for I believe that when he promises anything, he does it, which is more than I can say for some other members of Congress who are more cultured."

He was anxious to give General Sigel some recognition by appointing him to an office worthy of his name and achievements. While the President did not have the most unlimited admiration for the military ability of General Sigel, he nevertheless esteemed him personally. He said to me time and again that no man had done as much to aid the Union cause in the Northwest, and especially in Missouri, as General Sigel, and that his name had contributed vastly towards rousing the patriotic spirit of the German Americans, and if for nothing else than that, he deserved the gratitude of the American people. I communicated these sentiments to the General, and the President was ready to appoint him as Collector of Internal Revenue, which General Sigel declined; then Assessor of Internal Revenue; he then wished to appoint him as Minister to Portugal, but this fared no better.

Some time had elapsed when the San Domingo Commission was appointed, and I suggested to the President that there would be a splendid opportunity to recognize the ability of General Sigel, who was a thorough scholar and might be of great use and benefit to the Commission. The President asked me to write or telegraph to the General, and if satisfactory he would appoint him as a member of the Commission. This time we were more fortunate—General Sigel accepted. When the Commission was on its return home a rumor circulated that the vessel had foundered and all on board had been lost. I saw the

President on the day when the rumor was printed, and he asked me what I thought about it. I assured him that there was no earthly danger, for General Sigel was on board. The President wished to know what that had to do with it, and I said, "Why, Mr. President, he would decline death." A hearty laugh followed on his part and he must have repeated it to someone, for I heard it afterwards from a member of his Cabinet.

The irony of history is exemplified by present conditions in regard to San Domingo. The principal cause of opposition on the part of Grant's political enemies was his attempt to purchase and occupy San Domingo, a step that is now justified and universally regretted that it was not accomplished by Grant. But there are times in the history of our country when passion and selfishness are supreme, which was evidenced when Secretary William H. Seward purchased Alaska. Leading papers and statesmen at the time jeered and laughed at "buying an iceberg," and the good citizens of Auburn, Seward's home, criticized him severely. American history records no finer stroke of statesmanship, save and except Jefferson's purchase of Louisiana.

The only time I ever saw the President embarrassed for a moment was at the Schuetzen Park at the banquet in the evening of the day of the laying of the corner-stone of the Steuben monument. The Franco-German War was then on, and an enthusiastic German, since dead, but well remembered, arose and proposed the health of the President of the United States, the friend of Germany. I promptly arose, knowing what a delicate situation it was, and said, "No, no, the President of the United States is the

friend of all the governments of the world, but General Grant is our guest and friend." For a moment silence reigned, and then the applause was most hearty and spontaneous, and Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, who had accompanied the President, said to me smilingly, "That was most happily done; you ought to be in the diplomatic service," to which I promptly replied, "If I was, I would unquestionably have done as well as some of those whom you have sent abroad."

One day I was made aware of the fact that the different religious sects in this country were to be represented in the service of the government, looking to the education and caring for the Indians. I saw no reason inasmuch as that was adopted as a rule, why the Jewish faith should not also have a representative, especially as we were not a proselyting people, and that whoever was appointed would see to the physical, mental and moral welfare of the Indians. I called on the President, and he was at once alive to the practicability of the suggestion and asked me to name someone. I promptly did so, having in the meantime consulted my friend, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, of Albany, by recommending Dr. Herman Bendel, of Albany, who had seen service in the Civil War and who enjoyed then, as he does now, a most honorable reputation, and who had shown ability and rare judgment, which were the essential necessities in the Indian or any service.

President Grant appointed Dr. Bendel Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Arizona, and then I had on my hands one of the most interesting political fights of my experience. Bendel came from the State of New York; Roscoe Conkling, as Senator, claimed the

privilege of all the appointments. Richard C. McCormick, who was delegate in Congress from Arizona, naturally felt indignant that such an important appointment should have been made without consulting him. After the appointment had been sent to the Senate, the President sent for me, and while at the White House, Mr. McCormick came in, and I soon convinced him of the fitness of the appointment, and then and there won his friendship, which I enjoyed to the end of his life. But to win the imperial Roscoe Conkling was not so easy. The President failed to do so, and Conkling refused point blank to have the appointment confirmed. I told him that I extremely regretted that he was pursuing this course, but that I would not consent to the withdrawal of Dr. Bendel's name unless the President requested it. I knew all the time that the President would not do so, as he quietly enjoyed the fight and likewise saw no reason why Conkling should have his own way. I made the fight before the Committee on Indian Affairs in the Senate and won, and I must do Conkling the credit and justice to say that he never harbored any ill will or anger; on the contrary, he seemed to have a higher respect for me and subsequently did me personally a most important service. Dr. Bendel went to Arizona and for several years discharged the important duties entrusted to him to such eminent satisfaction that the officials of the Indian Bureau often said that no better superintendent existed.

There was a Board of Missions connected with this Indian business with which General O. O. Howard and Mr. John Welch, of Philadelphia, and other good Christian fellow-citizens were connected, who had a

meeting at the Arlington Hotel for the purpose of reviewing the services of the various superintendents and the work accomplished on and in behalf of the Indians. I was notified to be present, the Commission knowing that I had been instrumental in securing the appointment of Dr. Bendel, and much to my disgust and chagrin, I found a report as follows: "Dr. Herman Bendel, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Arizona, is a most excellent official, a man of splendid judgment, strict integrity, who has managed the affairs of the office to entire satisfaction, but unfortunately he is not a Christian."

It was such a startling and yet natural proposition emanating from that source, that for a moment I did not reply, and then gave them an exposition of American citizenship which I am sure they never forgot. I finally told them that if anyone in the world ought to be appointed to supervise the affairs of the Indians and to elevate them in manhood and morals, it should undoubtedly be an American citizen of Jewish faith, especially of the medical profession, for the reports read at that meeting showed that three-fourths per cent of not only the elder population, but also of the children, were afflicted with diseases engendered by immoral practices, and that therefore Dr. Bendel could not only civilize, but also use his professional skill in converting them to the tenets of Judaism, a physical cleansing process as well as a soul-elevation. I remember well the *New York Herald* of the next day having a verbatim report of this meeting and seeming to enjoy the grim humor conveyed in my observation. But it proved ineffectual, the missionary element, dominant and assertive, won the day, and Dr. Bendel shortly after

resigned. It was another proof which I have had, fortunately very rare, of the lack of judgment on the part of those who differ in faith.

The rupture between President Grant, Charles Sumner and Carl Schurz led to very unpleasant complications, not only from a national but from a personal standpoint. I enjoyed then the friendship of Mr. Schurz, and it pained me exceedingly to find him taking the course he did against the administration to whose elevation he had contributed so much. I was well aware that whatever actuated Mr. Schurz was inspired by motives sincere and conscientious, and yet I could not help but think then, as I do now, that he sacrificed a great deal on the score of friendship existing between Mr. Sumner and himself, and I believe that time mellowed Mr. Schurz's attitude to a very large degree as far as General Grant was concerned, as after Grant's death no one paid a more beautiful and glowing tribute to the memory of the Great Commander than did Carl Schurz. He characterized Grant's Memoirs as equal, if not superior, to Caesar's Commentaries. No higher praise could be given, especially coming from such a source. Grant's estimate of Sumner's vaulting egotism has already been spoken of in the chapter on Johnson.

The discontent among a certain portion of the Republican party led in 1872 to the formation of what is known in history as the Liberal Republican organization. They called a national convention which met in Cincinnati, Ohio. Carl Schurz, Judge Stallo, Stanley Matthews and other notable Republicans were at the head. The result of that convention was the nomination of Horace Greeley, the noted and celebrated editor of the New York Tribune, a life-

long Abolitionist and Republican. The Democratic convention of that year met in the city of Baltimore and affirmed the action of the Liberal Republicans by adopting its platform and nominating its candidate, the most curious action in the political history of the United States. Horace Greeley had for years in the *Tribune* denounced and villified the Democratic party. He had gone so far as to say, "Show me a liar, a thief and a perjurer and I will show you a Democrat," and yet this great national organization, unmindful of the past and only eager to win no matter by what means took up the candidate of the Liberal Republicans in the hope of defeating Grant.

For a short period of time there was some doubt as to the result, and President Grant, one day while conversing with him at the White House, during the campaign, suggested that if I felt like going on the stump in Ohio, and also in Indiana, he would not object. His wish was a command to me, and I did speak in the two states. During my itinerary I met the Hon. Abram I. Dittenhoefer, who is yet living in the City of New York. We spoke from the same platform, and the friendship engendered by association is lasting and intense.

In that same campaign, I was to speak in the evening when Joseph Pulitzer, the editor of the *New York World*, was to speak in German for the opposition. While seated in the hotel reading a newspaper, two men came in, sat down and ordered a drink. They spoke in German, good Pennsylvania Dutch, and one of them said to the other, "Did you ever hear such German as that man Pulitzer got off? Nobody could understand him." Naturally Pulitzer had spoken over their heads and they were disgusted

with his culture. When I met Pulitzer that same evening, I told him, and we had a laugh at his expense.

Although time and again asked to speak to political organizations in German and to foster and stimulate political clubs of a Jewish character, I have never done the one nor advocated the other. In all matters of a public character there is only one citizenship, and that is to be American and speak the language of the country and notably now.

As is well known, the result of that election was overwhelmingly in favor of General Grant, and discomfiture, chagrin and strenuous labors were undoubtedly the primary cause of Horace Greeley's early death. In 1865, at the second inauguration ball of Lincoln, Greeley lost his hat, in 1872 he lost his head.

The fourth of March, 1873 (second inauguration of Grant), was most memorable on account of the weather. The oldest citizen of Washington had not seen anything like it. It was bitter cold, the wind blowing at the rate of sixty miles an hour; yet the streets were lined with people, and the front of the Capitol packed with an enthusiastic crowd. General Blumenberg, of Baltimore and I marched at the head of our respective "Schuetzen Verins," side by side with the army and navy boys of West Point and Annapolis. Many of these marchers contracted pneumonia and died. General Grant, with uncovered head, read his message, and the welkin rang with cheers. In the evening the Inaugural Ball was held in an improvised frame structure in Judiciary Square. Governor Alexander R. Shepherd, the founder of the new Washington, was chairman, and he opened

the ball in his *fur overcoat*; the coffee cans ran *solid ice*. President and Mrs. Grant, who were present, seemed to enjoy the Arctic conditions. I was a member of the Ball Committee, and Grant said to me, "I saw you and Blumenberg in the crowd today and wondered how you liked it."

To me President Grant was the embodiment of a brave, patriotic and true man; but more than that, he was the President of the United States, who was entitled to forbearance, who deserved at the hands of his fellow-citizens that consideration which a just man is ever willing to accord to a private citizen. Therefore, I stood firmly and resolutely by the President in that unfortunate controversy engendered by the sale of arms to the French government. I saw at once that someone had blundered and that it was no time, no matter how much we might wish to sell our surplus arms, to sell them then to the French government. I called on the President at once, and he convened a Cabinet meeting, at which I had the honor to be present. I presented all the facts and argued that it would never do to pursue this course, as it would alienate the German-Americans from their love of and for the United States and would estrange from the Republican party a host of sterling, unselfish and devoted adherents. The President promptly acquiesced in this opinion, and the matter was stopped then and there, and the German papers of that day, as I find from quite a number of notes contained in my scrapbooks, gave high praise to the President for his prompt action, and incidentally spoke very pleasingly of myself.

When the cable flashed the sad intelligence that the Jews of Bessarabia were to be expelled from

Russian territory and that a massacre had taken place in which a large number of Jewish people had lost their lives, in addition to getting action by both branches of Congress, which were then in session, I asked the President to use his good offices through our Minister in St. Petersburg on and in behalf of my unfortunate co-religionists. A special meeting of the Cabinet was convened, at which I again had the honor to be present, and it was unanimously agreed that such a cable message should be sent to the Hon. Andrew G. Curtin, our Minister. Curtin promptly acted, and successfully, for the great War Governor of Pennsylvania, than whom no more loyal or liberal American ever lived, appreciated the gravity of the situation, and did not act as did another Pennsylvanian, Charles Emory Smith, who was our representative in Russia at a subsequent period, and when asked to use his good offices and best efforts on and in behalf of our co-religionists did nothing. Eugene Schuyler, who was Secretary of the American Legation in St. Petersburg, was requested in the absence of the Minister to write out a full report of the condition of the Jews in Russia, not to give an opinion but a statement of facts, so that our government could act intelligently. In due time his report came, and it was of such a character that the Department found itself unable to print it. I was permitted to read it and was shocked at the un-Americanism of the writer. He fully agreed with all that Russia had done in its persecution and pogroms and knew of no reason for any other action than that which Russia had taken. In the course of years Mr. Schuyler was nominated for an important position under the government. My memory fortunately reproduced

that infamous report, and the committee of the Senate unanimously reported against his confirmation. Years afterward I met Mr. Schuyler in Switzerland and frankly told him what I had done and the reason therefor. It was quite astonishing to him not only that I had seen the report, but that I had prevented his confirmation, but he agreed that from my standpoint I was absolutely correct. We parted on the most friendly terms.

President Grant took an interest in the proceedings of the Convention of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, held in Chicago in 1874, and over which I presided. When I returned to Washington, I had to tell him all about the Roumanian Mission, of the action taken to erect a Statue to Religious Liberty, and other notable legislation. At the close of our interview, he said, "You Jews are certainly a great people and patriotic Americans."

In 1876, the centennial year, when the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held their council in this city, President Grant received them, and all of the delegates were highly pleased with the reception and the cordial manner in which they were treated by the President. The President seemed to know quite a number of them, and when I saw him afterward he expressed gratification in having met so many intelligent American citizens, and when introduced to Dr. Isaac M. Wise, the founder of the Union, he promptly said, "I know all about you, Doctor, especially in connection with Order No. 11."

The following letter sent to President Grant, and his answer thereto, fully explain themselves:

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



STATUE OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, ERECTED AT FAIRMOUNT PARK,
PHILADELPHIA, BY THE I. O. B. B., IN 1876.

Washington, D. C., June 26, 1876.

My Dear Mr. President:

No doubt you are aware of the fact that the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith at its quinquennial Convention held in Chicago in 1874, unanimously voted the erection of a Statue to Religious Liberty, and that the same should be erected in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. Now on this coming Fourth of July, the Statue having been completed by an American sculptor, Sir Mosely Ezekiel, will be dedicated and given to the people of the United States. This evidence of patriotism and of love of liberty on the part of American citizens of Jewish faith is in keeping with their history and their lofty ideals and conception of duty. No class of citizenship has been made happier by religious liberty than the Jew, for the denial of that liberty in other lands has been the cause of endless persecution and misery.

We sincerely trust that this statue, typifying so grandly the separation of church and state, may be an inspiration and an example for all the generations of the future.

Is it not possible for you to attend the unveiling?

Very sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.

And the President replied:

White House,

June 28, 1876.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

Your letter in the matter of the Statue to be dedicated to Religious Liberty in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, on the 4th of July, has been duly received.

It has impressed me deeply and I congratulate you

and all concerned for this splendid contribution on the part of American citizens who at all times in war and in peace, have shown their loyalty and patriotism on and in behalf of the Republic.

I sincerely regret that official duties will prevent my attendance.

Sincerely yours,
U. S. GRANT.

Just before General Grant was inaugurated, he exceeded the speed limit of the District by driving two of his pet horses too fast on Pennsylvania Avenue. He was arrested by a policeman and brought before Justice Charles Walter, who was at that time Justice of the Police Court. Walter fined him ten dollars, which President-elect Grant paid without a murmur. Just after Grant had been inaugurated, the commission of Justice Charles Walter expired, and there were a large number of patriots anxious to secure the appointment. One of the arguments made to President Grant was that Walter was the Dutchman who had fined him ten dollars for driving too fast, and Grant sententiously remarked, "Is that so? Well, that's the man I will reappoint, for he knows how to do his duty, irrespective of men or station."

One day I received a request from a blind girl, telling me that her father had been arrested and convicted of selling washed revenue stamps. She said that he was her only support and that he had been most kind and considerate of her at all times, and she begged of me to see whether I could not have her father, whom she believed to be innocent, and as was subsequently proven, pardoned. I went to the President and showed him the letter, printed in raised type

which the blind use; he tapped his bell, ordered the immediate release of the unfortunate man, and I have in my library today a letter of thanks from his daughter who physically blind, was glorious in her mental vision of the President, and I treasure the letter as among my choicest souvenirs.

One day a woman called at my house; I remember it well; she said she lived in Chicago, and brought a voluminous petition for the pardon of her husband, who was then on his way to Joliet, having been convicted of a crime. I had had so many requests that I was not only chary about troubling the President but in reality it became a grievous burden to me individually, and I said I could not do anything, but my wife begged me to do what I could and I went to the President, giving him the petition. He read the names and recognized most of the signatures of the leading men of Chicago. He turned to me and said, "Do you know anything about this case?" I said, "I know most of the people who have signed the petition and believe that they would not request you to act unless they were convinced that some mistake had been made." He promptly ordered the pardon of this man. His pardon was telegraphed prior to his admission to Joliet, thus saving him humiliation. Shortly afterward it was proven beyond question that the man was innocent, and had been the victim of a conspiracy on the part of a relative of the person with whom this man had been employed. This fact I communicated to the President, and it gave him great satisfaction. This pardon led to my making the acquaintance of this person in the City of Chicago at the general convention of the Order of B'nai B'rith in 1874. He was a journalist and proved

his gratitude in a thousand different ways during our stay, by which the name and fame of the Order became public through the channel of the press.

Another case was that of a relative of a friend of mine, who had disappeared from home and whose whereabouts were unknown. Months afterwards I received a telegram from this friend telling me that the absent one had been discovered in a United States prison, having deserted from the army in which he had enlisted, and to do what I could to have him restored to his family. The high character of the family prompted me to see General Grant and detail to him the circumstances. He fully recognized the situation and generously pardoned the man and ordered that he be permitted to return to his home.

During the second term of President Grant, I delivered an address in Washington (and subsequently in different parts of the United States) under the auspices of the Schiller Bund, of which I was president. It was entitled "The Influence of the Jews on the Progress of the World." Later I published it in book form and gave a copy to the President. A few weeks later I received the following letter:

"My Dear Mr. Wolf:

"I have read with great pleasure and interest your lecture on 'The influence of the Jews.' I congratulate you on this valuable and thoughtful contribution. It will educate the many who are prejudiced because they are ignorant.

Sincerely,

U. S. GRANT."

Some years later I reprinted this lecture, and among others sent a copy to General E. F. Beale, who

was our Minister to Austria under General Grant's administration. To which General Beale answered as follows:

May, 1888.

My Dear Sir:

I have read your lecture, "The Influence of the Jews on the Progress of the World" with very great pleasure and profit. There is but one single point I a little object to. It is too much a defense of the Jews. Who is there in these days, whose good opinion is worth having, who requires a defense of the Jews? If he knows anything of letters, science, philosophy, faith, hope or charity, he must know that the finest illustrations of all these virtues are to be found in Hebrew history, and that the most profound statesmen, the most divine poets, artists, architects and warriors have sprung from that race, which has held itself together in spite of the world of prejudice in arms against them. Every just idea of modern times, of the obligations of the rich to the working poor, finds its foundation in the benevolence which teaches 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox which treadeth out the corn,' and that other law so divine that it must have been inspired by God Himself, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' is Jewish law. The very search for wealth which ignorance reproaches them with, what is it? Is it not commerce, the handmaiden of civilization? It is commerce which brings the nations together and makes the Brotherhood of Man a possible fact among the peoples of the world. As for Shakespeare and Shylock, I think you make too much account of them. Shakespeare was intent only on making a telling play, and in many of his other plays

he makes countrymen of his own much more unlovely characters than Shylock. Scott followed Shakespeare with the same end in view, yet who would not rather he had made Ivanhoe marry the beautiful, refined and self-sacrificing Rebecca than the insipid Rowena? As for Dickens, he made Fagan only half as repulsive as the brutal and murderous Sykes. All men who love letters, whether unlearned like myself and only loving them from hereditary instinct, or deeply imbued with them by education, know what that great people has accomplished in every branch which has raised the human race to its present condition.

Very sincerely your friend,

E. F. BEALE.

One day I received a letter from a Jew in Jerusalem, who wrote me in jargon, which Henry Gersoni, lately deceased, managed to decipher, and the request was that I should see the "King of the United States" and bring to his attention the fact that he, the Jew of Jerusalem, had a daughter whom he wished to be married, and he wanted to do the "King of the United States" the honor to have him contribute to her dowry. The request was so amusing that I stated it to the President, and he said, "Do you think this man is in earnest?" and I said, "None more so," and he promptly gave me a check for \$25, which I forwarded to my correspondent. Subsequently I received a letter of thanks in Hebrew, also the portrait of General Grant in Jewish letters, which, I believe, will be found among the other Grant treasures on exhibition in the National Museum. The singular part of this incident lies in the fact that General Grant, while on his

tour of the world, came to Jerusalem, and near the walls where the pious Jew offers his prayers, a man prostrated himself before him, kissing his hand, and lo and behold, it was the person to whom the President had sent the donation.

The American citizens of German origin and birth were not forgotten. Thus General Sigel was appointed Assessor of Internal Revenue in New York City; Morris Friedsaur, Collector and Assessor; General Max Weber, Assessor and Collector; General E. S. Solomon, of Chicago, was made Governor of the Territory of Washington, and General Grant had a very high and exalted opinion of the military ability and bravery of the General; the staunch veteran Republican of the City of New York, Andreas Willman, was appointed Collector of Internal Revenue. In making this appointment, President Grant showed his wonderful memory, for the year prior he wanted to make this appointment, but the political combinations made it necessary to appoint someone else, and when a vacancy occurred, he said to me, "Why would this not be a fine opportunity to appoint Willman?" showing that he had never forgotten his original intention. He also appointed David Eckstein Consul to Vancouver. The same Mr. Eckstein was for years Consul at Amsterdam, and the German-American press rushed into print, wanting to know who Eckstein was, and I had to answer in a letter that was widely copied, showing that Eckstein had been a splendid patriot during the Civil War and had an admirable record in the State Department.

General Grant took an active interest in all that appertained to the beautifying and enlarging of the

Nation's Capitol. He encouraged and supported Alexander R. Shepherd in his wonderful efforts to make Washington "a thing of beauty and a joy forever," and eternal gratitude is due to both of these men for not only having taken the initiative, but laying the foundation for the future beautifying that has since been accomplished.

On the eve of the retirement from Presidential office of General Grant, I addressed him the following letter:

March 2, 1877.

My dear Mr. President:

Day after tomorrow you will, by virtue of law, retire from the Presidency which you have so splendidly adorned. Our intercourse personally and officially has been of such a pleasant character that I can not help but congratulate myself for the high privilege and distinction which this intimacy has conferred. You have at all times been most considerate and cordial. Time and again you have given evidence of your good-will, and indeed your forbearance. Although you will retire to private life, I will ever have the highest esteem of your character as soldier, patriot and citizen. May the years yet in store for you, bring you health and happiness and good cheer.

Sincerely your friend,

SIMON WOLF.

To which on the following day I received his reply:

March 3, 1877.

My dear Mr. Wolf:

Your letter of yesterday has given me a great deal of pleasure. You have during the eight years of

our official intercourse shown the true spirit of an American citizen, and our personal relations have at all times endeared you to me.

I thank you sincerely and hope that your future years may bring you still greater honors, health and happiness.

Sincerely yours,

U. S. GRANT.

The friendship of the father was transmitted to the son, for on my seventieth birthday, General Fred D. Grant wrote in my "Year Book," "Hearty congratulations to my father's old friend." General Grant was the godfather of my son, who bears the name Grant. The usual Jewish ceremony eight days after his birth took place on January 19, 1869. The General sent as his personal representative General Badaeu, and a basket of beautiful flowers to the mother.

Nothing that he did has left a purer fragrance of admiration and good-will than the unobtrusive act, at the time unknown to me, on his part in sending flowers and fruit from the White House grounds to one who was endeared to me by the holiest ties and who was temporarily absent from my home.

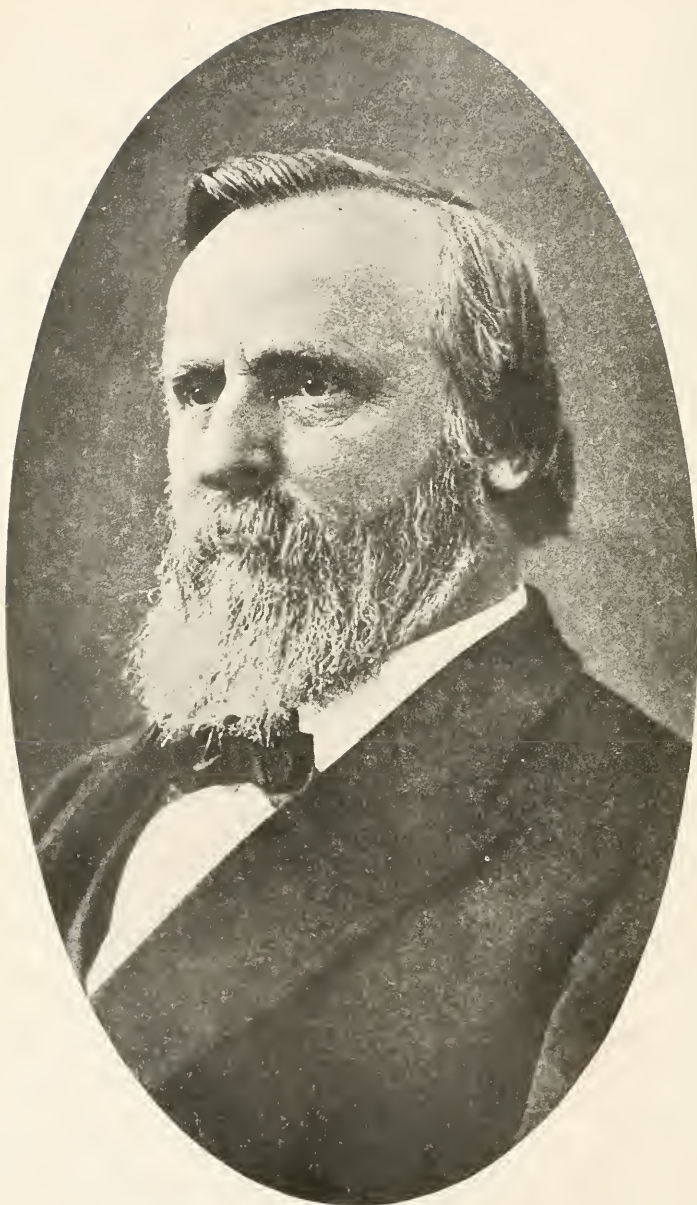
I count as one of the most pleasing episodes of my life the fact of having been officially connected with his administration. I do not believe that he ever did anything intentionally to injure anyone. He was imbued with the loftiest sense of patriotism and generosity; and when anyone had once won his friendship, he clung to him through all the vicissitudes and trials of life.

The world knows General Grant by what he accomplished. In the Walhalla of fame his statue will

stand pre-eminent, but to the individual who enjoyed personal relations and to whom he unbosomed himself as he really was—one of nature's noblemen—he will live as the future historian is bound to depict him, an American who rivaled Bayard of old, a man *sans peur, sans reproche*. His tomb is near the classic banks of the Hudson, a Mecca for all lovers of liberty. The rising and setting sun of day, the stars of night, will shine thereon forever and ever, reproducing in the hearts of all true patriots, light and lustre which time cannot pale or efface.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX
& TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES
1877-1881

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

When Rutherford B. Hayes had been elected for the third time Governor of Ohio, I came to the conclusion that he would be the available candidate for the Presidency after General Grant's term should have expired. My opinion was based on prevailing conditions, and especially on the fact that he advocated sound finance, and the German-Americans of Ohio, especially in the large cities, were firm and unshaken for that issue, and it was largely due to Carl Schurz, who made a series of addresses in Ohio, that Hayes was elected Governor by a small margin.

In the spring of 1876, the politicians and the Republican press were canvassing the various persons likely to be selected at the coming Republican national convention, Blaine being almost universally recognized as the candidate, I wrote to Mr. Sigmund Kauffman, a prominent Republican attorney of New York City, that R. B. Hayes would be nominated for President, and to make assurance doubly sure, I even named the Vice-President, William A. Wheeler, of New York. Kauffman wrote after the nomination that the prophecy entitled me to a Cabinet position! I attended the convention in Cincinnati, and the scene is as vivid as on the afternoon when it occurred, when Robert G. Ingersoll made his famous nominating speech for James G. Blaine. I am not exaggerating when I say that he fairly lifted me off my chair. I rose instinctively to the wonderful pyrotechnic effects of that great speech, and had Governor Noyes, of Ohio, the personal representative of Mr. Hayes, not had the gas turned off from the hall, Blaine would have been nominated then and

there. No power could have prevented it. But the convention adjourned, the leaders had time to think, the effect of the speech wore off to some extent, and the next day, as I had prognosticated in the early spring, Hayes and Wheeler were nominated and elected.

On the night of the election, or rather at 2 o'clock next morning, I was with William E. Chandler, Senator from New Hampshire; J. M. Edmonds, postmaster of Washington, and Lewis Clephane, a noted abolitionist of this city, who first published "Uncle Tom's Cabin." When we received the celebrated telegram from Zack Chandler from National Headquarters in New York, which was sent out all over the country, "Hayes has 185, Tilden 184"; and which declaration was maintained to the end, but came very near bringing on another civil war.

Then came the great and crucial question as to who was elected, Tilden or Hayes. This is no time or place for me to enter at length into details as to that memorable controversy. I was deeply interested, and to some extent responsible for part of the work. One thing can now be truthfully said—that to two American citizens of that time more than likely we are indebted for a non-recurrence of a civil war, U. S. Grant, then President of the United States, and Samuel J. Randall, Speaker of the House of Representatives; the one a Republican, the other a Democrat. Both rose to the very height of patriotism, and their firmness and determination to prevent disaster saved us from the greatest calamity that any nation can suffer. It is interesting in this connection to state that in 1868, Salmon P. Chase, Chief Justice of the United States, a life-long abolitionist and Republican,

was most anxious to be nominated by the national Democratic party at New York. Samuel J. Tilden prevented it, and Horatio Seymour was nominated and defeated. When the question of counting Louisiana came up in the Senate of the United States, Conkling was in doubt as to whether Hayes was entitled to the electoral vote of that state. Mrs. Kate Chase Sprague, the daughter of the Chief Justice, and Mr. Conkling were friends; she managed to secure Mr. Conkling's absence from the Senate at the crucial moment, and Hayes won out and Tilden lost. She afterwards said, "I got even with Mr. Tilden for defeating my father."

Mr. Hayes was inaugurated, notwithstanding all the bluster of certain Southern politicians, and nominated a cabinet that has never had a superior in the history of our country; Wm. M. Evarts, Secretary of State; John Sherman, of the Treasury; Carl Schurz, of the Interior; E. R. Hoar, Attorney General; Geo. W. McCreary, Secretary of War; David M. Key, of Tennessee, Postmaster General, etc.

I continued my position as Recorder of the District, never dreaming, from what I had done for the party and especially for the President's election, but that I was secure as long as I cared to occupy it, but events shape themselves very curiously at times; in fact, Shakespeare has given it in better form, "There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them as we may." As I have already stated heretofore, the Washington Schuetzen Verein had annual festivals, and naturally, as in other days, the President and his Cabinet were invited. The President, Secretary Schurz and Postmaster General Key had honored us with their presence, and enjoyed it. On the first day

of the festival when the annual parade took place, we passed the White House and the President was standing on the porch reviewing us, and an attendant handed into the carriage in which I was seated as president of the Association, with the "King" of the Association, who had made the best shot during the past year, a basket of flowers, with a card on it "With the compliments of Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes." I had told the President that this was customary.

There had been started in Washington shortly after the inauguration a women's temperance association entitled "The Mrs. R. B. Hayes Temperance Association." Therefore you can imagine the indignation and vituperation that this simple act on the part of the President occasioned. We were denounced, and I especially, from the street corners, by temperance fanatics, and a committee of ladies waited on Mrs. Hayes, threatening to disband their organization unless I was immediately dismissed from office. The newspapers took it up, not only in Washington, but all over the country; most of them ridiculed the position taken by some of the good women of the nation's capital.

Time wore on, and late in the winter of 1877 the President sent for me and said he feared he would have to fill my place with someone else. The fact became known through the public press, and there poured into the White House hundreds of petitions and letters from all classes, nationalities and political affiliations, asking the President to retain me in office. Cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests, preachers, Senators, members of Congress, bankers, in fact, it became almost laughable to think that an office like

the one I had held for nearly nine years should occasion such a demonstration. I have all these documents in my possession, having been given me by the White House, and I treasure them as one of the dearest relics of my career, as an evidence of the loyal friendship and good-will of so many men in all parts of the United States. But the demand for the place became so earnest, especially as the President had certain political debts to pay, notably that of George A. Sheridan, a great stump speaker at that time from Louisiana, that in April, 1878, the President sent for me, and at the White House at 8 o'clock in the evening he told me that he regretted it but he had to have my place. I left the White House without any statement, but on the 18th day of April I sent the President the following letter:

“Washington, D. C., April 18, 1878.

“To the President:

“In obedience to your verbal request, I herewith resign the position of ‘Recorder of Deeds’ for the District of Columbia.

“I am somewhat at a loss when I reflect on the Civil Service policy of the administration, that this step is taken, especially as you said in answer to my inquiry, ‘Is there any reason or cause?’ ‘None in the world. On the contrary, you stand well, but I need your place, etc.’

Nine years ago, Mr. President, I was appointed by General Grant, without any solicitation on my part. During this time I have faithfully discharged my official duties, to the entire satisfaction of every man in the District. I have been a consistent, *perhaps too consistent*, Republican, doing all in my power to as-

sert everywhere the better doctrines of the party, and always at my expense. I did during the last campaign everything possible to have you elected, and I find it perfectly logical that I should be punished, for no doubt had I opposed you, I might have been promoted into the Cabinet.*

I resent the offer made to me, that I could be provided for, perhaps abroad. I am content to stay at home, and watch the further acts of an administration whose highest ambition it is to reward enemies and punish friends.

“SIMON WOLF.”

From the political office, I went to the law office again, bankrupt in means, but wealthy in the friendship, affection and confidence of my fellowmen, especially my fellow-citizens of the District of Columbia. Secretary Schurz, who was my personal friend of many years' standing, which ended only when he passed away, regretted exceedingly that he could not prevent the President from doing what he did, so later in 1878, there being a vacancy on the municipal bench, he begged me to accept the nomination. I said I would only do so provided the President would personally send for me and tender it, *which he did*, and I must say, manfully never alluded to my letter of resignation, was most gracious in his manner, and as far as I know, we remained friends.

B. F. Peixotto, who had done good work in Rumania, as noted in the sketch of President Grant, had returned, and had come to Washington. He was my guest for months, waiting to have some recognition.

*David M. Key, Postmaster General, Tennessee.

Finally I succeeded in having him appointed Consul General to St. Petersburg, Russia. There was some opposition in the Senate, but he was finally confirmed. Then, contrary to my advice, a banquet was given him at Welcker's, and the guest of honor in undiplomatic phrases spoke of the great work he expected to accomplish. The Associated Press gave currency to this speech, and Russia, only too anxious for a reason, promptly refused to receive him. Then several more months intervened; finally he was appointed Consul at Lyons, France, an important commercial post, which he filled with great credit, and where I found him and his talented family on my way to and from Egypt. General P. I. Osterhaus was his predecessor. Common courtesy should have prompted him to wait the coming of Mr. Peixotto, but the brave general left, declaring he would not welcome a Jew. Comment is unnecessary, save that it is one more evidence of the bigotry of some men.

A young lady of a prominent Jewish family living in Washington was anxious to be appointed in one of the departments, but conditioned that she need not work on Saturday. I approached my friend, Secretary Schurz, who said that he would speak to the President, as the condition about Saturday was beyond his discretion. The President promptly authorized the appointment, saying that anyone who would rather forego an office than violate their Sabbath was a good citizen and worthy of the appointment. This estimable lady remained in the Interior Department for forty years.

President Hayes unfortunately was regarded as counted in, and that cloud obscured his really very

patriotic administration. Many reforms were started by him and his able Cabinet.

At the close of the Festival above mentioned, I made an address, of which the following is an extract:

“The church, the home, the public schools, are the educators of the people—not one particular church, but all of them. To teach temperance is to practice it, not in one but in all things. The abuse and not the use is to be avoided. In my opinion all sumptuary legislation is an insult to common-sense. Regulation and control are the only remedies. The Jew for centuries has been a model in his temperate conduct, law abiding and orderly, and all this without restraint of natural rights.

“What a mockery and shame it is, this class of men and women who really blaspheme, who drag down from its high estate pure and undefiled religion, who besmirch the Goddess of Liberty with their unbridled license and who, instead of making themselves beloved, respected and venerated, cause jeers and ribald jests at every street corner, for the home, the school circle, is the church that you must educate in. Show by your conduct at home that everything in Nature has its uses and that the abuse of it alone causes countless millions to mourn and that the abuse is not confined to drinks, but also to words and to acts.”

During President Hayes' administration I organized, in the District of Columbia, a commission of nurses to go down South to nurse the yellow fever patients, in which President Hayes and his Cabinet officers took an interest. I received congratulations

and resolutions of thanks from the Southern people in connection therewith.

How General Sherman regarded the social feature of German life in the Capital is best evidenced by the following letter written to me on the 2nd of August, 1878:

Headquarters Army of the United States,
Washington, D. C., August 2, 1878.

Dear Wolf:

I am almost sure I did not receive this year the usual card for the Schuetzen Fest, but I had no reason to complain therefor, for I have been out twice with friends, both times receiving a hearty and cordial welcome by all the members I encountered. Both nights I was caught by rain. I will come out again, for these outdoor sports have for me a special charm. I cannot control other engagements. One for tonight, but tomorrow, Saturday night, or it may be Monday, will be better.

I always inquire for you, because somehow I associate you with this annual Fest.

I admire your spunk in persevering in spite of wind and weather.

Surely now the sky is clear, and I hope you will have no further reason to complain of the weather or of slim attendance.

Wishing you all success in this and in all things, I am, as always,

Your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

The administration of President Hayes, notwithstanding the feeling created by the manner of the

final declaration of the electoral commission, that he was legally entitled to the office of President of the United States, was in every way creditable to the highest ideals of the Republic. The cabinet officers were, as a whole, unexcelled for ability in the history of the United States, and the President left the office with honor and credit to himself and to the nation.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



JAMES A. GARFIELD
1881

JAMES A. GARFIELD

The Republican party, President Hayes having definitely declined to be a candidate for re-election, which promise he religiously kept, was naturally looking for a candidate who could win the suffrage of the nation. James G. Blaine and John Sherman were again candidates, but the stalwart, dominant faction of the party was opposed to them both, and finally rallied under the leadership of Conkling, Oliver P. Morton, John A. Logan and Don Cameron to the support for the third term of President Grant. The fight in Chicago of 1880 is still memorable as one of the most eventful conventions ever held. Three hundred and six delegates of that convention religiously and firmly stood by their colors on and in behalf of the nomination of General Grant. The balloting lasted for days. I was seated in the office of Carl Schurz, who was then Secretary of the Interior under President Hayes, surrounded by a number of the higher officials of the department, when the first bulletin of the balloting came—General Grant, 306; John Sherman, so many; James G. Blaine, so many; and at the bottom of the list, James A. Garfield, 1, which had been cast by the editor of the Wheeling, West Virginia, *Intelligencer*. At the conclusion of the reading, I pointed my finger to that one vote, and said. "There is the nominee and the next President of the United States," and it turned out just as I predicted.

The campaign was spirited, the opposition candidate being the peerless hero of many a battlefield, Winfield Scott Hancock. He made a declaration that the tariff was a local question, which led to his

defeat, although events since that day have justified his utterance. I was again very active in this campaign, which led to the election of James A. Garfield as President and Chester A. Arthur as Vice-President, but all the activities of each and every friend of Garfield would have been unavailing had it not been for the loyal and patriotic services of U. S. Grant and Roscoe Conkling, who came to the rescue at the last moment, making the celebrated speeches at Warren, Ohio, after a conference with Garfield at Mentor.

Scarcely had the new President been inaugurated when the factional fight for office became the crux, as unfortunately it has been time and again heretofore, and the President, no doubt with the best intentions, but lacking that firmness which should ever characterize the chief executive of a great nation, yielded to the narrow and vindictive pleadings of his Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, and the strife widened and deepened, until a crazy fanatic looked upon himself as the instrument not only of God but of the radical wing of the Republican party and shot the President, on the morning of July 2, 1881. I had known President Garfield for many years, had watched his career from every angle and had always a great admiration for his scholarship, oratory and statesmanship. He was a genial, lovable companion, and possessed those characteristics which are to a large extent magnetic in his intercourse with other men.

For years I had cherished the desire to visit Egypt, and some time after the election of Garfield to the Presidency, during a conversation with my friend Carl Schurz, I told him that my health was somewhat

impaired and that I would like to take a short vacation to the Orient. He was quite enthusiastic about the idea and said he would speak to Garfield about it; several days thereafter he informed me that he had no doubt but that I would be appointed as Consul-General to Egypt.

Sometime after the inauguration of Garfield and Arthur, and after the adjournment of the Senate, I was nominated as Consul-General and Agent Diplomatique to Egypt, and on Friday, July 1, 1881, I was summoned to the White House to receive my temporary commission, the permanent one being sent to me after President Arthur had renominated me, the Senate promptly confirming the renomination.

I found the President in the Cabinet Room, sitting at the writing table, and across from him sat his Secretary of State, James G. Blaine. The President said, "I am just signing your commission. I hope you will have a pleasant trip and find the land of your forefathers all that you expect. Try to pluck the mystery out of the Heart of Egypt, and come back to the United States, if such a thing is possible, a better citizen than when you left." That was the last time I saw the President, for long before I returned, he had solved all the mysteries of life. The next day, Saturday, July 2d, while seated in my office, about to start to go to the Temple for divine service, prior to my leaving for Egypt, a gentleman rushed in and said that the President had just been shot at the Sixth Street station. It goes without saying that I was shocked and unnerved, but I wended my way to the Temple, where prayers for the wounded President were offered, being no doubt the only place of wor-

ship in the United States that offered prayers on that day.

I sailed from New York on July 9th on the steamer "Oder," a tugboat compared with the great ships that now sail the Atlantic. But I had a delightful trip, genial company, and arrived at Southampton on the evening of the 19th. I went to the hotel, cabled home, had a delicious English mutton chop and a mug of English ale, and after ten days eating on board the ship, it tasted delicious. I was shown to my bedroom, and did not know until the next morning that it was the room and the bed in which Artemus Ward, the great American humorist, had died. I knew him in Cleveland, Ohio, when he was one of the reporters of the Cleveland Plain Dealer. From Southampton I went to London; had a delightful time; went back to Southampton to take the boat for Havre; from there to Trouville, where I met some old friends who had formerly resided in the United States and who gave me a royal welcome; from there I went to Paris; from Paris to Lyons, France, where I was the guest of our Consul, Benjamin F. Peixotto. After a pleasant stay with these good and intellectual friends, Mr. Peixotto accompanied me on a trip to Germany, as I desired to visit my old home in the Rhenish Provinces. We got there entirely unknown; I saw the house in which I was born, and where my sainted grandparents and parents had lived; visited the cemetery, for that was the only place in which a trace of the former Jewish residents remained, and a peculiar feeling came over me as I stood near the crumbling stones, moss-covered, with their lettering almost indistinct, when I remembered the days of my childhood, and the standing of the Jews in Germany then

and now. I bore with me the parchment issued by our State Department, having the signatures of the President and the Secretary of State, and I realized what a contrast there was between Germany and the United States as to the status of the Jew.

While in London I received the following letter from the Chief Rabbi of England, Herman Adler, a curious coincidence when referring now to the Beilis accusation in Russia. I am happy to say that I succeeded in preventing any uprising, and proved conclusively to the Greek Pope that the accusation was unfounded:

MY DEAR SIR:

I deeply regret that having been detained by unexpected and most pressing official duties, I was unable to be here until a quarter to five. My secretary faithfully reported to me all that you had communicated to him. I should like to have seen you with reference to the blood accusation brought against us this year in Alexandria, the falsehood of which I endeavored to expose in a letter inserted in the *Globe*. I doubt not that you will use your position to forward the interests of our co-religionists in Egypt.

With best wishes for a safe and pleasant journey, I remain,

Yours very faithfully,

H. ADLER.

As it may interest some of my readers to know how the Agent Diplomatique and Consul-General to Egypt is received, I quote from my Egyptian reminiscences, leaving it to future publications to give that experience *in extenso*. When I was officially re-

ceived, it was a great event in my life. The official reception of an accredited Consul-General to Egypt is an imposing affair. I was sent for with a gilded coach, white Arab horses and the Chamberlain of the Khedive.

As we passed through the streets lined with soldiers presenting arms, and as we reached the gates of the Palace, where a band of music played the Star Spangled Banner, I confess I was so moved that it was with the greatest difficulty I could refrain from tears. There was one dominant feeling prevailing, and that was the thought of my dear mother and the struggles we had in the land of my birth, and I was overwhelmed to think that now I was the accredited representative of the Great Republic of the West to the land of my forefathers, typifying in the highest degree the possibilities and opportunities of our country, and that, as Secretary John Hay, on a memorable occasion of which I speak in another chapter, said, "The God of Israel never sleeps or slumbers."

The Khedive stood at the head of the stairs as I came into the Palace, welcomed me most gracefully and conducted me into the room where his ministers were; introduced me to all of them, and I addressed him as is customary, with the difference that I was the first Consul-General who talked impromptu, instead of reading his letter of credence, and it made quite a sensation. President Garfield having died before I was officially received, I alluded to that sad event, and the Khedive responded in equally feeling terms. At the conclusion of the ceremony I was invited to a seat, and the Khedive did not sit down until I had been seated, which seems to be a custom of the country. Coffee was brought in in beautiful golden cups,



TEWFIK PASHA, KHEDEVE, 1881-2.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

after which the door again opened and pipes with long stems and amber mouthpieces were brought in, and I was asked to smoke that which really meant the pipe of peace. I have never smoked in my life and was placed in a peculiar position; not to smoke would be a discourtesy, in fact, it might lead to a breach of relations between the two countries. So I closed my eyes heroically and gave a whiff. It was all that was necessary, as the Prime Minister afterwards told me; he seemed to realize the embarrassment I was suffering.

After these ceremonies I was again conducted by the Khedive to the head of the stairs, where a sword was presented to me, and where also I was to receive a horse. Both of these customs had been instituted by Mehemet Ali, a former Khedive, to typify the hospitality and protection of Egypt. Under the regulations of the State Department I could not take the horse, although the *New York Sun* in its correspondence said that I did not take it because it would be too costly to take care of. I presented the horse to the Interpreter of the Palace, and the sword still hangs in my library. On the evening of this memorable day, which to my co-religionists reminded them of the feast of Joseph of old, all the synagogues had divine services, offering up prayers of thankfulness and giving vent to their enthusiastic feelings that one of their co-religionists, coming from the Great Republic, should have been accredited as Minister to Egypt.

On the 22d day of February, 1882, I gave in honor of Washington's Birthday a banquet at the New Hotel, which was attended by all Americans then in Egypt, the Egyptian Ministry, Arabi Pacha at the

head, Leopold Sonneman, member of the German Parliament, Henry M. Field, one of the famous Field brothers, Wm. Walter Phelps, our minister to Austria, Benjamin F. Peixotto, Consul at Lyons, Father Sylvester Malone, of Brooklyn, and other notable men, Stone Pacha, and many of them accompanied by ladies. Among other things, when called upon to speak, I said in part that I did not wish to waste the time of the honored guests, as the United States speaks for itself. Its greatness, prosperity and unsurpassed civilization were so fixed that no criticism or innuendo could change or mar them; that there were two elements more than any others that had contributed to bring these about, and these were popular education and the social equality of womanhood. The one laid broad and deep the foundations of a free and enlightened government; the other cemented and strengthened by its presence, grace, beauty and virtue.

“The United States has no secret diplomacy to push in Egypt,” I continued, “her conduct is as open and broad as it is just. The great end and aim of her diplomacy is ‘to do right and fear not,’ and I say cheerfully tonight, as I have so often repeated, that Egypt has no warmer friend than my country. All we ask of her is to do what is right, to obey the laws, to uphold its obligations, to see that the treaties are, until revised or abrogated, respected, and then in all matters that aim to educate and promote the welfare, prosperity and greatness of Egypt, we are her staunch friend and well-wisher; only make haste slowly, be sure of every step. The eyes of the world are fixed here; let no one see anarchy or misrule,

but show yourselves worthy of the past, and of the future.”

The Minister Mahmoud closed with a feeling compliment to Consul-General Wolf.

After the death of President Garfield, memorial services were held in the American Mission Church. The Rev. Dr. Watson spoke in the Arabic most fluently and eloquently, and I in English, as follows:

“Not for the purpose of giving an extended biography—even had I the capacity—but as a friend, as one who knew and loved him, do I wish to say in brief terms, that which lies nearest to my heart of the late President James A. Garfield.

“It was on the first of July, 1881, a few short hours prior to the fatal shot, that I saw him last. It was in the library room of the Executive Mansion. Knowing that he was to depart on the following morning for Long Branch, to be with his wife, who was convalescent from a severe sickness, and knowing that I was about leaving for my post of duty which I now have the honor to fill, I desired to say good-bye to him. I was admitted, and he, with that smile that delighted and charmed all who came in contact with him, said, ‘Well, my dear boy, this is singular. I am just placing my name on your commission; there is still a God in Israel; I hope you will have a good time; be strengthened in mind and body, and pluck the mystery out of the heart of Egypt.’ Alas! should I succeed in doing what he so kindly wished, he would no longer be living to receive the knowledge; but he, no doubt, has ere this solved not only the Egyptian, but all the mysteries of the world.

“Born in the lowest ranks, in every relation of life, whether as a farmer boy, a driver of a canal

boat, a village pupil, the student, the teacher, professor, preacher, state senator, colonel of volunteer regiment, chief of staff of a gallant corps, stemming the tide of battle at Chickamauga, member of Congress for eighteen long years, elected as United States senator, or as President of the great republic, he was a man in the highest and grandest significance of the term.

“Intelligent, truthful, classically intellectual, liberal to all shades and opinions, he was a type worthy of the age and representing the characteristics of the cosmopolitan institutions of the land which gave him birth. And it was thus that in Chicago, in June, 1880, where he had gone to the National Republican Convention to advocate the cause of his friend, the eminent Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman, for President of the United States, that he, as is so beautifully told of another by our immortal Longfellow, when wooing the bride for his captain, and being asked by the maiden, ‘Why don’t you speak for yourself, John,’ was chosen as the standard bearer instead, not by any wish or tricks of the politician, but by the unanimous impulse of the thought and brain of his great party. And after a heated contest, such as is only known in our country, he was triumphantly elected. And it was on the 4th of March, 1881, before thousands of his countrymen and countrywomen, in front of the nation’s Capitol at Washington, that he took the oath of office, reverently kissing the Book of Books, and then exhibited that manliness of character, interspersed with the boy’s love, by first kissing his aged and loving, yet proud, mother, then his affectionate wife, and finally receiving the congratulations of his admiring friends.

"He entered upon his duties, receiving, as few Presidents had done before him, the almost unanimous encouragement of his countrymen. And in the very inception of his labors the fatal bullet did its deadly work. For months he exhibited to his grief-stricken country and to a sympathizing world, fortitude, self-reliance, fearlessness, and all those grand attributes which will hand his name down to generations unborn as an example of sublime courage and manly virtue.

1911- "On the ~~10th~~ of September, at Long Branch, to which place he had been taken in the hope of restoring him to health, he passed from pain to rest, from sleep to dreams, to the music of that ocean's roar upon whose crested waves he loved to battle. To-day in the district he so long and ably represented, amidst a people whose confidence and esteem he always had, 'neath the branches of the sighing trees he himself had planted, all that is mortal of the late President of the United States, James A. Garfield, will be laid at rest. None of his friends need ever blush for his memory. His bereaved family have the consolation of knowing that he is forever enshrined among the world's purest and best; the nation, that they have one martyr President more to stimulate them to ever do their duty; and the world, a bright example of what a man is capable of doing who never knows fear, but is always true to duty. The President is dead. Long live the Republic. May the favor of Heaven and the love of his countrymen bless and guide his successor."

The unfortunate fanaticism that characterizes men in their differences as to creed made itself manifest in my Egyptian experience. The American mission-

aries residing in Egypt, when informed that a citizen of the Jewish faith had been appointed Consul-General, were much alarmed, and tried to prevent my confirmation, but I had the pleasure long afterward to learn that in their report to their church convention in Philadelphia they made use of the following words: "Our Consul-General, the Hon. Simon Wolf of Washington, has done more for the missions and for the betterment and uplifting of our cause than all the Consul-Generals who have ever been here." This is almost laughable when one considers that I was not in Egypt as a Jew, but an American citizen; that it was my bounden duty to aid every cause which would aid my country, and that the man who uses any official position to the detriment of another is unworthy of the great trust his Government places in him.

Warren Bey, Surgeon General of the Egyptian Army, a native American, in his book entitled "Experiences of a Doctor in Three Continents," says:

"Some few years since, the United States government tried the seemingly doubtful experiment of sending a Hebrew to Egypt as its official representative. Those who were best acquainted with the country, or who thought they were, held up their hands in horror, and declared that the most fatal of errors has been committed; that the authorities at Washington had made a radical mistake. The sequel proved it to be a measure of supreme wisdom. The Consul-General, the Hon. Simon Wolf, by his high personal character, his facility of adapting himself to men and circumstances, his extreme urbanity and his superlative tact, not only won the respect and affection of the Khedive and his ministers, but

produced an impression upon the minds of the Egyptians which did more to elevate the standing of his country and to eradicate the insane prejudice against his race, than could have been accomplished by a hundred years of ordinary diplomacy and the effort of a thousand moral teachers. It placed the seal of a great nation's endorsement upon a despised race; it swept away to a great extent the prejudices which had so long been the curse and the outrage of Israel; it furnished an occasion for the demonstration of the fact that a Jew could be a thorough gentleman, an accomplished diplomat and an enlightened humanitarian, and it struck a blow at religious fanaticism and social ostracism which carried with it a lesson of such practical wisdom as at once astonished Egypt and delighted the champions of human progress everywhere. While adhering tenaciously to the Christian faith, I am not the less a champion of perfect intellectual and moral enfranchisement, and I hope to see the day when every man shall think and shall worship according to his convictions—untrammelled by prejudice, unawed by prerogative and uninfluenced by aught save the suggestions of his own conscience."

When I was in London, Lord Rothschild had sent me two letters, accrediting me to his correspondents in Alexandria and Cairo. I thus became quite intimate with Baron Menasce at Alexandria and Baron Cattaue at Cairo, in whose hospitable homes I was a welcome guest time and again. Baron Cattaue had a palatial residence in Cairo, attached to which there was a synagogue, patterned after the best style of architecture. On the Day of Atonement he invited me as he did quite a number of friends, and even

some who were not ranking with him either socially or otherwise, but whom he loved to have from a religious standpoint, and when evening came we were his guests at breaking of the fast. It was an immense drawing-room, one hundred people were standing in line awaiting the drawing of the curtain, when the host appeared in his Turkish robes, his wife at his side. Prayer was offered and we were seated, I next to the Baron. It was a wonderful sight. It has left a deep impression and illustrated the hospitality and the sincerity of the host. The palace of Baron Menasce at Alexandria was a veritable museum of art, containing specimens not only of the past but of the present, workmanship of the Abyssinians and Egyptians.

The Bazaar in Cairo is worth a visit. There the people of all ranks mingle in fraternal comradeship, vieing with each other in the purchase of rare and costly articles, such as rugs, gold cloth, silver and gold cups, chains and brooches and a thousand other things that enter into Oriental life, and one of these small stores, which looks barely as large as one of our windows in a large department store, often contains articles valuing hundreds of thousands of dollars. The traders are very smart, alert and glib in offering their wares, and to give them what they ask is to be robbed. You are always safe—at least when I was there—to offer them one-half and then expect a good discount.

An incident worth relating happened while traveling from Stuttgart to Munich on my way to Vienna and Venice, when I met the German Consul, who resided at Ismaila. We were on the same train. He told me the Crown Prince of Germany, "Unser

Fritz," afterwards Emperor Frederick Wilhelm, was on board, and would I like to meet him. I said I certainly would. He went away, came back in a few moments and said that the Crown Prince would be most happy. I was more than charmed with his personality, with his democracy, and with his genial good nature. It was a sad day for Germany and for civilization when he was summoned to eternal rest at so early a stage in his career. After we left him the Consul told me an interesting anecdote in connection with the Crown Prince. While travelling in the Orient he was in the habit of cabling to his wife daily. The cablegrams were somewhat expensive and, as is well known, the German Court has always been most economical, so the Consul called his attention to the lavishness of the cablegrams, and suggested that some expurgation ought to be made. In these cablegrams the Crown Prince always used English words, such as "my darling," "my love"; so he turned to the Consul and said, "You can expurgate everything except 'my darling,' and 'my love'"; which showed the character and domestic virtues of this great Prince.

England in its treatment of the Egyptians, in fact of all the people whom it politically controls, has shown its usual wisdom by not interfering with the religious character and traits of the natives. It has injected into its body politic sound financial habits, relieving the Fellaheen from onerous and unjust taxation, and has brought about a better state of affairs than ever existed before.

I also became acquainted with Maspero, the great Egyptologist, who had just discovered the Tombs of the Kings. My friend, Samuel S. Cox, who had been

Minister to Turkey, was on his way back to the United States, and stopped in Cairo particularly to visit me. Having heard of this great discovery and the fact that the mummies were at the Bulak Museum, Cox said, "Simon, let us go down and see them." We went. When Cox saw Rameses he said, "Simon, speak to the old duffer." I promptly replied, "My dear Sam, you are a college man, and as you are versed in the dead languages, and I am not, you speak to him." Mr. Cox was an old Ohio friend in my boyhood days in the Tuscarawas Valley. I drove him to New Philadelphia to lecture on "Irish Wit and Humor." That drive was keenly enjoyed, as was the lecture, which was brimful of good nature and choice diction. This love of wit and repartee prevented him from being elected Speaker of the House. No American statesman ever surpassed him in his love of justice for all men. Time and again he aided me in Congress, and in the departments to secure the recognition to which every man is entitled.

Prior to one of the contemplated uprisings by the Egyptians, while seated one day on the veranda of the Shepherd Hotel, talking with General Stone, and drinking a cup of coffee, the acting Consul-General of England came to me in great excitement and said, "My dear colleague, there is going to be an uprising among the natives tonight and they are going to slaughter all the Christians and Europeans." I drank my coffee very complacently, and receiving no response from me, he reiterated his statement, and I replied, "How does that concern me; I am neither a European nor a Christian."

This bon mot circulated for a long time over

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



ARABI PASHA,
SECRETARY OF WAR, EGYPT, 1881-2.

Egypt, for long after I had left that country. General Batcheller (who was a member of the Court of Appeals) spoke of it, and General Horace Porter, two years ago, when speaking in Washington at a banquet, spoke of it; hence there must have been some merit in this trenchant reply.

In November, 1881, there was to have been another uprising in Egypt, fostered by Arabi Pacha, which I helped to prevent, as is shown by the following interview. The Khedive and his Ministers thanked me, and the New York *Herald* had a lengthy cablegram giving me credit for skill and tact:

I informed the General that it was not idle curiosity that had led me to desire to speak with him; that I was in no way addressing him in my official character of agent and Consul-General; that I had no instructions from my government on the subject; that the United States was in no way mixed up in European or Levant politics; that I met him as a fellowman, as an individual from among the 50,000,000 of free citizens of a free country that had gained its liberty by strenuous and long continued efforts, of a country whose citizens had a very few generations back themselves suffered tyranny and taken the bitterness of an iron yoke; and that believing him to be a true lover of Egypt, his native land, I desired to appeal to his patriotism and counsel moderation. I said that he would serve his country far better by acting circumspectly, by not precipitating matters, by not seeking to go too fast, lest one step forward might lead to two steps backward; that he, the General, and his fellow-reformers should remember that they had to deal with the Trojan Thorre of French and English ignorance

which was in their midst; and that, if they had confidence in the present Khedive and the Ministry of Cherif Pacha, they should leave the direction of affairs to those wise Ministers and not bring suspicion upon themselves and lose the sympathy of the world by interfering at every moment in the direction of the affairs of the State. I told him that I believed in the justice of the saying, "Egypt for the Egyptians," but that any hasty step or precipitate demand on the part of his party would only lead to the opposite of the result they desired to attain, for if Egypt had thousands of bayonets, England and France, and Europe, had hundreds of thousands.

Arabi Pacha, after expressing his great pleasure at receiving me, replied by laying down the general principles as found in the introduction to books on modern jurisprudence. He said that man was a social being; that man could not live isolated, but that men were dependent one on the other in their affairs; and that hence the social order of things called for laws and regulations to be respected by all and enforced where they were not respected; that the books of the modern law recognized the brotherhood of all men as shown by their common origin from Adam and Eve, and that among the principles inculcated by modern jurisprudence one was that of hospitality towards strangers. But he said, unfortunately, Egypt had for centuries suffered under rulers who respected no laws, who made edicts that had force only so long as the ink with which they had been written was still damp; that he and his comrades, who for the past year, more or less, had acted as is already known to the world, wished to put a stop to the irresponsible power of the governors;

they sought to find some power that would check the rulers themselves when these latter set aside the very rules they had made. Speaking of Cherif Pacha, and the present Minister of War, he said he and his comrades had full confidence in their rectitude, and would obey them. Speaking of the Khedive, he said that the Khedival family was a tyrannical, rapacious and blood-thirsty race, who had sought the help of Europe and the Europeans for their own selfish ends, of which the chief aim was their independence of the Sultan. That Tewfik Pacha, the present Khedive, was the only exception, he being kind, just and moral, neither a spendthrift nor a miser; that he, the General, and his companions respected the sacredness of the person of the present Khedive as the Deputy of the Sultan.

Enlarging on the subject of hospitality to foreigners, he explained that this did not mean to give them to eat and drink, but that it meant to allow foreigners to dwell in the land in security and engage in purely legitimate trade and industry, and that, so far as he and his party were concerned, they would not allow one hair of a foreigner's head to be harmed; but that they could not look on and see the foreigner, the guest, make himself master of the house. Why, said he, should the custom-house, the post office, the railway and other departments be directed by foreigners and filled with foreign clerks, whilst the natives were quite competent to do this work? He admitted that in some departments foreigners were needed, as the natives were not sufficiently advanced in knowledge and science. To such positions he said they would willingly admit foreign employees; and here he mentioned as examples, the

case of General Charles P. Stone, who had served Egypt by actually creating the general staff of the army, and the case of Larine Pasha, who was of such great service in the government military school. Such men, said he, serve Egypt for Egypt's good and should be well remunerated. The General dwelt at some length on the rumors in European papers that he had gone with his regiment to El-Wady in order to be ready to block the Suez Canal. He said that he did not think of such a thing; that the foreign policy of the government of Egypt was not within the sphere of his competence and that of his comrades; that they only dealt with the affairs of the home or internal policy of the government; that if he received orders from his emperor to block the canal, he would as a soldier obey the order, but had nothing to do with the decision of such question.

After referring to the historical fact that in late centuries the orientals had lost the learning and science they possessed of old, which has been the cause of their weakness, and to the correlative fact that Europe had become strong by taking that knowledge from the orientals and increasing it, which is the cause of Europe's present strength, the General begged me to remember that there were still many learned and wise men among his party; that it was true his comrades had chosen him as their leader in the dangerous business they had taken into hand, but that he was by no means the ablest among them. He said there were many in his party far more learned than he. He did not, however, say or even hint why it was that he had been chosen as the leader.

The General assured me that he and his party had

always sought, and would always seek to obtain the redress of the grievances of the country by petitions, by respectful representations through the regular channels of their superiors, but that if all peaceable means failed, he and his companions were ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause they had taken up, and would enjoin upon their children and children's children to persevere in the same course, namely, to put a stop to tyranny, misrule and unwarranted aggression.

I repeated in the strongest terms my counsel to moderation and my advice that he and his party should trust to the wisdom and patriotism and honor of Cherif Pacha, and to the known rectitude and moderation of the Khedive. I again repeated that I had spoken as a private, disinterested individual, the citizen of a country that had no hand in the politics of the Orient, and in no way under instructions from my government. * * *

My readers will have noticed that I have tried in every way to steer clear of the political, economic and historical conditions of Egypt, and that I have been, to a large extent, reminiscent. I could go on telling many more incidents but deem what I have given you sufficient to whet your desire to visit that wonderful country which, at one time, focused the attention of the world—a country that saw Caesar, Anthony and Cleopatra at the height of their power.

During my whole stay I enjoyed every moment, under all conditions, and in reproducing some of the incidents the same pleasure has been afforded. Wonderful country, wonderful scenery, traces of the past, of the new present, and let me hope and trust,

of the great future. No one can gainsay the fact that England has had a civilizing influence on conditions, and has brought the spirit of the modern into the memory of the ancient. Lord Cromer deserves, as he has so eminently received, the encomium and gratitude, not only of his own country, but of all countries. He has brought into Egypt new light, and has recognized not only the broadening effect of the humanities, but the right of each and every human being to enjoy the liberty of conscience that is one of the great factors of English rule—to conserve the spirit of comity that should exist among those who differ in creed. It is the strong link that joins a mother country with her colonies; and we have followed that wise course in countries we have attached to us, either by purchase or the result of war. May this spirit of national and international interchange continue to the end of strengthening the ties of brotherhood among men and the comradeship born of the spirit of appreciation; so that no matter where we are born, or what faith we proclaim, we shall be welded together for the public weal; so that the walls of prejudice, born largely of ignorance and fanaticism, shall crumble and disappear; and that the anthems of praise and prayer ascending to the Great I Am shall not mar, but make, the music of the future.

The American representative in Egypt differs happily from any of his colleagues, inasmuch as the United States does not have any politics in that country. We are represented in the courts of justice by international treaties. As independent observers and thinkers, our judgment is more potent and more to be relied on than those who are playing politics



CONSTABLE GENERAL SIMON WOLF AND FRIENDS AT THE TEMPLE OF LUXOR, EGYPT, IN FEBRUARY, 1882

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

on the chessboard of nations. It was a brief experience for an untried diplomat, but brief as it was, the memory of it has outlasted more than thirty-seven years of my life and is as vivid and intense today as in the days of the glorious sunrises and sunsets that gilded the edges of the Nile and that brought back from the tombs of the desert the images of the great Pharaohs who at one time dominated the East.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR

As I had never contemplated staying in the diplomatic service, and as I was absent without my family, I resigned, and in May, 1882, returned to the United States. President Arthur, in accepting the resignation, spoke in most flattering terms of my usefulness and service while occupying the position I had resigned, and regretted that owing to my wish he was compelled to accept the same. The mission to Egypt was of a most pleasant character; the duties of the Consul-General are very slight and limited mostly to courtesies, official and social, to be extended to American tourists.

On my return to Washington I called at once upon President Arthur, who received me graciously and reiterated verbally what he had so beautifully expressed in writing. I had known President Arthur for many years, and especially when he was Collector of the Port of New York. I had always esteemed him highly, which estimate was more than confirmed during his term of office. Roscoe Conkling, after his defeat in Chicago in 1880, when asked whom he wanted as Vice-President with Garfield, contemptuously said, "I don't care whom you take." When someone mentioned Arthur, he said, "Oh, yes, he will do as well as any other;" and the Imperial Jove of New York politics never dreamed that events would so shape themselves that the man whom he had politically created would become the creator himself and prove so highly satisfactory to the people.

I had the honor and privilege of seeing President Arthur often on matters of importance affecting the



CHESTER A. ARTHUR
1881-1885

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

Jewish people; numerous appointments he graciously made, some to West Point, some to Annapolis, and he treated me whenever he had an opportunity to do so in that spirit of true Americanism which is the bedrock of the Republic.

To illustrate his democracy and tact, I remember being with him one day discussing a matter of some moment, when the Secretary of the Navy, Wm. E. Chandler, stepped into the room, and shortly afterwards, the great wit of New York, Wm. R. Traverse. It was about luncheon time, and the President, when he had concluded with all of us, said, "Gentlemen, it is time to go to luncheon. Let us go," extending his hand to me in particular. I instinctively felt that the other two gentlemen had been invited and that I happened to be an interloper, and therefore very promptly and very courteously declined the invitation. Time and again Secretary Chandler has told me that the action of mine was most tactful and that the President at the luncheon table spoke of it with a great deal of feeling.

Edward Lasker, the great German parliamentarian, while on his visit to the United States, came to Washington and we gave him a banquet, to which the President had been invited. Owing to circumstances, he could not come, but wrote a beautiful letter in recognition of the services Lasker had rendered to humanity. Lasker stopped at Welckers' famous hostelry, which was directly opposite the German Embassy. The German Minister of that period (there were no Ambassadors) was Captain von Eisendecker, who had been transferred to Washington from Mexico. I was intimate with him, having dined there time and again, and thought it

would be a gracious thing on the part of Eisendecker to invite Lasker to dinner, to which he at once promptly replied, "Why surely, and you must come also." In the evening I called for Lasker and we went to dinner. The Associated Press became aware of this fact and it was telegraphed all over the country. In a very short time Eisendecker was recalled and degraded to a minor position.

The day after the dinner at the Embassy I escorted Lasker to the White House and while there waiting to see the President, Lasker was taken ill and we were prevented from seeing him. That attack was the precursor of what happened so lamentably very shortly afterwards in the City of New York.

In 1890, when in Berlin, I called on our Ambassador, William Walter Phelps, who had been my guest in Egypt, and Phelps asked me whether I didn't wish to see Bismarck. I said, "Yes, it would be a matter of reminiscence, if not gratification." Two days afterwards Phelps sent for me, and the moment I entered the room he commenced to laugh, and before he could reply I said, "Lasker." He said, "You must be a mind-reader, my dear friend; Bismarck will not see you on account of the Lasker affair at Washington."

The dinner incident and that which followed led to the famous resolution introduced by Congressman Ochiltree of Texas, in which the United States was to welcome Lasker and extol his great achievements in the German Parliament, a direct blow against Bismarck. It was supposed by everybody, including my friend Eisendecker, that I had written or inspired the resolution. I had absolutely nothing to do with it. It was Lasker's brother, Morris Lasker, of Galveston,

Texas, who lately died, who undoubtedly got Ochiltree to offer it, and it required a great deal of argument on my part to convince the Minister that I was not the author, for while he was very friendly to me, yet he was placed in a peculiar position, and had to make a show of being offended, even if he was not.

The convention of 1884 unfortunately nominated James G. Blaine as the candidate of the Republican party. Had they been wise in their day and generation they would have nominated Chester A. Arthur, and he unquestionably would have been elected, while Blaine was defeated. I have known many Presidents intimately, both from an official as well as a social standpoint, and there never was one superior in all those graces of a true gentleman to Chester A. Arthur. He bore himself with a dignity that was worthy of the best traditions of the Republic and has left an enviable record in the annals of his country.

GROVER CLEVELAND

In 1875 the Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations met in the City of Buffalo. My friend, Sigmund Levin, was one of the Committee on Entertainment and during my stay he asked me whether I didn't wish to become acquainted with one of their leading citizens. I said, "Certainly, with pleasure." We went to luncheon at a restaurant and there I was introduced to Grover Cleveland, who as far as I now remember, was at that time Sheriff of Erie County. Mr. Cleveland was playing pinochle, and was passionately fond of the game.

As is usual with American politicians and statesmen, they have excellent memories, for when I called on Mr. Cleveland after he had been inaugurated as President of the United States, among other pleasant things he said, "Mr. Wolf, I wish we could have a game of pinochle here, but fear the demands on my time will prevent me from enjoying that pleasure."

Mr. Cleveland in due course of time was elected Mayor of Buffalo, Governor of New York and then President of the United States.

In my sketch of President Arthur, I made the observation that had he instead of Blaine been nominated in 1884, Mr. Cleveland might not have been elected. Unfortunately the personal qualifications of Mr. Blaine led to a serious defection in the Republican ranks. Leading Republican journals revolted against the nomination, and the personal popularity of Henry Ward Beecher, who by the way was also an important factor, not to speak of the political animosity of Roscoe Conkling, won the fight. I shall not forget the morning after the election when I



GROVER CLEVELAND
1885-1889 AND 1893-1897

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

met Senator Conkling at the New York Club. He was stretched full length on a lounge, and when he saw me, sneeringly said, "Well, have you elected your candidate?" and I promptly answered, "No, but at least I have not betrayed my party," to which he made no response.

Mr. Cleveland was the first Democratic President since the retirement from office of James Buchanan, and many feared that my relations with the administration and with the President might be of such a character as to be detrimental to the interests I was serving, but I can state with absolute veracity that no such action was taken; on the contrary, if anything, I was treated with greater courtesy than ever before. I saw President Cleveland time and again on many subjects and was always received most graciously, listened to patiently, and wherever it was consistent with the policy of the Government and diplomatic usage, I had no difficulty in securing favorable result either from the President direct or from the different departments of the Government. This is in keeping with the true spirit of Americanism. Differences in politics during a heated campaign must be relegated to the rear when the successful candidate is administering the Government for all the people and not for his own political organization.

Mr. Cleveland's private secretary, Daniel S. Lamont, was an important factor, in not only shaping the course of the administration but in directing individual callers to a proper realization of their wants.

On the 20th day of September, 1893, I spoke at the Jewish Temple, Atonement Day services. The closing paragraph of that address is quoted herewith:

“I have no defense to offer on account of my faith, as Webster said of Massachusetts, so I say of the Jew. ‘There he stands,’ from every standpoint you will find him your equal. There is no longer any sense or reason to bring out the second-hand stock of the parrot orators, as to what the Jew has done in this or that department of life. He is no better or worse for being a Jew. He claims to be your equal in every branch of human achievement. My dear friends, he claims this as a man and not as a Jew.

“May God so endow us as to give all that charity of judgment which is the grandest Gem in the Coronet of Deity. The day of *Atonement* for the Jew has indeed come, the Christian owes it to us for Centuries of prejudice, let us prove worthy of the day and its import.

“Finally let us say, that to have a united country we must have a united purpose, to have loyal citizens, you must treat all loyally, if our institutions are worth preserving, they must be respected, loved, not merely tolerated. If the citizenship of the palmiest days of Rome and Greece is again to spring eternal out of the happiness of the people, then the Jew and Christian must stand upon a common platform of recognized worth, must grasp each others hands as brothers, singing as they do, the songs of the Psalmists; reciting as they do, the inspired proverbs of the past, looking forward as they do, to the emancipation of the whole human race, and wishing as they do, to sow, not only by faith, but by act, the seed which when grown and ripened, shall fructify the whole earth and be a blessing to all the inhabitants thereof.”

A copy of this address was sent to President Cleveland, which he acknowledged as follows:

White House, Sept. 24, 1893.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

With pleasure I have read your address pronounced at the Jewish Temple. It is in every way worthy of the day and of the people it glorifies.

Sincerely,

GROVER CLEVELAND

President Cleveland, although stronger than his party, was defeated for immediate re-election, President Harrison succeeding him. In due course of legal time President Cleveland was re-elected, and during that term the same degree of intimacy and courtesy as had marked the first administration continued.

During Mr. Cleveland's second term, I published "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen." Among the first to whom I sent a copy with my compliments was President Cleveland, who acknowledged its receipt as follows:

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., Dec. 23, 1895.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Please accept my thanks for a copy of your book entitled "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen," which you kindly sent me a short time ago. I hope I may be able at a future time to read the volume carefully for the slight acquaintance I have already given it, convinces me that it challenges fairness and justice for a class of our citizens to whom they have not always been accorded.

Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND

With regard to this book, I may here insert a brief extract from the synopsis of the work included in the report of the American Jewish Historical Society for the year 1895 and the introductory paragraph of the lengthy review of the work published in the *New York Sun*.

THE AMERICAN JEW AS PATRIOT, SOLDIER AND CITIZEN.

For some years I have been engaged in the collection of materials for the preparation of a work principally designed to show what part was taken by American Jews during the Civil War. This work is now approaching completion, and it affords me great satisfaction to be able to lay some of the results attained before this society.

Whether the task would have been undertaken had I foreseen its almost insurmountable difficulties I am not prepared to say, for the further the work advanced the more numerous were the obstacles.

From some States I am grieved to say I was not able to get any information; from others, so little as to be really painful on account of its being so insignificant and so far below the undoubted facts. From some States the information, if not quite up to the mark, is rather gratifying. My sincere thanks are due to my friends in the Southern States for full and complete reports received.

Virginia furnished 113 men, of whom 15 were wounded and 2 died in captivity, a total loss of over 25 per cent.

The list of North Carolina gives 52 men, of whom 3 were wounded and killed, 2 captured, 8 died from wounds at Elmira, N. Y., making a loss of 33 per cent.

South Carolina furnished 177 soldiers, of whom 20 were wounded, 29 killed and 5 captured, suffering a loss of over 30 per cent.

Tennessee furnished 38 men, of whom 3 were wounded, 7 killed and 2 died in captivity, a loss of almost 32 per cent.

I have at this date 7,243 men on my list; but over 1,600 names can not be properly classified as to State, regiment, and period of service.

On the 12th day of July, 1862, President Lincoln gave his approval to an act of Congress authorizing the President to cause to be prepared 2,000 "medals of honor," to be presented to such non-commissioned officers and privates as shall most distinguish themselves by their gallantry in action and other soldier-like qualities during the present insurrection.

I am not prepared to say how many soldiers of the Jewish faith were honored by such medals, but I can mention seven who have come under my notice.

First. Leopold Karpeles, color-sergeant of the 57th Massachusetts Infantry, at the battle of North Anna proved his ability to defend the flag under a terrific fire from the enemy. Although seriously wounded he held the colors aloft until weakness from loss of blood forced him to give them to a comrade. Sergeant Karpeles has high testimonials from his superior officers for bravery, daring and discipline.

Second. Benjamin B. Levy enlisted at the age of 16 as a drummer-boy in the 1st New York Volunteers. While his regiment was stationed at Newport News he was detailed as orderly for General Mansfield. While he was carrying despatches on board the steamer "Express" to General Wool at

Fortress Monroe, the steamboat was attacked by the Confederate gunboat "Seabird"; the steamboat with all on board was in imminent danger of capture, when young Levy saved the steamer by cutting loose a water-schooner they had in tow. For his prompt action Levy was highly complimented by Generals Mansfield and Wool.

At Charles City Cross Roads he saved two of the colors of his regiment from capture, for which act he was promoted on the field by General Kearney to color-sergeant of his regiment.

At the expiration of his term he re-enlisted in the 40th New York (Mozart) regiment and was seriously wounded at the battle of the Wilderness. He was appointed by President Lincoln to the New York Custom-House. There he still is.

Third. Sergeant-major and Adjutant Abraham Cohn enlisted as private in the 6th New Hampshire Infantry. For distinguished services he was promoted step by step to the post of Adjutant. He served until the close of the war.

Adjutant Cohn received the medal of honor from the Assistant Adjutant General's office, and he was subsequently the recipient of the following highly gratifying communication:

"ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, WASHINGTON,
"August 14, 1879.

"The medal mentioned within was given for conspicuous gallantry displayed in the battle of the Wilderness, in rallying and forming, under heavy fire, disorganized troops; also for bravery and coolness in carrying orders to the advance lines under murderous fire in the battle of the Mine, July 30, 1864.

(Signed)

"S. N. BENJAMIN,
"Assistant Adjutant General."

Fourth. David Orbanski, of the 58th Ohio Infantry, received the medal of honor for distinguished bravery and coolness under heavy fire at Shiloh, Tenn., and at Vicksburg, Miss.

Fifth. Henry Heller, of Company A, 66th Ohio Infantry, earned the medal of honor for daring bravery at Chancellorsville.

Sixth. Abraham Grunwalt, of Company G, 104th Ohio Infantry, earned his medal of honor at Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 30, 1864, in the capture of the corps headquarters' flag.

Seventh. Corporal Isaac Gans, of the 2d Ohio Cavalry, for bravery displayed on the battlefield was appointed escort to a stand of colors captured by the Third Division.

The following is a table, by States, of the Jewish soldiers who served in the Civil War:

STATES	Soldiers.	Wounded.	Killed.	Captured.	Died in Prison.
Alabama	132	9	12	2	..
Arkansas	53	..	1	..	..
United States Army.....	135	2	4	1	..
Confederate States Army..	9	..	..	..	..
Connecticut	17	..	..	..	..
California	28	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia.....	3	..	..	..	..
Georgia	137	11	15	4	..
Iowa	12	1	1	..	..
Indiana	512	7	12	2	..
Illinois	1076	43	56	..	..
Kansas	9	3	1	..	..
Kentucky	22	2	..	..	..

STATES	Soldiers	Wounded.	Killed.	Captured.	Died in Prison.
Louisiana	224	10	21	5	..
Maryland	7	2	..	..	..
Missouri	239	7	7	..	..
Massachusetts	17	2	..	..	..
Michigan	210	..	22	..	..
Mississippi	156	5	12	1	..
Maine	1	..	..	..	..
North Carolina.....	52	4	3	8	2
New Jersey.....	18	..	1	1	..
New Mexico.....	2	..	1	..	..
New York.....	1882	26	29	8	..
United States Navy.....	76	2	2	..	..
Confederate States Navy..	11	..	..	..	..
Nevada	3	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire.....	2	1	..	..	..
Ohio	1134	16	52	..	..
Pennsylvania	528	54	19	11	..
Rhode Island.....	4	..	..	..	..
Revolutionary War.....	40	..	..	..	..
South Carolina.....	117	20	29	5	..
United States Staff.....	16	..	..	..	..
Confederate States Staff...	14	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	38	3	7	1	1
Texas	104	15	13	2	..
Vermont	1	..	..	..	..
Virginia	113	15	12	2	..
West Virginia.....	7	1	..	..	..
Wisconsin	20	3	4	..	..
Washington Territory.....	1	..	..	..	..
Wyoming Territory.....	1	..	..	..	..
Soldiers					7243
Wounded					316
Killed					336
Captured					53
Died in prison.....					17

To this are added brief sketches of a few Jews who served in the earlier wars of the United States:

Major Lewis Bush became 1st Lieutenant of the 6th Pennsylvania Battalion in January, 1776, and Captain the following June. He was transferred to Colonel Thomas Hartley's additional Continental regiment January, 1777, and was commissioned Major in March, 1777. That he proved a brave soldier his active part in a number of battles affords complete evidence. At the battle of Brandywine in September, 1777, he received wounds of so serious a character as to prove fatal a few days after.

Major Alfred Mordecai was one of the recognized authorities in the military world in the field of scientific research and in practical application of mechanical deduction to war purposes. He served in the Mexican War, and was sent by our Government to witness and report upon the operations in the Crimea. Major Mordecai was the author of "Experiments on Gunpowder" and other works.

Commodore Uriah Phillips Levy, one of the best-known American naval officers of former days, was at the time of his death the highest ranking officer in the United States Navy. He served in the war of 1812, being the master of the brig of war *Argus*, which ran the blockade to France, with Mr. Crawford, the American minister to that country, on board. The *Argus* destroyed twenty-one British merchantmen. In recognition of his valuable services to the nation the Common Council of New York City honored him with the freedom of the city. Commodore Levy vigorously opposed the application of the lash to seamen. Upon his tombstone at Cypress Hill is recorded the fact that he was "The father of

the law for the abolishment of the barbarous practice of corporal punishment in the Navy of the United States.”

“THE AMERICAN JEW.

From the *Sunday New York Sun*.

“To combat one of the most obstinate of prejudices and to promote enlightenment on a subject concerning which ignorance has become unpardonable is the purpose of the book entitled *The American Jew, as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, by Simon Wolf (Brentano’s). The author has undertaken to delineate the part taken by his co-religionists in the development of the United States. He believes it entirely possible to prove that, from an early stage of American history down to the present day, men of the Hebrew race and faith have figured in the van of the country’s progress. The work of accumulating the evidence has been performed by Mr. Wolf, while the task of editing the material has been intrusted to Mr. Edward Levy. The two co-laborers have, between them, accomplished results which deserve serious attention on the part not only of their co-religionists, but of the whole American community.

“Mr. Wolf tells us, in an introduction, that he was first impelled to the researches of which the volume before us is the outcome by reading a letter printed in the *North American Review*, in December, 1891, the writer of which asserted that he could not remember meeting during the Civil War a single Jew in uniform, and had never found an old soldier who recalled serving with Jews. This assertion was an-

swered by Mr. Wolf in *The Washington Post*, by an enumeration of hundreds of Jewish officers and soldiers, culminating in the averment, on information and belief, that from 6,000 to 8,000 soldiers of the Jewish faith served in the Union Army alone. Observing that his letter was copied and discussed by leading American newspapers, Mr. Wolf determined to compile as full a list as possible of American citizens of Jewish faith who had fought in the war of the rebellion, and to add thereto a record of many other typical instances of their useful energy and public spirit in the civil walks of life. The task which he had imagined would require no more than six months has occupied more than four years of continuous labor. Even now the author regards the product of his researches as exceedingly inadequate; it undoubtedly represents, however, the most valuable contribution to an interesting chapter of American history that has yet been given to the world."

The following letter received from the celebrated publicist, statesman and scholar, John Bigelow, is interesting, as it was the opinion of a man who had given great service all the world over:

21 Gramercy Park, December 16, 1905.

Honorable Simon Wolf,

Dear Sir: I am much your debtor for a copy of your exhaustive account of the part which the American Jew has had in building up republican institutions in the United States. It contains much valuable information that was new to me, and timely evidence of national obligations which have been but imperfectly appreciated; like the heroes before Agamemnon—*caerent quia vate sacro*.

Your work gives a striking vindication of the inexorable logic of Macaulay's speech in the English

Parliament in 1863 in support of the bill for the removal of disabilities of the Jews in England. It is a curious illustration of human perversity that your race has been persistently persecuted almost exclusively by the nations who profess to have derived their religious opinions through revelations first made to your race and upon which all their confessions of faith rest and are absolutely dependent. If as St. John proclaimed nearly nineteen centuries ago—"The truth shall make you free"—he uttered a prophecy the fulfillment of which you are realizing in this country, where the racial distinctions of which your people have been victims elsewhere are unknown. At the same time republican institutions are receiving a vindication which sooner or later must make them universal.

Yours very respectfully,

JOHN BIGELOW.

The following letter, after sending a copy of my book, "The American Jew," to Ambassador James Bryce explains itself:

British Embassy.

Washington, May 2, '07.

My Dear Sir:

Your book duly reached me, and I have kept your letter on my table meaning some day to write and thank you for it, but my frequent absence from Washington and constant pressure of work here have prevented me. I thank you cordially for it. The subject is of all the greater interest to me because I have many good friends among your co-religionists in England, and I have often told my fellow countrymen how much we owe to the Jews as British citizens. They have given us some men who have done admirable work in England, as lawyers, public men and as philanthropists like the Montefiores and the Mocattas. I shall therefore read your book with all the more interest.

Yours faithfully,

JAMES BRYCE.

Hon. Simon Wolf.

Mark Twain, in an article in *Harper's Magazine*, made a statement reflecting on the loyalty of the Jews during the Civil War. Coming as it did from a literary celebrity, I promptly wrote to him, calling his attention to my book, "The American Jew," sending him a copy thereof, which he acknowledged as follows:

Saiva Sweden,
Sept. 15, 1899.

Simon Wolf, Esq.,

Dear Sir: I wish to thank you for the books now, for if they should get lost on the way, you might think I got them and was derelict in the matter of courtesy. If you asked the Harper's for my address, they told you it was c/o Chatts Windus, 111 St. Martins Lane, London, and I shall get the books, but if you sent them to Harper they may possibly remain there.

I perceive that the Jews did wisely in keeping quiet during the Dreyfus agitation. The other course would have hurt Dreyfus' cause, and I see now that *nothing* would have helped it. Dreyfus has now won for a second time, the highest honor in the gift of France. I hope he knows how to value that, but he must not accept a pardon anyway. An innocent man should spare himself that smirch, and Dreyfus would. I think he is a manly man.

I thank you. I wanted one complimentary word from a competent source. With that support I can stand the rest.

Sincerely yours,
MARK TWAIN.

111 St. Martin's Lane,
London, W. C. Nov. 8, 1899.

Dear Sir: In your introduction (page 10) you say that the number of enlisted Jews was considerably in excess of the, etc., etc.

I take it you mean that in the two armies there were more Jews to their total population of 150,000 than there were of all the other peoples to the North and South's total population (which seems to have been about 31,000,000 though I do not find that you mention the aggregate). I have written that very awkwardly and stupidly, but you will understand.

Jews, 8,227. Population, 150,000

The Jews seem to have sent something more than five per cent of their population to the war. Did the rest of the country send five per cent of its population, or was it more? That is what I am trying to get at.

In the Spring I shall be publishing a volume of short things and am meditating a postscript showing the value of your publications.

Very truly yours,

S. L. CLEMENS.

At the annual Schuetzenfest, President Cleveland having just been married, visited the Park with his bride and invited me into the carriage to make a circuit of the Park. It was a memorable scene and one that is often spoken of by those still living.

The President had a high estimate—and deservedly so—of the three Straus brothers. He told me, with a great deal of feeling, that among the host of loyal, intellectual friends there were none surpassing these three brothers, Nathan, Isadore and Oscar. Oscar was sent as Minister to Turkey, an office which he filled then and afterwards with wonderful ability. Isadore he would have made Secretary of the Treasury had it not been politically necessary to appoint Daniel Manning, and when Manning retired, he did offer Mr. Straus the position of Postmaster-General. Nathan Straus he designated as the war horse of true American democracy and philanthropy—thus evi-

dencing his desire to recognize merit, independent of creed or nationality, which is the only course for an American to pursue.

The President also had a high regard for Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, of Albany. At one time in conversation with the President, he spoke regrettingly that he was not in a position to appoint Rosendale as Attorney-General.

President Cleveland's dealing with the Chicago riots stamped him as a man of extraordinary nerve and true patriotism. I remember Justice Stephen I. Field telling me at the Kaaterskill Hotel that that action alone made Cleveland a great figure in American history.

I shall never forget the last reception given by Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland. It was an unusual gathering, even for the White House. There was universal regret from a social standpoint that this genial, beautiful hostess was to leave the White House, and when I came in line both the President and Mrs. Cleveland greeted me enthusiastically, and I have always treasured their greeting with the keenest delight.

On the 16th day of February, 1897, I was called to the White House to discuss with the President the Immigration Bill which was then pending in Congress, and which President Cleveland was expected to veto. I was with the President an hour, and I went away perfectly satisfied that at the proper time he would veto the bill, which he did on the 3d day of March, 1897, the day prior to leaving the White House. It is an important document and has conferred upon the name and memory of President Cleveland praise unstinted and formed the basis for

vetoed of a similar character for future Presidents. On the same day I wrote to the President a letter as follows:

March 3, 1897.

To the President:

At high noon tomorrow you will again be a private citizen of this great Republic. You are well aware that I am a Republican, but that does not prevent me from recognizing the character of the American and the Executive who has, for the last four years conducted the affairs of our government. I know that many things have been charged to you for which you are no more responsible than I am; on the contrary, I believe that matters would have been a great deal worse had it not been for your indomitable energy, courage and convictions and superior statesmanship. History will unquestionably give you the full meed of praise to which you are so pre-eminently entitled. As an American citizen and one that has asked no favors, I tender to you my hearty and sincere congratulations, wishing you and Mrs. Cleveland health and happiness.

Yours very sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.

to which on the 4th of March, the day of the inauguration of Mr. McKinley, Mr. Cleveland responded as follows:

“My Dear Mr. Wolf:

“Your very kind and courteous letter received. I thank you for the high estimate you have placed upon my services to the country. Whatever I did was inspired by feelings of patriotic duty. I hope you will continue to prosper in health and happiness.

“Very sincerely yours,

“GROVER CLEVELAND.”

Among the first copies of my biographical sketch of Mordecai Manuel Noah I sent one to ex-President Cleveland at Princeton, to which he responded as follows:

“Princeton, Nov. 3, 1897.

“My Dear Mr. Wolf:

“I have just finished the reading of your biographical sketch of M. M. Noah, and have derived from its perusal, much pleasure and profit. I desire to thank you for your kind thoughtfulness in sending it to me.

“Yours sincerely,

“GROVER CLEVELAND.”

When my daughter, Mrs. Frederick Gotthold, was preparing my Seventieth Anniversary Year Book, she sent a page to Mr. Cleveland, on which he wrote the following:

“There are compensations in advancing years, and the best of these is the retrospection of work well done.”

GROVER CLEVELAND.

October 17, 1903.

All of the letters that I ever received from President Cleveland were written in his own dainty hand, more like a woman's handwriting than a man's.

In closing this sketch, I would be untrue to history were I not to add my feelings of high regard, esteem and good will for Mr. Cleveland, as an American, as well as one of the great Presidents of our Republic. Partisan feelings are only transient and momentary, but patriotism and those sterling qualities which Mr. Cleveland possessed, are eternal. He has left us a lesson for manliness and courage and intellectual conservatism, which should at all times be an inspiration and an example.

BENJAMIN HARRISON

When Benjamin Harrison was running for Governor of Indiana, his opponent was the celebrated "Blue Jean Williams," and the latter was elected. It was during that campaign that I first became acquainted with Benjamin Harrison. I called on him at his home in Indianapolis. He was aware that I was making speeches in Indiana, on and in his behalf, as well as that of the Presidential ticket, and he was quite cordial, expressed a very high opinion of what is now known as the hyphen, and also seemed to evidence a great deal of knowledge and good feeling for American citizens of Jewish faith. One evening at Fort Wayne, Ind., Governor Oliver P. Morton of that State and I were to speak, when suddenly from an unknown quarter of the hall there came sizzling some very unsatisfactory eggs. One of these delightful missiles hit the Governor square in the face. I fortunately escaped everything except the copperhead aroma. The modern stump speakers are fortunately not subjected to such un-American treatment, but in those days it was part of the game, especially in intensely Democratic centers.

During the closing days of Mr. Cleveland's first administration, it became evident that some Republican could be elected, owing to the unpopularity of Mr. Cleveland with his own party, as well as the tariff legislation enacted by the Democratic Congress. While Blaine was still a popular idol, as Henry Clay in his time had been, yet the sober second thought of the Republican leaders led to the conclusion that his nomination was an impossibility,



BENJAMIN HARRISON
1889-1893

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

and so finally Benjamin Harrison was nominated and elected.

I was made a member of the Inauguration Committee which was to conduct the ceremonies of Harrison and Morton, and designated as Chairman of the Medal Committee, and I succeeded in having made what is known as the Centennial Medal, as it was the one hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

I received great commendation for the originality of the design, and President Harrison was particularly gracious to me in consequence thereof.

My intercourse with the new President was not of that intimate character that had been my good fortune with his predecessors, yet it was of a very cordial nature. He tendered me the position of Consul-General and Agent Diplomatique to Egypt, which I respectfully declined, as I did not care to hold any further offices of the Government, outside of charitable and benevolent appointments, and those without compensation.

The President sent for me one day and said he desired to appoint a representative American citizen of Jewish faith to Turkey, Mr. Oscar Straus having done such splendid service under Cleveland's administration. I suggested Solomon Hirsh of Portland, Ore., who was subsequently appointed, and like his predecessor, did admirable work, highly satisfactory, not only to the country to which he was accredited, but to the country which sent him. It's a curious fact that Turkey has been looked upon as a proper place to send as representatives of the United States, American citizens of Jewish faith. It is known in well informed circles that Turkey did take a liberal

view of Jews as men and as citizens, and our Ministers and Ambassadors of Jewish faith have really done splendid work.

It was in part due to my constant attention and influence with leading members of both parties that a resolution was adopted in Congress calling upon our Government to take active measures in regard to our co-religionists in Russia, as is evidenced by the following letter written by the President to the House of Representatives:

Executive Mansion, Washington,
October 1, 1890.

I transmit herewith, in answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of August 20, 1890, concerning the enforcement of proscriptive edicts against the Jews in Russia, a report from the Secretary of State upon the subject.

(Signed)

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

And after said resolution had been adopted, I had a long interview with President Harrison on the subject, which eventually led to the following message to Congress under date of December 9, 1891:

This Government has found occasion to express in a friendly spirit, but with much earnestness, to the Government of the Czar its serious concern because of the harsh measures now being enforced against the Hebrews in Russia. By the revival of anti-Semitic laws, long in abeyance, great numbers of those unfortunate people have been constrained to abandon their homes and leave the Empire by reason of the impossibility of finding subsistence within the pale to which it is sought to confine them. The immigration of these people to the United States—many other countries being closed to them—is largely increasing and is likely to assume proportions which

may make it difficult to find homes and employment for them here and to seriously affect the labor market. It is estimated that over 1,000,000 will be forced from Russia within a few years. The Hebrew is never a beggar; he has always kept the law—lives by toil—often under severe and oppressive civil restrictions. It is also true that no race, sect or class has more fully cared for its own than the Hebrew race. But the sudden transfer of such a multitude under conditions that tend to strip them of their small accumulations and to depress their energies and courage is neither good for them nor for us.

The banishment, whether by direct decree or by not less certain indirect methods, of so large a number of men and women is not a local question. A decree to leave one country is in the nature of things an order to enter another—some other. This consideration, as well as the suggestion of humanity, furnishes ample ground for the remonstrances which we have presented to Russia, while our historic friendship for that Government can not fail to give the assurance that our representations are those of a sincere well-wisher.

Among other items of information submitted by Secretary Blaine in his report, was the mention of Hermann Kempinski, an American citizen, who had been imprisoned on his return to the place of his birth (Russia), which fact was brought to my attention by Mr. J. B. Klein of Bridgeport, Conn., representing Abraham Lodge, No. 89, of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, of which lodge Kempinski was a member. Considerable correspondence pro and con ensued, in consequence of his incarceration, but I finally succeeded in having him released. Twenty-seven years after, on my eightieth birthday, among numerous letters congratulating me was one from this man Kempinski, who is now living at Bridge-

port, Conn., and who on Sunday, the 11th of February, 1917, when I was guest of honor at Abraham Lodge at their golden anniversary, publicly announced to the lodge, with streaming eyes, that I had saved his life and that of his family by my prompt conduct, and thanked me in most enthusiastic terms. It was a dramatic scene.

The President took an active interest in the matter of discriminations against our co-religionists in different parts of the world, as will be seen from the foregoing message to Congress.

Naturally, in consequence of this discrimination and persecution on the part of certain governments of Europe, immigration became a very important question in and out of Congress, and while at the White House one day, I mentioned the subject to the President, outlining to him my views, and he very promptly, and with great feeling, considering it was Benjamin Harrison, said that I should put my ideas in writing and address them to the Secretary of the Treasury, the Hon. Charles Foster, under whom came the Bureau of Immigration, which I did. At the time of writing this letter to Secretary Foster, Mr. Lewis Abraham, now deceased, was Secretary of the Board of Delegates, and kept the files, which have unfortunately been either lost, destroyed or mislaid, and I can only give a summary as printed at the time in some of the New York papers, which my friend, Mr. Max J. Kohler, the publicist, has graciously furnished me, and which reads as follows:

Simon Wolf and Lewis Abraham of this city, on behalf of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, have addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury a communication on the subject of the immigra-

tion of Russian Hebrews to the United States. In their address the writers, while deploring the arrival in this country of so many of their exiled people, maintain that the statutes of the United States should not be so interpreted as to class them as paupers or assisted emigrants, "When hands of help and welcome are outstretched to elevate them to the exalted position of American citizenship without demanding any contributions from national or local taxes."

"That the refugees are generally in distress," say the writers, "is not denied. Circumstances have placed them in a situation that is recognized through the civilized world as resulting from the greatest crime of the so-called enlightened century, and this distress their brethren are untiringly striving to alleviate. To close the avenues of this free and liberty-loving country that has opened its gates to the down-trodden and unjustly persecuted, would be against the underlying genius and theory of our glorious and beloved Constitution. Neither the letter nor the spirit of the laws of our country requires us to close the gate of mercy on mankind."

The writers refer to the large influx of Russian Hebrews into this country about ten years ago and state that so far as can be ascertained not a single one of them has become a public burden. Arguing from this and the further fact that a large number of organizations have been formed throughout the country having for their object the general care and elevation of the exiles, the writers maintain that even if they have their "passage paid with the money of another," they can not be classed as paupers, but rather come under the exceptional clause of the law, viz., "Where it is satisfactorily shown that such persons do not belong to the foregoing excluded classes."

To which Secretary Foster answered as follows:

Treasury Department,
Office of the Secretary,
Washington, D. C., Aug. 1, 1891.

Simon Wolf, Chairman,

Board of Delegates of the Union of American
Hebrew Congregations.

Dear Sir: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your communication of the 27th ultimo with its enclosures as stated.

You call my attention to the bitter hardships suffered by many thousands of Hebrews by reason of their forcible expulsion from their homes in the Russian Empire, and you state among other things that there is no organization in the United States which assists or encourages destitute Hebrew refugees to come to this country; that you deplore this form of immigration; that the efforts of the several Hebrew societies represented by you are confined to ameliorating the conditions of those unhappy people after their arrival at American ports by relieving those in distress and aiding all to avoid massing the seaboard cities and to distribute themselves to widely separated localities where they may as soon as possible become self-sustaining. You state that you have no complaint to make in connection with the official treatment of refugees who have already arrived, and that you do not apprehend any future cause for complaint in this regard; but you urge the consideration that practically enforced immigration of this which can not properly be classed as "assisted" immigration within the meaning of our laws, and finally you declare the readiness of the people and associations for whom you speak to give to the Government in all cases a satisfactory bond guaranteeing that none of these refugee immigrants shall become a public charge.

Be assured, sir, that I fully concur in your estimate of the magnitude of the present calamity which has befallen so many of your race, as well as in your hope that an early mitigation or cessation of the cur-

rent measures of expulsion may render unnecessary any general migration of Russian Hebrews to America or elsewhere. Unquestionably a great and sudden influx of expatriated and destitute aliens of any race would be a grave misfortune to any country, and American Hebrews act both patriotically and humanely when they advise Jewish refugees against coming hither, but at the same time endeavor to render self-supporting those who finally come. Obviously the support of great numbers of dependent persons is a tax upon the resources of the country, even though paid from private funds, and, quite as plainly, industrial conditions here might be seriously disturbed by the sudden arrival and the enforced competition of a multitude of needy people.

Hence it is important to the last degree that the volume of this expected refugee immigration be not excessive or threatening and that with entire certainty it be promptly and widely distributed so as to supply a real want in scattered communities and interfere as little as possible with existing and normal industrial conditions. The apparent scope and thoroughness of your plans for securing this immediate and wide distribution of the expected refugees are more gratifying, and upon the success of your associations in carrying out these plans will largely depend the possibility of the Government meeting your views in other respects.

While the immigration laws of the United States must and will be enforced, I agree with you that those laws were never enacted in derogation of the plainest requirements of humanity, and no worthy immigrant who in all other respects meets the demands of our statutes should be excluded from the country because, through the action of others, he is for the time being homeless and without property.

I shall rely upon your voluntary assurance that you will actively urge upon your brethren in Europe the attitude of our laws toward assisted immigration. I also beg to remind you that any tendency

abroad to deflect toward this country the movement of destitute refugees or to stimulate their migration hither, would be distinctly hostile to the spirit manifested in your letter and to the spirit in which the Government of the United States desires to treat this difficult and delicate problem.

Thanking you for your expressions of confidence that this department, while executing the immigration laws efficiently will also execute them humanely, I am,

Respectfully yours,

CHARLES FOSTER,

Secretary.

The following letter of Senator John Sherman is interesting. My note was to the effect that the treaty which had just been completed was very objectionable:

Senate Chamber, Washington, Feb. 25, 1893.

Hon. Simon Wolf,

My Dear Sir: Your note of the 24th is received. The Russian treaty is beyond our control as it is ratified and in the hands of the President. The clause inserted in the treaty is similar to that in the Belgian treaty and the Committee were unanimously of the opinion that it was not objectionable.

I return you the letters enclosed.

Very truly yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

I called on the President one day in regard to the appointment of a young American of Jewish faith to West Point, and who had been highly recommended to me by many friends. The President promptly said he would take the matter into consideration and subsequently did appoint him, but unfortunately he did not pass the examination, or at least it was so reported by the Examining Board.

It may have been a good stroke of fortune for the young gentleman, as he has since risen in his profession to eminence and wealth.

The death of General Franz Sigel impelled me to write the following tribute. As he was a great figure in the Civil War and afterward, and is mentioned in these sketches, as he showed his sincere patriotism at a time when his heart was stricken by sorrow, caused by the action of his favorite son, it deserves, in my judgment, perpetuation as an incentive to others:

“The death of Gen. Franz Sigel brings on the canvas of memory pictures glowing with life and color. Born not far distant from the town which gave birth to the illustrious hero of two countries, I naturally feel an affinity and remember well how enthusiastically my sainted father spoke of Gen. Sigel, for he, too, was one of that tried band of Germans that loved liberty more than life. I made the acquaintance of Gen. Sigel forty years ago, just prior to the second battle of Bull Run, and from that day to this entertained for him the highest regard as a man, as a soldier, patriot and citizen. As a student of American history I have become thoroughly convinced of the fact that General Sigel contributed largely to the preservation of the Union. It was at the inception of the Civil War, when every moment was important, when every act was making history, that Gen. Sigel’s conduct and patriotism came to the fore. St. Louis, Camp Jackson, Missouri, were saved by his indomitable energy, experience in warfare, high-souled, broad and liberal principles, for the Union. The saving of Missouri preserved Kentucky and Tennessee and prevented an invasion of Ohio, and the nation can never be too generous in its recognition of what Gen. Sigel did then and there. Aside from this, his name was one to conjure with. To ‘fight

mit Sigel' became a rallying cry, not only among those of his own countrymen, but among all lovers of liberty. His retreats from superior numbers were masterly, and instead of discouraging became inspirations.

"He was a soldier in the best sense of the term, uncomplaining, unpretending, always ready to discharge the duties imposed upon him by circumstances or conditions, and when the war closed his first ambition was not to secure official recognition, but to work for those whom he most loved and cherished. It was at my suggestion that Gen. Grant offered him positions of trust and responsibility which were on three different occasions declined, but finally he did accept the assessorship, collectorship of internal revenue in the City of New York. He was tendered, at my request, the position of secretary of the commission to go to San Domingo, and declined, but finally did go as the representative of the President.

"The several positions the General filled in civil life were discharged with singular ability, faithfulness and with that self-same vigilance as had characterized him during the Civil War.

"To understand the perfect Spartan character of the General it need but be mentioned when he was pension agent of the City of New York he gave up his son to the courts of justice, declining any favors in consequence of his standing or record, claiming that having helped to save the Union he must lay no claim for immunity. President Harrison, to whose attention I called the condition of affairs, promptly pardoned his son.

"Gen. Sigel, apart from his military ability, was a student and scholar. He wrote and thought with great facility, and his history of the revolutionary struggle in Germany is replete with facts and data for the future historians. His companions in the armies were his devoted friends. The humblest of his soldiers received as much attention, nay, more,

than those of higher rank. The acquisition of money played no part, and thus in the last years of his life he had to struggle for existence on the insignificant pension of \$100 per month given by the Government he helped to save. It was a small pittance, and yet aided him materially. Now that he has joined the Great Army of the Republic—now that he is standing side by side with Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, Thomas, Lee, Jackson and others, it behooves us who are reaping the benefits of his work and sacrifices to see that those he has left should become our wards, to see that his widow receives not only the pension that he did, but that it should be doubled, so that her declining years shall be made happy and contented; and I am sure that I am voicing the sentiments of every lover of his country and of every soldier who fought in the blue or in the gray when I say let Congress in its coming session vote a liberal pension to the widow of the hero of two countries—an American who fearlessly did his duty, and whose memory will ever be cherished by his grateful countrymen.”

President Harrison, a man of wonderful legal ability, of high intellectual qualities, was more unpopular than any President that I had become acquainted with. There was lacking in him magnetism and social warmth. When you stood in his presence, as a great American politician so aptly described it, you felt like having inflicted upon you “political pneumonia.” Then also, unfortunately, as under other administrations, Mr. Blaine and the President were not on the most cordial terms, either personally or politically. So when the National Convention of 1892, which took place at Minneapolis, renominated Mr. Harrison, with Whitelaw Reid of New York as his running mate, he was defeated by Mr. Cleveland. In my sketch of William McKinley

I will in the proper place bring in the incident in connection with that convention, over which McKinley presided.

And thus there passed out of political history one of the great Americans about which there can be no doubt. He came from loyal, patriotic stock, was a Senator of pre-eminent force and ability, was hailed by members of the Supreme Court and the bar of the United States as one of the great legal lights, if not the greatest; but as already mentioned, he lacked certain essential qualities, without which no candidate can succeed in winning the suffrage of his fellow-citizens, many examples of which we have in our political history. That he was a gentleman and a patriot and in every sense worthy of the office he filled, there can be no question.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

· ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



WILLIAM MCKINLEY
1897-1901

WILLIAM MCKINLEY

Long before William McKinley became a national and international figure, I had made his acquaintance and won his friendship and good-will, which ended only when he passed to eternal rest. We often met at his home in Canton, Ohio, and at the house of a mutual friend, M. Ruhman, the son-in-law of Rabbi Levinsky, the author of the Family and School Bible.

When he was elected a member of Congress this intimacy continued, and many social and pleasant hours were passed in my home and in his rooms at the Ebbitt House, where he lived during his whole Congressional career. He was at all times genial, and no matter what he had to do, either for his constituents or for his friends, he was ever the same patient, courteous, and self-sacrificing gentleman. In due course of time he was elected Governor of Ohio. I telegraphed him, "Thane of Cawdor, King that will be," to which he promptly replied, "Thanks, not yet."

The sentiment of the country crystallized into a feeling that McKinley was Presidential timber. At the Republican National Convention held in Minneapolis, where he presided, he could have been nominated, but declined, and when I told him, walking from the hall to the hotel, that he ought to have accepted, he said with a smile, "My dear Simon, I repeat my message to you,—not yet."

His fame as a statesman for constructive work of a national character, especially on the subject of tariff, grew. His wonderful liberality in dealing with all shades of public thought made him popular

with the masses, and he won the esteem and goodwill of his own party, as well as that of the opposition, and in due time, he was elected and re-elected. During the first campaign when I met him I told him he would be overwhelmingly elected, and that I would be among the first to greet him. So when I was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Medals of the Inaugural Committee, I had the honor and pleasure of pinning the gold medal on his coat at the head of the stairs of the Reviewing Stand. It was a proud moment when President McKinley said to me, "Well, Simon, there is still a God in Israel." I knew what he meant to convey, for we had often discussed the golden opportunities of this great Republic, and he was a living exemplification, not only of the theory but of the practice.

As with his predecessors, the White House was open to me at all hours. The President insisted on my treating him as an old friend. The gentle and loving Mrs. McKinley kept up her warm friendship. Station and adulation had not warped her judgment or undermined her good sense. In every way she was worthy of being the first lady of the land. In his affectionate and constant devotion to his invalid wife, President McKinley exemplified the highest traits of chivalrous manhood, his patience and cheerfulness were symbolic of the highest virtues, and earned him the universal esteem of his fellow-citizens.

The President several times asked me what he could do for me, but I steadily declined. The position of postmastership of Washington and one of the Commissioners of the District were tendered to me by him, but I preferred private life. One day the

President told me he would appoint Oscar S. Straus of New York as Minister to Turkey. I promptly congratulated him in making this choice, as Mr. Straus had given great evidence of his ability, patriotism, and thorough Americanism, which I am happy to state he has continued to do in many other fields of public usefulness.

On another occasion he told me that he was worried because John W. Ross, whom he had re-appointed Commissioner of the District, was opposed for confirmation by Senator Bacon of Georgia. Ross was a high-toned official, in every way efficient and universally liked. He was a gold Democrat, and had approved Mr. McKinley's election. Senator Bacon was a Bryan man and called Ross a traitor, having been originally appointed by President Cleveland. I told the President I thought I could overcome the opposition if he would give me "carte blanche," to which he replied, "Ordinarily I would not, but I have confidence in your judgment. Go ahead and see what you can do." In Macon, Georgia, a friend of mine, Jacob H. Hertz, a Democrat whose commission as Postmaster had expired, wished to be re-appointed. He was a dear friend of Senator Bacon. I had a very pleasant interview with the Senator. The outcome was that Ross was confirmed. Hertz was re-appointed. The President was most profound in his thanks for this trifling service, although he regarded it from a different standpoint. This only confirms the old theory that there is more practice in politics than principle.

To evidence the wonderful memory and friendship of President McKinley, one day he said to me, "What has become of E?" I said, "He is where he was

when you were a member of Congress, and when you recommended him to Secretary Windom for promotion. Under the administration of President Cleveland he was demoted for the good of the service." I then told him, "I have a copy of your letter which you sent to the Treasury Department with me." Said he, "Let me have it," and on it he wrote, "Why can't this man be promoted?" and sent it to the Secretary of the Treasury. He was promoted, and for sixteen years filled the position with signal ability until the present administration came in, when he again was demoted, and, as usual, for the good of the service. What better proof need be had of the value of the Civil Service?

After the first election of Mr. McKinley I wrote him a congratulatory letter, in the name of the National Union Republican Club of the City of Washington, to which he replied:

November 23, 1896.

Mr. S. Wolf, Prest.,
National Union Republican Club,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir: I beg that you accept on your own behalf and convey to the members of the National Union Republican Club, my sincere thanks for your congratulations and expression of good wishes.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

The corner-stone of the Washington Hebrew Congregation was to be laid on the 16th day of September, 1897, and I asked the President to honor us with his presence, which he did, as is more fully described in my address at the memorial services of the martyred President. A brass plate has been put on the

chair in which President McKinley sat during the exercises, and which chair is now treasured by the Congregation as a relic.

Later, when the Temple was completed, owing to public duties, the President could not be with us but sent a letter of which the following is a copy:

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., Sept. 8, 1898.

My Dear Sir:

The very kind invitation to attend the dedicatory exercises at the Eighth Street Temple on Friday afternoon has been received, and I beg to express to you my deep regret that public duties and engagements will not admit of an acceptance.

I well remember the interesting ceremonies incident to the laying of the corner-stone of the Temple, in which I had the pleasure of participating. Patriotic and loyal in war and in peace, its Congregation will, I am sure, continue to exercise great influence for good in this community.

Assuring you of my appreciation of your courtesy, and with best wishes for the success of the exercises, believe me,

Very sincerely yours,
WM. MCKINLEY.

Hon. Simon Wolf, Chairman,
926 F Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

The following letter from Asst. Secretary A. A. Adeo was received:

Department of State,
Washington, D. C., December 11, 1897.

Simon Wolf, Esq.,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir:

I have your personal letter of yesterday's date asking whether the good offices of the State Department

could be secured in getting the consent of the Russian government for the introduction into Russia of the beneficent order of B'nai B'rith (Sons of the Covenant).

The inquiry is somewhat embarrassing in that this Department is shy of using its good offices even to further the commercial enterprises of our citizens or corporations who seek to establish branches in foreign countries. In such cases the laws of the country regulate their admission to local privileges and this Department can not undertake either to stand sponsor for a particular enterprise or seek to obtain for it other than the same usage which is given to all foreign corporations in the country.

It does not appear from your letter that the B'nai B'rith is an exclusively American organization, maintaining branches in other countries. I rather, understand that its affiliating branches in Austria, Germany, Roumania, Egypt and Jerusalem, of which you speak, are local organizations bearing to the parent stock, wherever it may be, much the same relation that the National Red Cross Associations of different countries bear to the parent Committee in Switzerland. That society, besides being established by international treaty, has local organizations in many countries.

The rules of the Russian Empire in regard to individual associations for other than purely commercial purposes are understood to be very rigid. If they allow the organization of a Russian branch of B'nai B'rith, no assistance from us would be required. If they prohibit it, I do not think that anything we could say or do would alter the Russian rule.

Very truly yours,
ALVEY A. ADEE.

I presented the President with a copy of my book, "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen,"

and a few weeks later he sent me the following letter:

My Dear Friend:

I received the copy of your memorable book, "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen," and I thank you sincerely for the privilege of reading the same. I consider it a masterly treatment of the subject, and you have rendered not only to your people, but to all people a great service. No better class of citizens than the Jewish exists in our country, many of whom have been and are my personal friends.

Again thanking you, I am, as ever,

Sincerely,

WM. MCKINLEY.

I give herewith the following quotation from my book, "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen," pages 427-428:

In a recent speech at Ottawa, Kansas, on June 20, 1895 (quoted in the *Reform Advocate* of Chicago, July 13, 1895), Governor William McKinley, of Ohio, referred to this incident as follows:

"What more beautiful conception than that which prompted Abraham Kohn, of Chicago, in February, 1861, to send to Mr. Lincoln, on the eve of his starting to Washington, to assume the office of President, a flag of our country, bearing upon its silken folds these words from the first chapter of Joshua: 'Have I not commanded thee? Be strong and of good courage. Be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed, for the Lord, thy God is with thee, whithersoever thou goest. There shall not any man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life. As I was with Moses so shall I be with thee. I will not fail thee nor forsake thee.'

"Could anything have given Mr. Lincoln more cheer, or been better calculated to sustain his courage or to strengthen his faith in the mighty work before him. Thus commanded, thus assured, Mr.

Lincoln journeyed to the Capital, where he took the oath of office and registered in heaven an oath to save the Union. And the Lord, our God, was with him, until every obligation of oath and duty was sacredly kept and honored. Not any man was able to stand before him. Liberty was the more firmly enthroned, the Union was saved, and the flag which he carried floated in triumph and glory from every flagstaff of the Republic.”

In reply to a letter addressed to him by the daughter of Abraham Kohn, Mrs. Dankmar Adler (whose husband, the architect of the Auditorium Building and one of the architects of the Columbian Exposition, had fought through the war and been wounded at Chickamauga), Major McKinley wrote: “The incident deeply impressed me when I first learned of it, and I have taken occasion to use it, as in my speech at Ottawa, to which you refer. I am very glad to have been able to give publicity to this striking incident, and I am sure that the family of Mr. Kohn should feel very proud of his patriotic act.”

I had several lengthy conversations with President McKinley on the subject of the Russian Passport and Treaty. Because the President was so engaged with important matters, it seems that he turned the subject over to Mr. George B. Cortelyou, who wrote me this letter:

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 27, 1899.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

If you can find it convenient to do so, I will be glad if you will call at the Executive Mansion tomorrow or Friday, between eleven and one o'clock, as I would be glad to talk with you about a matter concerning which you have had some correspondence with the President.

Very truly yours,
GEORGE B. CORTELYOU,
Acting Secretary to the President.

The interview took place, and I submitted a lengthy statement which the President afterwards told me was illuminating and comprehensive, and he hoped before his term expired to be able to do something towards mitigating the condition of the Jews in Russia, and bring about a revision of the treaty.

On Flag Day, June 14, 1901, I was one of the speakers. Hon. Henry B. F. Macfarland, then President of the Board of Commissioners, in introducing me, said the following:

“Those of us who were born under the flag, and who have loved it from birth, do not excel in appreciation of it, or in devotion to it, our fellow-citizens who came from their native lands beyond the sea to its protection and its service. They saw, as with the eye of faith, its beauty and its blessings, and they deliberately left their birthplaces and cast in their lot with us. We could not choose, but they could and did choose, to be Americans. We could not appropriately close this meeting without hearing from a representative of our fellow-citizens who were born abroad. We are fortunate in having with us one who is so thoroughly representative of what is best among them, who himself left the fatherland that he might live in the land of liberty, and who has honorably served his adopted country at home and abroad.”

I addressed them as follows:

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen:

In my humble judgment, this would not be symmetrical unless someone should give voice in recognition of all that the flag symbolizes and typifies, especially to those who are born in other lands and who have found a home, refuge and happiness under its folds in this country. No flag of any other

land, save that of Switzerland, typifies and symbolizes as much as ours. It means fraternity, it means devotion, it means assimilation; for here, under its starry folds, have come men and women of all countries to find that freedom which in their own was denied them; but more than that, and to which no one of the gifted speakers has alluded tonight, here in this great republic the Christian and the Jew, the Protestant and the Catholic, can worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. It is in this spirit that our flag is created, and which no other country on the face of the earth permits. A love of the flag inspires the Army and the Navy of every land, as our flag inspires our soldiers and sailors, but there is no flag so pure, so just, so liberalizing as ours. There is no flag that stands for so much culture and true civilization as the flag of the United States. It is in this spirit I salute it, it is in this spirit I love and revere it, and it is in this spirit that I wish it transmitted to generations unborn. May I never see its starry field disfigured or stained by wrong, by injustice, or anything that may mark any change that would circumscribe the freedom of conscience and the right of good citizenship, for which it has stood in times past, and I hope and trust to God that it may ever stand, commemorative of all that is great and beautiful, just and true in American citizenship, so that when it shall spread its folds gloriously to the breeze in other lands, may it be to them the emblem it typifies for us. May it ever reflect the American spirit of justice, of mercy, of truth; and all those elements that are conducive to good government and elevated citizenship."

(These words of mine then are applicable now.)

President McKinley's attention having been called to my speech, he expressed great pleasure and satisfaction when he saw me a few days thereafter, and said that I had struck the keynote of the historical day.

Just after President McKinley's inauguration a deputation of Cuban patriots visited Washington. They called on me to aid them in securing a hearing before the Committees on Foreign Relations of the Senate and House, of which Senator John Sherman and Congressman R. R. Hitt were Chairmen. After a great deal of hard work I succeeded in having them secure an audience, which had been denied them for a long time. I also inaugurated a mass meeting at the theater, which was crowded to the doors, and over which Corporal James Tanner presided. The meeting was most enthusiastic for Cuban independence and in aid of the patriots. After independence had been secured, as a result of the Spanish-American War, the gentlemen with whom I had come in contact were always grateful, and in my testimonial Year Book on my seventieth birthday the first President of Cuba wrote:

October 10, 1903.

It gives me great pleasure to congratulate you. Your words and your acts in our behalf can never be repaid by Cuba. You were a tower of strength to all of us.

Sincerely,

T. ESTRADA PALMA.

The first Minister from Cuba to the United States wrote on the same occasion as follows:

Cuba will always remember his noble efforts on and in behalf of her independence, during the dark days of her struggle, when a friend was a friend indeed.

GONZALES DE QUESADA.

President McKinley was thoroughly aware of my efforts and enthusiastic in his expression of appreciation, although not in an official capacity but personally.

At the commencement of the Spanish-American War I had many interviews with the President, who was exceedingly troubled by the vast responsibility imposed upon him. He was seriously opposed to any war with anyone, but when the hour of action came he rose to the very height of the occasion. When one day I told him that a large number of Russia Jews had enlisted in the army, who had fled from the land of their birth and persecution, he was visibly touched, and with words full of emotion said, "How wonderful are God's ways."

After the capture of Manila by Admiral Dewey, a movement was at once started in Washington to tender him a public welcome, and a committee was appointed to take charge of the matter. As a member of said committee, I was designated to have prepared a suitable medal in commemoration of the historical event, which I did, and had the honor of pinning the gold medal on the Admiral's coat, in the harbor of New York. He was very much pleased with the design. The bronze medals which were distributed among members of the committee and other persons were made of guns captured by Dewey at Manila.

I was also present in front of the Capitol when the Secretary of the Navy presented Admiral Dewey with the sword voted by Congress, in recognition of his heroism in Manila Bay.

From that date up to the time of the Admiral's death, our relations were most friendly and cordial.

The President took a deep and sincere interest in the treatment of the Jews on the part of those countries which did not accord them full and equal rights. He often spoke to me how anxious he was not only individually, but officially, to mitigate their sufferings and bring about a better condition worthy of the civilization in which we lived, and one day he wrote me the following letter:

Executive Mansion, May 14, 1899.

My Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter asking me to use the good offices of the Government in asking Russia to recognize the American passport. Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to comply with your request, and I have instructed the Secretary of State to bring this matter to the attention of the Russian Government.

Very sincerely,

WM. MCKINLEY.

During President McKinley's administration I was a witness before the United States Industrial Commission at the Capitol, and was examined at length on various subjects of national importance, industrial wage-earners, immigration, and the workings and aims of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith. Sometime after this testimony the President, having undoubtedly read the same, complimented me upon the American spirit that pervaded it.

Just before he went to Buffalo in September, 1901, I had a very pleasant interview with him, and he was full of optimistic hope for the country and a continuance of the friendly relations with all governments. He was in a happy frame of mind and

neither of us had the faintest conception of what was to transpire in the near future.

A great many Americans do not fully appreciate the work that President McKinley did during his lifetime, as a statesman and as an executive. His conception of duty was of the loftiest character, and self never dominated him for a moment. His treatment of the people who had become part of the nation in consequence of the Spanish-American War was of the most friendly and humane character, and it was his impelling force of justice that brought about a settlement with Spain that was equitable and in no way partisan. He was indeed the "Abou Ben Adhem"—he loved his fellowmen, and in the pantheon of great Americans he will ever be a resplendent figure. At no time of his life did he so exemplify his character as when on his dying bed he said, "It is God's way"—that had been his dominant thought throughout life, and death had no terrors for he was "Nearer, my God to Thee"—with his dying breath, he saw the hand of the arbiter of life and death extended, and heard the angels of good-will shout their welcome. In the city in which he was so beloved and esteemed, in Canton, Ohio, he was laid at rest, and his mausoleum has become a Mecca, not in the same degree, but in no lesser sense than that of Mt. Vernon.

It is the irony of fate that I should have lived to see three Presidents of the United States assassinated, with each and everyone of whom I was on terms of intimacy and good-will—Abraham Lincoln, James A. Garfield, William McKinley.

The Ohio Republican Association of the City of Washington held memorial services on October 6,

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



THE LAYING OF CORNER-STONE OF THE JEWISH TEMPLE, EIGHTH STREET, SEPTEMBER 16,
1897, AT WHICH PRESIDENT MCKINLEY AND CABINET WERE PRESENT

1901, in honor of the martyred President, and among other speakers I was invited to address the meeting, which I did in the following words:

Years ago I had the pleasure and honor of making the acquaintance of William McKinley, which soon ripened into a lasting friendship. To me he is not dead, but lives and will forever live, the highest exponent of truth, patriotism and inspiring American citizenship. He loved the Jew, he loved the Catholic, he adored his own faith, and to each and every one he was a brother and felt within himself towards each and every one the kinship born of the highest ideals of Christianity and exalted humanity. In other words, he represented in his life-work and thoughts the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. In this spirit William McKinley will be forever an example and a type, and I can tell you here today that in the enactment of laws for the purpose of preventing anarchism, and for the punishment of those who would destroy law and order you will find none who will more heartily and enthusiastically cooperate in destroying this hell-bound gang of miscreants than those who have come from other lands. You can depend upon that to a certainty, and in this spirit we will all work for God and country. Jew and Christian must go hand in hand in appreciation of the privileges that all enjoy, and which must forever be preserved as a priceless legacy and be transmitted to future generations as untarnished and as luminous of light and hope as we enjoy at this moment.

The great life of the immortal martyred President which went out so grandly and sublimely will be forever an inspiration to men all over the world, and in the distant islands of the East when they are being navigated by American ships with the American flag of freedom flying at their topmast, the patriotism, generosity and Christian humility of William McKin-

ley will continue to be their guiding star for God and country.

No one can appreciate the grand characteristics of Mr. McKinley more than I, for he filled the measure of my fondest hopes of what a man, an American and a gentleman should ever be. I remember well when I called on him two years ago to invite him and his Cabinet to be present at the laying of the corner-stone of our Jewish Temple in this city. He said, "Well, Wolf, I really do not see how I can come; I am very busy and if I come to the corner-stone laying of your Temple, I will be asked to go to each and everyone of a like character." I said, "But, Mr. President, you know that you have no warmer friends than the American citizens of Jewish faith, and we look upon you with not only pride but with gratitude for the many evidences of good-will you have ever exhibited to us, not only in your present position but in all the positions that you have heretofore so honorably filled, that it would be a great impetus to each and every one if you would come." He promptly acquiesced and said he would be there, and he was, and it is one of the most memorable features of that historic occasion.

President McKinley to me was something more than what he was to others. He typified in a concrete form not only the glorious past of our country, but its future. He became, whether by decree of Providence or circumstances beyond his control, the central figure at the close of the nineteenth century, and created conditions for the betterment and advancement of the United States which can never be destroyed. He was one of the great American Presidents, and his name, joined with his immortal predecessors, will live not only in the annals of our own country, but in the annals of history. May the young men and young women of our country be inspired to the noblest endeavor, taking as an example the work and worth of the great American typified in the life and service of William McKinley.

But in addition to what President McKinley left as a priceless legacy to his countrymen as a statesman and a patriot, he has left to mankind a lesson of courage, of strength, of human endurance at the closing hours of his life that outranks him with any other man of his time or any time, and the death-bed scene will in future years be portrayed in sculpture and on canvas and be sung in immortal verse by the poets of the future, equal to any for which Rome and Greece have become immortal.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

My acquaintance with Theodore Roosevelt began when he was a member of the United States Civil Service Commission, and continued through the periods of his activity as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, then as Superintendent of Police of New York City; as Governor of New York State; as Vice President of the United States; as the successor of President McKinley upon the latter's death; and continued throughout the period of his administration after his election to the Presidency, and which has continued to this date. During all this time I have enjoyed his good-will and friendship. Throughout his incumbency of all the various public offices which he had occupied, I have watched with interest his wonderful activity and ability. But none of the defects of his temperament has included a lack of patriotism, or an absence of that spirit of optimism which has marked his whole career.

He is a great reader, a student of history. When I called his attention to my book, "The American Jew," he told me all about it, and with a great deal of enthusiasm congratulated me upon having written it.

I had the good fortune to call on him time and again on various matters of national and international import and was always met with a spirit of frankness and alertness on the subject-matter at hand that was, to say the least, inspiring and forceful.

Just after Mr. Roosevelt became President I called his attention, not only to the outrages practiced in Russia, but to the discriminations in Roumania. He took an interest in both questions, and said that the



THEODORE ROOSEVELT
1901-1909

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

Roumanian question was in the hands of Secretary Hay, who was preparing a note on the subject.

In the summer of 1902 a committee composed of members of Congress called on me and asked me to be the spokesman at a conference with President Roosevelt. All of the members were Democrats, but they thought more could be accomplished by taking an active Republican as their spokesman. I doubted this position, knowing that the President would grant an interview to anyone and be thoroughly outspoken on any subject presented, but I finally yielded to their urgent request, and we went to the White House. The purpose of the conference was to urge the President to do whatever possible in his power to secure the recognition of the American passport in Russia, and to prevent further pogroms. The President was undoubtedly much concerned, and in his stentorian voice said, "Give me a larger Navy and Army and possibly I might do some good in Russia," and bluntly said to me, "You ought to have known better than to come here on such a mission." We left the White House, and the members of Congress were very much annoyed, but as I expected, were not at all displeased at the rebuff we had received. On my return from the White House I wrote the President a letter concerning the interview, and the following is a reply:

Oyster Bay, N. Y., July 22, 1902.

Mr. Dear Mr. Wolf:

I have received your letter of the 18th. If you will call upon Dr. Hill, the Acting Secretary of State, he will show you privately a copy of Secretary Hay's dispatch to Roumania.

As soon as you had had your first interview with me I took the matter up with the Secretary. As yet, it would not be proper to publish the memorandum. I am also at work upon the Russian matter of which you spoke to me.

It will always be a great pleasure to see you, but I think the trouble has come from your not making an appointment in advance. It is very difficult for me to discuss matters with you in the presence of three or four others. I shall be more than pleased at any time to make such an appointment with you as you suggest, when we can go over all of these matters at length.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

MR. SIMON WOLF,
Washington, D. C.

In answer to a letter addressed by me to Mr. Hay, asking him to be present at a public meeting in regard to the Roumanian question, he replied as follows:

Department of State,
Washington, D. C., November 4, 1902.

Dear Mr. Wolf:

I have received your kind letter of the 30th of October, but it is out of my power to make the engagement that you suggest. I am deeply touched and grateful for all the manifestations of good-will which have come to me from every part of the country in regard to the matter you mention, but I am disinclined to take any special personal credit for the action of this Government, and least of all to place myself in the position of accepting such manifestations in public.

I hope you will kindly accept this assurance for yourself, and communicate it to any of your friends who are interested.

I am, with heartfelt thanks,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN HAY.

HON. SIMON WOLF,
Washington, D. C.

On receipt of the news of the outbreak of barbarism, which had wrought such bloody ruin and desecration among the unfortunate Jewish people of Kishineff, I took action immediately to bring the matter to the attention of our State Department. In order to obtain a reliable account of the terrible calamity, and to ascertain what relief was required, my letter to the Secretary was in the nature of an inquiry, and read as follows:

Washington, April 29, 1903.

Hon. John Hay, Washington, D. C.

Sir: You have no doubt been made aware of the fact that the cable has brought news of terrible outrages and massacres practiced upon the Jews of Kishineff in Russia. These reports by cable have been supplemented by private cablegrams, which not only confirm, but augment the terrible outrages and murders perpetrated upon the unhappy citizens of Kishineff of Jewish faith. As many of these people have relatives in this country who are citizens of the United States, they naturally feel anxious about the condition of things, and also how far they can aid in sending supplies and money to the wounded and unwounded sufferers. To that end, as Chairman

of the Board of Delegates of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and as a member of the Executive Committee of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, I would like the Government of the United States to instruct our Ambassador to Russia by cable to secure at once prompt and reliable information as to these outrages and the condition of the unfortunate victims of cruel persecution, and how far the Russian Government will permit us to send supplies and aid financially those who are in distress.

I am sure in asking this I am not overstepping the boundaries of the courtesies that should exist between the two countries, and am absolutely sure that the Department of State in this instance, as in many other like instances, will cheerfully and readily cooperate to the end that the facts may be known officially and the remedy applied as far as lies within the power of our Government, and so far as permission will be given to the citizens of the United States.

Very respectfully yours,

SIMON WOLF.

On May 5th following, I wrote to the State Department again to inquire if any reply had been received to the cable which the Secretary of State had sent at my request, to which letter I received the following reply:

Simon Wolf, Esq.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wolf:

I am in receipt of your letter of this date in reference to the reported massacre of Jews in Russia. The

Department acted immediately concerning this matter on your suggestion, and sent a cable to our Ambassador at St. Petersburg directing him to make an investigation—to ascertain whether supplies would be received, and to report as soon as possible. Up to this time we have not heard from him, but presume he is giving this matter his best attention. I will keep you advised on the subject.

Very respectfully yours,

FRANCIS B. LOOMIS,
Assistant Secretary.

On May 9th another letter was received from the State Department, of which the following is a copy:

Department of State,
Office of the Assistant Secretary,
Washington, May 9, 1903.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Referring to your letter of April 29th, I have the honor to confirm my conversations with you by telephone, in one of which I stated that a cablegram had been sent to our Ambassador at St. Petersburg, directing him to ascertain if supplies for the benefit of Jews stated to be suffering in Kishineff would be received, if forwarded from this country for the relief of the sufferers.

The Department is just in receipt of the following cablegram from Ambassador McCormick at St. Petersburg:

“It is authoritatively denied that there is any want or suffering among Jews in southwestern Russia, and aid of any kind is unnecessary.

While the offer and spirit in which it is made is appreciated, it is gratefully declined."

Respectfully yours,

FRANCIS B. LOOMIS,
Assistant Secretary.

The President of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, Leo N. Levi, following upon my action, issued a circular to the members of the Order at home and abroad, calling their attention to what was being done in Washington, and asking their co-operation, which was readily accorded.

I then urged Mr. Levi to hold a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Order in June, 1903, in the City of Washington. I pointed out to him the importance of doing so; I would arrange an interview with the President and the Secretary of State to secure their co-operation, and if possible, intervention with Russia. Mr. Levi accepted my suggestion, and the meeting was called for June 14, 1903, I having secured the consent of the President and Secretary of State to grant an interview and conference, with our committee.

On this date, June 14, 1903, the annual meeting of the Executive Committee took place at the Arlington Hotel, at Washington, D. C. The greater portion of the day and several hours of the night were devoted to a careful consideration of the plans submitted by the President of the Committee (Mr. Levi), for the conference to be held the following day with President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay. The proposed communication to the Secretary of State, and the tentative draft of a petition to the Czar accompany-

ing the same, were discussed at great length, and finally given the sanction of the entire committee.

During the session of the committee word was received that Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador to the United States, would be willing to confer with Mr. Levi and myself, during the afternoon, touching the affair at Kishineff. This information, while not coming in an official form, was entirely reliable, and it became necessary for us to determine what should be done in reference thereto.

It was finally concluded, in view of the appointment with the President and Secretary of State on the day following, that it would be indecorous to have any conference with the Russian Ambassador in advance of the audience granted by the President of the United States.

On June 15, 1903, our committee, as previously arranged, called in a body at the State Department, and were received by Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State. Mr. Levi acted as spokesman, addressed the Secretary, and as part of his remarks submitted the communication and tentative draft of petition which had been considered and approved by the Executive Committee of the Order on the day previous.

The Secretary made first an official reply, after which he engaged in an informal but earnest discussion of the subject with us.

"No person of ordinary humanity can have heard without deep emotion the story of the cruel outrages inflicted upon the Jews of Kishineff. These lamentable events have caused the profoundest impression throughout the world, but most especially in this country, where there are so many of your co-religionists who form such a desirable element of our popu-

lation in industry, thrift, public spirit and commercial morality. Nobody can ever make the Americans think ill of the Jews as a class or as a race—we know them too well. In the painful crisis through which we are now passing, the Jews of the United States have given evidence of the highest qualities—generosity, love of justice and power of self-restraint.

The Government of the United States must exhibit the same qualities. I know you do not doubt the sentiments of the President. No one hates more energetically than he does such acts of cruelty and injustice as those we deplore. But he must carefully consider all the circumstances and then decide whether any official action can be taken in addition to the impressive and most effective expression of public opinion in this country during the last month.

You will have observed that no civilized government in the world has yet taken official action—this consideration alone would bid us to proceed with care. The Emperor of Russia is entitled to our respect, not merely as the ruler of a great and friendly nation, but as a man whose personal character is even more elevated than his exalted station.

We should not be justified in assuming that this enlightened sovereign, who has given so many proofs of his devotion to peace and religious toleration, has not done and is not doing all that lies in his power to put a stop to these atrocities, to punish the guilty, whether they belong to the ignorant populace or to high official circles, and to prevent the recurrence of the outrages which have so shocked humanity.

In fact, all we know of the state of things in Russia tends to justify the hope that even out of the present terrible situation some good results may

come; that He who watches over Israel does not slumber, and that the wrath of man, now, as so often in the past, shall be made to praise Him."

The conference lasted for forty minutes, at the end of which time, escorted by the Secretary of State, we repaired to the White House, where the President was awaiting us.

Mr. Levi, acting as our spokesman, briefly referred to the conference with Secretary Hay, and submitted for examination a copy of the communication and tentative draft of petition which had been lodged with the Secretary. The President carefully examined the same, making comments as he read. When he had finished reading he thanked us and addressed the Committee as follows:

"Mr. Chairman: I need not dwell upon the fact so patent as the widespread indignation with which the American people heard of the dreadful outrages upon the Jews in Kishineff. I have never in my experience in this country known of a more immediate or a deeper expression of sympathy for the victims and of horror over the appalling calamity that has occurred.

It is natural that while the whole civilized world should express such a feeling, it should yet be most intense and most widespread in the United States; for of all the great Powers I think I may say that the United States is that country in which from the beginning of its natural career most has been done in the way of acknowledging the debt due to the Jewish race and of endeavoring to do justice to those American citizens who are of Jewish ancestry and faith.

One of the most touching poems of our own great poet Longfellow, is that in the Jewish cemetery in Newport, and anyone who goes through any of the old cemeteries of the cities which preserve the records of Colonial times will see the names of many an American of Jewish race, who, in war or in peace, did his full share in the founding of this nation.

From that day to this, from the day when the Jews of Charleston, of Philadelphia, of New York supported the patriotic cause and helped in every way, not only by money, but by arms, Washington and his colleagues who were founding this republic—from that day to the present we have had no struggle, military or civil, in which there have not been citizens of Jewish faith who played an eminent part for the honor and the credit of the nation.

I remember once General Howard mentioning to me the fact that two of his brigade commanders upon whom he had placed special reliance were Jews. Among the meetings of the Grand Army which I have attended one stands out with peculiar vividness—a meeting held under the auspices of the men of the Grand Army of Jewish creed, in the Temple in Forty-fourth Street, Temple Emanu-El, to welcome the returned veterans of the Spanish-American War of Jewish faith.

When in Santiago, when I was myself in the army, one of the best colonels among the regular regiments, who did so well on that day and who fought beside me, was a Jew. One of the commanders of the ships which in the blockade of the Cuban coast did so well was a Jew. In my own regiment I promoted five men from the ranks for valor and good conduct in battle. It happened by pure accident, for I knew

nothing of the faith of any one of them, that these included two Protestants, two Catholics and one Jew; and while that was a pure accident it was not without its value as an illustration of the ethnic and religious makeup of our nation and of the fact that if a man is a good American that is all we ask, without thinking of his creed or his birthplace.

In the same way when I was Police Commissioner in New York, I had experience after experience of the excellent work done—an excellent work needing nerve and hardihood, excellent work of what I might call the Maccabee type—in the Police Department under me by police officers of Jewish extraction.

Let me give you one little incident with a direct bearing upon this question of persecution for race or religious reasons. You may possibly recall, I am sure certain of my New York friends will recall, that during the time I was Police Commissioner a man came from abroad—I am sorry to say, a clergyman—to start an anti-Jewish agitation in New York, and announced his intention of holding meetings to assail the Jews.

The matter was brought to my attention. Of course I had no power to prevent those meetings. After a good deal of thought I detailed a Jewish sergeant and forty Jewish policemen to protect the agitator while he held his meetings; so he made his speeches, denouncing the Jews protected exclusively by Jews, which I always thought was probably the very most effective answer that could possibly be made to him, and probably the best object lesson we could give of the spirit in which we Americans manage such matters.

Now let me give you another little example of

dealing with a Russian Jew, an experience that I had while handling the Police Department, and that could have occurred, I think, nowhere else than in the United States.

There was a certain man I appointed under the following conditions: I was attracted to him by being told, on a visit to the Bowery branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, that they had a young fellow there, a Jew, who had performed a feat of great note in saving people from a burning building and that they thought he was just the type for a policeman. I had him called up and told him to take the examination and see if he could get there. He did and he passed. He has not only been an excellent policeman, but he at once, out of his salary, proceeded to educate his younger brothers and sisters, and he got either two or three of his old kinsfolk over from Russia through the money he saved, and provided homes for them.

I have given you examples of men who have served under me in my administration of the Police Department in New York and in my regiment. In addition thereto some of my nearest social friends, some of those with whom I have been closest in political life, have been men of Jewish faith and extraction.

Therefore, inevitably I have felt a degree of personal sympathy and personal horror of this dreadful tragedy, as great as can exist in the minds of any of you gentlemen yourselves. Exactly as I should claim the same sympathy from any one of you for any tragedy that happened to any Christian people, so I should hold myself unworthy of my present position if I failed to feel just as deep horror over

an outrage like this done to the Jewish people in any part of the earth. I am confident that much good has already been done by the manifestations throughout this country, without any regard to creed whatsoever, of horror and sympathy over what has occurred.

It is gratifying to know, what we would, of course, assume, that the Government of Russia shares the feelings of horror and indignation with which the American people look upon the outrages at Kishineff and is moving vigorously not only to prevent their continuance, but to punish the perpetrators. That Government takes the same view of those outrages that our own Government takes of the riots and lynchings which sometimes occur in our country, but do not characterize either our Government or our people.

I have been visited by the Russian Ambassador on his own initiative, and in addition to what has been said to Secretary Hay, the Russian Ambassador has notified me personally without an inquiry upon my part, that the Government of Kishineff has been removed; that between three and four hundred of the participants in the outrages have been arrested; and he voluntarily stated that those men would be punished to the utmost that the law would permit.

I will consider most carefully the suggestions that you have submitted to me, and whether the now existing conditions are such that any further official expression would be of advantage to the unfortunate survivors, with whom we sympathize so deeply. Nothing that has occurred recently has had my more constant thought, and nothing will have my more constant thought than this subject.

In any proper way by which beneficial action may be taken, it will be taken, to show the sincerity of the historic American position of treating each man on his merits without the least reference to his creed, his race or his birthplace.”

While dictating his views, he frequently stopped to discuss at length and in an informal way, matters that appeared in the official reply which he was giving to the stenographer.

At the conclusion of his remarks Mr. Levi asked the pleasure of President Roosevelt as to communicating the result of the meeting to the press. After some discussion it was concluded to give to the press the communication and the tentative draft of the petition which had been delivered to Secretary Hay, and a copy of which had been examined by President Roosevelt, along with the official remarks of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay.

The President expressed himself as deeply interested in the work of the Order of B'nai B'rith, and readily consented to send his autographed picture to be hung in B'nai B'rith Headquarters. Secretary Hay also consented to send his.

The conference with President Roosevelt lasted for one hour, at the termination of which the President made hasty preparations to go to Baltimore to attend the Saengerfest. It had been arranged that the German Ambassador, Baron Speck von Sternberg, was to accompany him as his guest, and as a mark of his personal esteem, and as further evidence of the interest felt by him in the subject of the conference, at the end thereof he invited me also to

accompany him to Baltimore as his guest, which invitation I accepted.

Late in the afternoon of June 15th, the President gave out the official report of the conferences, as had been agreed upon, which report has been extensively printed heretofore.

Having given the matter due thought and deliberation as to the advisability of sending the Kishineff Petition to the Russian Government, the President, through Secretary Hay, communicated to me his decision, as per the following letter:

White House, June 24, 1903.

Dear Sir:

The President has concluded to transmit to the Russian Government the petition of which you presented him a draft on the fifteenth of this month. The matter which he had to consider most seriously was whether or not such a proceeding would be to the advantage of your persecuted and outraged co-religionists in Russia. On this point he has decided to accept your opinion, and that of the numerous and intelligent groups of American citizens of the Jewish faith whom you represent. He requests that you will send him the petition in due form at your earliest convenience.

Of course you will understand that the President can not tell you what reception your petition will meet with at the hands of the Russian Government.

I am, Sir,

Faithfully yours,

JOHN HAY.

HON. SIMON WOLF,
Washington, D. C.

After the publication of the report of the meeting with the President and Secretary Hay, many offers of assistance and co-operation were received. One of especial value was considered that of Hon. Oscar S. Straus, who was quick to appreciate the great value and importance of the utterances made by President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay, and of the decision of the President to send the petition to Russia. The offer was promptly accepted, and throughout the subsequent proceedings Mr. Straus' wise counsel and energetic co-operation were of inestimable value.

Scarcely had the petitions been sent out for signature when President Roosevelt evinced a strong desire to have the petition delivered to him for transmission. The expression of this wish by the President occasioned the utmost embarrassment, as will be observed in the correspondence which follows:

Under date of July 2, 1903, I wrote a letter of which the following is a copy:

Bro. Leo N. Levi,
27 Pine Street,
New York City.

Mr. Dear Friend:

As I telephoned you today, I was called upon by the State Department, which stated that they had received a message from the President asking us to file our petition. I did my best to impress Secretary Loomis with the impossibility of immediate action, telling him the reasons therefor, and he agreed to telephone to the President and let me know later.

In the meantime, I called up Oyster Bay and had a talk with Secretary Loeb, and asked him to request

the President to await before taking any action, the receipt of a letter from me, a copy of which letter I enclose herewith.

Yours very sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.

My letter to the President, under the same date, was as follows:

Washington, D. C., July 2, 1903.

To the President:

Prior to receiving word from Secretary Loomis, I had anticipated your request, based not only on what appeared today in the Associated Press dispatches, but also from information that I had received outside of the effect that Russian influences were at work to prevent American citizens from signing the petition which you had consented to transmit to Russia.

Of course, you understand that the question of time had never entered into any of our calculations. We anticipated forwarding to representative cities of our country blank petitions to be signed by representative citizens, irrespective of faith, which, you remember, we impressed upon you at our conference, and which met your approval. Now it would seem from the message received from you through the State Department this morning that you wish the petition at once, which is almost a physical impossibility at this season of the year, when so many prominent citizens are absent on their vacations, thus making it a hard matter to secure their signatures. Based upon your request, however, we can by expediting the matter have the petition ready in-

side of a week. It will not be so representative as we expected, but it will be sufficiently important to give evidence of the universal feeling on the part of American citizens.

Therefore, I respectfully ask that you give us this time, or if necessary to have further conference on this subject, as you may have reasons for haste of which at this end we are not aware—in that case Mr. Oscar Straus, or Mr. Levi, or myself, or all three of us, as you choose, will promptly come to Oyster Bay at your summons. I wish to reiterate what I have tried to convey through the means of the press, that this is not a Jewish petition, but one emanating from American citizens, to be signed mainly by those who participated in the public meetings expressive of their sympathy and protest. I am, Mr. President,

Yours very sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.

In view of my letter to the President, as well as correspondence between him and Mr. Leo N. Levi, President Roosevelt invited Mr. Levi, Mr. Straus and myself to luncheon at Oyster Bay on the 14th day of July, 1903.

Before going to visit the President several conferences were had between Messrs. Levi, Straus and myself, resulting in perfect accord of views.

The President received us at Sagamore Hill with the cordiality and informality for which he is so justly celebrated.

At the luncheon there was a member of the English Parliament present as one of the guests, as well as Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews*. The President's daughter Alice, now Mrs. Nicholas

Longworth, presided at the table, in the absence of her mother, who was indisposed.

The President made known the important considerations which made it necessary to act without further delay. It would not be proper to disclose what these considerations were. Suffice it to say that they were convincing. He said that it was his purpose to send forward the petition, as originally designed by him, unless satisfactory reasons could be produced in favor of some other course; that we had throughout displayed such conservation that he was disposed to defer to our views, and therefore invited a full and free discussion.

The views arrived at in the conferences between Messrs. Levi, Straus and myself, were then set forth, and in substance, were as follows:

1. That the petition had been in circulation but a few days, and only two or three thousand signatures had come in. These were from nearby points, and the petition in its then form could not be regarded as representative of the views of the entire people of this country. As it was important and necessary to act at once, the then condition of the petition argued against forwarding it in the first instance.

2. So far as its effect in Russia was concerned, that had already been obtained, unless, indeed, it should receive favorable reception at the hands of the Russian Government. Therefore, it was important to consider the situation in two aspects:

- a.* If it should be accepted, it would not, in its present form, have the same effect as that which it would produce when completed as originally intended. If the Russian Government should decide to

receive the petition, it would so state in response to an inquiry, and the petition might be then completed and forwarded, with the foreknowledge that it would be favorably entertained.

b. If, on the other hand, the Russian Government should, in accordance with its semi-official declaration, refuse to accept the petition, its decision would be the same, whether the petition should be sent forward in the first instance, or the Russian Government sounded by a letter of inquiry.

A decision by the Russian Government unfavorable to the petition would manifest itself most likely by a return of the document, if it should be sent in the first instance. It would then become an historical document. In its then form its value as an historical document would be greatly lessened by the fact that it was fragmentary and incomplete; whereas, when completed, as originally contemplated, even though it might be refused by the Russian Government, it would remain in the archives of our Government as an enduring testimony of the sentiments of the American people on the subject of Religious Liberty.

3. Finally, if Russia should decide to receive the petition, it would so indicate in reply to a letter of inquiry. If, on the other hand, it should decide not to receive it, the mere physical transmission of it could accomplish no good result. On the other hand, to send it in the face of a semi-official declaration that it would be unwelcome might incense the Russian Government, and thus operate to the prejudice of the Jews in Russia. In short, all the evil of the situation might be avoided and all the good achieved by a letter of inquiry, in which should be incorporated a sufficient description of the petition to make

its import clear, together with a statement regarding the number and character of the signers thereto.

On our way to Oyster Bay, I had stated to Messrs. Levi and Straus, that in my opinion, the petition having been cabled and made known to the whole world, it practically mattered very little whether the Russian Government would receive it or not. The real import of the petition would have been accomplished. I had also suggested that in lieu of a description of the contents of the petition, the petition itself should be incorporated in the letter, if one be sent. Dr. Shaw, curiously enough, although not having heard my ideas in this regard, made the same suggestions to the President.

The President finally adopted Dr. Shaw's suggestion, as well as those which we had made. When this conclusion was reached he proceeded at once to frame a letter of instructions to Mr. Riddle, the American Charge d'Affairs at St. Petersburg. He used as the basis thereof a tentative draft of instructions which had been previously prepared by Secretary Hay, who, it appeared, was of the opinion, prior to our visit to Sagamore Hill, that the petition should not be forwarded to Russia in the first instance.

President Roosevelt invited us to make suggestions while he was preparing the draft of instructions to Riddle, which, of course, were freely given.

As Secretary Hay's draft did not include a copy of the petition, it had to be considerably modified. A portion, however, of the original text was employed, to which was pinned a printed copy of the petition, and President Roosevelt completed the letter in his own handwriting.

To His Imperial Majesty the Tsar The cruel outrages perpetrated at Kischineff during Easter of 1903, have excited horror and reprobation throughout the World. Until your Majesty gave special and personal directions, the local authorities failed to maintain order or suppress the rioting.

The victims were Jews and the assault was the result of race and religious prejudice. The rioters violated the laws of Russia.

The local officials were derelict in the performance of their duty.

The Jews were the victims of undefensible lawlessness.

These facts are made plain by the official reports of, and by the official acts following the riot.

Under ordinary conditions the awful calamity would be deplored without undue fear of a recurrence. But such is not the case in the present instance. Your petitioners are advised that millions of Jews—Russian subjects—dwelling in Southwestern Russia, are in constant dread of fresh outbreaks. They feel that ignorance, superstition and bigotry, as exemplified by the rioters, are ever ready to persecute them; that the local officials, unless thereunto specially admonished, cannot be relied on as strenuous protectors of their peace and security; that a public sentiment of hostility has been engendered against them and hangs over them as a continuing menace.

Even if it be conceded that these fears are to some extent exaggerated, it is unquestionably true that they exist, that they are not groundless, and that they produce effects of great importance.

The westward migration of Russian Jews, which has proceeded for over twenty years, is being stimulated by these fears, and already that movement has become so great as to overshadow in magnitude the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and to rank with the Exodus from Egypt.

No estimate is possible of the misery suffered by the hapless Jews who feel driven to forsake their native land, to sever the most sacred ties, and to wander forth to strange countries. Neither is it possible to estimate the misery suffered by those who are unwilling or unable to leave the land of their birth; who must part from friends and relatives who emigrate, who remain in never-ending terror.

Religious persecution is more sinful and more fatuous even than War. War is sometimes necessary, honorable and just; Religious Persecution is never defensible.

The sinfulness and folly which give impulse to unnecessary War, received their greatest check when Your Majesty's initiative resulted in an International Court of Peace.

With such an example before it, the Civilized World cherishes the hope that upon the same initiative there shall be fixed in the early days of the Twentieth Century, the enduring principle of Religious Liberty, that by a gracious and convincing expression your Majesty will proclaim, not only for the government of your own subjects, but also for the guidance of all civilized men, that none shall suffer in person, property, liberty, honor or life, because of his religious belief; that the humblest subject or citizen may worship according to the dictates of his own conscience, and that Government, whatever its form or agencies, must safeguard these rights and immunities by the exercise of all its powers.

Far removed from Your Majesty's dominions, living under different conditions and owing allegiance to another Government, your petitioners yet venture, in the name of Civilization, to plead for Religious Liberty and Tolerance; to plead that he who led his own people and all others to the Shrine of Peace, will add new lustre to his reign and fame by leading a new movement that shall commit the whole World in opposition to religious persecutions.

1

Riddle

St. Petersburg

You are instructed to ask an audience of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and to make to him the following communication:

"Excellency; The Secretary of State instructs me to inform you that the President ~~has~~ received from a large number of prominent citizens of the United States

of all religious affiliations and occupying the highest positions in both public and private life, a respectful petition addressed to his Majesty the Emperor relating to the condition of the Jews in Russia, and running as follows:-

I am instructed to ask
 whether this petition
 will be received by your
 Excellency to be submitted
 to the gracious consideration
 of His Majesty. In that
 case the petition will be at
 once forwarded to St. Petersburg
 I await myself etc.

Hay

The transmission of it to Secretary Hay at Washington was entrusted to Hon. Oscar S. Straus, who delivered it the following morning at the State Department, where Secretary Hay signed the original rough draft.

Before it was sent to Secretary Hay, President Roosevelt graciously agreed, upon my suggestion, to give the original draft to Mr. Levi, as President of the B'nai B'rith, to be kept among the archives of the Order as an historical souvenir. After the delivery of the document to Secretary Hay and the signing of the same by him, a copy was made to be kept in the State Department, and the original sent to Mr. Levi by the hands of Mr. Straus.



LEO N. LEVI
PRESIDENT OF THE I. O. B. B.
1900-1904

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR. LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

As is well known, the petition was not received, and the action of the Russian Government is set forth in a letter to me from Secretary Hay, reading as follows:

Department of State.
Washington, July 17, 1903.

Sir:

I am directed by the President to acquaint you that this Department is informed by the American Embassy in St. Petersburg that the Imperial Government of Russia has declined to receive or consider the petition in relation to the condition of the Jews in Russia, which was addressed to His Majesty, the Emperor, by a large number of citizens of the United States, and which this Department, by direction of the President and at your request, undertook to transmit to its high destination.

I am, Sir,

Very respectfully yours,

JOHN HAY.

HON. SIMON WOLF,
Washington, D. C.

This completed the diplomatic features of the incident. Nothing remained except to appropriately lodge the petition in the State Department at Washington.

After the refusal of the Russian Government to receive the petition, Mr. Leo N. Levi, as President of the Order, was requested by the Associated Press, as well as many other newspapers, to make a statement, in response to which he gave out the following, which for the sake of history and to complete my narration of this important transaction, I quote herewith:

The answer made by Russia to Secretary Hay's note was not a surprise to me. While, of course, it was within the range of possibility that the Tsar and his Ministers would be moved by considerations of humanity and expediency to courteously receive a petition from the American people, it was well understood that the probabilities were all the other way. The movement, however, has had all the good effects that were in contemplation, and even more. It has enabled the American people and the Government to make an enduring record of their views on the Kishineff horror. It has brought the emphatic expression of those views home, not only to the people of Russia, but to the Russian Emperor and his Ministers. They have become acquainted with the contents of the petition, not only by seeing it in the press, but also because its full text was communicated in the note which asked if the original would be received.

The petition being now an official document, will be preserved in the archives of the United States, and will forever testify to the lofty humanity of the people which is so splendidly represented by the signers, and of the President and his official advisers.

There, too, it will remain as a witness that the friendship of Russia for the United States was not strong enough to permit a respectful appeal for religious liberty, made by citizens of this country.

I am convinced, too, that the influence in Russia of the petition, and of the agitation which preceded it, has been powerful and good.

The number and character of the signatures to the petition stamp it as a convincing expression of the religious tolerance and sympathy of the American

people. It is doubtful if there has ever been in this country such a representative written expression of opinion. The people, without regard to racial, religious or political affiliations, have stood behind the President in his manly and humane activity.

The precise method of conveying the petition was never regarded by us as of controlling importance, and when Russia indicated, semi-officially, that it would be unacceptable, we deemed it best for the interests of this country and of the Jews in Russia to avoid a course that would produce unnecessary irritation. It was, therefore, that we, upon our own initiative, and without any suggestion whatsoever, besought President Roosevelt to alter his decision to send the signed petition, and to transmit its text instead. I can not be too emphatic in declaring that at no time has there been any disposition on the President's part to change the original plan. Every step taken was most satisfactory to us, and in accordance with our requests.

It now remains to get in all the petitions which are in circulation, bind them up, and deposit the bound volumes in the State Department. I have called for the return of all that are not yet in.

When the petitions began to come in from different sections of the country, with the signatures of representative citizens of all religious affiliations, a corps of clerks was set at work copying and analyzing the signatures. The loose sheets of the petition, containing nearly thirteen thousand names, were bound in polished levant, placed in a specially prepared ebony case, along with a separate volume containing a brief history of the petition, and an analysis, classification

and list of the signatures thereto. The case and its contents were transmitted to me, and I delivered the same personally to Secretary Hay, with the following letter:

October 5, 1903.

Hon. John Hay,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

On July 14, 1903, by direction of the President, the loose sheets of the so-called "Kishineff Petition" were delivered to him, to be transmitted to St. Petersburg or placed among the archives of our own State Department, as subsequent developments might determine. At the same time, the President entrusted to the Executive Committee of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith the custody of the loose sheets, with permission to have them bound in a suitable volume. The Committee has performed the duty thus imposed, and which it welcomed as an honorable privilege. The volume will be delivered to you, along with this communication, by Hon. Simon Wolf, a member of the Committee.

For all time to come, it will testify to the love of Justice, Humanity, and Liberty which moved the President to give it countenance and its signers to father it. It stands as the verdict of the whole people condemning the denial of Religious Liberty, and upholding the President in asserting that condemnation. If it be without precedent, it is the more precious for becoming one. Civilization made a distinct and notable advance when a Great Nation of Eighty

Millions of People, speaking not only through its official head, but also through its most representative citizens in their individual capacities, served notice on the World that those who are made to suffer martyrdom for conscience's sake, wherever they may abide, have friends and sympathizers in this country. Such an example will not be lost. The oppressor will hereafter pause before he strikes, and his victim will be saved from utter despair by the consciousness that the voice of humanity will be raised in his behalf.

In this view, the services rendered by the President, his advisers and the people generally, are not to be measured by the benefits conferred upon the Jews alone. This is one of the oft-recurring cases in which the Jews, by their misfortunes, have led the world to a just appreciation of the truths of which they are the devoted missionaries.

In every part of the world where Jews are to be found there is thanksgiving because the President and you and the entire American people have championed the cause of the oppressed. Everywhere admiration has been excited, and in this country the people are proud of the courageous humanity which has been displayed.

In the gratitude, admiration and pride which prevail, we earnestly participate; more earnestly perhaps than others because we so well know that the President from the beginning was governed solely by the desire to benefit the suffering Jews, and that every step taken had that object in view.

In delivering the petition into your hands, we avail ourselves of the opportunity to make this

record of our profoundly grateful appreciation. I am, Sir,

Very respectfully yours,

LEO N. LEVI,

*President of the Executive
Committee of the I. O. B. B.*

Herewith I also quote Secretary Hay's letter in acknowledgement of the above letter and the petition:

Washington, October 31, 1903.

Leo N. Levi, Esquire,

President of the Executive Committee of
the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith,

723 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

My Dear Sir:

I have received at the hands of the Honorable Simon Wolf, your letter of the 5th of October. He has also delivered to me the bound copy of the Kishineff Petition.

It gives me pleasure to accept the charge of this important and significant document and assign it a place in the archives of the Department of State.

Although this copy of your petition did not reach the high destination for which it was intended, its words have attained a world-wide publicity, and have found a lodgment in many thousands of minds. This petition will be always memorable, not only for what it contains, but also for the number and weight of the signatures attached to it, embracing some of the most eminent names of our generation, of men renowned for intelligence, philanthropy and public spirit. In future, when the students of history come to peruse this document, they will wonder how the

petitioners, moved to profound indignation by intolerable wrongs perpetrated on the innocent and helpless, should have expressed themselves in language so earnest and eloquent and yet so dignified, so moderate and so decorous. It is a valuable addition to public literature, and it will be sacredly cherished among the treasures of this Department. I am, Sir,

Very respectfully yours,

JOHN HAY.

To me personally on my delivery to him of the above-named document and letter, Secretary Hay stated, "The archives of our Government contain nothing more precious, and the Jews of the world should feel profoundly grateful for this great and enduring record." To me personally, the Kishineff Petition has greater value than any other act of my life.

First, that the President of the United States wrote to me: "I thank you for the admirable good sense you have shown in this important transaction, for without it we could never have succeeded,"—and accompanying this letter, the President sent me his autographed photograph, which I prize highly.

Second, the generous words of President Levi: "Without your aid and good sense we could never have accomplished anything. From start to finish you did the right thing at the right time and never made a mistake. The Order and the Jews of the world owe you an eternal debt of gratitude."

A curious incident occurred years after, when the Gridiron Club had their annual dinner at Willard's Hotel in this city. One of the skits was—a Russian

appeared in the room, bearing a petition and asked for Simon Wolf, and the president of the club promptly replied, "Mr. Wolf does not receive petitions from Russia." President Roosevelt who was present, enjoyed it heartily.

At the luncheon at Oyster Bay above referred to, the characteristics of Theodore Roosevelt were made doubly manifest by an incident in connection with the Alaska Boundary question, which was then under discussion and consideration. The President took us into his library and told the English gentleman that there would be no arbitration on that question. As long as he was President of the United States, the position taken by our Government would be maintained to its fullest extent. And he brought down his fist with the energy, reinforced by that spirit of patriotism which has ever marked his career.

Just prior to Count Cassini's departure from the United States for Russia, I sent him a letter, of which the following is a copy. I submitted this to John Hay, who fully approved it and asked me for a copy to show to the President, to see what he thought of it, and which of course I gave him:

To His Excellency,
Count Cassini.

Sir:

You are about returning to the Empire of Russia. You will have to give an account of the public sentiment of this country on the late outrages against the Jews of Kishineff. Are you fully aware that although the Government of the United States could not officially voice that sentiment, yet it has no doubt

of the existence, and is morally bound to respect and enforce it?

Therefore if the declaration so broadly made by you, that Russia has been the friend of the United States, and desires a continuance, then it is high time to evidence that friendship by deeds and not empty phrases.

You know, so does the Government you represent know, that the restrictions imposed, and the inhumanities practised on the Russian subjects of Jewish faith, drive every year from thirty to forty thousand of them to the United States. This steady stream will now, owing to the late outrages, be increased, and every new incomer will increase the hatred against Russia. Would it not be better to have five millions of Russian subjects of Jewish faith loyal, patriotic Russians by giving them equal rights, than to incur the enmity of eighty millions of free and sympathetic American citizens?

Now you can aid by the usages and precedents of diplomacy, temporize and evade the inevitable, you will precipitate into the halls of Congress and State Legislatures, the intemperate scheming politicians, and the Government of the people, representative of its will and powers, will finally yield to votes, and the so-called traditional friendship will be shattered, and the enemies of Russia will reap the benefits—is this wise? Is it diplomacy or statesmanship?

To have your Government prove its sincerity of friendship, let it at once take advantage of the overwhelming sentiment of the people of the United States, and negotiate a new Treaty with our Government, wherein the recognition of the American passport in Russia shall be guaranteed irrespective of

race or creed, and thus allay by peaceable means, one of the most aggravating and annoying differences between the two great and friendly powers.

You are well versed in all the arts of diplomacy and know, as I know, the secret feelings of our Government on these important questions that now endanger both countries. They can not be relegated by newspaper interviews, nor by bulletins made to deceive and obscure. The people of the United States are slow to anger, but when once aroused, they not only think freely, but they will act so. As a citizen of the United States, I love and revere it, and will not do any act that will endanger its perpetuity or prosperity, but silence now would be cowardice. Therefore in a spirit of the broadest and most generous solicitude, do I speak these words of admonition, in the hope that you have profited by your enforced stay, and give to those who govern in Russia, a faithful insight into the sea of American public opinion, which will sweep onward, and if needs be, upward, wrecking friendships and administrations, unless its wishes and mandates are heeded, obeyed and enforced. Do not forget that Ireland's cause is fought out in the United States. In this same spirit, the exiled Russian Jews are the storm petrels of ultimate revolution in Russia. Why not free them now and prevent that revolutionary step? I am, Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

SIMON WOLF.

NOTE: My prophecy was in every way realized by the action of Congress, and the subsequent action of

President Taft. No less remarkable is my statement as to the coming revolution in Russia.

The following is a synopsis of my remarks in relation to this matter at the Jewish Chautauqua held in Buffalo, New York, in January, 1905:

How well Russia is learning the truth of that ancient axiom, "Right is right, but wrong is no man's right."

History is certainly being repeated in that unhappy country. Today the first note of revolution has been sounded. Before the uproar ceases the whole world will hear the strains of a new national air. Not only does the Czar know this, but so do his ministers, the real rulers of the country. That the political situation has reached a crisis, is known to all who are in the least familiar with the popular feeling in Russia. When Port Arthur fell the incompetency and guilt of the present dynasty was exposed to the world. The people are clamoring for a cessation of the needless war in the Far East. The entire populace of Russia demands that the reign of absolute militarism end.

Far be it from me to wish that any harm shall befall Russia, but there is a very turbulent bit of sea for the ship of state to navigate through the near future. I firmly believe that the French revolution is about to be repeated in Russia. The only difference between the revolution to take place and the one which has occurred is that this time the brains, intelligence and education are with the people. Among those who fought in the streets of St. Petersburg today were many graduates of the best Russian universities. In the governmental forces were officers who could not even write.

There is little doubt regarding the outcome of such an affair, for the people must win.

The present condition in Russia proves conclusively that church and government can not be combined. In a large country petty religious discriminations are not practicable. They not only retard progress, but they breed the bitterest of feelings. Take for instance that atrocious outrage, the Kishineff massacre. Every one knows that those murders were instigated by the church influences in the state. In the end the whole thing comes down to the aggrandizement of a few men who hunger for power.

The Kishineff massacre marked an epoch for Russia. Since then the country has known nothing save misfortune. Not a victory have the Russian arms won in the Far East, while at home the political tremors have shaken the very foundations of the Czar's throne.

It is my belief that the Czar would be liberal if he had his way. He is sadly handicapped, however, by his ministers. He is not a master. Only in name is he the ruler of all the Russias.

An excuse of the government for the cruelty toward the Jews is the pretended doubt entertained regarding their loyalty. There is no better soldier nor more loyal citizen in Russia today than the Jew. And this despite the fact that a Jew can not receive an honor of any kind from the government. General Skobeloff, the greatest general Russia ever had, publicly complimented a Jewish soldier at Plevna for gallantry in action, but because of the civil law could not bestow any military honors upon him. That is a fair sample of the treatment Jews receive in Rus-

sia. They can die for the country, but they can not live for her.

The Jews are not the only people who have been used unfairly in Russia. All of the common citizens have had to partially undergo the same treatment. These are the causes which led up to the revolution, which was commenced today in St. Petersburg.

If the government had been more liberal the situation might have been avoided. Of course, some of the conditions which confront the government were produced by economic and military circumstances. The losses and defeats in the Far East where the people have lost loved ones, have stirred the common heart. More especially in the universities have these matters been discussed and a plan of action mapped out. The fact is that the brains of the country were determining this matter while the brute strength was in the East losing battles.

On the death of Secretary John Hay, I wrote a letter to the President, as follows:

Washington, July 6, 1905.

The President, Washington, D. C.

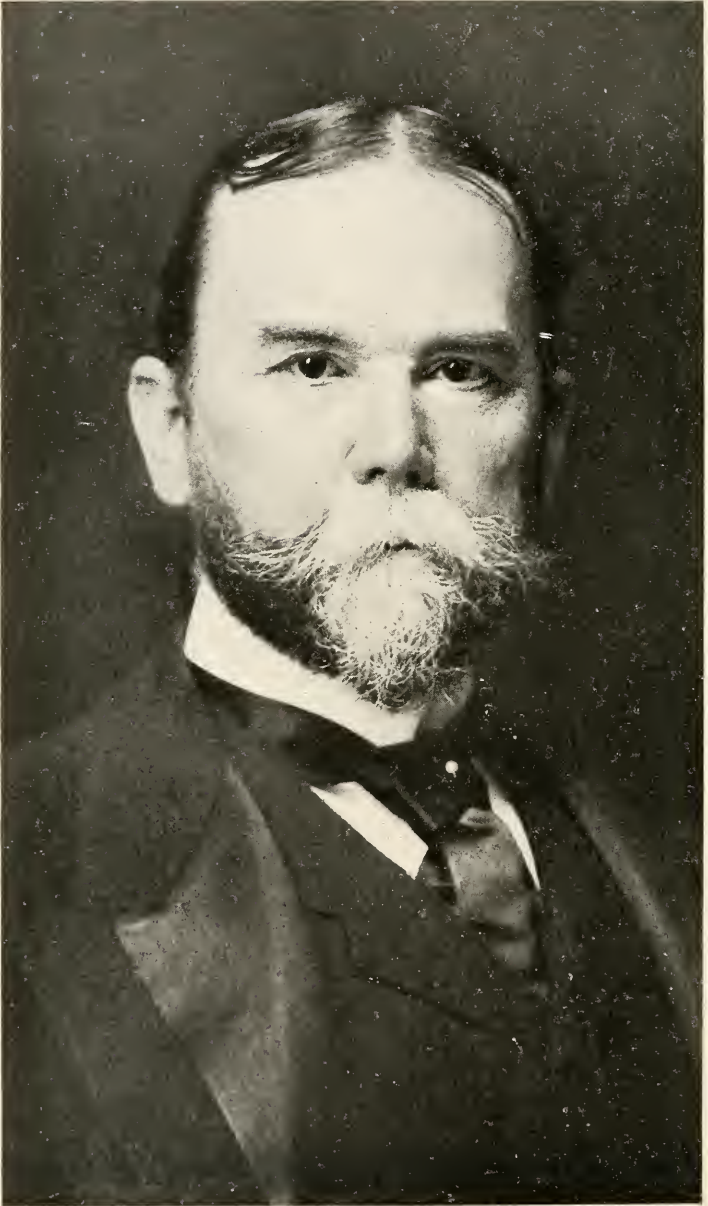
The death of your and our great Secretary of State, Mr. John Hay, has left a void which it is difficult to fill, and the Board of Delegates on Civil Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, feel the loss most keenly, as every reasonable request on the part of our committees always received a prompt and satisfactory response, and while we have always been certain and assured of your active co-operation and sympathy, nevertheless we have felt that it was in the carrying out of your wise and judicious ideas

that results could be expected. Mr. Hay, while jealously guarding the precedents and while never oblivious of the courtesy due to other nations, was nevertheless assertive in that which concerned the welfare of our own country, and every nationality and creed of the component part of our citizenship was endeared to him, and he was in close and sympathetic touch with all that was humane and elevating; thus his Roumanian note, his address at the time of the Kishineff Petition and his subsequent action thereon; his correspondence and active service in the American passport question with Russia, all indicated an Americanism broad, liberal and progressive, and emphasized in unmistakable words and acts that the American Government represents the highest form of modern civilization and is at all times ready to vindicate the humanities. Therefore, Mr. President, permit me as the Chairman of the Board of Delegates, and as resident representative of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, to tender to you and through you to the American people, our sincere, loyal and heartfelt sympathy, assuring you that your great name and the name of your great Secretary of State are enshrined in our hearts in loving affection and appreciation for all that you have done for our stricken co-religionists at home and abroad, and that it will be our endeavor in the future as in the past to show our deathless devotion to the great Republic and its beneficent institutions, not as Jews but as American citizens in active and sincere concord along all lines for which the Republic stands sponsor.

Yours very sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.





JOHN HAY
SECRETARY OF STATE

And at the meeting of the Jewish Chautauqua Society, after the death of John Hay, I pronounced the following eulogy, which being brought to the attention of the President, he expressed great satisfaction, and again showed his usual good feeling for my effort:

TRIBUTE TO JOHN HAY.

Goethe said he was noble, he was pure, he was philanthropic, which represents and personifies John Hay. In letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson, lately published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, among other things, he describes a visit to Washington, during the early part of the Civil War, how one evening he attended a reception at the home of the Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, and among many notable striking personages, the young Secretary to the President was particularly noticeable. (In a footnote by the editor of the *Atlantic*, it states that Mr. Emerson did not know the name of the young Secretary, but that undoubtedly it must have been John Hay), and what appealed to the Concord philosopher has appealed to all men at home and abroad who came in touch with John Hay. He was, in my opinion, the highest developed type of ideal Americanism, pure in thought and yet not a Puritan; Christian in faith and in no wise sectarian; American in diplomacy and patriotism, and yet cosmopolitan. He typified and personified all that was lovable in man and all that was sympathetic, human and just in the affairs of the world.

Persecution, bigotry, and intolerance were to him the outcome of a benighted age, and every fibre of his being revolted against governments and indi-

viduals that practised them. He was the ideal American, "sans peur, sans reproche." His state papers will rank with the best of any age, and his diplomacy will be used as a part of the curriculum in the schools and universities. Pure in thought, choice in diction, virile in execution, he personified the best traditions and exemplified the evolution of modern achievements.

Few names in the Walhalla of Fame will eclipse his. His broad Catholic spirit dominated and embellished every subject he touched. To him nationality and creed were but links in the great chain of his brotherly affection, and while a worshipping Christian, he revered the Jew and bore loving tribute to the Mohammedan.

The United States has been most fortunate that at every crucial moment of its history men have come to the fore that have grasped the opportunity, assumed the responsibility, and developed success for the glory and benefit, not only the republic, but of mankind at large, and among these notable figures, there is prominent and pre-eminent these words and deeds of John Hay. He was deeply religious, out of which sprang the consciousness of duty and righteousness. With him the Golden Rule was not a phrase, but the burning bush, from whose light there was reflected love of and for his fellowmen. After an acquaintance, both personally and officially, of 43 years, I am proud and happy to say that I have never known John Hay to be other than that which he personified in the highest sense. Idealism, sincerity, frank and manly assertiveness, and yet a conservative poise that entitled him to the esteem, confidence and love of all men, irrespective of faith or

creed. There was nothing austere, nothing cold or frigid, although there was a calmness of repose, that at times was mistaken for haughtiness. He surveyed from heights serene and placid, those possible contingencies that might endanger the republic, or that could bring untold blessings upon the countless millions he so loyally and patriotically represented.

The trusted, confidant and loyal supporter of three great Presidents, the name of John Hay will go down to the ages surpassed by none and equaled by few. The remarkable success he achieved in the Department of State under circumstances most trying and difficult, stamp him side by side with the great past-masters of diplomacy and statesmanship. He did not use the arts of Machiavelli, he was truthful. What he meant, he said, and what he said he was ready to vindicate by acts. No man stands higher in the Anglo-Saxon world than he, for his luminous mind saw through the clouds of diplomacy and welcomed the rising sun of fraternal good-will between kindred nations and that which was just and right for his own countrymen. He was ready to extend and maintain justice even among the Chinese and Japanese. Thus American diplomacy and statesmanship in the name of John Hay is revered and respected in the Far East, for it was John Hay's great efforts in the direction of the "open door," of the withdrawal of troops after the Boxer massacre, and in the assertiveness of policy, between Russia and China, that gave the world a new development, and made the name of the United States stand for all that is just and right in diplomacy.

Mr. Hay, as I have said, was thoroughly religious, and, being so, he was conversant as few men are with

the history and achievement of the Jewish people. He had the highest respect and reverence for their literature, philosophy and ethics, and he told me time and again that some of his most valued and esteemed friends were among our co-religionists, such men as Mr. Schiff and Mr. Straus.

Who can forget the glorious words spoken by him when the Kishineff Petition was presented to him at the State Department, when he closed the memorable interview by saying "the God of Israel never sleeps or slumbers," saying those pathetic words with an intensity of feeling and devoutness that brought tears to the eyes of every one present. And again who can forget, when some months later a copy of the petition was filed in the archives of the State Department, how his words rang out clear and resonant, when he said: "Although this copy of your petition did not reach the high destination for which it was intended, its words have attained a world-wide publicity, and have found a lodgment in many thousands of minds. This petition will be always memorable, not only for what it contains, but also for the number and weight of the signatures attached to it, embracing some of the most eminent names of our generation of men renowned for intelligence, philanthropy and public spirit. In future, when the students of history come to peruse this document, they will wonder how the petitioners, moved to profound indignation by intolerable wrongs perpetrated on the innocent and helpless, should have expressed themselves in language so earnest and eloquent, and yet so dignified, so moderate and so decorous. It is a valuable addition to public literature, and it will

be sacredly cherished among the treasures of this Department."

Not only officially, but personally, there was no equivocation on his part as to his feelings or utter detestation at the outrages practised against our people in Russia, for when the appeal for funds was made, John Hay's check for a handsome sum was among the first to be received in the City of New York. The Roumanian Note, which has become so famous, and which stamped him not only as a great and far-seeing statesman and splendid American, but proved his friendship and good-will for our people, for who can ever forget those electric sentences, "The teachings of history and the experience of our own nation show that the Jews possess in a high degree the mental and moral qualifications of conscientious citizenship. No class of immigrants is more welcome to our shores, when coming equipped in mind and body for entrance upon the struggle for bread, and inspired with the high purpose to give the best service of heart and brain to the land they adopt of their own free will.

"The United States offers asylum to the oppressed of all lands. But its sympathy with them in no wise impairs its just liberty and right to weigh the acts of the oppressor in the light of their effects upon this country and to judge accordingly. Whether consciously and of purpose, or not, these helpless people, burdened and spurned by their native land, are forced by the sovereign power of Roumania upon the charity of the United States. This Government can not be a tacit party to such international wrong. It is constrained to protest against the treatment to which the Jews of Roumania are subjected, not alone

because it has unimpeachable ground to remonstrate against the resultant injury to itself, but in the name of humanity. The United States may not authoritatively appeal to the stipulation of the Treaty of Berlin, to which it was not and can not become a signatory, but it does earnestly appeal to the principles of international law and eternal justice, advocating the broad toleration which that solemn compact enjoins, and standing ready to lend its moral support to the fulfilment thereof by its co-signatories, for the act of Roumania itself has effectively joined the United States to them as an interested party in this regard."

The diplomatic fossils of the old world and even some of the new, were stunned by the language used by the great Secretary of State. It was a new doctrine and revealed flights of genius that were inspiring and magnetic.

So, also, in the American passport question with Russia, he was vigilant and assertive, and insofar there has not been accomplished that which we have a right as American citizens to expect and demand, no criticism can justly be made against either the Secretary of State or his great chief, Theodore Roosevelt.

Unfortunately conditions are such at this moment, with a great international court convening to frame measures of peace between two great governments, that any statement made by me under these circumstances might prove inimical or unfortunate, therefore we must wait until a more opportune time shall come when I can give an historical résumé, not only in the shape of official and personal letters, but also give conversations had with Mr. Hay wherein he was

outspoken, emphatic, nay, almost belligerent in his feelings for a government and its rulers with whom we were then and are now in treaty relations, and yet whose promises he utterly discounted and had no faith in any statement made by their representative accredited to our country.

In paying this tribute to a great American and statesman, we do so in full recognition as citizens of the United States, ever conscious that our duty under all circumstances is to be true, patriotic and loyal to this great Republic; but we can not forget, on the contrary we should ever remember, those great men who in the hour of need evidenced their humanity by a recognition of all men irrespective of faith. The words and acts in behalf of Jewish rights politically as well as personally enunciated and emphasized by John Hay, will live in history, and will in the course of time be constantly used as a text for the amelioration and uplifting of the down-trodden and persecuted.

John Hay did not wake up one morning to find himself famous; his was a steady growth and development. Thus, when Secretary of the Legation, he was sent to Minister Bigelow, that Minister wrote to Secretary Seward, "You have sent me a most admirable Secretary, a man of remarkable achievement and good sense." He displayed the same quality as Assistant Secretary of State, the same admirable diplomacy and loyal Americanism while Ambassador to England. His treaties with that country strengthened the ties between these two great nations, and added links in the great chain of brotherhood. As a poet, as a writer, as an orator, Mr. Hay took high rank. His diction was not turgid, his rhetoric was

not florid, but every word he coined was pure and undefiled and displayed the highest sense, and was responsive to every heart-beat. He had learned the wisdom of silence, the discipline of patience.

In honoring the memory of so great a man, we honor ourselves, and prove to the world that where the opportunity is given and where equal rights are conferred, and where the boon of free conscience is not denied, the American citizen of Jewish faith vies in common with others in loyal devotion and honored recognition of all that is manly, virtuous and righteous in man, and will transmit to future generations the priceless legacy left us by John Hay.

After Secretary Hay's death, the Rabbinical Conference transmitted to me a beautiful memorial to be presented to Mrs. Hay, which she received with great feeling, and expressed her sincere satisfaction in being thus honored, wishing not only the conference, but all those affiliated with it, prosperity and future usefulness.

When the peace conference between Russia and Japan was held at Portsmouth, N. H., the holding of which was due largely to the efforts of President Roosevelt, I wrote the following letter to Count Witte, the Russian representative at the conference:

Washington, D. C., August 3, 1905.

M. Witte, St. Regis Hotel,
New York City.

Your Excellency:

I beg of you to read this letter carefully and to give it the consideration due the gravity of the subject. As Chairman of the Board of Delegates on Civil

Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, I deem it wise and proper to call your attention to the condition of our co-religionists in Russia. I am well aware there is no man living who has better information or a wider grasp of the subject than yourself. I am also aware of the fact that with your far-seeing statesmanship and keen intuition, you have for many years seen the natural trend of restrictive laws of Russia as practiced discriminately against the Jews, and therefore as a loyal son of your great country, a faithful subject of the Emperor, and as a man who unquestionably loves his fellowmen, I am sure you will appreciate, not only the motives that inspired this letter, but calmly reflect on the merits, if it has any, of what I propose.

I am thoroughly familiar with the history of Russia; its aggregation of different nationalities; the fact of the Greek Church dominating as the Government representative. I am also aware of the economics, the moral, social and political status of your country, and am equally aware of the friendly disposition that the Russian Government has heretofore shown on and in behalf of the unity and supremacy of the United States—and it is from the very fact of this feeling on the part of your Government that I, as a sincere and devoted American citizen, am most anxious to bring about a condition in Russia that will be of inestimable and everlasting effect, not only for the Government itself, but for my co-religionists. The Jews born in Russia who have been compelled to come to this country, either voluntarily or involuntarily, have proven, and are proving by their splendid citizenship and great success, that they are not, as men, different from any other human beings.

but that when given a chance under equal conditions, they prove not only their worth, but in many directions their superiority. Therefore if the unnatural restraints were thrown off and the Jews of Russia given the same chance for life and happiness that citizens of other faiths of that country enjoy, I am absolutely confident that the Jewish question in Russia would cease, they would become absorbed and assimilated as they are in this country, and in England, France and Italy, and instead of being a menace, they would become a help and strengthen every element of the nation's prosperity. Throw the pale open, let the Jew go where he will as other citizens do, and he will soon become merged, and in doing this the State will not violate any of the principles of humanity or the ethics of enlightenment, on the contrary, it will strengthen itself and win from the civilized world appreciation and lasting friendship. Russia at this juncture needs two important elements to insure its future prosperity and happiness; money and friends. The Jews of the world as citizens of their respective countries control much of the first, and would make a magnificent army of the latter. There is no use disguising the fact that, in the United States especially, the Jews form an important factor in the formation of public opinion and in the control of the finances. Count Cassini was always lamenting and I notice has again expressed his astonishment why the people of the United States were not more friendly, ignoring the well-admitted and well-known fact, that a large number of representative and influential journals of the world and the United States no less, are owned and controlled by Jews, that by virtue of their mercantile and financial standing in

this country, they are exercising an all-potent and powerful influence in the direction of not only public opinion, but of editorial comment. Understand me distinctly, that this power is not used to subvert or destroy but to resent and defend, aggression on the one hand and rights on the other, and thus owing to the lamentable and deplorable conditions of the Jews in Russia, your Government suffers a loss not only of prestige, but of influence and friendship. Emancipate the Jews of Russia and in less than five years you will not only have conquered the good-will of the whole civilized world, but you will have a powerful ally, that element which up to the present moment has not only been unfriendly but inimical to the prosperity of your great Empire. We do not hate Russia; we do not wish her destruction; we have no desire to see her humiliated, but you must admit that "blood is thicker than water," and as long as the Jews of Russia are treated as aliens, there can be no peace or concord between us. Another very important factor which you in your great wisdom ignore and will appreciate, is the fact that in giving the Jews full liberty in Russia, you prevent immigration to the United States, and thus settle once and for all a problem that confronts the Government of the United States, and may in the course of time, become a subject of international contention; thus by relieving the situation, you at one stroke, win also the friendship not only of the Government, but of the entire people of the United States. You will of course, understand by stating the subject of immigration as being a menace, it can never be a menace if the stream flows naturally, as it does from other countries.

I trust Your Excellency will give this letter due consideration, and be assured that I am actuated solely by motives of the highest consideration, not only for your own country, for your Emperor, for your own well-known liberal views, but also to strengthen the ties of kinship between nations and nations, and to bring about that day when the "Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man" shall be the reigning and dominant principle of human conduct. You can, if you desire, find out as to my status and position from his Excellency, the President of the United States.

With highest respect and the sincerest admiration, I am,

Very truly yours,

SIMON WOLF,
Chairman.

To which the following reply was received:

Hotel St. Regis, New York.

August 4, 1905.

Sir:

I have been directed by His Excellency M. Witte to inform you that he regrets to be unable, owing to his departure to Portsmouth to give an adequate answer to your letter dated the 3rd instant. I beg to add that after having considered the matter with the most serious attention, he will give an answer in due time. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

Y. KOROSTOVETZ,
Secretary.

Regarding the persecution of Roumanian Jews during this administration, the following article which was written at that time is self-explanatory:

The circular letter addressed by the Secretary of State to the diplomatic representatives of this country at London, Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Rome, Vienna, and Constantinople, protesting against the treatment of Jews in Roumania and their consequent emigration in large numbers to the United States, is the result of months of consultation between leading Jewish organizations of this country and the State Department.

The emigration of Roumanian Jews to this country during the past several years has been enforced; in other words, these unfortunate and persecuted people are not emigrants in the ordinary acceptation of the term, but refugees who have been actually driven out of their country by the enactment of laws denying them all civil rights. The Jew in Roumania is prohibited from prosecuting legal proceedings, adopting civil professions,—in fact, he is an outcast.

This treatment of Jews by Roumania is in direct violation of the Berlin treaty of 1878, providing for the creation of the Balkan States, a clause of which expressly stipulates that there shall be no discrimination against any person because of religious belief.

The powers to which our diplomatic representatives addressed in Secretary Hay's letter are accredited were signatory to this treaty. The United States was not a party to the treaty, and disclaims any local influence in the matter. But it has been represented to the Secretary of State that the inordinate emigration of these unfortunates from Rou-

mania to this country has imposed a burden upon our own citizens of Jewish persuasion that may justly be regarded as calling for interference on the grounds of human interest.

From time immemorial the Jew has regarded it as his duty to aid his less fortunate brethren. We have organizations extending in their ramifications all over the United States, the purpose of which is to see that Jews are afforded opportunities for pursuing their chosen trade, business, or profession. Such an organization is the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith.

So great a call for help was exerted by the influx of the poor Jews of Roumania that it was found necessary to establish a Roumanian committee, with headquarters in New York, and agents in other cities throughout the Union. As openings for applicants were found, the latter were provided for. Thus, word would come to New York from the committee's agent in a certain city that there were opportunities there for so many blacksmiths, bootmakers, tailors, etc., and applicants of these trades were sent on at once. In this manner thousands of Roumanian refugees have been given a start in life by the Roumanian committee.

The Jews of New York, however, upon whom the burden of caring for these unfortunates more especially devolved, felt that they could no longer meet all the exigencies of the case, and have, with the co-operation of others, myself among the number, put the matter before the State Department. The first action taken by the latter was to address a letter, under date of July 17th last, to our minister accredited to Roumania, who also represents this country

in Greece and Servia. The letter was in the nature of a protest to the Roumanian Government.

The reply received I am under the seal of secrecy with the State Department not to divulge. It was felt that further action was necessary, and hence the petitioning of the powers signatory to the Berlin treaty through our diplomatic representatives accredited thereto.

The Department with which I came most in contact was that of Commerce and Labor, under the administration of the Honorable Oscar S. Straus. Mr. Straus had a very delicate task, especially in dealing with the Bureau of Immigration, but he mastered the situation with skill and remarkable intelligence.

President Roosevelt's appointment of my friend, Mr. Straus, as Secretary of Commerce and Labor, was one that I highly appreciated. Knowing his ability, I was confident that he would distinguish himself in that position as he had in every one that he had the honor and privilege of filling. Many times the President spoke to me how gratified he was with the work and thoughtful advice Mr. Straus gave him during his administration.

It is no more than right and just that due credit should be given to Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, in bringing to the attention of President Roosevelt the name of Mr. Straus as a member of the Cabinet.

Those who were present at the banquet of the Council of American Jewish Congregations in New York, held a few years ago, will remember the incident in connection with this, which is to say the least amusing. Mr. Roosevelt was the guest of honor; Mr. Straus sat on his right, and Mr. Schiff to his left.

During his address, Mr. Roosevelt spoke of the great pleasure it gave him in selecting Mr. Straus, and never mentioned Mr. Schiff at all. Mr. Schiff either did not hear what Mr. Roosevelt said, or took a delight in making his own statement, which was to the effect that it had given him great pleasure in bringing Mr. Straus' name to the attention of Mr. Roosevelt. (Tableau.)

My attention having been called to the tabulation on the part of the Immigration Bureau registering Hebrews as a race, which classification had been, on my recommendation and protest, abandoned in 1899, I took the matter up with Hon. Frank P. Sargent, then Commissioner-General of Immigration, who stated that he, of course, knew nothing about it; that he had published the statistics as he found them prepared by his predecessor. He, however, said he could not see what objection we could in reason have, as it seemed the Jew ought to feel proud to make his race known, as there was no intention to discriminate against them, to foment prejudice, or to classify them in a sectarian sense. Mr. Sargent also stated to me that the Russian Government claimed there was no such immigration from Russia as the statistics showed at that time; that there might be that many Jews, but not Russians, showing conclusively that even in a statistical sense, that autocratic Government pursued its harsh and inhuman course. The tables collected by the Immigration Bureau were most interesting from a sociological standpoint and showed the comparative number of immigrants, and also their illiteracy; and this very illiteracy pointed a moral as to the persecutions of Russia and Roumania, and also caused one to question why the

Jews anywhere should be illiterate, unless they still cling to the idea that prevailed when Moses Mendelsohn translated the Bible into German. Here is an important subject to be investigated by the historian and philosopher, as to whether a part of the great problem is not owing to the traditions of the past, and that the environments of the present are unfortunately ignored.

Commissioner-General Sargent referred me to Hon. George B. Cortelyou, at that time Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, the matter having been turned over to him for attention. I therefore addressed a letter to Mr. Cortelyou, to the following effect:

Hon. George B. Cortelyou,
Department of Commerce and Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Some months ago, as Chairman of the Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, I had the honor of writing a letter to Commissioner General of Immigration, Frank P. Sargent, in reference to the classification of immigrants. It was just about the time the Bureau was being transferred to your Department. I subsequently received a reply from the Commissioner-General informing me that the matter had been referred to you for action. You will remember that I then called on you, and you seemed to concur in the ideas that I had advanced, namely, that all immigrants landing at our seaports should be treated uniformly in the matter of classification; that is, if Russian subjects of Jewish faith were clas-

sified as Jews, Russians of Christian faith should be classified as Greek Catholics, or to whatever religious faith they may belong, the same treatment to be given to all immigrants, no matter from what country they came. But should such a course not be taken, then the discrimination which exists against immigrants of Jewish faith should cease.

I made this statement upon the strength of our interview at the Summer Assembly of the Jewish Chautauqua at Atlantic City, and it was hailed and accepted with great satisfaction. I saw you immediately on my return from Atlantic City, and you told me then that the matter was held up in consequence of a construction made by the State Department, which claimed that the Jewish people at this time constituted a race, if not a nation, and that if this construction was so made you desired evidence to disprove the assumption. In other words, that if the Jewish people constituted a race, then, under the immigration laws they would be classified the same as if they belonged to a separate nationality.

I have never for a moment swerved from the opinion that, first, the Jew at present has no nationality other than that to which he has sworn allegiance, and to which he owes obedience; second, the Jew as an immigrant should not be classified as belonging to a race, because he does not land as a Jew, but comes as a native of the country in which he was born; third, that if this question is to be treated from a scientific or ethnological standpoint, then all immigrants should be treated uniformly so as to give the benefit of the classification to the world at large; fourth, but that if the classification is religious, then I most solemnly protest, as it is contrary

to the spirit and genius of our institutions, and the Government is assuming functions that were never contemplated in the Constitution of the United States; the administrative functions are political and not religious.

To be absolutely certain in the view that I entertain, I addressed a letter to a number of prominent American citizens of Jewish faith asking for their opinion in this matter, and have received replies from every one I so addressed—copies of said replies, I herewith attach—showing conclusively that the construction I made is sustained in every particular. While some of my correspondents differ on the question of race, it must not be forgotten that they are Zionists, who believe in the ultimate return of the Jews to Palestine. I am confident that after a careful perusal of the documents that I herewith offer, you will no longer hesitate to either abandon the course heretofore taken in classifying Jews as such, or else that all immigrants shall be classified, not only as to their nationality, but their race, politics, religion, and whatever may be conducive to produce satisfactory results for the science of statistics and ethnology.

I have the honor also to enclose to you a letter from the Acting Secretary of State, A. A. Adee, which explains itself, and shows conclusively that our Government has always looked upon the action of Russia in the light of religious, and not racial, persecution.

Yours very sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.

The letters enclosed to Secretary Cortelyou, are given herewith:

August 5, 1903.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

In reply to your letter of yesterday, I beg to say that I am unaware of any authority conferred on the officials of the United States to inquire into the religious belief of any person.

I am equally unaware of any use of the word "race" in our Constitution or laws except to designate marked physical diversity of color, such as the red or Indian race, the yellow or Mongolian, the black or African. Not one, I think, will contend that the Jews belong to any other than the group called Caucasian, which doubtless includes many varieties or sub-races. Into the distinctions between them, I do not think there is any legal warrant or practical use, or even theoretical capacity, to inquire. The test among them has been, not sub-race, but nationality. The empires of Russia, Austria, Germany, Britain, the republic of France, the kingdoms of Spain, Italy and Portugal, each contains several sub-races, the definite ascertainment of which is extremely difficult, and has, I think, no obvious or direct relation to the functions of government.

I am of opinion, therefore, that in the sense in which the word "race" is used in our legislation, the Jews are not a race, but that the latter term is applied to them chiefly as a periphrastic method of denoting their religion.

The several nationalities of persons of the Jewish faith are just as easily ascertained as those of the same nationalities who hold to other faiths.

I should be glad to be referred to any authorized and well-considered utterance of the State Depart-

ment which rules otherwise. I am unaware of any, and if such be forthcoming, I should like to examine and review it.

Very truly yours,

MAYER SULZBERGER.

Hon. Simon Wolf.

Germantown, August 5, 1903.

To the Hon. Simon Wolf:

Dear Sir:

In reply to your inquiry I beg to say that in my opinion the Jew represents neither a nation nor a race, in a political sense, but he does represent a race for anthropological and sociological purposes. Unless the Department of Commerce classifies all immigrants according to races, *e. g.*, a subject of the Russian Empire not a Russian, but a Slav, Finn, German, etc., I can not see why a Jewish subject of that empire should be entered in any discriminatory way. But if all immigrants are recorded, not only according to the countries whence they hail, but also according to the races to which they belong, and an Austrian, for instance, is not merely designated as Austro-Hungarian, but also marked for one of the ten or fifteen nationalities and races of that empire, then, of course, we can take no exception to the Russian Jew being taken as a Russian belonging to the Jewish race, I am, dear sir,

Sincerely yours,

M. JASTROW.

New York City, August 6, 1903.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
926 F Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Friend:

The new phase in the classification question is perplexing. I can not understand why the State Department has felt called on to officially determine that the Jews are a race, and it will make endless trouble for itself if such a decision is promulgated. I think that you should explain to the Department that one of the most vexing questions of controversy among Jews is the one which it has undertaken to settle. Leading Reform rabbis of this country utterly repudiate the race doctrine and assent that the Jews are simply a religious community. On the other hand, many others, and especially the Zionists, assent that, aside from religious considerations, the Jews constitute a race. In Russia, where it is claimed that hostility to the Jews is on racial, and not religious, grounds, all restrictions cease if the Jew enters the Greek Church. As you know, the B'nai B'rith does not deal with academic questions, and, therefore, has not made any official declaration on the subject. I should discourage any attempt to inject it into our councils, because I regard it in practical matters as a Pandora's box. Secretary Hay will, I am convinced, not unnecessarily take a stand which will make the Government the protagonist of an idea to which there is so much opposition among Jews of the greatest influence. Besides, the classification of immigrants is not made on race lines, insofar as others are concerned. The Slavs, for example, are

a race, but if Slavs became citizens of France and then emigrate to the United States they would be classified according to their nationality, and not their race.

Again, if a Russian Jewish husband and wife become converts to Christianity, and their children, who are Christians, emigrate to the United States, would anyone for a moment classify them as Jews? Yet from a racial standpoint they would be Jews, and so would their descendants. If the Jews are to be classified as a race, then the term "race" should be defined and some reason assigned for the classification. The reason should be one that applies to all others, as well as to the Jews.

If it be desirable to keep a record of the nationality, the race affiliation and religion of immigrants, the record should embrace all of them. To single out the Jews, either as members of a race or a religious community, is invidious, and fosters the prejudices displayed by and against Jews as such.

It is to the best interests of the immigrants and the country that as speedily as possible he should become an American in every respect. It is, therefore, illogical for the country to classify the Jews in a way which in effect declares, "We receive you to be with us, but not of us."

Yours sincerely,

LEO N. LEVI.

1627 R Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

August 6, 1903.

Dear Mr. Wolf:

I have your letter of August 4th, in which you tell me that the Government authorities are disposed to

consider that the Jews are a race, and not a church, and that, if this claim be correct, under the new immigration laws Jews must be classified as such, not on account of their religion, but as a race, and to ask my opinion whether the Jews stand in the world as belonging to a race, or as simply a citizen or subject of the country in which he resides.

I presume that you do not wish in reply to this a long scientific disquisition, but I may say to you, in the first place, that anthropologists are divided as to the exact meaning of the word "race." In fact, it would be difficult to get them to agree upon a definition.

Assuming for the moment that a race is an ethnical stock, a great division of mankind having in common certain distinguishing physical peculiarities appearing to be derived from a distinct primitive source, I should say that in this sense the Jews were not, strictly speaking, a race.

There has been a great deal written about the purity of the Jewish stock, but there is not the slightest doubt that during the long period of the dispersion, say about two thousand years, Jews have intermingled with other peoples. They have received large numbers of converts, and that is especially true in the southern part of Russia, where, some twelve centuries ago, an entire native tribe was converted to Judaism, giving to the Jews of Southern Russia distinct Slavic character. There are, moreover, in Abyssinia Jewish tribes called Falashas, who in general appearance do not differ from native Abyssinians, and would probably, if they came to this country, be classed as negroes, yet they themselves would undoubtedly express their adherence to the Jewish

Church. The same is true in India, where there are some thousands of black Jews, and in the interior of China, where there are Jews in every way in appearance like Chinamen and using the Chinese tongue.

If this Government proposes to split the citizens or subjects of various nations up into the stock whence they sprang originally, it would entail upon itself a pretty long genealogy of every immigrant. Immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland alone would have to be split up into several groups; immigrants from Austria into many more. Indeed, there is hardly a nation upon the face of the earth which is not made up of various elements. Moreover, the classification of persons as Jews would inevitably, no matter what the intention of the Government might be, result in the classification as Jews of only those who are members of the Jewish Church, and not those who are of Jewish descent. Had the Earl of Beaconsfield married a Jewess, and had they both been members of the Church of England, as he was, their son, were he an immigrant to the United States, would be of Jewish stock, but probably not of the Jewish Church, and would not report himself as a Jew, but as an English Christian. Yet from the race point of view he would probably be more a Jew than a member of the Jewish Church coming from Southern Russia, since many of those people, as I have stated, are persons of Slavic blood.

Trusting that this may in some measure answer your question, I am,

Yours sincerely,

CYRUS ADLER.

Hon. Simon Wolf, 926 F Street, Washington, D. C.

Atlantic City, August 7, 1903.

The Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

In reply to yours of yesterday, I have the pleasure to say that I am very glad to see you take up this matter with the authorities. Unfortunately, if the State Department rules that races must be classified, our case is well-nigh hopeless. I myself have always contended that the Jews do not constitute a distinct race. The modern Jew is the descendant of generations, that through intermarriage with non-Hebrews (in biblical and post-biblical times down to the second Christian century) had lost their purity of racial stock. Conversions, too, in Alexandria and Rome before the Christian era helped to adulterate the Jewish blood. I do not believe that anthropologically our racial purity or distinctness can be established. But the Jewish Encyclopedia has taken the opposite position, and many of our orators have so often discoursed on "our race" that the State Department will have no trouble in finding warrant for its assumption. But are non-Jews classified according to race? Are Germans numbered as Slavonic, Teutonic, Gallic—for the modern German presents these varieties in many cases? Are the subjects of the King of England classified as Anglo-Saxons, Scotch, Celtic, Gælic, etc.? If the Department holds that the Jews constitute a nationality, it is clearly wrong. The Russian Jews are, or ought to be, Russians. Do the authorities go to the length of classifying Jewish Germans as Jews? If they do, they ignore the German Constitution, and our own as well. I know that when I was naturalized I had to forswear allegiance,

not to our hypothetical King of Palestine, but to the Grand-Duke of Luxemburg, whose subject by birth I was, and under whose government, by law distinctions between Jew, non-Jew, heathen, Catholic, Protestant, are explicitly and constitutionally prohibited. Fight the good fight! You put us all under great obligations. This classification may not be intended as a piece of anti-Semitic chicanery, but it resembles it very closely. We may remember it some day at the polls.

Yours very cordially and with high esteem,
EMIL G. HIRSCH.

Chicago, Ill., August 7, 1903.

Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND:—Your letter of the 4th inst. was received by me yesterday afternoon at a late hour, and this forenoon it shall be one of my first occupations to answer the same.

In my opinion the Department of Commerce is perfectly correct in considering the Jewish people as a race. Of this race, almost all of its members are confessors of a religion, which is designated by the same adjective, viz.: Jewish. I said "almost all its members," and not "all the members thereof." A baptized Jew is, notwithstanding his having joined one of the Christian denominations, a member of the Jewish race; but looked at from a religious standpoint, he is a Catholic, or a Baptist, or an Episcopalian, etc., just as the case may be. On the other side, a convert to Judaism, considered from a racial standpoint, may belong to the Teutonic, or the Celtic, or the Slavic, or any other race, while at the same

time, if his religious status is considered, he must be classified among the Jews.

Lord Beaconsfield, before a census-taker, would have said: "Racially, I am a Jew; religiously, I am an Episcopalian; and politically, I am an English citizen." And Warder Cresson, who, some sixty years ago, was a United States Consul in Jerusalem, would, placed in a similar position, have set forth that, racially, he is a Scotchman; religiously, a Jew; and politically, a citizen of the United States of America.

I have discussed this question at some length, in an essay lately published in Berlin, and it is a pleasure to me to mail you a copy of it at the same time with this letter. Please read it with some attention. Perhaps you, being of a judicial and unbiased mind, who seeks the truth, and nothing but the truth, may then come to the conclusion that my view is based upon good grounds and firm foundations.

If I should be asked now by the Department of Commerce to give my opinion on this matter I would propose that, in the interest of the science of statistics, besides statements concerning number, age, birthplace, etc., the following statements should be made, in a tabulated form, when taking a census or when listing immigrants, etc.:

1. What was your political status?
2. To what race do you belong?
3. What church are you connected with?

Let me now elucidate this a little more in detail. A crowd of immigrants may step at the same time before the proper officer, and in answer to question No. 1 they all may declare, "We have been Russians." But in responding to question No. 2, the one may say, I am a Polander; the next one, I am a German;

the third one, I am a Finn, or a Gypsy, or a Jew, etc. In answer to Question 3, they would also differ among themselves.

Similarly there may appear several persons, all of whom declaring that, politically, they have been Austrians, but, racially, the one will be a German; the other, a Magyar, or a Slav, or an Italian, or a Jew, etc. But no one could in this respect be entered as an "Austrian," for the science of ethnology of modern mankind does not admit the existence of an Austrian race. The word "Austrian" expresses only a political, but not an ethnological, conception.

In a similar way many immigrants may, politically, have been Swiss; but, racially, they are either Germans, or Italians, or French, or Jews. To enter them in the lists, in the racial regard, as Swiss, would be nonsensical. For the science of ethnology knows nothing of a Swiss race.

The confusion so often met with in regard to this matter arises from the confounding of the term "race," which has its own distinct meaning in the science of ethnology, with the term "citizenship," or the like, which only refers to political status.

Now, think of the inhabitants of our own United States. Politically they are natives, as well as naturalized, new-comers, "Americans," but racially—how they differ! There are a very large number of so-called Pennsylvania Dutch in our republic whose ancestors came to America two hundred years ago, and who politically certainly are Americans, but who racially must be classified as Germans, because thus far they did not intermarry with people of non-German races and maintained the purity of their race.

Now, suppose a native American Jew, or a naturalized American Jew, should be asked by a census taker, "To what race do you belong?" Shall he answer in the nonsensical words, "I belong to the United States race?" Or can he answer, "To the Swiss race, or the Magyar race, or the Irish race?" To some race he must necessarily belong, and his only admissible answer will have to be, "I belong to the Jewish race."

I beg now to suggest to you, my dear friend Wolf, that you respectfully ask of the proper authorities in Washington City to instruct the proper officers in New York and elsewhere to set down, not merely the names of the people, and their age and birth-place, etc., but to characterize also their former political status and their religious affiliation. By doing so, and by doing it intelligently, a great service would be rendered to the science of statistics.

In carrying out this suggestion, very many who would be entered in the racial columns as "Jews," would in the religious column appear as "Agnostics," or as "Unchurched," as as "Infidels," etc. Nevertheless, I would be the last one to deny to them the appellation, "Jewish." They are Jewish, at least in the ethnological sense of the word.

I have to stop now, my esteemed friend. I am afraid I might have been too garrulous—but to be garrulous is the privilege of old people—and I may have tired you. If so, please excuse me. At least I hope that I may have made it clear to you that the authorities in Washington are correct when they insist upon classifying Jews as a particular race at the side of the German, the Irish, the Scotch, the Magyar, and others.

With best regards and sincere wishes for your well being, I remain,

Yours very truly,

B. FELSENTHAL.

August 9, 1903.

Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WOLF:—Your contention that either all immigrants should be classified according to religion, or this classification must disappear with the Jew, is irrefutable. The Jews are certainly not a race, in the scientific sense of the word. Neither the shape of the skull or the color of the eyes and hair, show a uniform characteristic. The fact that most of the Jews can be recognized as such by their features is not against this assertion. First of all, it is a family resemblance, and, secondly, some Jews, like the Beni Israel in India, or the Jews of Southern Russia, or of some parts of Hungary, show such distinctive features that their type will be recognized as different from the average Jew. As an instance, I may quote that a student from the Beni Israel at our college was once asked by street gamins, "Mister, are you an Arab?" and when I was with him in the lobby of a hotel in an Indiana town, a gentleman asked me, "To which race does this man belong?" It is further a fact that Jews were frequently mixed with proselytes of other nations, so with the Tartars of Southern Russia, when the whole nation of Chazars converted and individually in all parts of the world. In a volume of rabbinical decisions of the sixteenth century I found a question of matrimonial law arising from the fact that a Spanish Jew had children from a slave, who were raised as Jews. Such cases can not have been alto-

gether exceptional, for frequently do we find in Jewish sources decisions and laws about the conversions of slaves, and also in ecclesiastic sources prohibitions against such conversions. The Department of Commerce will find itself in a quandary how to define the status of a Jew who is the offspring of a mixed marriage. Does he belong to the Jewish race or not when his mother is a Christian? Cases of this kind are frequent, both in America and abroad. In Berlin, for instance, the number of intermarriages is two hundred a year. Out of six Jewish persons, one marries out of faith, and one-fourth of the children of such marriages are raised as Jews, and three-fourths are raised as Christians. If the latter did not belong to the Jewish race, why should the former? Finally, if a converted Jew should arrive here and insist that he is a Christian, the whole cabinet can not alter it.

In order to give you exact data, I should have to have more time for collecting them. I wish, however, to call your attention to the article "Anthropology" in the Jewish Encyclopedia. Permit me to add one thing which you have not asked of me. If the Government wishes to classify Jews coming from Russia, Roumania and Galicia as such, it seems to me that there could not be any objection to such a proceeding. Almost all of these people emigrate because they are Jews, and if the Government wishes to find out, for the sake of statistics, the reasons which bring immigrants to these shores, no reasonable man could object to it. I shall be only too glad to furnish you further information as you think I am capable of giving, and remain,

Yours sincerely,

G. DEUTSCH.

August 10, 1903.

MY DEAR MR. WOLF:—Your note of the 8th inst. just comes to hand, and in reply thereto I would say that the question pending before the Department of Commerce whether Jewish immigrants are to be classified as Jews or as citizens of the country they come from is highly interesting, but not so easy to answer, inasmuch as those coming from Roumania and Russia are scarcely considered by their governments as Roumanians or Russians, and the former, moreover, are expressly declared by the law of Roumania, though contrary to the terms of the treaty of Berlin, as aliens. Ethnologically, the Jews certainly represent a race, since both their religion and history ever kept them apart from the rest of the people of the country they inhabit. Nevertheless, I agree with you that, as our Government does not register the immigrants otherwise than according to their country, being not at all concerned either with their religion or their specific ethnological character, the Jewish immigrants should be classified as citizens of their respective countries, and not as Jews.

With cordial greetings, yours,

DR. K. KOHLER.

August 27, 1903.

DEAR MR. WOLF:—I am receipt of your favor which has been forwarded to me from America. Regarding the question of race, I am very sorry that I am unable to serve you, as it was always my opinion that the Jews are a race. They are, of course, as the result of their chequered history, now divided into American citizens, English subjects, etc.; but this can not alter the fact of their common origin

and their common blood, which has received very little intermixture. Perhaps I may refer you to a writing of mine, "Epistle to the Jews of England," in which I expressed this opinion with some emphasis. I think this is a doctrine which we ought to hold up at the risk of being misunderstood. The contrary standpoint leads to assimilation, which is more dangerous to Judaism than any device the anti-Semites may invent.

I regret to differ from you on this matter, but we agree on so many things that deviation on this one point can in no way influence our mutual respect and good opinion we entertain of each other, at least it was always so on my part, and will also remain so. With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

S. SCHECHTER.

Louisville, Ky., September 5, 1903.

Mr. Simon Wolf.

DEAR FRIEND AND SIR:—Excuse my delay in not answering your first letter. In that letter you did not ask my opinion, but simply requested my assent to your own. As I did not agree with you, I did not answer. This time you call for my opinion, and I give it cheerfully. It is that for all practical purposes the Jews are a race, and I am very glad that the Commissioner of Immigration treats them as such in his report. If he did not, we should not get any authentic reports of Jewish immigration, which it is so important to have.

Truly yours,

LEWIS N. DEMBITZ.

September 2, 1903.

*Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR:—I am informed by the Department of Commerce that your Department holds that the Jewish people belong to a race, and that, if such is the fact, the immigrants of Jewish faith must be so classified as Jews, and not as Russians, Frenchmen, Englishmen, etc. I have denied this claim, and am prepared to prove it by the opinion of leading Jewish thinkers of this country.

Will you be kind enough to inform me how the State Department arrived at this conclusion, and what facts, ethnological or historical, are in your possession warranting such a conclusion? This is a matter of very grave importance, for no other religious body is so classified, Catholic, Methodist, Baptist, etc., but against the Jews only is this discrimination made, which is contrary to every principle of our Government.

Understand, that in this matter I am acting as Chairman of the Board of Delegates of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Yours very sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.

Department of State,
Washington, September 4, 1903.

*Simon Wolf, Esq., 926 F Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.*

SIR:—The Department is in receipt of your letter of September 2, stating that you are informed by the Department of Commerce and Labor that this Department holds that the Jewish people belong to

a race, and asking how the Department arrives at this conclusion?

In reply you are informed that the Department has not expressed an opinion on the subject, for the reason that no question has arisen before it requiring an authoritative determination of the point. On the contrary, this Government has opposed the contention of Russia and other countries that the treatment of Jews by them was founded on racial, and not on religious grounds.

The extraordinary conservation of the unity of the Jewish people through the vicissitudes of many centuries, and in the face of wide dispersion, may not inaptly create an impression in many minds that their cohesion is of a racial character, and casual expression may have been given to this idea, but without design or competency to fix their ethnological standing among the races of the world, and still less to assign to them a national position.

The views of our agents abroad, as developed in their correspondence with this Department, may be found in the volumes of "Foreign Relations of the United States," I am Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ADEE,

Acting Secretary.

I contended that this classification strengthened the hands of the anti-Semitic countries by officially regarding the Jews of a country, even if of generations of native descent, as not partaking of the nationality of their fatherland, an abuse unknown in the administration of the laws of the United States, until introduced under the régime of Com-

missioner Powderly, as is more fully explained by the following letter:

T. V. POWDERLY ON THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION.

Washington, April 7, 1899.

MY DEAR MR. WOLF:

Since the occasion of your last visit, I have been the recipient of two papers in which editorial reference is made to the method of gathering statistics of arriving immigrants. One is the *American Israelite*, published by Leo Wise & Co., of Cincinnati; the other is the *Jewish Advocate*, published by the Jewish Advocate Publishing Co., of Rochester, New York.

The editorial in the *American Israelite* is of an inquiring nature and deals in no criticism; it simply states the facts and very properly questions whether the innovation will be of benefit. The *Jewish Advocate*, however, is more inclined to be sarcastic than fair, for it charges me with making the discovery that "Paris is a seaport" and concludes with the following paragraph:

"In conclusion allow me to state that the immigration statistics have invariably given the nationalities of incoming immigrants, the religion has not been inquired into, that being considered by this Republic as a matter of conscience and if you consider it your duty to make inquiries into the religious belief of immigrants, you do so with all and do not make a speciality of any particular creed." It would appear from this that some person, either malicious or misinformed, has given out a statement that only Jews were questioned as to their religious belief. The fact is that the arriving immigrant is

questioned as to birthplace, the religion he professes as well as the race he comes from, and all are questioned alike.

When this new plan of gathering statistics was in contemplation, I gave careful thought to the probability of the object being, at first misunderstood, for there is nothing on which men are so sensitive as the question of religion, although, from my point of view, there exists no reason whatever why men should be either sensitive on the subject or should hesitate to proclaim their religious belief in the United States. When the census is taken decennially, every man and woman is questioned as to his or her religious belief; not so much the belief as the denomination which he or she may profess, and when questioned by the census enumerator they feel a delicacy in answering the inquiry.

The object of asking the immigrant to state his religious belief is for statistical purposes solely, and no invidious distinction will be made because of the religion professed by the incoming American. You will see on examination of the manifest that there is no tracing of the man or woman beyond the Immigration Bureau, the fact that so many Protestants, Hebrews, Catholics and infidels pass through our gates of entry is all that can be made known, and no person can be singled out or followed for the purpose of visiting persecution or indignity upon him for any cause. Once the immigration officials decide that the immigrant is entitled to land, he then stands before the law, the equal of all other people in the United States, and his religion, or lack of it, will influence no true American in dealing with him.

I notice that the *Jewish Advocate*, in commenting upon the feature, has this to say:

“This discovery led up to the most wonderful of all discoveries—that, out of 5,300 immigrants arriving in the last quarter of 1897 from Russia, only 250 were Russians, 5,050 being Jews. Sapiient Mr. Powderly, are you not classifying immigrants according to their religion instead of nationality? These 5,050 were as much Russian as any of the 250.”

The present method of gathering statistics was not in practice during the last quarter of 1897, and, as I am not acquainted with the source of this information, I can not comment upon that part of his editorial. I wish to say, however, that I am not classifying immigrants according to the religion instead of the nationality, for the purpose of securing information as to religion only. It is not charged or will statistics show that the 5,050 were not classed as Russians, but if his figures are correct and but 250 are set down as Russians, or Muscovites, it seems to me that the 5,050 must have been dissatisfied with their native land for some reason, else they would not have immigrated in such numbers. The fact that they were Jews would indicate that it was because of religious intolerance or persecution that they left their native land for the purpose of seeking homes on a soil where the seed of religious bigotry can take no abiding root and where hatred of a man because of his worship of God, in any form of religion he may choose to profess, is not countenanced by the Constitution of our country or sanctioned by broad-minded, true Americans.

I believe that, when our method of gathering statistics is understood, the Jews of this country will be the first to approve of the measure. It will enable them to ascertain each year how many of their race

and co-religionists have arrived and will tend to show that they are a power in the United States. On the other hand, the people of the United States will know that a class of people are coming to us who may be depended upon to obey the law, defend the Constitution, and protect the institutions of our common country.

I have had an experience of 35 years in public life. During that time many of my associates and co-workers in the industrial movement were Jews, and I can not recall a day when the Jew of the organized labor movement did not stand for law and order, and opposed to anarchism or violence. Among my friends and neighbors at home are many Jews, and they stand in the forefront of our citizenship. You will see, therefore, that from a personal standpoint I have every reason to be friendly to the Jew, and no reason to be antagonistic to him. There are Jews in the Immigration Service who assist in collecting these statistics and they can see no reason why a change should be made.

Previous to your call I examined the statistics of those who fell into distress and became public charges within one year after landing in this country; I was pleased to know and you will be to learn that there are no Jews among them.

It certainly can be stated with absolute truth that the Government of the United States, and the various States and cities, have not become responsible for or taxed in any way or manner by having to care for Jewish immigrants. That work has been well and generously performed by the American citizen of the Jewish faith in their own quiet and unostentatious way. Homes for orphans, hospitals for the suffer-

ing, schools for the ignorant and un-Americanized have been opened in all directions, and are doing splendid work in assimilating these immigrants and fitting them for American citizenship. No one recognizes this marvelous work with greater frankness than the Bureau of Immigration, which is thoroughly cognizant of all these facts, and your statement made to me recently, that American Jewish philanthropy in the last thirty years has amounted to more than \$50,000,000 was not surprising.

A race that withstood the persecution of centuries, that has been driven before the four winds of heaven because of their adherence to the faith of their fathers and who have, through all these centuries of time, maintained that faith and their own manhood as well, has nothing to fear from the fullest light which our statistics may throw upon them as they pass the portal of the Republic. They certainly have nothing to be ashamed of in the record. Whether contributing their effort and wealth in building up the commercial strength of the nation, in attesting their devotion to its principles and institutions, or on the field of battle, the American Jew is in the vanguard. I do not speak these words in flattery, but because they are true. I do not claim that the Jew is any better than any other American, but he is as good as the best and his worst enemy can truthfully say no less of him.

Cordially yours,

(Signed) T. V. POWDERLY.

To Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

President Roosevelt was deeply interested in this classification controversy, and expressed to me after-

wards that it seemed to be somewhat of a moot question as to the proper classification.

Some of these opinions were reprinted in the brief in Matter of Skaratsoski, prepared by Max G. Kohler and Abram I. Elkus and reprinted in behalf of the American Jewish Committee, The Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the I. O. B. B. in the "Immigration Commission Reports," Vol. 41, pages 178-9, and the argument was carried further before that Commission by Judge Mack and myself (pages 265-93).

THE PASSPORT QUESTION

The Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations intending to hold a meeting in Washington, on November 17, 1903, for the consideration of many important questions then pending, deemed it necessary that a committee of said Board should wait upon the President and Secretary of State in the matter of the Passport controversy. Accordingly, on October 13, 1903, I addressed a letter to the President, to the following effect:

Washington, D. C., October 13, 1903.

To the President:

The Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations will convene in this city on Wednesday and Thursday, the 18th and 19th day of November. The questions to be submitted to the said Board are of the very first and most vital importance concerning the American citizens of Jewish faith, and the Board authorizes me to request an audience with you on either one of those two days, to bring to your atten-

tion some of the matters in which you have taken an interest. You will oblige me very much by telling me at an early day which of those two days and at what hour the Board will have the honor of paying their respects to you, and to have audience as above stated.

Dear Mr. President, understand that this Board is thoroughly patriotic, and is most desirous to aid you and your able Secretary of State, to the end that the friction now existing and the criticism now indulged may disappear, and a better understanding be had at home and abroad.

Very sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

The interview was granted, and the time for such hearing was set for eleven o'clock, November 18th. Our committee first waited upon Secretary of State John Hay. I stated that we desired to pay our respects and to acknowledge our appreciation for what had been done in the past for the securing of equal rights to all American citizens in every foreign country regardless of their religious affiliations or other conditions, and to solicit their careful and sympathetic consideration of weighty matters that would be laid before them in the near future. Mr. Hay's reply conveyed the assurance that the request made for equal treaty rights to all American citizens without regard to their religious affiliations would, when officially made, receive his hearty support, and that every effort would be made by the department to secure its granting by all foreign countries.

We then proceeded to the White House. In introducing the members of the Board of Delegates to the President, I stated:

“Mr. President, I take great pleasure in introducing to you the members of the Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. We have called to pay our respects to the Chief Magistrate, and to assure you, sir, of our sincere and earnest support on the lines of patriotism and civic endeavor. Our meeting in this city is to deliberate calmly and judicially on the important American questions, and when a conclusion shall have been reached it will be communicated to you by a representative committee of our board. Mr. President, we thank you for this honor.”

President Roosevelt replied:

“Mr. Wolf, I want through you to extend my greetings to all of these gentlemen, and say how glad I am to see them here. There are certain old friends among them with whom I have fought and bled in the past. I speak but the bare truth when I say that there can be no body of citizens of whose devotion to the welfare of our common country I feel more assured than I do of the body thus represented, and no body from whom I would more gladly hear, for I know that whatever I get from them will be on the line of making things better for all of our people. It is a great pleasure to see you.”

During President Roosevelt's administration many complaints were made as to the treatment of immigrants at Ellis Island, and as to the drastic ruling by the Board of Inquiry. The President having his attention called to this, promptly ordered a board to convene and examine into the charges.

I was invited to be present and give testimony and

make suggestions. After an exhaustive statement which is too lengthy to embody, the Chairman said, "Mr. Wolf, we congratulate you. If every nationality and creed had such intelligent and enthusiastic spokesmen, the country would be vastly benefited."

There was another hearing at Ellis Island a year later at which I was present. The outcome was most satisfactory and led to salutary reforms.

President Roosevelt very kindly appointed my son as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Porto Rico without any solicitation on my part, a position he still holds. He remarked to me afterwards, "I appointed him on account of his merits, reinforced by the recommendation of the Bench and Bar of the District of Columbia, and while I highly esteem you, I should never have appointed him had I not felt confident that he would do justice to the position."

I brought to President Roosevelt's attention the matter of a young man for whom I wished to get an appointment in the Navy. The President promptly referred me to Mr. Moody, then Secretary of the Navy, having sent the following to the Secretary:

White House,

June 19, 1903.

My Dear Mr. Secretary:

Please have Mr. Simon Wolf in to go over this case with you. Mr. Wolf is as good an American citizen as is to be found on this continent, and if this can properly be done, I should like it. Please have him in to talk to you.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. W. H. Moody,

Secretary of the Navy.

Accordingly I saw the Secretary, and after a lengthy conference he took the matter under consideration and subsequently complied with my request.

On the 21st of July, 1903, at the request of *The New Century*, a paper published in Washington in the interest of the Catholic Church, I wrote the following tribute to Pope Leo, and in view of the warm approval of my expressions, made to me by President Roosevelt, I include it here:

I wish through the *New Century* to pay a tribute to a wise ruler, a great man, liberal and just. Gathered to his fathers, soon to rest 'neath the sod he so grandly honored, Leo, the man, scholar, philosopher, ruler, priest and sovereign will live in the affections, not only of the Church he adorned and loved, but also in the reverent admiration of all men.

He typified the age, he was progressive and liberal, and yet clung with deathless tenacity to the tenets and principles of his Church. His power and strength were never used to enslave or persecute. On the contrary, he exercised both to humanize. I, the Jew, extend my hand in friendly recognition, esteeming it a privilege to pay a slight tribute to one who, in the highest walk of life, never forgot or ignored the lowly.

He portrayed, not only in faith, but in living work, the divine truths of the Great I Am. May his great and beneficent example live to help all men in their onward and upward career of brotherhood.

July 21, 1903.

At the time I was elected president of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, to fill the vacancy by

the untimely death of Leo N. Levi, the President wrote me the following letter of congratulation:

White House, Washington,
April 5, 1904.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I congratulate you and I congratulate the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith upon your election to the presidency. You know how cordial our relations have always been and what a pleasure it has been to confer with you on matters affecting the public welfare.

Wishing you all success, I am,

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

To which letter I answered as follows:

Washington, D. C., April 26, 1904.

To the President.

My Dear Mr. President:

I take great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your very kind and friendly letter, in which you congratulate me and the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, to my election as President. I am simply voicing the opinion of the said organization, and indeed of all true lovers of humanity, when I say that not only your words but your acts, give evidence that you are the worthy and patriotic representative of the American people. Let me hope and pray for your health and happiness, to the end of doing still grander work for the welfare of the Republic.

Yours sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.

In September, 1904, I made a trans-continental trip in behalf of the Order of B'nai B'rith, and the President, when informed of my intention, instructed the several departments of the Government to send me letters of introduction and commendation to various representative citizens in the different cities where I anticipated visiting, especially on the Pacific Coast, all of which was done without my solicitation.

At the time of the canvass for the election of President Roosevelt in 1904, Mr. George B. Cortelyou being Chairman of the Campaign Committee, with headquarters at New York, I suggested to President Roosevelt a certain line of action in regard to the campaign, which he thought worthy of being adopted and gave me *in his own handwriting* the following note:

Dear Mr. Cortelyou:

I hope you can do as Mr. Wolf wishes. I think it would be excellent.

T. ROOSEVELT.

Aug. 5, 1904.

Mr. Cortelyou, whom I saw, adopted my suggestion, and it was of great value in the result of the campaign.

The following parallel between Lincoln and Roosevelt, after the latter's inauguration, and in consequence of which I received many letters of congratulation, and the personal thanks of President Roosevelt explains itself:

The inauguration of Theodore Roosevelt as President of the United States brings to my mind most

forcibly the first inauguration I ever saw, namely, that of Abraham Lincoln, on the 4th of March, 1865—just forty years ago.

Then we were at the close of the fraternal strife, and the country and its institutions were under terrific strains. I can yet hear the immortal words of the martyred President when he declared, "With malice for none, and charity to all," which were symbolical and typical of his character and achievements.

Soon after these memorable words had gone into history the assassin struck him down, and he was transformed into one of the great immortals of all time.

Forty years of American history mean as much as three hundred years of European; for in that time wonderful evolution has come, not only along the lines of peace, but of war. Great inventions and discoveries have been made; much has been done to vindicate the moral sentiment of the nation; civilization itself has been advanced and intensified; we have aided in establishing a sister Republic, and have driven from American soil a power that persecuted and destroyed its best citizens. The Government of the United States is now recognized as an arbiter in the council of nations; its advice is sought and heeded; and the flag of our country, which was scarcely visible in any part of the world ten years ago, is now floating at the masthead of a navy that has the power of enforcing its dictum, and commands the respect and homage of all nations. A new statesmanship along the lines of diplomacy, the recognition of manhood, and enforcement of the laws of right and justice, has been incorporated into

the public policy of the incoming President. A type of all that is manly, virile, scholarly, and patriotic. Theodore Roosevelt will inaugurate a new era in the life of the Republic. Fearless, energetic, far-seeing, with a consciousness of his own resources, he will bring into the public arena men of his own type and genius, and give an impulse and impetus for the future of our country unequaled in its annals.

I rejoice to have seen this great day. Forty years have gone into history from Lincoln to Roosevelt. I have been intimate with all the great men of that period and rejoice to know that during this whole time the American citizens of Jewish faith have contributed in every direction toward the upbuilding and prosperity of this great Republic, and not one among the eighty millions who will cheer and encourage the incoming President will be more sincere and devoted than we.

We honor him as Americans; we love him as Jews. He has shown at every opportunity that he is broad-gauged, liberal, and unprejudiced. No one but a great statesman and sincere patriot would have waited until after his election to give utterance to those ringing words to Russia, and they will be as enduring as the country itself, for they bore the stamp and impress not only of the President, but of the man and friend.

What a happy and glorious contrast the inauguration of the President of eighty millions of American citizens is, compared with the gloomy and wretched revolutionary days that exist in Russia, where men and women are not permitted to enjoy these privileges and immunities that constitute American manhood and womanhood.

May the next four years, and, indeed, many, many more, vindicate all of the glories of the past and illumine still brighter the horizon of our country's greatness, and may we, who have been persecuted in all lands and have been compelled to fight for every country, save our own, never fail to recognize the opportunity that is offered us under the inspiring and glorious institutions under which we so happily live.

At the time of the criticism on account of President Roosevelt having given Booker T. Washington at the White House a luncheon, I sent to *The Washington Post* the following communication:

Why all this fuss about Booker T. Washington and President Roosevelt? In what way has the President acted wrongly? He has consistently been a liberal, an aggressive fighter, a man who, as a thorough American, knows no color, race, religion or nationality. He simply puts into practice the principles of his life; therefore, Booker T. Washington was the private guest of Theodore Roosevelt, who recognized in him merit, the keystone of the political and social arch of American citizenship.

If the President in his official or personal capacity never does anything else than this incident, he will surely live in history as a man of courage and splendid Americanism. No man in this great republic is to be tabooed on account of color or religion. The President is not the representative of the white man or of the Christian, but of all men, Christian and Jew, white and black.

Booker T. Washington is an American gentleman,

a thinker, scholar, educator, reformer—one who is a friend, not only of his own race, but of the South.

Frederick Douglas and John M. Langston were guests at my house. The memory of the wonderful mental resources of these men lingers, and is an inspiration. It is true if we are to be a world power that we manifest socially what we proclaim, politically, the recognition of the men who merit it by act and deed. These wise critics ignore the teachings of Jefferson and forget the golden principles of the matchless Declaration of Independence.

Prejudice based on ignorance and custom is hard to kill, but it will have to die, and the manly blow dealt by President Roosevelt will be an entering wedge.

It is the man, not the negro—it is the high-thinking American who is recognized, and that is the basic rock of American institutions, and any departure therefrom is unworthy of the republic.

God bless and strengthen the hands of the President. I know he is far above the petty criticisms of unthinking and prejudiced men. Let him pursue as Chief Magistrate the same rules of private and public conduct that endear him to all true citizens, and history will write him down as a worthy successor of Lincoln.

Two days after sending this letter to the *Post*, I received the following note from President Roosevelt:

“I have just read your admirable article in the matter of the Booker T. Washington luncheon at the White House. It gratified me exceedingly to know

that you of all men appreciate this act of mine and emphasizes the liberal spirit that has always animated you in private and public life."

In this connection, the great American wit, Dooley, the Sunday after this Booker T. Washington incident, said to his friend Hennesey:

"Hennesey, do you know that was a great political blunder on the part of President Roosevelt?" And Hennesey replied, "Yes, but why?"

Dooley: "Because it will cost Roosevelt seven hundred thousand votes in the South which he wouldn't have gotten anyhow."

The question of books on religion in the public schools became a very prominent factor during the administration of Mr. Roosevelt, and the following article, which I wrote for *The Washington Times*, explains itself:

To the Editor of *The Washington Times*:

I had hoped that after the expressions made at the first meeting that the agitation incident to introducing religious teaching in the public schools would cease and the subcommittee which was intrusted with the matter would arrive at that conclusion; but it seems during my absence from the city another meeting was had and the resolutions reported were adopted by a majority and the conclusion of that majority has been forwarded to the Board of Education of the District of Columbia asking them to take favorable action.

This agitation is not new in history nor is it foreign to the wishes of certain ministers of Christian

belief. Periodically and spasmodically the question is brought to the attention of the public and, like Banquo's ghost, "It will not down." Curious it is, but nevertheless true, that this spirit made itself dominant and manifest by the very men who fled from persecution, and as has been wittily said by the late Senator Hoar, "The Puritans, when they landed on Plymouth Rock, fell first on their knees and then on the Aborigines"; and from that time up to this, in various parts of the United States, ministers of the gospel of "Peace on earth, good-will to men," have given utterance to thoughts conducive of persecution, the perpetuation of prejudice, and an utter disregard of all the principles upon which our Government is founded.

The fundamental principles of religion are taught and perpetuated in the home and accentuated in the church. No public instructor of our educational system can instil love of or for any particular faith. Morals, ethics, and humanities, can and ought to be inculcated by the public instructor, and no doubt are. Patriotism for the flag and the country and its institutions, which are bearing such splendid fruits all over our land, are also contributory to the loftiest conception of religion and morality. But all these things have been brought about and can only be retained by an absolute non-interference on the part of any sect. The very capstone and fundamental groundwork of American institutions have their origin in that spirit; to attempt in the remotest degree to undermine that structure is not only a crime but a blunder. As has been well said, and can not be too often repeated, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." It is the first attempt that has to be guarded

against, and this seeking for the introduction of religious training in the public schools is a first step in that direction.

To the student of history it is remarkable what a close analogy there is between the arguments of the Reverend Doctor, and those who side with him, with those attempted by some of the Virginia colonists prior to the Revolution. In Gaylord Hunt's life of James Madison, the early religious liberty in Virginia is graphically depicted, and the fight made by Madison and others shows conclusively that there is "nothing new under the sun," that history repeats itself, and that which was deemed essential in those days is again attempted now. The reasons for the legislation of those days in matters of uniting church and state, and interference with religious beliefs, was "a decline in church attendance and an increase of immorality, and it was conceived that legislative interference to help the churches would improve the moral tone of the people." Could any words be more significant and apropos—almost identical with the reasons advanced by the Doctor.

This question of church observance was gone over very carefully seventy-six years ago, in the memorable report made by Senator Johnson of Kentucky, when the question of carrying the United States mails on Sunday was before that body, and his report was so clear and exhaustive along all the lines for which the opponents of the Doctor are contending, that it would be a wise thing to republish that magnificent specimen of American statesmanship, so that for all time to come the zealous churchmen will find better employment than to invade the civil rights of American citizens.

The public schools of our country have been looked upon, and deservedly so, as the grandest consummation of human wisdom, and there being no doctrine taught, conserves to their preservation and to their usefulness. The public schools are part of the machinery of the state. The taxes to pay the teachers and maintain the system are derived from all the citizens and not from any special class, and for that reason, if for no other, any attempt to abridge the civil or religious rights of any of the citizens is contrary to the spirit and genius of our institutions and contrary to the guaranteed rights of the individual under the Constitution of the United States.

This principle has been brought to the attention of a large number of our State courts, and has been invariably sustained, and I venture the prediction that if the Board of Education should, through some mistaken idea of their duty, try to enforce the teaching of religion in the public schools, this question will be taken up by the friends of American liberty to the highest court of our land to be there, once and for all, settled, not in a haphazard way, but through an exhaustive presentation of all the precedents and facts underlying this important and vital question.

No one regrets more than I do that the Doctor should have placed himself in such an indefensible position, as far as his attack is concerned, with those who differ from him. To arraign any of his opponents on the score of being Jews or Adventists, is unworthy of an American or of a Christian minister. It seemed to me that I was back in the '50's when the "Pluguglies" were burning and murdering foreigners on the score of their religion. Indeed, one is almost

constrained to believe that the good Doctor is a worthy descendant of these know-nothings.

The Doctor's case must be desperate indeed, when he assumes an offensive attitude against those who differ from him in creed and those who were born on the shores of other lands. Yet, what a paucity and dearth of knowledge of American history does it exhibit to claim that these people who differ from him have no conception of the American idea, that they are foreign born, that they are aliens, that they are Jews—when these very Jews, not only from the founding of the Government, but up to the present moment, have contributed their brawn and brain in upbuilding this Government, in peace and in war have stood at the forefront in defense of the flag and have aided in preserving the country and the Constitution, when many of those to the manner born attempted to destroy both.

But all argument and reason fails when you come in contact with bigotry and prejudice. It is the old story of Lessing in his immortal "Nathan the Wise." When the church patriarch is told how good and noble and human Nathan had acted, his invariable reply was, "It matters not, the Jew must be burned!"

It has been this way for many, many centuries, though when our opponents have been worsted and public reason has been against them, the last resort was to attack the Jew; which again reminds me of the wise Dogberry of Germany, who, when a case was brought before him in which the plaintiff claimed damages from the defendant on account of having thrown a stone which shattered his window, the defense was that a Jew had passed in the street, and had he not dodged the stone the window would

not have been broken—and the Dogberry decided the Jew must pay the damages, which is identical with the reasoning of the Doctor.

But, let me state, once and for all, as I stated at the first public meeting, and as I have stated in all my life, I am not opposing this matter from the standpoint of my faith, but from my inalienable rights as an American citizen, pure and simple, and if anyone of my faith were to attempt any infraction of the civil and religious rights of any other man, I would be as prompt to oppose as I am at this moment. In short, let well enough alone!

The public schools of our country are flourishing; we turn out, year after year, magnificent specimens of manhood and womanhood to the glory of God and the happiness of mankind. Why intrude upon the ductile mind of the young with doctrine or creed? May those who deplore the increase of crime, themselves show a better example in their home life and their religious observance! The public schools will take care of themselves, and prove, as they have so far in their history, the bulwark against all that is vicious and criminal.

Washington, April 5, 1905.

I accompanied a committee of the Rabbinical Conference of the United States on a visit to President Roosevelt, who received us cordially and evinced a degree of knowledge of the Bible and kindred subjects that was quite remarkable.

The Evening Star of Washington, D. C., published a lengthy interview on my opinion as to the subject, "Is there a Jewish Question?" It was highly com-

mented on, and President Roosevelt expressed great interest in its perusal.

Mr. Roosevelt's love of song and German folk-lore was demonstrated when he invited the singers who had come from Vienna on a tour of the United States to be his guests, and he listened with the greatest interest to the wonderful rendering of the songs, applauded heartily, and then asked them whether they couldn't sing "In Mantua," which they did, and he joined in with the glee of a regular student.

In this connection I remember well at the close of the Kishineff interview at the White House (to which I have heretofore made reference), President Roosevelt went to Baltimore to the German Singing Festival. He was accompanied by Baron Sternberg, the German Ambassador; Senator McComas, and myself. President Roosevelt placed me in charge of Major Charles A. D. Loeffler, who for forty years was the confidential and efficient doorkeeper of the White House.

On our leaving the hall in Baltimore I had great trouble in keeping up with the President, who pushed his way through the dense crowd and got into the carriage, when the door slammed on my hand. I had terrible pain, but managed to get into our private car. When the President saw what had happened he immediately put a cold bandage on my hand, went to the locker and got some liquor and gave me a good swig, bathed my hand and forehead like a trained nurse, and then turned around to Senator McComas and said, "Inasmuch as Wolf has been wounded in the public service, I suggest that you introduce a bill in the Senate, pensioning him."

Zangwill's "Melting Pot" had its premiere night at Belasco's Theatre in Washington. President Roosevelt occupied a box next to Mr. and Mrs. Zangwill. I never could tell which caused the greatest applause, the play or the President. He kept up an animated conversation with Mrs. Zangwill, and was most enthusiastic over the lines which advocated the absorption of all classes.

Several days later the President told me he doubted the theatrical success of the play, a prophecy since realized.

In the three volume Year Book that my daughter, Mrs. Frederick Gotthold, made and illustrated, President Roosevelt contributed the following words of congratulation, which accompanied his photograph:

"My hearty congratulations to my friend Simon Wolf."

Having had an interview with President Roosevelt during the campaign of 1908, when William Howard Taft was the candidate, I received the following letter:

The White House, Washington,
October 3, 1908.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

You can render important service in New York and I trust you will put yourself at once in communication with Chairman Hitchcock. You may use this note as an introduction.

With regards to Mrs. Wolf, and all good wishes to yourself, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Hitchcock was favorably impressed with my suggestions and they were adopted.

On the occasion of my seventy-second birthday, having been kindly remembered by President Roosevelt, I sent him in acknowledgment thereof the following:

October 29, 1908.

My Dear Mr. President:

Please accept my sincere and heartfelt thanks for your kind remembrance of my seventy-second birthday. In the midst of the thousand duties, incident to your office, it certainly was more than kind to be remembered.

I hope and trust that when you reach the age of seventy-two, you will stand in the world's history and in the affection of your fellow-countrymen, as you do today, honored and revered, for I know that every act has been inspired by the purest motive and by the loftiest ideals for the betterment of the Republic; and I do hope that the result of next Tuesday evening's work, on the part of the American voters, will endorse all that you have striven to do to help the Republic and to perpetuate its glorious traditions.

Sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.

After I read President Roosevelt's wonderful letter on religious liberty, in which he said in part as follows:

"No nation in the world has more right than ours to look with proud confidence toward the future. Nowhere else has the experiment of democratic gov-

ernment, of government by the people and for the people, of government based on the principle of treating each man on his innate worth as a man, been tried on so vast a scale as with us; and, on the whole, the experiment has been more successful than anywhere else. Moreover, on the whole, I think it can be said that we have grown better and not worse; for if there is much evil, good also greatly abounds, and if wrong grows, so in even greater measure grows the stern sense of right before which wrong must eventually yield. It would be both unmanly and unwarranted to become faint-hearted or despairing about the nation's future. Clear-eyed and far-sighted men who are brave of heart and cool of head, while not for a moment refusing to see and acknowledge the many evils around us, must yet also feel a confident assurance that in the struggle we shall win and not lose, that the century that has just opened will see great triumph for our people."

I took the liberty of sending him these few lines:

November 9, 1908.

The President:

You have done many things that will transmit your name to future generations, and which will no doubt fill numerous pages in American history, but not a single act of yours will redound more to your glory and fame, than the letter you have just written on religious liberty. It is luminous, clear and thoroughly American. It breathes the spirit of Washington, Roger Williams, Thomas Jefferson, Madison, and of Abraham Lincoln. I know of no state paper in the archives of our Government, that surpasses it;

and I heartily and sincerely congratulate, not only you but the Nation. It is a more opportune time for these words to come home to the sane-thinking Americans. There has lately developed a spirit of bigotry and false thinking, that if permitted to go unchecked, would prove inimical and dangerous to the Republic, and these words of yours, while they simply reaffirm, nevertheless are worth their weight in gold.

Sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

During Mr. Roosevelt's administration, I appeared before the Senate Committee in the matter of the Chinese Exclusion Act and made a lengthy argument against such drastic and unjust legislation. Mrs. Coolidge, in her book, speaks of my address in the following manner:

"But by far the broadest argument was made by Simon Wolf, Chairman of the Civil and Religious Rights Committee of the Hebrew Congregations, and of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith. Mr. Wolf summed up his humane and convincing testimony briefly as follows: 'The exclusion laws were unjust because discriminative; objectionable, because the general immigration laws might be applied to the Chinese precisely as to other nationalities; unnecessary for the protection of labor, because most of the evils complained of were purely imaginary; unnecessary further, because the economic conditions both in the United States and in China had wholly changed—the gold fever had passed, while the rapid development of China herself tended to keep her laboring

population at home. The exclusion laws were a menace to peaceful relations between the two countries, they handicapped the American missionary and the American merchant and limited trade and commerce. They were, moreover, contrary to the spirit of American institutions and to the spirit of the age, for the period of exclusiveness was past.' ”

During the time that Mr. Straus was Secretary of Commerce and Labor, an illuminating incident occurred, which I wish to relate, that does justice both to the Secretary, as well as to the President. One of the heads of a bureau, with whom I was very intimate, had died, leaving his family in financial straits. The widow, unfortunately, could not pass the Civil Service, and the only way she could be appointed to the Census Bureau, was by an Executive Order, the President waiving the examination. I called Mr. Straus' attention to the matter, the official having been one of his subordinates, and asked him to speak to President Roosevelt on and in behalf of the unfortunate widow. The Secretary promptly declined, not for want of interest or feeling, but because the President had been annoyed by numerous requests of the same character. He very generously offered to give me five hundred dollars to aid the widow, and finally concluded his interview by stating, "Why don't you go to see the President? He thinks very highly of you and might possibly do this for you, and as you more than likely have not made a similar request of him, he might not feel annoyed." I said, "It is a very curious thing that a member of the Cabinet should ask an outsider to do that which is his province to do, but I will nevertheless take

your advice." I wrote this letter to the President, detailing all the facts.

December 3, 1908.

The President,

I hoped to be spared the necessity of writing to you in the matter of Mrs. ———, trusting that the officials who had been in close touch with Mr. ——— would bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion, but to my keen regret, I find that nothing of a tangible character has been done.

Mr. President, I am sure you will pardon me if I state that, in my whole lifetime, I have never been so deeply touched as at the deplorable condition of this unfortunate widow and her orphan child. Mr. ———, as you are aware, left his family penniless—generous to a fault, his hand was constantly in his pocket to help the suffering laboring men over whom he presided, and in aid of immigrants in all the stations that he visited. He could not get any life insurance, and thus his family have been left in a deplorable condition; and if it had not been for the good feeling on part of the employes at Ellis Island, there would not have been money enough to pay the funeral expenses and doctor bills.

Mrs. ——— has now been compelled to give up her small apartment, not being able to pay the rent, and the agents from whom they rented the apartment have threatened to attach what little furniture she has to reimburse themselves for the unpaid rent.

Under all these circumstances, recognizing the important work that Mr. ——— did during his lifetime, and which added materially to the glory of your administration, it does seem to me that

Mrs. —— ought to be provided for in one of the departments of the Government, to the end of her not becoming a public charge. I know that in cases not half so deserving, widows of employes of the Government have been placed in positions of trust and responsibility by Executive Order.

My dear Mr. President, will you not take a personal interest in this matter. Of course you are aware that I am solely actuated as a matter of humanity and loyal friendship both to the living and to the dead.

Sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

Mr. William Loeb, his Private Secretary, told me afterwards that when the President read my letter he was deeply touched and at once directed the issuing of the Executive Order, and the good woman was appointed, and subsequently would have been reduced on account of her inexperience and inability to do her work properly had it not been for my interference. She has since then, I am sorry to say, passed away.

I received a letter from the Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission in regard to Mrs. —— case, which I give herewith, and following that also my letter of thanks to the President:

December 12, 1908.

Mr. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wolf:

Today, on receiving a copy of the Executive Order in regard to the widow of our departed friend, ——

I called on Mr. Straus, Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, to thank him for what I thought he must have done in regard to the matter. He tells me, however, that it was your earnest effort which brought the subject to the attention of our Executive. I therefore wish to express to you my intense gratification and to thank you for the service you have rendered for so worthy a person, the memory of whose husband I shall always warmly cherish.

Sincerely yours,

EDW. A. MOSELY.

December 14, 1908.

The President:

On and in behalf of Mrs. ———, as well as myself, I wish to thank you for the Executive Order which placed her on the Government rolls as one of its employes. Be assured that this act of yours is sincerely and heartily appreciated, and would never have been asked for had not the circumstances been of a character to require your intercession.

Very sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

Theodore Roosevelt is a born fighter. His impulses, as far as I have been able to judge, are inspired by the loftiest conception of public duty. He is ambitious, and that is not a crime. Conscious of his own power, he fears no adversary.

George F. Parker, Esq., in his biography of Grover Cleveland, quotes the estimate Mr. Cleveland entertained of Theodore Roosevelt, when he (Cleveland) was Governor, and Roosevelt was a member of the New York Assembly. Said quotation is as follows:

“Roosevelt is the most perfectly equipped and the most effective politician thus far seen in the Presidency. Jackson, Jefferson and Van Buren were not, for a moment, comparable with him in this respect. When I was Governor, he was still a very young man and only a member of the Assembly; but it was clear to me, even thus early, that he was looking to a public career, that he was studying political conditions with a care that I had never known any man to show and that he was firmly convinced that he would some day reach prominence. I must, however, confess that I never supposed that the Presidency would come within the scope of his aspirations so early in life.”

I am confident that as Burns said “for a’ that and a’ that” Theodore Roosevelt will stand in the history of the United States as one of its greatest men. Wonderfully endowed, gifted by nature, education, and indomitable will-power, his example as a statesman will be an inspiration for many years to come. His treatment of international questions, reinforced by the effective co-operation of John Hay, will live and be used as a precedent throughout all time.

Up to the present moment, from the time of President Roosevelt’s retirement from the White House, our relations have been most cordial. Many items of interest, not only personal but public, have been discussed exhaustively between us. Some of these letters from him are thoroughly characteristic and, if ever published, would afford additional testimony to his remarkable memory, his breadth of thought, and his virility of action.

The following is the tribute paid to me by ex-

President Roosevelt on the occasion of the banquet tendered to me by my New York friends in honor of my eightieth birthday:

Sagamore Hill,

November 17, 1916.

To my great regret I can not attend the banquet in honor of my valued friend, Simon Wolf; he is a citizen worthy of such an honor; may I, through you, extend to him my heartiest congratulations and good wishes?

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

I knew Mr. Taft's father, Alonzo Taft, when he was Secretary of War and Attorney General under President Grant. Thus I felt a sense of intimacy and appreciation during the time that Mr. Taft filled various offices of the Government, including that of the Presidency, a feeling of regard and friendship which has continued since his retirement from office.

I had the good fortune and privilege of meeting Mr. Taft often, not only in the White House but at social functions, and always enjoyed his remarkably genial good humor, his sound logical sense, although I never could admire his conception of duty to his political adherents. His mind was thoroughly judicial, his temperament no less, and as he himself one day told me, he never did desire to be President, but would rather have been on the Supreme Court Bench, which position he unquestionably would have filled with signal ability.

There were various questions of vital import pending during Mr. Taft's administration, including the non-recognition of the American passport by the Russian Government, the abrogation of the treaty between the two Governments made by James Buchanan in 1832, and the vetoing of the Immigration Bill on account of the literacy test, wherein President Taft showed his good will and his high appreciation of his fellow citizens.

During the agitation for the abrogation of the Russian treaty I had many talks with President Taft; at the conclusion of one of these he asked me what I advised him to do, so as to get a clear under-



WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT
1909-1913

standing. I promptly replied, "Have a conference with some of the leaders of American Jewry." The President said, "An excellent suggestion. Whom do you name?" I replied, "Jacob H. Schiff, Mayer Sulzberger and Louis Marshall of the American Jewish Committee; Adolf Kraus, Philip Stein and Jacob Furth, of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith; Bernard Bettman, J. Walter Freiberg"—and before I could name the third he said, "and Simon Wolf, of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations." A luncheon was to precede the conference. The President then and there instructed his secretary to telegraph to each one, apprising them of the luncheon and conference.

The following is a copy of the invitation:

White House, Feb. 8, 1911.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

The President would be glad to have you take lunch with him at the White House on Wednesday, February 15th, at one-thirty, for a conference, at which will be present, if they accept his telegraphic invitations: Jacob H. Schiff, Louis Marshall, Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Adolf Kraus, Judge Philip Stein, Jacob Furth, J. Walter Freiberg, and Bernhard Bettman, as also Secretary Knox and Secretary Nagel. Will you be good enough to advise me whether you can be present?

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES D. NORTON,
Secretary to the President.

The invitation was accepted.

Judge Sulzberger was unable to be present on account of a previous engagement. Judge Henry M. Goldfogle was also present. Prior to going to the

White House, a conference was held as to the spokesman. The luncheon, as all functions of that character, passed off pleasantly, several of the ladies of the White House being present. Mr. Schiff, by request of the President, escorted Mrs. Taft. The President asked me to sit next to him. Good cheer and humor prevailed. The subject-matter was not mentioned.

After luncheon we adjourned to the library. We were seated in a circle opposite the President, naturally expecting to be heard, when to our astonishment and keen disappointment the President opened a drawer of the desk and *read to us his conclusions*, before he had heard a word from us. (A stenographic report of his statement follows):

THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

I have had formal communications from the Hebrew Congregations containing an address by Mr. Marshall and I have had other communications of a more or less formal character inviting the Government to take a certain course in respect to Russia and the passport question. I have discussed the matter at very considerable length in the Cabinet, have of course taken it up with Mr. Knox, Secretary of State, in whose Department the matter necessarily is, and I asked Mr. Knox to come here and be here today, but I have excused him in view of the fact that I subsequently arranged for him to go to Chicago and make a speech on reciprocity tonight. Otherwise he would be here to assist me in the explanation which I desire to give and the statement of the conclusion to which I find myself obliged to come.

Now, I could have written a formal communication in answer to the resolutions which have been sent me, or handed me by Mr. Bettman, and the interviews I have had with Mr. Wolf, and I shall do that at any rate; but in the confidential relation that we establish here in this room, I can make explanations somewhat fuller, and my reference to countries and nations can be somewhat more personal and direct than I would feel justified in making them in a public utterance; and it isn't because I desire that the conclusion reached should not be made known to the public (for I have no objection to that), but it is that certain phases of the course of thought and reasoning that has led me to the conclusion ought not to be made public, because that would embarrass me and the Government in our relations to several foreign—and especially European—countries.

In the first place, the question is: To what is the Administration pledged in respect to this question of the passport matter? The pledges occur in the platform of the Chicago convention; in the speech of acceptance by me of the nomination, and in several speeches that I made in New York City on this subject—this specific subject. Those declarations and those speeches promised—first stated that the United States ought to use every proper effort to make its passport a certificate of good treatment the world round, with an equality of opportunity and a recognition of equality without reference to creed or race anywhere. Of course, there was nothing said with reference to the Russian treatment of the passports of American Jews; but everybody understood who read them that that is what those pledges had refer-

ence to. The speeches reiterated what the platform said. In one or two instances I said that I wished to be clearly understood that the national prestige brought about by the administration should be used to bring about the recognition by other countries of the all-embracing character of the passport issued by the American Government as covering everybody under the aegis of the American Government, no matter what his race or creed. There is no doubt about that declaration. Nor is there any doubt about the anxiety on the part of the administration to carry out that promise and to effect the result that we all have in mind.

This question has been under consideration ever since I began my administration. I notified Mr. Rockhill when I sent him to Russia, by written direction of the Secretary of State, that I wanted this matter taken up and that I wanted him to keep it constantly in mind; and I do not think there is any doubt but that he has, and that he has taken steps to bring the matter to the attention of the Russian Government from time to time. I asked several gentlemen to come to see me with reference to the selection of an Ambassador to Russia (Mr. Rockhill has long desired to be relieved on account of the expense of the post). Their answer was, that after consideration they thought that Mr. Rockhill was as good an Ambassador as we could have on that subject in Russia; and that really it did not depend on the Ambassador in Russia, but that they thought that it was wiser to transfer the consideration of the question from St. Petersburg to the United States. The consideration of that suggestion brought out that because of the necessity of referring such matters to

the Russian Department of the Interior, which is the Police Department, there would be too many delays, and that course was not considered effective.

I want to start out with the proposition, which I am sure Mr. Marshall with his profound knowledge of the law—of the Constitution and international law—will quite concur in. That we have no international right to object to any nation's excluding any of our people, assuming that there is nothing of a treaty obligation between us. That is, that if they choose to exclude all of our people from sojourn or any particular class of our people, we could raise no objection. We assert that right against other countries, and certainly we could not deny it to any other country in respect to our own citizens. Therefore, this question arises, not on the doctrine of natural or international right, but it arises on one section or two sections of a treaty made with Russia in 1832. That section, which really controls, is the first section providing the right of sojourn and travel for purposes of commerce by the citizen or subject of one of the countries in the country of the other, subject to such local rules and regulations as may be applied in that country. Now, I am not going to discuss the question whether that section really can be construed in any other light than we have always claimed it to be rightly construed; namely, that it does give to the citizens of the United States the right to enter Russia, and after they have entered Russia not to be treated as if they were native Russians but to be treated as citizens of the United States. I say we have always asserted that. That is not quite true. An examination of the records of the State Department shows that there are several

Secretaries of State who have left their attitude somewhat doubtful on that question, and made, so far as they could, a precedent that might trouble us if we refer to the entire history. But there is no doubt that there are two Secretaries of State—and men upon whom we might well rely as forming a proper precedent, to wit, Mr. Blaine and Mr. Everett—who have consistently taken the position that American Jews have a right to enter Russia under the treaty and to be treated as other Americans would be, and that we could not recognize or acquiesce in any arrangement by which a distinction should be made growing out of race or creed as to American citizens; that the equality that we insist upon under our Constitution must accompany them under the passport. But, on the other hand, Russia has taken an opposite view from the beginning, and consistently; and not only has she done that under our treaty, but under other treaties with exactly the same language—a treaty with England, a treaty with Germany, and, I think, a treaty with Austria—presenting exactly the same question, and she has taken exactly the same position, and those countries have acquiesced. At least, they have not terminated the treaties and have done nothing but protest, if they did protest. And the consequence is that the practical operation of these treaties has been that this obligation, if it is an obligation as I think it, has been unperformed on the part of Russia. This has lasted, it may be not a hundred years, or indeed seventy-five years, because the question did not arise until Mr. Everett's time along about 1850 or 1852.

Now that is the attitude of Russia, and we are now asked—not having moved against the treaty

and having lived under the treaty, so to speak, for more than fifty years; having allowed our citizens to make their investments and to begin their business arrangements with Russia on the faith of the treaty of 1832, thus practically treated—we are now asked, in order to enforce what we regard as the right construction of that treaty, to insist that Russia should give us that construction or to renounce the treaty. Mr. Parsons says, and I may say in speaking of this, and I am glad to say so because I am glad to recognize that there are others than gentlemen of the Jewish race who take that position—Mr. Parsons has presented his views on the subject and urged that the Administration take the same course that has been recommended by Mr. Marshall, Mr. Bettman and the Hebrew Congregations which they represent. Mr. Parsons says this: That it is not in accordance with the dignity of the United States, or, indeed, in accordance with the principles that ought to govern a government acting under our constitutional principle of equality to every one, and especially of no distinction as to religion, to allow ourselves to maintain a relation under a treaty in which that principle of equality is ignored by the other side and was sought to be established by us in a specific provision for its preservation.

If this were a new treaty, if it were a question of going on with some new writing, defining the relations between the two countries, I should think that the argument would have a great weight. As a matter of fact, we have other treaties with other nations in which those nations have refused to conform to our view and insistence as to the obligations upon them of a section of a treaty that in terms operates

equally on both. And we do not renounce such treaties.

Take, for instance, the Italian treaty with reference to extradition. They insist that the treaty of extradition does not impose upon them the obligation to extradite and to deliver to the agents of our government any Italian subject who has committed a crime in the United States and who has returned or escaped to Italy. We, on the other hand, insist that such a section in that treaty does impose that obligation on the Italian Government and we go to the extent—although Italy has declined for several years to take that view—of delivering over under such a treaty in view of our construction of it American citizens who are charged with crime in Italy, in spite of the fact that Italy declines to recognize that obligation. I instance that as a case where the refusal on her part to comply with our views of a treaty has not always led to a denunciation of the treaty.

What I wish to invite your attention to is that this relation between the United States and Russia is a relation of fifty years' standing. It is a relation under which property rights have been acquired, investments have been made, and a status established in respect to a great many things which, if we denounced the treaty, will have no sanction or security at all and be left wholly to the arbitrary action of Russia through her executive—for she seems to have very little of a judiciary branch—action which is more largely determined by political consideration and governmental policy than by the instinct of abstract justice.

I would be willing to concede, in order to accom-

plish what I realize is above and over every other consideration, the establishment of equality as our national principle and policy, I would be willing to take this drastic step and sacrifice the interests that it certainly will sacrifice if I was not convinced from everything I had seen and heard—and I have given a good deal of investigation to it—that instead of benefitting anybody, and especially of benefitting those persons in whose interests and for the preservation of whose rights the step would be taken, it would accomplish nothing at all. In other words, the question is—must be—a balance of convenience and of comparative burden rather than a question of principle when what is proposed to be done is not going to accomplish any step toward that principle.

The condition in Russia is one that is deplorable, but it is a condition that I think is bettering some. I had yesterday morning a letter from Mr. Rockhill in which he gives at length a conversation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs—not Mr. Isvolosky, who is a man of anti-American principle or prejudice and was entirely willing to anger us; as he told me, “You helped Japan in this fight. How do you like it? You thought you would help the under dog in the fight and you were mistaken about it. Japan has won. She is closing the door in the Orient. We can’t open it. How do you like it? You are getting a lesson.” That is what he said to me personally when I saw him in Russia. He is succeeded by a gentleman of very much more friendly sentiment and a man who is willing to admit or, at least, is willing to assert his very earnest desire to mitigate the severity of the rules against the Jews from

America, but who merely deplores the fact that the conditions there exist.

And Mr. Rockhill leaves no doubt in my mind that if we denounce the treaty we shall be no nearer the object that we all have in view, but that we shall imperil a good many interests which it is our duty to preserve. We may and shall continue to declare our principle and our right as we claim it without injuring a great many people, innocent and otherwise. And ultimately as Russia grows better we shall secure recognition of the right, but not now.

I should not weigh principle as against pecuniary benefit if what is proposed would accomplish anything in the enforcement of principle. But it would not. The business with Russia amounts, so Mr. Rockhill writes, not only the direct business, but that through Germany and other countries, to about \$100,000,000. The amount of American capital in Russia—the Singer Sewing Machine, the agricultural implement business, and the life insurance companies—aggregate fifty or sixty millions. If this treaty were denounced they would be completely subject to the control of Russian tribunals, influenced as they are largely by executive policy, and I do not know what might happen. We would take out of our own hands the machinery by which we can intervene to prevent injustice in individual instances.

Now these people who have money there went in on the theory that the status established there for fifty years they might count would not be disturbed, and the question, therefore, settles itself down as to whether we ought to take a step that can accomplish nothing and sever all our relations to Russia

by which through treaty rights we can claim something, and injure a great many other people.

How much would this affect the real, that is, the great question. How much would this affect the Russian Jews who are coming to this country, who are seeking refuge here, and whom I am glad to welcome? The more we spread them out in the West, the better I like it. I have tried to help it along, and I have tried to make the construction of the law a little bit wider so we could help them directly on to the plains of Texas and in other parts of the western country, where they can have independence and show the industry and ability to build up a country which I have no doubt they possess. But if we, by the setting aside of this treaty involve ourselves in hostility to Russia and change the normal flow of these people from Russia to this country, and if, as is not unlikely, Germany may interpose to prevent their coming by way of Germany, and then some of them have to be sent back, as is always the case because they can not satisfy the immigration law requirements, wouldn't they be in a worse plight than they are now, and wouldn't we be imperiling those people and the safety of those people by ranging ourselves in hostility to Russia when that hostility does not involve any good to anybody? That is the way it has struck me, gentlemen. That is the conclusion I have reached.

A great many of you gentlemen do not agree with me, and I am sorry you do not; but I think perhaps that if I had the same justifiable pride of race that you have and the same sense of outrageous injustice that comes home to a man of that race much more than it can to a man who is not of the race, I should

feel as you do. But I am the President of the whole country, and I feel that in exercising a responsibility affecting everybody I have to try to look at the subject from all sides. I have summoned you here to explain to you the reasons for the conclusions I have reached.

I will put this into writing and I will give it to Mr. Wolf or to any member here, with the hope that it will not be made public, especially the references to foreign countries. So far as the conclusion is concerned, I have no objection, and I will send a formal answer to the gentlemen who have honored me by sending me a memorial, but I thought it due to you in frankness to state to you my conclusion, because I have given it a great deal of consideration. It has worried me more than I can tell; but, having reached the conclusion, having thought it over and dreamed of it and studied it, it is better that I should tell you without leaving you in doubt in the matter and should be as candid and straightforward as I can.

It is a subject that is certain, always certain, to set up a great deal of feeling, and it is a conclusion that I am quite sure will make a great many very honest and straightforward people think that I have reached a wrong conclusion and have not given sufficient consideration to certain arguments that with them are conclusive; but it is the best I have been able to do, and I have asked you to come here in order that I may give you this full explanation.

Just how this ought to be given out, I do not know. I can put it in a formal answer to the memorial of the Hebrew Congregations and send it to the representatives of the other congregations—perhaps that would be better.

After he had finished the reading of this memorandum I recovered my breath enough to say "Please do not give to the press such conclusions, for it would prove highly injurious to our people in Russia." Before the President could reply, Mr. Schiff, in a voice vibrant with feeling, said, "I want it published. I want the whole world to know the President's attitude."

Mr. Marshall then said, "Mr. President, does this preclude any further discussion?" He laughingly said, "No." Mr. Marshall thereupon began to answer some of the views which President Taft had made in the memorandum, calling attention to the general line of argument which we had agreed upon, and emphasizing the proposition that the question involved was the integrity of American citizenship, which was more important to every American citizen than all of the dollars and cents that might be involved in any business ventures in which American citizens might be engaged in Russia; that we did not believe that the American people would permit private business interests to count against the principle that all American citizens were equal and were to be free from all discrimination; that if the commercial interests of any body of men were to be subserved at the cost of a loss of dignity on the part of our country and under circumstances which would constitute a reflection on American citizenship, the public at large would be found in opposition to such an attitude; that the question was not one which concerned the Jews as such, but involved the dignity of our Government when it issued its passport, and the sanctity of American citizenship.

The President replied that he appreciated the

position taken by Mr. Marshall, but asked him whether, as a lawyer, he believed that the situation was such as to call for the abrogation of the treaty. To which Mr. Marshall replied that he unquestionably did, especially in view of the provision which the treaty contained which permitted either party to terminate it on one year's notice, and that abundant cause existed for giving such notice. The President then asked whether we had taken into consideration what effect the termination of the treaty would have on our relations with Russia. Mr. Marshall answered that that proposition had been carefully considered; that it did not render commercial relations impossible, but that whoever undertook to carry on business with Russia would have to do so with knowledge that there were no commercial treaty relations between the two governments; that as a practical proposition, whoever wanted to buy would buy and whoever desired to sell would sell, and that inasmuch as Russia had disregarded the letter and spirit of the treaty of 1832 by arbitrarily excluding American citizens of the Jewish faith from Russia, the existence of a treaty could not be considered of any special value to the United States; but, whatever the effect might be upon our commerce, it was a negligible matter compared with the great and underlying question of the dignity of American citizenship.

Mr. Marshall then referred to the policy of preceding Administrations, which were in accord with the proposition that Jews who were American citizens had the right to enter Russia under the treaty equally with all other American citizens, and that the treaty could not be otherwise construed without

doing violence to the fundamental principle that American citizens could not be divided into classes, which gave to all equal rights and imposed upon all like duties.

Mr. Schiff then discussed the question from his standpoint and described the efforts that had been made to procure redress, the inability of our Government by diplomatic means to secure a change in the Russian policy, the desire of Russia to obtain American capital, and the opportuneness of our insisting at that particular time on a termination of the discriminatory policy which Russia was pursuing at the very time when she was seeking American capital.

After this discussion had been going on for some time, the President said: "I have just received a communication from Mr. Rockhill, the American Ambassador at St. Petersburg, a part of which I shall be glad to have you read." He thereupon took from his secretary a long letter from which he tore a number of pages, which he stated had no reference to the matter with which we were concerned, and handed it to Mr. Marshall, with the suggestion that if we desired we might withdraw into an adjoining room for the purpose of reading the letter and discussing it among ourselves. We accepted his suggestion and Mr. Marshall read to us quite a long communication, in which Mr. Rockhill presented the stock arguments of Russia with respect to the Jews, the contention that if given greater rights than they had they would exploit the peasants, and that there were reasons which made it necessary for Russia, in conducting her internal affairs, to deal with the Jewish problem as she had

done and to withhold from the Jews of other countries the right to enter Russia. I do not pretend to accurately quote this letter. I am merely stating its general effect.

We had very little time to say anything to each other except to express our astonishment, as we had been informed by the President's secretary, Charles D. Norton, that the President had to leave in twenty minutes to fill another appointment. Therefore, after reading Mr. Rockhill's letter, we decided that Mr. Marshall and Mr. Schiff should make reply to the President in such manner as might appear best to them, both of said gentlemen having asked that they be permitted to express themselves.

We thereupon returned to the library, where the President was awaiting us, and Mr. Schiff, speaking first, protested that, as all of us had understood the invitation, the President desired to have a conference with us to learn our views as to what should be done in the difficult situation with which the Administration found itself confronted, because of the unwillingness of the Russian Government to yield to the request our Government had made to remove, or at least modify, the discrimination which was being made against American Jews who desired to enter Russia. Instead of this, what we expected to be a conference had resulted in a communication to us by the President of foregone conclusions on his part that he had decided to do nothing whatsoever without even having given us an opportunity to state our own views.

Mr. Schiff continued: "Mr. President, you have said that you are not prepared to permit the commercial interests of ninety-eight million of the

American people to suffer because two million feel that their rights as American citizens are being infringed upon. My own opinion has always been that it was the privilege of the head of this nation that, if only a single American citizen was made to suffer injury, the entire power of this great Government should be exercised to procure redress for such injury, and now you tell us because some special interests who are trading with Russia might suffer if the abrogation of the treaty was carried into effect, you would not do anything to protect two million American citizens in the rights vouchsafed to them under our Constitution and laws.

“We feel deeply mortified, that in this instance, Mr. President, you have failed us, and there is nothing left to us now but to put our case before the American people directly, who are certain to do us justice.”

Mr. Schiff added, “In 1861, a small but in some respects potential minority claimed that it would be better to permit the slave states to go out of the Union instead of risking a Civil War; but public opinion insisted that the slave must be freed and the Union remain supreme at any cost; the war for the right was thereupon fought and won, even with all the sacrifice it necessitated. To this same public opinion, Mr. President, we shall now turn, and we have no fear of the results.” The President expressed regret, but could not see any other course to pursue.

Thereupon the various conferees shook hands with the President and left the White House. As we went down the stairs, Mr. Schiff said, “This means war,” and authorized that he be drawn on to the

extent of \$25,000, if necessary, for a fund to carry on a campaign of education to bring about the abrogation of the treaty, which generous action was thoroughly characteristic of Mr. Schiff. A few minutes afterwards Mr. Bettman made the statement, "Wir sind in 'Golus.'" (We are still suffering.) I have always remembered these two contrasting points of view.

The day after, while at the White House, the President saw me, and in the most good-humored way said, "Wasn't Mr. Schiff angry yesterday?"

A few days after the conference, Mr. Schiff wrote a letter to President Taft from Palm Beach, which reads as follows, and is in every way a document of historical value:

Hotel Poinciana,
Palm Beach, Florida,
February 20, 1911.

Mr. President:

I desire to take the first opportunity I can find since leaving Washington to thank you for the courteous hospitality extended to me, with others, at your family luncheon table last Wednesday and to assure you of the great pleasure it was to meet Mrs. Taft and your daughter.

I wish I could say that the "Conference" which followed the luncheon, and to which you asked us, had turned out equally satisfactory. It could scarcely be termed a *Conference*, as expressed in the invitation. It was rather a call to the White House for the purpose of acquainting those who had been asked with the final conclusions you had reached concerning the Russian Passport question, and as to which your party and you personally had given such clear and positive assurances during the campaign in which you were elected to the Presidency.

The main reasons, which as you explained, led you to the conclusion that it was impractical to further act upon the pledges were:

First: That Russia's failure to live up to its obligation under the treaty of 1832 to honor the American Passport, through an application of a faith test, had though constantly protested against, been permitted to continue for so long a period of time, that it was now too late to enforce the only logical remedy, the abrogation of the treaty.

Second: That special interests had in the course of time acquired rights, and that commercial relations had become established which might be jeopardized, if existing treaties with Russia were denounced.

Third: That it was moreover feared, that in case of such action on our part, pogroms and massacres of Russian Jews, such as shocked the world in 1905, might be repeated.

As to the last horrible prospect, those at the Conference undertook to assure you, that we were ready to take the responsibility upon our own shoulders; that the Russian Government having by its cruel treatment of its Jewish subjects forced the Jew all over the world into an attitude of hostility, it was recognized by our coreligionists that in such a situation, as in war, each and every man, wherever placed, must be ready to suffer, and if need be, to sacrifice his life.

The fact that certain trade interests, notably the Harvester and Sewing machine industries we assume, might be the losers from the abrogation of the treaty under which we live with Russia, but which on her part she ignores whenever this suits her, will, I believe, be hardly accepted as a good and substantial reason for the maintenance of the treaty on our part, by the gross of the American people, who not only quickly resent insult to what our flag represents—equality for and justice to all who live under it, but desire moreover their Government to adopt a firm attitude in the defense of the rights of every Ameri-

can citizen. The fact that the denial of the rights by Russia has heretofore been permitted to continue without positive remedial action, except repeated protests, is hardly a good reason why at some time our long patience should not come to an end. Nor has Russia at any time heretofore ignored our treaty rights in such flagrant and insulting a manner, as she now does, when she goes so far as not to hesitate to publicly announce that an Ambassador of the United States, when he confesses the Jewish religion can not enter her dominions, except as an exceptional favor and by a special permit. And this is the same Russia which during the past few days has actually threatened China, which it is true, is weak, with war, because the latter as Russia claims, is ignoring the rights of a few Russian traders, secured to them under an old treaty, which until recently, as is stated, had not been considered of any value.

I am writing this, Mr. President, while away from home without consulting with those with whom I called on you, upon your invitation last Wednesday, so that the responsibility for this communication is entirely mine. Because of this, I may repeat that I am personally overcome with a feeling of disappointment and sorrow, that from what you have said at our recent meeting, you are apparently of the opinion that no further consideration need be given the party and personal pledges which have been made.

If what is generally meant by a *Conference*, as it was expressed in the invitation, had taken place, and if in its course we should have been asked, what in face of your own conclusions, we can yet advise to be done, we would likely have repeated the suggestion we made to you some eight or nine months ago, that all negotiations through our Ambassador in St. Petersburg be terminated, and that further demands upon Russia to live up to her treaty obligations, be accompanied by the firm request, that discussions and negotiations be carried on in Washington. The Court atmosphere at the Russian Capital appears to

affect our Ambassadors in a manner, which is not conducive to the most effectual representation of such interests as are involved in this controversy; and we might further have said that something might be accomplished if the high-minded attitude taken by Representative Herbert Parsons, in the questions at issue, should receive the support of the administration, instead of otherwise. It is well to add here, that Mr. Parsons has, as far as I know, consulted none of us in what he has done and was, as he has assured me, solely impelled in offering his resolution, by the mortification he had long felt, that Russia should be permitted to offer such constant insult to the American people.

Notwithstanding the present discouragement we have received, I have the unshakable belief that at some time public opinion, that most emphatic voice of the American People, will compel the Government to resent the continuous insult to them which Russia has only too long been permitted to inflict by the non-observance of its treaty obligations.

Very respectfully,

JACOB H. SCHIFF.

To the President,
Washington, D. C.

To this letter the President sent the following reply:

The White House, February 23, 1911.

My Dear Mr. Schiff:

I have yours of February 20th, and I only answer it in order to correct some misapprehensions on your part.

In the first place, my party and I personally gave no assurance that we would take the step to which you urge us. We said we would take all proper steps to give to the American passport the effect that it ought to have with respect to all our citizens without regard to creed or race.

My objection to taking the step which you mention is that it would not accomplish the object which we both would like to accomplish. It would merely injure other people without accomplishing any good for those whose right to equal treatment as American citizens, which I believe the Russian treaty secures, is not recognized by Russia.

The object of the conference or meeting was to enable me to say to you in an informal manner why I could not make it consistent with my duty to take the step in abrogation of the treaty which you recommend. I wished to be as frank as possible, and I therefore took the method of inviting you all to the White House, where I could speak with entire freedom.

The reasons which you assign to me are not either fairly or properly stated. The abrogation of the treaty if we can not make another treaty—as we can not—is not a logical remedy to secure a recognition of our passports in Russia. On the contrary, if we abrogate the treaty our passports will not have as much effect in Russia as they now have.

Nor are the persons or business enterprises to be most injuriously affected by the denunciation of the treaty confined to the harvester and sewing machine companies.

You miss the point as to the age of the treaty, which is this: It was objected by Mr. Parsons and others that it was undignified, improper and cowardly on the part of this Government to permit a treaty to stand—one section of which the Russian Government has persistently violated. My reply to this is that if this conduct is thus to be characterized, it is the conduct of this country since 1852, when the question was first raised, and there has been no change of circumstances which makes the action which you ask more necessary or exigent than it has been in the last fifty years. On the contrary, the status which has been maintained for fifty years has been one upon which many innocent persons have acted and have assumed

in making investments in Russia that the treaty would not be denounced.

I do not think that the abrogation of the treaty will leave the Russian Jews who attempt to come to this country in a less favorable condition.

I am very sorry to disappoint you, but I have considered this at great length and with every desire to secure a proper recognition of the American passport in Russia, but I differ with you as to the proper step to take to secure this object. I believe—and in this I am following the information that I get from gentlemen whose judgment is entirely reliable, including our Ambassador—that the present condition can be ameliorated by patient effort and constant attention to it, and this I shall continue to bring to bear on it no matter how severe your criticism and that of other gentlemen upon my course, may be. The proposition to bring the matter for discussion to Washington is entirely absurd because Russia would put her Ambassador under such restriction—as she already has—as to make a conference with him entirely futile.

Sincerely yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, Esquire,
Hotel Royal Poinciana,
Palm Beach, Fla.

Feb. 25, 1911.

P. S.—I have submitted your letter and my answer to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and I enclose a copy of his written comment on the correspondence.

I may add, with respect to your being summoned to a conference, that I did in advance state informally my conclusion, and that was the chief occasion for calling you. But I certainly gave opportunity, both to you and to Mr. Marshall, and to all the others who were there, to state your views on the subject, and I presume that that sufficed to make it a conference in fact; and, as a matter of fact, I have given the fullest consideration to what was said to me by you and Mr.

Marshall, although it was a repetition of what I had already found in Mr. Marshall's elaborate petition which had been forwarded to me.

The letter from Secretary Nagel, which the President enclosed to Mr. Schiff, reads as follows:

Department of Commerce and Labor,
February 25, 1911.

My Dear Mr. President:

I return the letter from Mr. Schiff, and also your answer that you handed me yesterday in Cabinet meeting and both of which I took away by mistake. I have again read both letters since then, and am very much impressed with the patience which you exhibit in your answer. At the same time, it appears to me that is the wiser course to pursue.

I think that the gentlemen whom you invited did expect more of a conference, and perhaps with reason; but that is an unimportant feature in the case. The result was necessarily the same, and your desire to give them the benefit of the reasons which you could not publicly discuss certainly constituted occasion enough for the invitation.

The unfairest part of Mr. Schiff's letter I think is his reference to the Harvester and Sewing Machine industries as constituting the trade between this country and Russia. This discloses a readiness on his part to play upon a chord of popular prejudice which it must be said is usually played upon at his expense. Furthermore, his statement is untrue because these interests do not comprise all the exports to Russia, and more especially because these interests are necessarily the pioneers for a much more extended international commerce. This feature these gentlemen have constantly overlooked. The question is not what the commercial relations are today, or what commercial value we might lose today, by an abrogation of the treaty; the real question is whether the forces that now sustain the important relation between this country and Russia and between Russia and all the

civilized world would be paralyzed by the action which these gentlemen have proposed. In other words, ultimately more justice for the Jews will be secured by the enlightenment which attends and follows free commercial intercourse than will ever be done by a threat or by a severance of relations.

Very sincerely yours,

CHARLES NAGEL.

Following this abortive conference the representatives of the several national organizations who had taken part in it concerted a general movement, having in view the bringing to bear the public opinion of the country on the President and the Congress in relation to this all important matter. Accordingly the executives of the American Jewish Committee, the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, and of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, joined in inaugurating a series of conferences with Senators and Representatives of the various states in their home districts, and in organizing and marshaling the already existing sentiment of the country in favor of positive action in the matter of the Russian treaty. The result of these movements became manifest in a growing urgency for the abrogation of the treaty, and after lengthy discussions in both the House and the Senate, Congress, on December 13, 1911, adopted resolutions directing the President to notify the Government of Russia of the purpose of the American Government to terminate the treaty of 1832 on the first of January, 1913. Just after this action of Congress, Mr. Adolf Kraus and myself had occasion to visit the President, and he told us that he would make us a Christmas gift by giving official notice to Russia.

During the time preceding the final action of Con-

gress, I received from Senator S. M. Cullom, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, a very interesting letter which, being of special import, I include herein:

United States Senate,
Committee on Foreign Relations,
Washington, D. C., December 14, 1911.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Friend:

Your favor of the 11th instant, accompanying twenty copies of the "International Law and the Discriminations Practiced by Russia under the Treaty of 1832," was duly received. The committee was in such confusion when the pamphlets were received that I did not distribute them, but will do so with pleasure.

I want to refer to my letter of a few days ago concerning hearings before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. We are not in the habit of giving hearings, but sometimes when a Senator desires to be heard or has some one he would like to have appear before the committee we grant the request, just as we did in the case of Senator Culberson who came to me and said that he and another gentleman wanted to appear before the committee, on yesterday.

If it should be decided to have any more hearings on the question of the termination of the treaty of 1832 between the United States and Russia and you desire to appear before the committee, I shall be glad to hear from you. My impression is, however, that no additional hearing is necessary, as the country seems determined that action be taken on the subject by Congress.

Very truly yours,
S. M. CULLOM.

Secretary Root, on November 8, 1911, addressed a letter to me in reply to one which I had sent him a

few days previous to this date, advising the Department of State, that as Chairman of the Board of Delegates on Civil Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and representative of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, resident in Washington, I had received many requests to intercede with the Government in behalf of the Jews in Russia. In acknowledging my letter, Secretary Root said:

“In reply to your request that, although you are cognizant of the fact that the present is not a favorable time for intervention or representations by the United States, the department will, if it can, point out a way in which it can be of service to these unfortunate people, I have to say I quite concur in your view that at this juncture any action by this Government, looking to the relief of your coreligionists in Russia would be inopportune and unavailing. With the hoped-for establishment of a more liberal form of government, and the restoration of administrative control over the remote scenes of the occurrences which are so greatly to be deplored, this Government may look for a practical response to its repeated solicitations of freer treatment of American Hebrews, and may be in a position to exert efficient good influence toward the more liberal treatment of all Jews in Russia, and their better protection from the consequences of deep-lying racial antagonisms. The problem is one which strongly attracts the sympathetic attention of this Government.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,
ELIHU ROOT.”

As soon as the treaty had been abrogated by Congress and the President, December 18, 1911, I wrote the following letter:

Atlantic City, N. J., Dec. 19, 1911.

My Dear Mr. President:

Illness yesterday prevented my congratulating you on the happy solution you have so admirably brought about. I never doubted for a moment that when the hour came to act, you would be found doing the right thing for all our people.

God bless you and give you not only in this, but in the coming administration, the confidence and good will you so eminently deserve.

Sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

To which he replied:

The White House,

Washington, D. C., Dec. 21, 1911.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I thank you warmly for the kind words of your letter of December 19th. I took the only course that was open to me, after the negotiations had exhausted every resource of diplomacy.

Sincerely yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

In connection with the agitation of the passport question, Mr. John Hays Hammond had been referred to as one who was opposed to the granting of the passports and who had endeavored to influence President Taft accordingly.

Correspondence on this subject which I have read dispels completely any suspicion against Mr. Hammond.

The letter from President Taft, quoted below, confirms the assertion of Mr. Hammond's Jewish friends that he had not at any time endeavored to exert any influence in this matter. On the contrary, the cor-

respondence shows that Mr. Hammond made repeated attempts through influential Russian sources to improve the condition of the Jews in Russia.

In view of Mr. Hammond's many years of association with leading Jewish financiers abroad and in this country in connection with mining investments, and the many warm friends he has among the members of the Jewish people the world over, it seems only justice to Mr. Hammond to make this statement.

November 26, 1917.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

My friend, John Hays Hammond, is anxious that you should not do him injustice in the chapter in your Memoirs in respect to the Jewish passport question. I am glad to be able to confirm Mr. Hammond's statement that never at any time did he endeavor to influence my attitude on the passport question. He was very careful not to talk with me about it. Indeed he was exceedingly particular not to discuss Russia with me, and I did not know he was going to Russia. He did not go at all at my suggestion, or with any official or unofficial errand from me. He had nothing to do in forming my opinion as I expressed it at the conference interview. I am glad to do this justice to Mr. Hammond, and I am sure you will be glad to have me do it.

As ever,

Sincerely yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

Mr. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

When the Executive Committee of the Order of the B'nai B'rith met subsequent to the action of Congress they voted a gold medal to President Taft, which, under the laws of the Order, was to be given to the person who had done great service for human-

ity, as is evidenced by the following letter of Mr. Kraus, president of the Order:

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF B'NAI B'RITH
CHICAGO, ILL.

June 24, 1912.

Honorable Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, lately held in the City of Berlin, Germany, the following action was officially taken as shown by the record of that meeting:

"There was next taken up the voting of the gold medal to the man, or woman, regardless of creed, who has contributed most during the year to the welfare of the Jewish cause. After full discussion it was decided that President William Howard Taft of the United States of America had on various occasions during the year fearlessly, justly and vigorously enunciated doctrines and maintained positions on questions in which the Jewish people have been vitally interested, albeit they are of not less significance to lovers of liberty and justice the world over; that the position so taken by one as a head of a great nation gave new hopes of better days to come for the persecuted of our people; that in recognition thereof the medal should be and accordingly it was voted to President Taft."

Yourself, Judge Stein, and myself were appointed a committee to present the medal to President Taft. Judge Stein just returned from Europe two days ago, and I arrived home only a few days earlier. Will you kindly arrange with those who may be expected to know the President's movements, for an acceptable time for us to make the presentation?

Sincerely yours,

ADOLF KRAUS.



PRESENTATION OF GOLD MEDAL TO PRESIDENT TAFT BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE I. O. B. B. IN 1912.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

Subsequently the Executive Committee met in the City of Washington, and were the guests of President Taft at luncheon, at which function Mr. Kraus presented the medal. The ladies of the household and relatives temporarily stopping there were also present. At the conclusion of the luncheon a photographic group was taken on the south portico of the Executive Mansion. Mr. Julius I. Peyser, ex-president of District Grand Lodge No. 5, having been invited to be at the meeting, formed one of the group.

After this picture had been taken, President Taft detained me on the porch for a few moments, and in telling me of an affectionate incident that had occurred between Mr. Roosevelt and himself on the morning of Mr. Taft's inauguration as President, he spoke with the kindest feeling for his old friend and gave evidence of keen regret that conditions had severed their friendly relations.

It is but justice to say that during all the years of agitation for the recognition of the passport, and which finally lead to the abrogation of the treaty with Russia, Hon. Henry M. Goldfogle, member of Congress from New York City, did yeoman service.

In November, 1912, a report was circulated that the United States was about to make a temporary agreement with Russia. Mr. Kraus addressed a letter to me, calling my attention to the matter, in which he stated:

Nov. 20, 1912.

Hon. Simon Wolf.

Washington, D. C.

My Dear Brother Wolf:

You will find enclosed an editorial which appeared in today's *Chicago Record-Herald*. I received also a letter from one of the members of the Execu-

tive Committee inquiring as to what I know of the action of the President. I have not looked up the question as to whether or not the President has the power to enter into any such an agreement and I do not believe that President Taft made any such agreement if he has the power, but I wish you would look into the question and ascertain if you can what truth, if any, there is to the report.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

ADOLF KRAUS.

P. S.—Since dictating the above I received by mail several letters, and it looks as though I am going to be swamped with questions as to what we are going to do concerning the commercial agreement with Russia. I quote from the letter from a State Senator: “Well, things are coming out just as I told Dr. Cyrus Adler and as I warned our friends in the East last summer. I felt that Knox would negotiate a commercial treaty with Russia and postpone indefinitely that feature of it in which we are most interested. If this commercial treaty goes through, the trouble that resulted in the abrogation of the present one will continue and we will be just where we started.”

If after all it should turn out that the reports as to an agreement are true, it's ten to one that Mr. Roosevelt will take it up against the present administration, and if he does he will raise an issue that will over-shadow all the others. I fear that there is going to be some music in the air.

A. K.

Mr. Kraus the following day further addressed me:

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 21, 1912.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Brother Wolf:

This morning I received a letter from Brother Furth in which among other things he says: “Don't

you think that Brother Simon Wolf should be requested to call on the President and inform him of our views and wishes in this matter, and at the same time get some declaration from him? I think that if we are engaged in world work we should show our interest in this matter by bringing about an official conference between President Taft and our representative."

If it is true that the commercial treaty remains in force by executive agreement pending further negotiations, then there is going to be a howl from one end of the country to the other. The President will be accused of giving notice of the abrogation of the treaty for political purposes only, with the preconceived design to stop Congress from passing the resolution, and fooling the people. I am sure of the President's good faith in spite of newspaper reports. At the same time, it seems to me it will be absolutely necessary for you to find out where we are, and if what I still believe to be impossible should after all turn out not only to be possible but to be a fact, it will have controlling influence upon our future action. If there is any way for you to ascertain, in case the newspaper reports are correct, if anything is left undone so that the administration can still be influenced not to complete the act, lose no time to advise me by wire.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

ADOLF KRAUS.

Mr. Kraus was so greatly agitated over reports received by cable from Saloniki that this same day he wired me as follows:

"As time is precious, have wired President Taft following: 'Received cable report from Constantinople from reliable source that the Greeks are plundering Jewish quarter in Saloniki, destroying the Synagogues, raping women. That the German and

French Ambassadors have protested to the Government at Athens and that similar action by our government is prayed for.' If you deem advisable, interview Secretary Knox."

On November 22d, I wired Mr. Kraus:

"Your letters received. Have written you at length. Have had every assurance that no pact ignoring the passport question will be entertained. Will see the President Saturday again. Today he is invisible, writing message. Will keep you advised and will leave nothing undone to secure an affirmative statement."

At the earliest possible moment I took the matter up with the President by letter, as follows:

November twenty-second, 1912.

To the President:

The wires are kept busy and the mail no less, in asking me to see you at once and get a definite statement from you as to the attitude of the administration on the statements contained in the press as to an agreement between this country and Russia, whereby trade relations would be continued after the abrogation of the treaty has gone into effect, thus practically abrogating the abrogation, and nullifying the wish of the American people, who by a unanimous vote of their representatives in both Houses of Congress, and by your own act as Executive of the Nation, gave plain and unmistakable notice to the Russian government that the United States would no longer tolerate any relations with Russia, unless the passport in the hands of an American citizen should be recognized and be effective to all intents and purposes, no matter to what nationality or faith the holder thereof might belong.

I have been frank and outspoken to all these letters, telegrams and personal interviews, by assuring them that you would not entertain such a proposi-

tion; that as far as the administration was concerned, you would be found firm in your attitude towards Russia, no matter how much our commerce for the moment might suffer. This great Nation which has survived a Civil War for four years, costing billions of money, but which was fought for a great principle, surely can not afford to permit an equally great principle to be sacrificed in the interest of trade. Independent of this, the fact having gone into all parts of the world that the United States took high ground on a vital principle which constitutes the Republican ideal of government, and had given notice to Russia of the abrogation of a friendly treaty, encouraged the friends of human rights, and now to destroy, by a conciliatory act these high types on the part of the struggling all over the world, independent of our own free people, would be violative of every principle of our government, and justify the enemies of free institutions in their contempt for our promises.

I have every assurance from those in a position to know that the President-elect will stand by the pledges made by Congress, and by your own act, and that no treaty relations will be resumed by the incoming administration unless the passport question is satisfactorily adjusted.

I would be exceedingly gratified to have an affirmative statement from you, embodying the views that you have personally expressed to me.

Very sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

The President did keep faith with us, and there was no agreement of the kind feared ever made with Russia, which was no surprise to me, as I never for a moment doubted the sincerity of President Taft or his advisers.

A few days later I received from him a letter,

which confirmed in every way my own opinion of the whole matter. His letter reads:

The White House, November 26, 1912.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

With reference to the reports that we are engaged in making a temporary agreement with Russia to take the place of the agreement which we have abrogated, I beg to assure you that we expect to make no agreement of this kind, or of any kind. What we have been doing is examining the existing treaties and statutes and international law applicable to a situation like that which will occur after our treaty with Russia of 1832 shall cease to be. We do not expect to change, by any agreement, or so-called *modus vivendi*, the *status quo*, which the abrogation of the treaty will leave on the first of January next by its ceasing to have effect.

Sincerely yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE INDEPENDENT ORDER
OF B'NAI B'RITH, HELD IN WASHINGTON, D. C., 1910.

In April, 1910, when the General Convention of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, a national and international fraternal Jewish organization, convened at Washington, meeting at the Arlington Hotel, a banquet was tendered on April 6th to the visiting delegates, in which many of the leading citizens of Washington participated. After having called the audience to order, I turned the banquet over to Rabbi Abram Simon, of Washington, who presided in his usual felicitous manner. President Taft honored us by being one of the speakers. His address was one long to be remembered and should

be preserved for all time as an historical document. He said:

“Ladies and Gentlemen of the B'nai B'rith:

It is a great pleasure to be here and to welcome to Washington so important a society. We haven't any Mayor in Washington—we only have a District Commission, so the President is drafted in to act the part of a Mayor at Washington.

I am not here to make a speech; I am only here to try and make you welcome in the National Capital. I am sure that by your coming here you indicate that you like to come here, that you like to find this Capital what it is—the most beautiful city in the country. We have occasionally, a little controversy in Washington between those who are fortunate enough to be permanent residents here and those who are not permanent residents, but govern the city. Those who are permanent residents think that they ought to govern the city, and those who are not, think that the city is a federal city, a city of the entire country, and that instead of seeking to govern the city, they ought to thank the Lord that they are here at all. (Laughter.)

We have great plans for Washington and I hope that they will develop. Certainly there is every prospect that the beauty of the city will continue to grow. Those of you who have been in the wilder places about Washington will understand the opportunity that there is for development. I am, with respect to Washington, at least, an expansionist. (Applause.) I wish that our neighbor, Virginia, would give back those few square miles that in the younger days of the Republic, when we were not as

wise as we are now and had a Congress that was narrow-minded, we retroceded to Virginia that part of the ten miles square that Virginia had given us. But Virginians, like their ancestors, like real estate, and they are rather loath to give back that which once was ours, and which we, as I say, in a fit of absent-mindedness and with a narrow view of our future, allowed them to take back. If we had it here now, with the beautiful bank of the Potomac on the other side, we could construct a park there that would be becoming in dignity to the National Capital. (Applause.)

We have below here—if you ride horseback I will be glad to take you down and show you—an island nearly two miles long and from one-half to three-quarters of a mile wide, immediately at the door of the city, which if added to the Potomac Park we now have will make one of the finest drives and one of the finest parks in the world. We now have appropriations from Congress to proceed to fill up, to kill all the mosquitoes that are generated there, and to make it worthy of the surroundings, with that magnificent monument to the Father of His Country presiding over it all. (Applause.)

But I do not come here to make a speech about Washington. I came here to welcome you to Washington. I have known the B'nai B'rith for many years, for its good work, for the social opportunities that it gives, and as a model Jewish Society. (Applause.) And when I say a model Jewish Society, I mean a Society that may be a model for all societies. (Applause.) They have a rule in the Gridiron Club which prevents the praise of newspaper men, that being a newspaper club, but I hope no such inhos-

pitabile rule prevails in the B'nai B'rith, and that I may be permitted to say one or two things of the value to this country of its Jewish citizens. (Applause.)

I am fortunate in having a wife who controls the family and she has had a great interest in music. She took upon her shoulders, while we were living in Cincinnati, the organization of an orchestra association and the support of an orchestra there. She struggled and worked very hard, and while I am no musician at all—I am only a brother-in-law to music, so to speak—I naturally came to have an intense sympathy with her in the efforts which she made to arouse among the citizens of Cincinnati an interest in the highest musical culture in order that we might sustain an orchestra. If you have never tried to sustain an orchestra, if you have never come in contact with people truly musical, you do not understand the troubles that arise in dealing with geniuses. She had all those troubles, but at her back, and in making what she did possible, in raising thirty thousand dollars a year, and in carrying on that association, she found the leading Jewish members of Cincinnati society with her and supporting every concert and every effort that she made, and I have never ceased to be grateful to them.

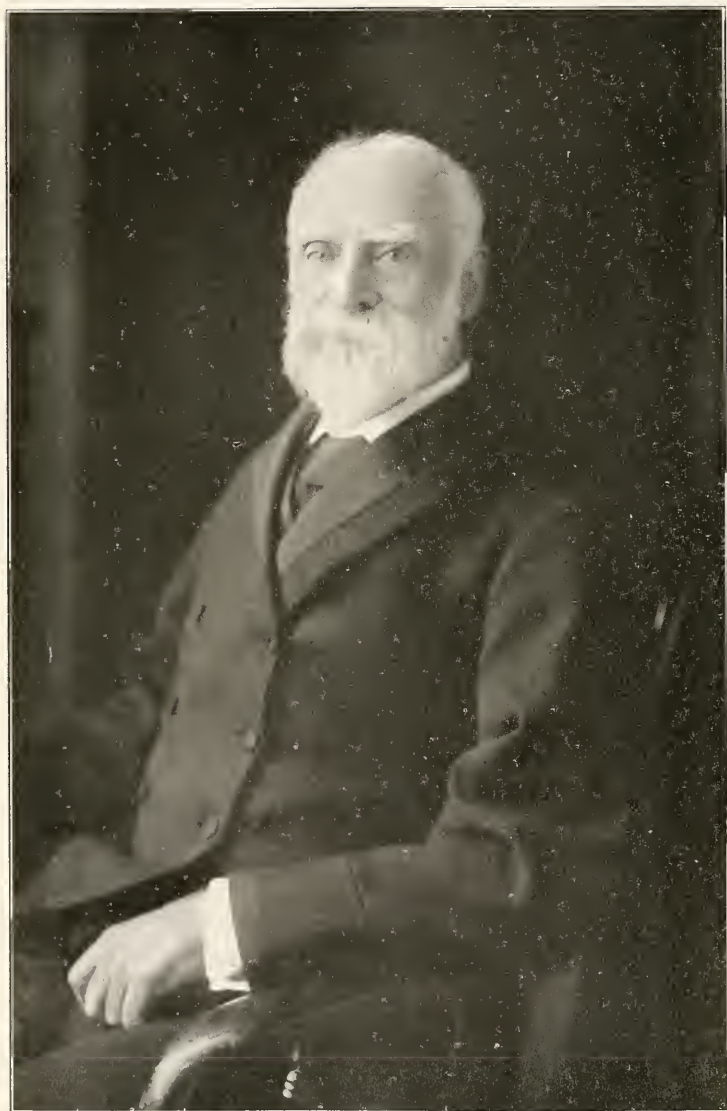
The truth is, before I had this education I was a Philistine; I thought that music, especially in the higher grades of it was something that nobody understood who was worth anything; that the study of it was the pursuit of a fad, and one who stood solidly on the ground might well disregard it. But I have learned a great many things since that time, and I have learned that the man who neglects the cultiva-

tion of any art, who neglects the study of any art, to which he has the slightest turn, is neglecting that which the Lord gave him to enjoy. And when he is a Philistine and ignores and sneers at it, he only manifests his own ignorance of those enjoyments, of those methods of developing the soul and the emotion which have made the human race what it is. (Applause.)

Now, I have the profoundest admiration for the Jewish race, because in addition to their many other virtues, they are essentially artistic, and they appreciate everything that is artistic. They make excellent citizens; they are in favor of law and order always and I am glad to have them come to this country. (Applause.) I have known those who have been in the country as long as I have, and therefore just as much Americans as I am. I also have had the privilege of knowing those who were come but recently, and I have always found in them the profoundest appreciation of our institutions of liberty, the profoundest appreciation of our educational facilities, and their—what sometimes those of us who have sons and daughters in competition in the schools realize—ability generally to stand first in their class. (Applause.)

I am an Unitarian. I do not know whether you have heard that in the last campaign or not. The church where my father had a pew, and where I always went to church, stood next to the Jewish synagogue, presided over by that distinguished Jew, that learned man, that patriot and citizen, Rabbi Isaac M. Wise. (Applause.) Rabbi Lilienthal was also a gentleman to whom my father taught me in my childhood to look up to, and our churches were

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR • LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



JAMES BRYCE

so close together that occasionally we interchanged pulpits. So that you see, on the main question, I am orthodox.

Now, my friends, I had not intended to say so much, but if, in what I have said, I have conveyed to you my high appreciation of the race that you represent—the oldest race in the world—the race that is entitled really to be the aristocrats of the world, and yet who make the best Republicans—I have succeeded in what I hoped to do. (Applause.)

As will be noted, throughout the address of the President great applause prevailed. The banquet was one of the most memorable in the history of the Jewish people of the United States, for not only was the President there, but Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, Hon. James Bryce, the British Ambassador; Hon. John W. Foster, ex-Secretary of State; Admiral Winfield Scott Schley, Hon. T. V. Powderly, ex-Commissioner-General of Immigration; Hon. Cuno H. Rudolph, President of the Board of Commissioners; Justice Wendell Phillip Stafford, Hon. Jacob H. Schiff, and others prominent in the public and social life of the nation.

Ambassador Bryce's speech:

"Mr. Toastmaster, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I thank you for the invitation which has been given by my friend, Mr. Simon Wolf, to come to your hospitable board tonight, and I desire to express to you the very sincere pleasure that it gives me to be present, at a gathering of this great international society which has been the agent for so

much good, most of all here in America, yet also in many of the European countries. It is all the more pleasure to me because I have, like the President, the good fortune to have a great many Jews among my personal friends, and I had the compliment paid me sometime ago in England of being elected an honorary member of the Jewish Historical Society, which has conducted researches of great interest and value into the history of the Jews in England from the first times when they were in that country down to our own day.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am here to bring you the greetings from England to this gathering in America. I can do that all the more heartily, all the more sincerely, because I congratulate you in this country—I mean the people, the citizens of the American Republic—upon having held fast to those excellent principles of civil and religious liberty and equality which were first proclaimed as regards the people of Israel, in the English Commonwealth of the 17th Century. (Applause.)

It is one of the glories of that day that Oliver Cromwell was the first ruler of England, who allowed the Jews who had been banished from it since the time of Edward the First, to return—although I fancy some of them had secretly come back. He was the first person who allowed them to settle in England and to do business and live peaceably there. That was a great and worthy act, one of the things for which the Protector deserves to be praised by your people as he is praised by ours. There is a story, ladies and gentlemen, that he was very nearly becoming an American, that he had actually taken his passage—that is to say, arranged to

sail in a vessel for that state which is now known as New England, and he was prevented by an act on the part of the Government, or King Charles the First, from reaching the vessel and setting sail. It was rather an unfortunate act on the part of Charles the First, which he subsequently must have regretted. Well, I do not vouch for the absolute accuracy of that story; I am not a newspaper reporter and therefore I can not vouch for the absolute accuracy of the very statement I make. But, if the story is not true, I do not wish it to be true, and I do not think it has ever been disproved, and Cromwell—whether he meant to come here or not, would have been a very worthy citizen of this continent. Whether he would have had any sphere here for the testing of his extraordinary talents, I do not know, but at any rate he would have been a model example of those principles of civil liberty, which he applied in our country when he allowed the Jews to come back into England. From that time on they have had a fair field in England; they have had a fair field not only as regards civil rights and political rights, but also as regards what is sometimes more difficulty secured, social rights. Nobody, in respect of his Jewish faith, is restricted to any social faith in England. I am proud of the fact and I am proud to say that there are no better people who stand higher in our respect, who are more valued in society for the sake of their own character and qualities, than the members of your own community in England. And I am happy to say that we have profited by the spirit which in that regard we have shown, because your race has given to us a great many men of high distinction who have rendered high service to our country. Two

of those men, in different spheres, happen to be personal friends of mine—one of them, one of our most distinguished lawyers who is constantly selected for important functions by our Government, Arthur Cohen, and another of our most learned scholars, Mr. Leonard Montefiore. You have also given us one remarkable Prime Minister, Mr. Disraeli. You have given us some great lawyers and some great judges. You have given us artists and musicians, as well as men of business, men who have adorned every profession that they have entered, and we are grateful for that and we are glad to think that the nation which tries to practice the principles of liberty, and which tries to practice the principles of social fairness and equality, profits by it. I wish that those countries in which these principles of liberty and equality are not so fully recognized, would understand how much they lose by their intolerant spirit. (Applause.) I will give at any rate one remote example: There was never a greater misfortune for Spain than in the day when she expelled her Jewish subjects, and some people have dated the decline of Spain not only from that day, but believe that much of the brightest and best intelligence of Spain was turned out to go to other lands.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I was told when I was invited to come here that I was to offer some remarks to you upon the subject of the Jews in history. That will be too large a subject of which I know too little to be worthy to treat, but it did suggest to me one feature, and one feature only which I will venture to give you. Many people think of history as if it was a record of political strife or parliamentary

debate and popular elections; but these things are not the essence and kernel of history; that which makes history, that in which the true and vital element of history consists is a study and knowledge of intellectual and moral and spiritual movements and forces, and that which strikes me when I think of the history of Israel is, that it is a history from the first down until now of the intellectual, moral and spiritual forces and of the power of their intellectual exercise and worth. It was your race, when it was a small race in the small Kingdom placed by the mighty powers of Egypt on the one side and Syria on the other—it was your race in those days that first proclaimed the Unity of God; it was your race that first gave to the world a great literature, a religious literature of strength and standard. And ever since it has been by intellectual and moral forces that your race has lived to serve the world, and there is no more striking example in history of the power which the spiritual forces can exert than this—that down to the present day, through all vicissitudes, you have been exposed to, through all the dangers, through all the persecutions, which have been more than renewed, it is your faith in Jehovah that has held you together as a people. Ladies and gentlemen, that is a wonderful record, and that is an inspiring thought, and I am glad to think that the purpose which brings you here tonight, the charitable and philanthropic aims to which this society of the B'nai B'rith is devoted, are aims and objects which are worthy of your ancient and historic spirit, aims for which you have the authority of the Prophets and the Psalms which we revere and which you revere and which we find brings us all close together.

Let me wish, ladies and gentlemen, all success and prosperity to this society of yours, and to this Order of the B'nai B'rith, and let me express my pleasure that it is developing and spreading in England as well as in America." (Applause.)

Concluding this wonderful address, the Ambassador spoke in German, referring to the friendship which should exist between England, Germany and the United States, the three great powers, where religious and political liberty exists, and where the citizens of all faiths are made thrice happy. Pity it is that the World War has completely destroyed the Ambassador's hopes.

Justice Wendell Philip Stafford, speaking on "Israel's Ideal of Justice," said:

"Ladies and Gentlemen:

I wish to say a few words tonight about the contribution Israel has made to the world's ideal of justice. Justice is undoubtedly the dearest interest that men possess. There is only one thing more important than to get justice, and that is to do justice. The race that has done most to elevate and widen the world's sense of justice has rendered it the greatest service. And let me say at once that the reading and reflection of a lifetime have led me to believe that that supreme distinction must be accorded to the Jew.

What is justice? Certainly it is not that thing which in a childish and partial view some men mistake for justice—the deserved punishment of guilt, or the reward of merit. Rather let us say it is that harmonious adjustment of all relations that comes of a keen and controlling sense of what is right. Jus-



JUSTICE WENDELL PHILIPS STAFFORD

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

tice is a universal concept. It is not in conflict with mercy. Mercy is only another name for justice. It is only another expression of the same infinite and divine face. If we ever think of mercy and justice as warring with each other it is only because our view is too narrow and contracted. Take it in a court of justice. It is never a question whether mercy shall be shown. Mercy ought always to be shown. The question is, how shall it be shown, and to whom shall it be shown, to the one or to the many, to the guilty or to the innocent, to the murderer or to him who may be his next victim if he shall go free, to the individual sufferer or to that great number who may be restrained by his example? And even to the offender some measure of punishment may be the truest mercy.

Now it is the glory of the Jew, that he clearly perceived this universal quality of justice. That unrivalled gift of spiritual insight that enabled him to stand in the crowded pantheon of pagan gods, unbewildered by their subtlety, unenamored of their beauty and proclaimed the everlasting truth that God is one—that same gift enabled him to see that God's character is one and perfectly consistent. He bowed down and said, "Our God is a consuming fire," and then lifted up his face in child-like confidence and said, "His mercy endureth forever." He saw that the two truths were not really two but one. He thought of God as a king who wraps creation round him like a garment, and yet he felt him to be a father, who leans down to catch the lowest whisper of his child. And his idea of God was one and the same with his idea of justice. Other peoples have pictured justice as an angel standing beside the

throne waiting with the glittering, unsheathed sword of vengeance, or holding before her blindfolded eyes the poised and pendent balance. The Hebrew went beyond all that. With the boldness of the seer he cried, "Justice and judgment are the habitation of Thy throne," as much as to say, "God's very throne is built upon his justice, and if God himself could fall away from justice he would in that same moment fall away from power." When has thought soared to a more daring height, or clothed itself in language more magnificent? Compare that sublime conception of the Jew with the vacillating deities of Olympus—creations of the most brilliant intellect the world has ever known.

And then he saw that justice was eternal. All things about him were in flux. Races might come and go, empires might rise and fall, but what was right yesterday was right today, and would be right tomorrow. There he took his stand. The earth might shake and tremble, the mountains might skip like young rams, but justice would never fail him, and underneath him were the everlasting arms. God gave him to see through the things that are ever changing, the things that never change.

And one thing more he saw—saw it with a clearness of vision never granted to any other, and held to it with a courage as stubborn as ever stood against the tide of battle—he saw that no matter what the opposition, no matter what the persecution, no matter what the apparent power of the oppressor, justice was sure to triumph in the end. That is the vision and the faith that have made his record glorious. Those are the wings of song. That is the burning coal of prophecy. The reign of the Messiah,

what is it after all but the final, the permanent establishment of Justice. That is the glorious future that is drawing to itself the hearts of men, and towards it all eyes are turning. Thousands of years ago the Hebrew saw it and proclaimed its coming. When all the world around lay buried in sleep and darkness he stood upon the mountain summit and caught the earliest ray of the ascending dawn. In prayer and psalm and prophecy, in the matchless splendor of oriental speech, he delivered his message and taught the world his truth—justice universal, eternal, triumphant.

No people was ever oppressed like these people. No people was ever so persecuted, so trodden upon, so prostrate. Yet none has triumphed so magnificently. Israel's ideal of justice has taken permanent possession of the human mind. Torn asunder by faction, driven from his country, scattered to the four winds of heaven, scourged up and down the highways of the world, stretched upon the rack, burned at the stake, massacred by the hundred thousand, a wanderer friendless and homeless, through the centuries, despised by the world he was liberating from its idols, Israel has stamped his ideal of justice upon the human consciousness itself, and lives in every upward movement of the race. I do not forget—though for the moment I may seem to do so—I do not forget what other races have contributed to the common store—Athens and Italy their sense of beauty, Sparta and Rome their love of discipline and order, Gaul and Germany their zeal for liberty, England and America the everblessed union of liberty under law. I do not forget what your own gifted race has wrought in other ways—in war and

state-craft, in music, art, poetry, science, history, philosophy—but, compared with the meaning and majesty of this achievement, every other work you have accomplished, every triumph of every other people sinks into insignificance. Give up every other claim to the world's gratitude before you surrender this: The world owes its conception of Justice to the Jew."

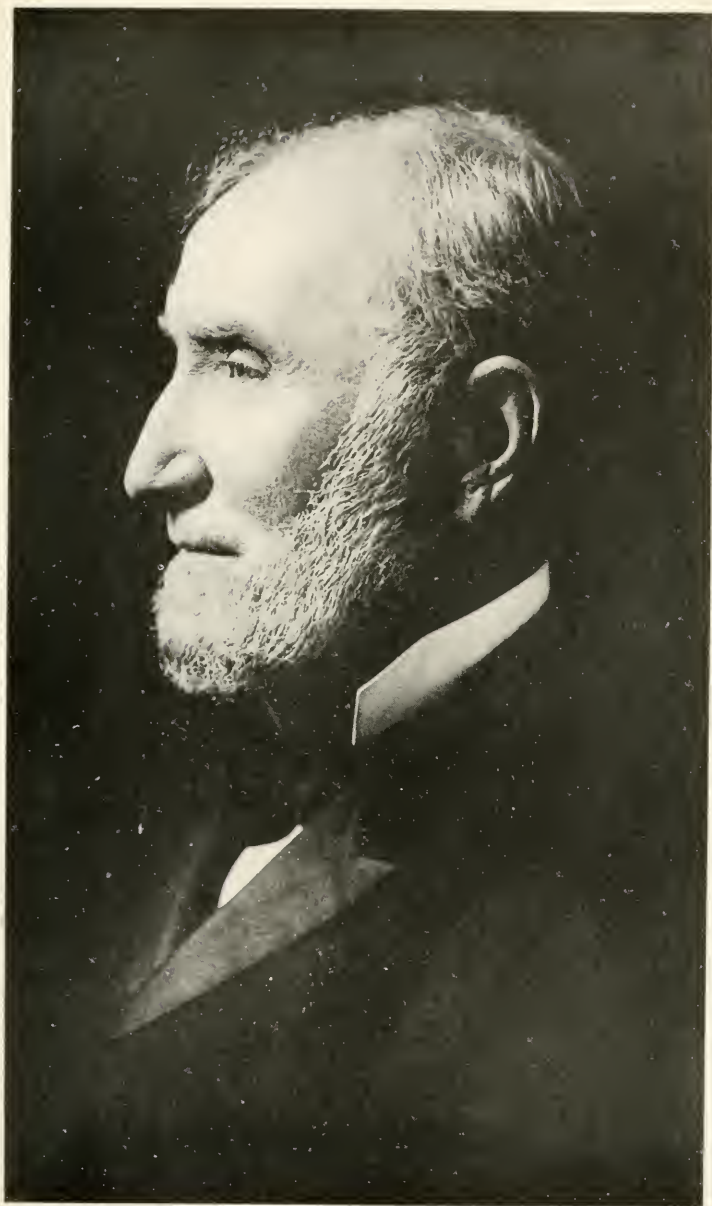
No speech that evening made a more deep and lasting impression than this wonderful oration.

RESPONSE OF HON. JOSEPH G. CANNON ON
"OUR COUNTRY"

Mr. Toastmaster, Citizens:

God, the first cause, responsible for the universe and all the human family. His children working out his original intentions from one century to another. We know not why, but we do know that the Father under universal Law will care for the creatures that he created. "Shalom alechem." Not only with you be peace, but with all the human family. Jew, Gentile, bond, free, wise, ignorant—all! Away back in the beginning so far as we know of your race, was that great master and prophet, Abraham. You, in common with all the human family have advanced, step by step and century by century after hundreds of years in bondage, after years in the desert under the leadership of Moses, preparing to enter the promised land.

The Jew has been persecuted since Jerusalem practically disappeared—yet upon the whole the Hebrew has thrived upon persecution as I look in your face tonight and upon your brothers, your professors, your Rabbis, your capitalists. I am glad that in the



JOSEPH G. CANNON
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
1910

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

United States we have a citizenship where each man under the law has an equal chance. Once in a while we have dissensions. Back in England, so magnificently represented by the Ambassador, Mr. Bryce, it is in comparatively recent times, when about the time of the Protector, the Puritan abounding and being on top there, having been persecuted, when he had power, turned with a strong hand on those who did not agree with him. It is the same spirit which led the Puritan in olden times to kill a cat on Monday for killing a rat on Sunday. And across the continent, across the ocean, the Puritan in those days had a monopoly on religion and on politics.

One-half of me, almost, is Quaker. My ancestors on that side settled in Massachusetts about the time Roger Williams was banished and went down to Providence Plantations with the Quakers to escape hanging, went over to Nantucket, the Coffins and the Folgers—I have a strain of that blood. On the other side, however, it is not quite so peaceful—if you will pardon me, for I am not profane, but wish to describe in simple words so that you may know, the other half—that side is—“D—— Irish,” so to speak. Once in a while it grows uncomfortable here.

Now all Hebrews are not wise. They say on the other side that labor is as well reared there as it is on this side, in the United States. I will not argue the question, but will ask friends who say so, why is it, with the gates swinging inwards, there comes from eight hundred thousand to twelve hundred thousand horny-handed sons of toil to the free land of our's every year? The only explanation is that here is a better opportunity for the man, woman and child. That is sufficient upon that. But once in a

while, under the leadership of Americans proper, and once in a while supplemented by some Hebrews, it remains for an English Jew to lead the crusade to apply the educational test for immigrants. Oh! If that test had been applied two hundred years ago I have ancestors who never would have gotten in. And instead of standing and looking you in the eye and talking to you, there would have been a little bit of me in Ireland, and probably a little bit in Alsace. But this was the land of the free and the home of the brave! *I have never been in harmony with the proposition to apply the educational test.* The Caucasian race, and we all belong to that race, in all times has made good. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread all thy life." I do not know whether Deity gave that piety to some other wise law giver, but it is literally true, *and I am not here as having one vote in the national legislature to shut the door in the face of any of the Caucasian race that are willing to come, whether they be educated or uneducated, and under the hand of honest, earned bread, the common schools will take care of the children.*

Many great characters have been contributed directly, or by descent from England, Ireland, Scotland and Germany, many great characters, Hebrew and Christian, so-called, and as I look in your faces I want to compliment you. As this great bulk of immigration comes in, subjects of the Czar, subjects of persecution, *be it said to the honor of the Hebrew race, we very rarely find one in the poor house, they are willing to work and they add so much to the progress of the country.*

I do not know that it is for me to further continue

my remarks, but before I sit down may I say one thing: we get something by heredity, we are more fortunate than the sons of Africa, the dark continent. What the multiplied thousands of years may bring to them I know not; what it has brought to us I have a faint suspicion of. Somebody said that God could not get along without men working under universal law. I apprehend that that is true, and with ninety millions of us in this country, may men of many minds appealing to the people every two and four years, for a man to speak for that ninety millions of people requires organization through parties, and progress can not be had otherwise than by organization. If the B'nai B'rith, however much it may dwell in your hearts and in your brains, if each man was hoeing his own row and you were without organization, you would make no considerable impress in the leadership of your brethren, or upon the citizenship at large. It is organization: A two-fold cord is strong, a three-fold cord is stronger, a four-fold cord is even stronger, and not easily broken, and I have but very little use for the self-constituted wise men that abound here and there throughout the country, that decry organization and will not co-operate. If you want to co-operate with any organization that ever has been upon this round earth, or ever will be in the tide of time, for perfection, you never will organize. Organization is here, organization is multiplied hundred of thousands of instances, corporations, co-operation and organizations by which people believe in the policy of co-operating together. Once in a while you find men that are in a political organization that would not play because it can not be perfect from their standpoint. Out on the Wabash

several decades ago the good Methodists got together and wanted to forsake the little old log church and build a new one. They raised the money, but they began to quarrel, not about the size of the church building, no, no; they all agreed about the size, they agreed about everything, except there was one toppy kind of an individual that was one of the largest contributors, who said that church should not be built unless it was covered with slate. And there was a split, you know, and the church building never was constructed. Now that contrary brother had better considered shingles to shut out the rain than to have had no church building at all. Protection resides only with God. Wise men, courageous men, in business, in politics, in working out the best interests of the country through organizations, choosing wise politics, will approach perfection, and the man or the men from the standpoint of ambition or demagoguery, proclaim against what has been enacted and may be enacted because he or they can take a microscope and find imperfection here or there, is either an impractical individual or a first-class demagogue and we have several of them in this country.

Among other notable speakers of the evening were ex-Secretary of State John W. Foster, Admiral Winfield Scott Schley, Terrence V. Powderly, ex-Commissioner General of Immigration; Hon. Cuno H. Rudolph, President Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia; Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, Mr. Adolf Kraus, president of the Order; Martin A. Marks, president of the Convention, and Jacob Furth, member of the Executive Committee of the Order.

During the Convention President Taft extended a reception to the delegates and their friends, and he greeted many of them as old friends. An autographed photograph of the President was presented to each member of the Convention. Also an autographed copy of the book, "John Marvel," written by Thomas Nelson Page, who is now our Ambassador to Rome, was presented to the wives of the delegates. Page was a classmate of Leo N. Levi, and the Jewish student mentioned in the book is intended for our lamented leader, Levi.

A notable incident in connection with this Convention was the oration delivered by Rev. Dr. E. N. Calisch, of Richmond, at the Tomb of Washington. No one who was present will ever forget the singular and yet appropriate occurrence when the Doctor spoke of the clouds and doubts that hung over the fate of the Republic when Washington was struggling for victory, but that the sun of righteousness and justice at last shone over a free people. The day had been very cloudy, and there was a sort of a kaleidoscopic shifting of clouds and sun. As the Doctor closed that sentence, the sun emerged out of a dense cloud and made the scene resplendent and historical.

On January 19, 1913, at the celebration of the seventieth anniversary of the founding of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, held under the auspices of the B'nai B'rith Lodges of New York City, at Temple Beth-El, President Taft and myself were invited to be the orators of the evening. The two addresses are given herewith at length, as they mark an important epoch in the history of the Order of B'nai B'rith, and American Judaism as well.

PRESIDENT TAFT'S SPEECH.

"Ladies and Gentlemen of the B'nai B'rith:

It is a great pleasure to come here and attend this noteworthy celebration. A great pleasure for me because your association but recently did me the honor to present to me a beautiful testimonial expressing their good will and conferring on me what I can not but think an undeserved honor—but they do not come so often that you would decline them because you don't deserve them. Yours is a great association founded seventy years ago; it has extended its usefulness, its influence around the globe. Seventy years in the life of the Jewish race is very short. It is a young institution with you, and it is for me of great significance that it represents the desire of the Jewish race to benefit mankind—a desire that has persisted in that race after it came under the influence and came to understand the benefits of free government in the United States.

It is as it were a chance given to the flower and bloom of the Jewish race after it had the opportunity without restraint and under the canopy of freedom to show its beneficent desires and the possibilities which it had in joining with other peoples in this country to make it the greatest in the world.

Something over four hundred lodges down to 1898 had disposed of one hundred millions of dollars in sick benefits, in payments to widows and orphans, in the construction of charitable institutions and in other charities. Now between 1898 and now—I do not know that there are any statistics, but judging from the natural increase—what has been done in that decade, I should be surprised if you have not

nearly doubled the hundred million and made it two hundred millions in the disposition of charity the world over.

The study of the history of the Jewish race brings to one not of it a profound admiration for a race whose virtues have enabled it to live against all abuses, against all intolerances, against all unkindness. It is a little like, though in a different way, the feeling you have towards a race like that which went to New England where there was no soil worth cultivating on any scale, where there was very little to encourage one to take out the earth's wealth, yet there in those places it was, where there was the least encouragement, that the strongest men seem to have been made.

It is against obstacles, it is where you have troubles to overcome, where you have to meet injustice and abuse, the strength of human character is brought out and developed; and those characteristics, patience, persistence, forbearance and tolerance, and a brotherhood among yourselves, that extends over the world at large, are the qualities that have made your race live and now to consist of so important a part of this American nation.

Of course we say we Americans look back to England as our mother country, and it is, but I like to think of America as made up of a great many different elements, and Americans as an amalgamated race, drawing their virtues from all over the world, and making a different race from that of any one of the peoples from whom we come. It is pleasant to look about and to see where we derive certain benefits that we would not have had had we descended only from one country and one people.

Now from the Jews what do we get? From these people we get a love of liberty and a love of the guarantees of the rights of equality in any individual, a spirit that those Americans that have lived always here are not quite able to appreciate. I think that this is one of the most important facts that the present situation presents.

I don't like to dip into politics, for I don't seem to have been a grand success, but one of the things that comes over me every little while is the sense that the American people will have to be educated over again in the lessons of liberty regulated by law and will have to be taught again the real value of the rights they now have and the guarantees and restraints of the constitution under which they enjoy their security.

We are apt, after we have enjoyed a thing of great value, to forget its value, rather to undervalue it, and to forget that it needs preservation in order that it should have value, to forget the danger that somebody may steal it from us. We are smug about it. We think of all these rights of freedom to worship God as you choose, freedom to walk the streets and to choose what business you wish; freedom to hold the property that you want; an opportunity to go into court and have all those rights assured, that are in the constitution—we are used to the benefit of an independent judiciary by which we are enabled to secure those rights through our own instrumentalities by direct application to the courts. All those things are so much a matter of course that we do not think they are rights; we just think they are necessities, that will come along anyhow, and that we can change those restraints and those guarantees and

withdraw them without danger to our rights, and we undervalue them.

Now I think we may well appeal to a Jewish audience that have felt the injustice among their co-religionists in other countries, of the withholding of such rights, who through a better study of the skill of asserting, maintaining and securing and preserving those rights, to bring to the country at large a sense of the value of the things we now enjoy and the necessity for preserving them and never allowing the guarantees to the Constitution for preserving them to be in any degree impaired or modified.

I never was quite so much impressed, never had my patriotism so much aroused, as I did in visiting the East Side. Going among those people, who had come over within the last decade, and whose children are only 8, 9, 10 and 15 years of age, and seeing them respond to the flag and hearing them singing the national anthem, and seeing in them the appreciation of the fact that they were American citizens and entitled to enjoy all the liberties, it seemed to me as if they understood and knew better than those of us that had been brought up here and always thought that these things are matters of course and that there was no oppression anywhere and no inequality.

Now what else have the Jews added to our civilization? Well, they have brought into our community a high artistic sense. As one grows older he learns a good many things that may have been neglected in his youth and that he is ashamed to admit he had neglected. He learns to appreciate the pursuit of happiness in every direction; in the study of language, in the study of all art, music, painting. I can

remember I was a philistine and thought anybody that went to an orchestra concert and heard them just preparing to play—apparently in some way they were working the bows of the violins, and were doing something that hardly seemed worth while—but I became the driver of an orchestra; that is, Mrs. Taft became the president of the Orchestra Association and I was given the responsibility for raising \$30,000 in addition to the receipts in order that we might maintain an orchestra concert, a series of them, and then I had to become educated. That is one thing I think the Jews recognize, the discipline of the family, and we found if we hadn't had the Jews in Cincinnati we would not have had the orchestra. Their love of music, their love of the best kind of music, which indeed is a high art, that elevates us in this country and neutralizes the puritanism, if I may call it such, and the commercialism to which we tend when we do not have these diversions, and do not have this opportunity for the pursuit of happiness in artistic directions.

Something has been said of the influence of other countries, the lack of equality of treatment because of religious prejudices. It does exist in other countries and we must face the fact, but we must hope that the happiness that we have in this country where we make everyone equal in that regard and in every way that we can, will have its beneficial effect the world over. Of course that kind of influence does not work directly, does not work by contrast, but it works notwithstanding. Great progress has already been made, as you know, in many countries, and the attitude of the American people on that subject expressed from time to time, as it has been,

can not but bring about a better condition, and in bringing it about it is the great privilege to all of us, to you and to me, and to all of us as American citizens, that it is our form of government and our success in maintaining it, that gives force and weight to our example. Now I know I need not preach patience to a people that have been patient for as many thousands of years as you have, I needn't preach persistence and determination to bring about a result, a just result, for your co-religionists. I can only say in words of encouragement, that I believe conditions warrant its coming, maybe not in your time, or in mine, but it is coming step by step. I do not believe in progress over night at any rate. Nothing has been done in this world that was worth having, that did not take a great deal of effort, and did not involve a great many defects.

I did have a dream that we were going to take a long step in the matter of peace between nations. I had a theory that if we could get up a treaty with England and then another with France, in which we should agree to arbitrate everything that was arbitrable, including questions of honor and questions of vital interest, and if we could arrange it, so that we left it to an independent tribunal to determine whether the question we did raise came within that class or not, so that by two such treaties successfully contracted we could induce our own people to make treaties of the same sort with all the other nations and that all the other nations would come in and make similar treaties with each other, and by that interlocking and interlacing device we could have an arbitral court in which every nation which felt wronged by another could bring about justice, the

authority of the court being backed by the united force of all the world bound together by such a series of treaties. Now that was my dream. I got the first step; that is, we got the first two treaties with England and France, and then I woke up. I found that there were distinguished lawyers in the Senate of the United States that thought that such a result would in some way or other detract from the dignity of the Senate in that it could not bind itself to do something it ought to do years hence, that it must know at the time whether it ought to do it and not anticipate its decision.

Well, that view prevailed, and then the treaties were so amended that a great deal I thought valuable was stricken out, and perhaps there is enough left to make it worth while to have them ratified, but the main great idea was eliminated for the time being.

But, ladies and gentlemen, it is bound to come. It doubtless will not be in our time, but that will mark a step, and every agreement between England and France on the one side and the Executive of this country on the other will form some sort of a milestone and some sort of an example which will help the cause in the future.

That is the way in which things are accomplished. You go forward and then fall backwards a little, but if you are still progressing onward, the cause of progress is not to be defeated and we ought not to be disappointed. We are civilized people, we have got beyond the time when if we have a personal difference we go out and shoot each other. It is rather hard now to justify a proposition that if a man insults me, it satisfies me and my honor to go out on

the so-called field of honor and let him shoot at me, because he insulted me, when I am such a good mark. It was that disparity that enabled society at large to laugh at the code-duello and the practice of duelling. Now it is more absurd as a matter of justice, as a matter of permanent progress towards righteousness, that when two nations disagree they should go to work and fight out the question and in that way decide what the right of it is. It depends upon the number of troops, the strength of the battalions and a good artillery and all that sort of thing. It does not depend upon anything else, and a settlement that way is not a settlement that appeals to civilized man, and yet that is the only way we have now, unless negotiations will help us to a solution. I can not believe that the world is going to tolerate it, I do not believe it, and therefore I hope not, in spite of the nightmare the Senate gave me.

I have referred to the fact that this association is great in its usefulness, because of the actual charities that it disposes. It is great because of the example that it offers the world. I don't know exactly why, but it is a fact that the Jewish charities are the greatest charities in any society. They are the most perfect, and I must think that it is due to the spirit of brotherhood that has been developed in your race by your common burdens. In your early history, when every man was against you, and when you stood together to live as a race and to carry on life, and a great history it is, you saw to it that every man and woman in that race had all the rights you could give him to enable them to live and to live happy.

I believe that is the secret of brotherhood that you have. It is the secret of the charity that you

have towards each other, that you have created charity for your near brothers, and it is not a bit hard to understand that, as we have had every reason to see it throughout the world. And now, my friends, as you will testify, I did not come here to make a speech, only a few desultory remarks, but I hoped that in this way I could be able to communicate to you the gratitude I feel towards your association for its kindly testimonial to me, and the profound admiration I have for the association—for the race that made it possible.”

After President Taft had finished this magnificent and most gratifying tribute to the Jewish people, and their services to the country at large, particularly in upholding law and order and individual rights, as representative of the Executive Committee of the Order, I delivered the following oration :

“When on the fourth day of July, 1776, the bell rang out the gladsome tidings of the birth of a new nation, founded on liberty and equality, it was not only a proclamation to the inhabitants of this country, but also to all the struggling people throughout the world. And the echo of those ringing, clanging notes of the Independence Bell are still circling the world in their potent influence for the uplift and betterment of mankind.

From the earliest days of the Republic's history immigration was an important factor in its development and progress. The founders of the Republic saw the value and the necessity of encouraging such immigration, and sent agents abroad to stimulate the inflow of the deserving from all parts of the world, to make this their home and the land of promise.

From that day to this, there has been a constant flood of immigration that has enriched every portion of our land, and produced results that have made the country greater, stronger, and in every line of human endeavor more and more a potentiality for the elevation and prosperity of humanity. Naturally the people of the Bible, the people who have strengthened civilization, who have at all times been law-abiding and orderly, were among the first to see the great advantages and opportunities that this Republic afforded, and as history has abundantly shown, not only from the standpoint of Jewish historians, but from that of non-Jews no less, the American citizens of Jewish faith have contributed their brawn and brain in peace and in war, and have never been recreant to the solemn obligations they owe to American institutions, and in exemplifying in the highest degree the grandeur and power of American citizenship.

And thus seventy years ago a Spartan band of American citizens, whose ancestry went back to the dawn of civilization, conceived the idea of forming an organization that should be a helpmeet, not only to those who were within the boundaries of the Republic, but also those who were yet to come from lands of oppression and tyranny. They had unfortunately experienced the sting of social ostracism that here and there still prevails, to the disgrace of the community in which it is practiced, and of the individuals who instill it, and they wisely concluded that although living in a Republic where every avenue to advancement was supposed to be open to each and every citizen, and where liberty of thought and opinions dominated, that an organization exclusively

composed of Jews would be a betterment not only to the individual member, but to the Republic itself, and in that lofty spirit and in that conception of higher ideals, the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith was founded, not as a menace, but as a safeguard, as a school in which the individual, ignorant of the language of the country, and ignorant of parliamentary proceedings, might be taught the sacred duties of American citizenship; where he would be among brethren of his own faith; where he would learn the love of law and order, without being made the subject of harsh criticism on the part of those who did not understand his characteristics, and who would be fain to flout their superior knowledge.

Thus the lodge room became a source of vital importance, and from its midst have gone forth into the outer world of American citizenship and responsibilities, men of the highest character and standing, who have filled important places in civic life, and who have stood in the forefront on the battlefield, sacrificing their lives and fortunes to aid in preserving the Republic of the founders, and in which their own ancestors had taken an honorable part. And that spirit of educational fraternization, that spirit of virile American citizenship, is still maintained, and not only the brotherhood of the Jew, but the brotherhood of all men is taught within the lodge room; the charity that is born of the divine spark of kinship, the regard for the feelings of each and every one and, chief above all, that patriotism is the ark to which all pay devotion, and the flag of our country is made the symbol of realization and future hope.

When the founders of the Order started this organization they had no conception that it would grow

out of a purely local into not only a national but an international organization, but such has been the consummation, and today the Order is most potent in all parts of Europe, and even Asia. The very best elements of society have become brethren, and the interchange of communal work and of national and international aspirations have become the talisman by which great good has been achieved. We no longer need to await the word from the outside world as to our duty, when wrongs are committed, when massacres are perpetrated, when religious persecutions are practiced, when want and misery by virtue of war and disease appeals to our higher nature, and to our philanthropic impulses, the Order receives its summons direct, having planted the flag of brotherly love and harmony in every community of the world, and thus even within the last few weeks the Order sent out its ringing notes for help for the Balkan States, which has been promptly and most liberally responded to.

But the Order has never been one-sided—although Jewish, it has at all times been cosmopolitan, and helped to smoothen the pathway of men, irrespective of faith. It has given living example of that splendid citizenship which became the dominant characteristic of George Washington, the founder; of Lincoln, the emancipator, and of Taft, the constitutional preserver. It is the only organization in the United States, nay, you might say in the world, that has given a plastic exemplification of “religious liberty” in the shape of a monument, which stands in the City of Brotherly Love in Fairmount Park—that city where liberty of conscience was born on the fourth of July, 1776, and which statue was chiseled by an

American citizen of Jewish faith, and a member of the Order, Sir Mosely Ezekiel, of Richmond, Va., now of Rome, Italy. It grasped also the importance of sending a missionary to Roumania, which was financially supported by the Order, not to proselyte for our faith, but to speak in ringing notes for the emancipation of the Jews in that then, as now, benighted country. Eternal gratitude is due to President Grant, who accredited one of our brethren, Benjamin F. Peixotto, and gave him a letter of credence which breathed the loftiest spirit of the Republic, and told the whole world that in this country we know no difference between man and man, and that all creeds stood on an equal plane. Peixotto did splendid work of an educational as well as of a statesmanlike character, and although the effect of his work has not been of a permanent character, the traces of it are still visible, and have been of great service even recently. The founding of homes for the aged, asylums for orphans, hospitals for the suffering, have been cardinal principles of the Order since its very inception, and are today potent factors in the humanitarian work which is becoming more and more the "shibboleth" to conjure with.

From the orphan homes of the Order have gone men and women who have risen to the highest positions in the respective communities in which they reside. Trade schools, technical institutes, farm schools and all classes and shades of constructive work have been inculcated, developed, fostered and protected by and through the influence of the Order.

The National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives at Denver, to which the brotherhood contributes liberally, and which is nonsectarian, is another link in

the great chain of philanthropic work. The hospital at Hot Springs, Ark., named after our lamented leader, Leo N. Levi, is one of those healing institutions so essential and necessary to human happiness.

To the widows and orphans from the earliest days of the Order's existence up to the present, and to the stricken and unfortunate all over the world, when appeals were made, the Order has contributed millions of dollars, and therefore, even from a materialistic standpoint, is entitled to the highest credit and praise.

Its Executive Committee have counselled with the presidents and cabinets of the Republic, have been charged with important duties, and recognized as leaders among the best of our citizens. Only the other day the Chief Magistrate of the nation, who has honored us with his presence tonight, in his address to the Executive Committee of the Order, after it had presented him with a gold medal in recognition of his broad and liberal views and actions, said in part, as follows: "In this country, at least, every man, woman and child is equal before the law and entitled to enjoy those rights that we call inalienable; that in this country not only are those rights declared and secured by law, but that there is among the people a spirit that reflects and carries out the principles of our Constitution. Now, upon the Jewish people it is not necessary for me to pronounce eulogism. In their just pride of their ancestry those of us who are not of the Jewish people have to be humble."

It's a glorious privilege to belong to a people that notwithstanding all the trials and tribulations of centuries, notwithstanding all the misery, horrors

and persecutions that they have endured, they are still the bodyguard for the advancement and betterment of mankind. They give living proof of that wonderful vitality which is the bed rock of their existence; of that wonderful love of science and art, and all the refining influences of humanity which from the dawn of history has dominated and surcharged the Jewish heart with love of and for his fellowmen.

The Order is, as many other factors in our American citizenship, helpful to bring about a better understanding between the respective nationalities, and to be especially helpful to the incoming future Americans, to teach them the difference between law and license, to instill into them love of our institutions and to produce in them that respect for government and its representatives which in other lands is denied them owing to persecution.

No one need fear for the future of this great Republic as far as the Jew is concerned. He has experienced the sting of wrong and the crime of bitter persecution, and therefore realizes the blessings of liberty, tempered by law; he realizes the equality of brotherhood, bounded by respect for each other; he knows that the promised land, as foretold by the prophets of his people, is in that country where he is most happy, contented, and not only politically but morally and spiritually free, and every pulse beat of his heart must be responsive to aiding and strengthening the perpetuity of this Republic. And as the American Revolution was but the forerunner of the French, less its horrors, and as the cause of Ireland has been fought out in this country and not in England, so the Jews of the world have received

their impetus to higher ideals of political science, and the direct accomplishment of higher activities by and through the Order of B'nai B'rith, which has awakened in other lands an interest in and on behalf of the spirit of righteousness. It is true, it may have been wireless, but nevertheless potent. It has to a large extent been indirect, and yet powerful in its effectiveness, and thus the Order today, at home and abroad, stands for world influence, and although its members are limited, yet by that very limitation it is representative, powerful and influential, and is recognized in every city and hamlet of this country, as well as in Europe, as being an organization that strives to bring men into closer communion, to educate the outside world to a better realization of what the Jew is and has accomplished. The Order has never been narrow in its scope or restrictive in its work, but cheerfully co-operated and co-ordinated itself with other potentialities, to the end of being helpful in the largest sense for the largest number.

During the administration of Julius Bien, who was for thirty-three years president and intellectual leader, as well as that of Benjamin F. Peixotto and Leo N. Levi, great progress was made, and the Order stood for all that was ideal and altruistic, and this lofty conception of the aims and objects of the Order has been faithfully and loyally maintained by the present administration under the able leadership of Adolf Kraus. It was Brother Bien who started the lodges in Europe, and it was Brother Levi whose Kishineff petition gave hope and cheer to our struggling co-religionists in Russia and Roumania. The Order does not stand still, as so many of its critics have asserted; on the contrary, it has pushed for-

ward and grasped the evolution of time and principles, and is as its founders intended it to be, a body of representative Jews who have brought together their brethren, from all shades of religious conception, into a grand unifying body of citizenship, and in fact, the Order is today also, as it has been in the past, the great ally of the Congregation. It has waged no war against the Orthodox or in behalf of the Reform. It has stood manfully for the principles which underlie Judaism in the concrete and progress in general; and many a lodge room in the smaller communities in the country became the rallying point for religious devotion and took the place of the absent synagogue, thus preserving the Jew, and this alliance between the Congregation and the Order is the true conception of the unity that is helpful without being bigoted or sectarian.

The founders and many of their descendants have gone to their eternal rest, and the Order today is practically in the hands of a new generation, and it is most gratifying to know that the idealistic spirit of the past has not been abandoned, but accentuated and made still more glorious.

Seventy years have gone into history since the foundation stone was laid upon which this Temple of Humanity was erected. Let us hope and trust that when the first centennial of its existence shall have come, that it will be found, as it is today, a brotherhood cemented for the good of mankind, an international organization whose interchange is peace to all men, and a helpmeet for the securing of all those high ideals for which the Republic was founded, and to the securing of which every drop of our blood must pulsate."

At the conclusion, President Taft arose and said: "All of us are to be congratulated for having had the privilege of listening to Mr. Wolf's address."

IMMIGRATION MATTERS.

Much correspondence was had with Charles Nagel, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, on immigration and questions affecting the Administration. Some of these letters appear throughout this sketch appertaining as they do to the specific subjects which I have related. Others are here given for the first time, as they form important links in the history of President Taft's Administration.

On the question of the "White Slave Traffic" and certain charges which had been brought against different individuals, I addressed Secretary Nagel to the following effect:

November 17, 1909.

Hon. Chas. Nagel, Secretary, Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Secretary:—An American magazine has published an article on the "White Slave Traffic," in which certain charges are made against people whose official representative I am in this city. I understand also that President Taft ordered the Department to permit the writer of said magazine to go over the reports made by agents of your Department on this traffic. Therefore, representing the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Order of B'nai B'rith, I am most anxious to be permitted to have the same privilege of looking over the reports in your Department, to the end of aiding the Government and the states, if necessary, in every way possible, to stamp out this traffic, and bring condign punishment to the offenders. It is no idle curiosity on my part that prompts the request, but

solely in the interest, not only of our people, but of the country at large.

In answer to a letter of mine, written to Hon. Bernhard Bettmann, President of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew Union College at Cincinnati, he writes as follows:

“Your letter in the matter of the ‘White Slave Traffic’ has been received, and has had my calm and yet most earnest consideration. You call for my opinion on this subject. There is neither wisdom nor good policy in trying to minimize the responsibility of Jews in the matter of denials or attempts to weaken the testimony against them. I would rather admit that some so-called men and women, unworthy of the name of Jews, and violating every principle of Judaism, Orthodox or Reform, are guilty, and urge that the heaviest punishment that can possibly be inflicted, be meted to them, regardless of whom it may fall upon, and that every step be taken to blot out as soon as possible this blot upon not Judaism alone, but humanity at large.”

So you see, my dear Mr. Secretary, that this is how we feel and therefore I hope you will give the order in writing for me to look at the reports, to the end of taking effective steps in the directions indicated.

Very sincerely yours,
SIMON WOLF,

To which letter the following is a reply:

Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:—In conformity with the request contained in your letter of the 17th, I take pleasure in stating that an arrangement has been made with the Commissioner-General of Immigration whereby you will be permitted to look over the papers on file in the Department, relating to the recent investigation of the “White Slave Traffic,” for the objects and purposes set forth in your above-acknowledged communication.

Very truly yours,
CHARLES NAGEL,
Secretary.

The German Alliance of the United States having made criticisms of some of the rulings of Secretary Nagel, and certain of his subordinates, on immigration matters, Mr. Nagel wrote me the following letter, after we had previously discussed the subject:

October 18, 1911.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

While I have informally told you how much I appreciate the action which you took in the matter of the German-American Alliance proceedings, I feel that I shall not be satisfied without expressing my appreciation, however briefly, in the form of a letter. I know of no one who has less ground for complaint than I have, because the consideration which has generally been shown me has been beyond all expectation. But one observation has impressed me more and more and perhaps I may be permitted to refer to it because it is common to all public life. An official today is expected not only to perform his sworn duty, but he is expected also to personally defend himself and his subordinates against any attack that anyone may see fit to make, however groundless. There is a wonderful lack of comradeship in that respect. If in any other phase of life men were subjected to similar treatment others would rush to their support. Perhaps no better proof of the general lack of confidence which prevails today can be furnished than this illustration. While I know, therefore, that the personal phase is the least important, I can not deny myself the satisfaction of saying to you how deeply I have appreciated your personal interest, not at my suggestion, but of your own accord.

Of course the public phase is infinitely more important, because you know that anything that goes to destroy public confidence must inevitably prove

injurious to the service. I think that the men who have lent themselves to the circulation of irresponsible and false charges have not only done themselves a great injustice, but so far as the public is concerned their conduct is not far short from a crime.

Sincerely yours,
CHARLES NAGEL.

To which I sent the following acknowledgment:

October 19, 1911.

Hon. Charles Nagel, Secretary,
Department of Commerce and Labor,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am in receipt of your valued letter of yesterday and have given the same careful perusal. As far as I am concerned, there is no reason in the world why you should explain any action taken by you, for in my experience with you during your incumbency as Secretary of Commerce and Labor, I have found you invariably just, humane and thoroughly human. I do not believe that in a single instance have you failed to do your duty fearlessly and intelligently, and I know that in many instances you have crossed the borderline of discretion when suffering was to be relieved and hardships and separations prevented. Indeed in my whole experience of fifty years with government officials in the City of Washington, I have never found anyone to surpass you in that courteous and equitable treatment for which a public servant should ever stand. Therefore, considering all this, I feel as you do, aggrieved that anyone should be so forgetful of his duty as an American as to arraign a Government official unjustly or for partisan or personal spite. This estimate I communicated in person to the President of the National German Alliance, and also by letter, knowing by absolute knowledge that the charges made against

Mr. Williams are utterly unfounded, uncalled for and unjust.

These critics surely do not realize what the law imposes on you and that your heart has been wrung time and again in not being able to help when the law was imperative, and in spite of this law you have on several occasions gone beyond it to prevent deportation. It is indeed strange that after a man like you should have given so much personal attention, and your Assistant Secretary, Mr. Cable, no less, to be subjected to harsh criticism when praise should be bestowed. I do not suppose that there is anyone in the United States who has better or more intimate knowledge of immigration affairs than myself, and I am indeed time and again surprised at the patience and good will displayed by all of the officials of your Department, in trying to do that which is just and proper. I feel confident that when the whole subject is calmly and intelligently reviewed by those who are competent to judge and who are authorized to give an opinion, that this estimate that I have outlined will be fully established.

Do not for a moment permit small men and equally small newspapers to run away with your judgment, and with your natural disposition to do what is just and right. Time makes all things even, and the sober sense of the American people can always be depended on. You can be assured that I am at all times ready to serve you personally and officially, to the end that merit and fairness shall be recognized.

Sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

On the occasion of my seventy-fifth anniversary, I received the following letter from Secretary Nagel:

Washington, D. C., October 28, 1911.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

Today, I wish to be regarded as one of the large procession that will figuratively speaking, present it-

self at your home to congratulate you and yours. Properly speaking, the good wishes should embrace a very much larger circle, regardless of race or color, who as I can testify, are under profound obligation to you for your untiring, ever tolerant and wise efforts in their behalf.

Have your mind's eye place me somewhere in the procession—well towards the close, because I am a late arrival in the company of your friends, although I have known of you since my early manhood.

Very sincerely yours,

CHARLES NAGEL.

Simon Wolf, Esq.,
Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C., October 29, 1911.

My Dear Mr. Secretary:

Yes, there was a procession of men and women, presents of every sort, flowers in profusion, letters and telegrams by the hundred, but I am happy to say that your thoughtful and appreciative letter, leavened the whole mass, and like "Abou Ben Adhem," outshone all the rest.

It is so refreshing to receive in the winter of life, such wonderful words of good will, and more than compensates for all the work, trials and criticisms of the past. You can not form an idea how much happiness you have given me, not only as an official, but as a man—the one is so blended in the other, that I wish everyone was so gifted and as human as you are. Let me indulge in the hope that our future relations in both directions will be without a break, and although you come late as to time, you will always be enshrined in my heart of hearts.

Sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

Hon. Charles Nagel,
Washington, D. C.

The following letters are self-explanatory:

Washington, D. C., July 15, 1912.

My Dear Mr. Secretary:

I regret exceedingly that I can not see you prior to my departure for New Hampshire, for which place I leave at three o'clock today and where I expect to be for six weeks unless I am recalled. I am happy to say that my granddaughter is feeling better.

If you will pardon me, I suggest that you write out a decision in the imbecile case, and if you do not give it out yourself, send it to me and I will see to it, but under all the circumstances, I would like to have a copy for my files. The garbled statement in the press the other day has already done harm, and may do still greater harm unless corrected, which no one will understand better than yourself.

I was at the White House today, but the President had cancelled all engagements. Hilles was absent, too; but I saw Secretary Forster, and gave him some important suggestions in connection with the campaign.

I hope you have a pleasant summer, and will be glad to hear from you when you have time. And if you wish to consult me about anything, I am at your disposal.

Very sincerely yours,
SIMON WOLF.

Hon. Charles Nagel,
Secretary of Commerce and Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Department of Commerce and Labor,
Washington, July 29, 1912.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I have deferred answering your kind letter of the 15th instant in the hope that I might comply with the suggestion which you make. But while I have lived with books and ancient documents bearing upon the question, I have not found time to formulate my conclusion. In the meantime, I appreciate the difficulty as much as any one, and only feel clear

that but for the embarrassment of one or two decisions I should have no difficulty whatever about a proper reading of the statute. In this I am confirmed by informal discussions with others in whose judgment I have confidence.

Of course I am still further embarrassed by a number of protests, all of which disclose more animus upon the general question of immigration than intelligence on the question of law.

Trusting that your vacation is benefiting you, I am,

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES NAGEL.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Fabyan, N. H.

Having written to the President, through Mr. Forster, his secretary, regarding certain attacks which had been made on Secretary Nagel, and his administration of the immigration laws, the President wrote to me to the following effect:

The White House,

Washington, D. C., July 30, 1912.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I have yours of July 27th to Mr. Forster. You need not worry about attacks on Nagel. They don't worry me, and they don't mean anything.

Sincerely yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

P. S.—It is only a piece of much muckraking.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Fabyan, N. H.

Department of Commerce and Labor,

Washington, August 3, 1912.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I have your confidential letter, and have nothing confidential to communicate, because I know nothing about the matter of which you speak. I do not

mean to say that I am indifferent to such newspaper notices, but neither do I permit them to disturb me in the pursuit of my work. I know nothing, although I have been somewhat surprised that this newspaper appears never to lose an opportunity to get in a dig, and could not even refrain from criticising me for letting in the child of a naturalized citizen, basing its decision on a misstatement of the present statute.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES NAGEL.

Mr. Simon Wolf,
Fabyan, N. H.

Washington, D. C., September 16, 1912.

Hon. Charles Nagel,
Marion, Mass.

My Dear Friend:

On my return home I learn that you will not be back to Washington for a week or two. Hence I take the liberty of writing to you that I have been informed that the State Department has come to some conclusion in regard to a new Russian treaty, and that the same had been discussed at the Cabinet meeting, and that one of the results will be the appointment of a mixed commission to take up the passport question. If this information is correct, I would like you to bring the matter to the attention of the President, that it seems to me it would be but logical and right that an American citizen of Jewish faith should be a member of that Commission. As the passport question concerns the citizens of Jewish faith more than any other class, I have no doubt that more than one of my faith will be appointed.

I hope you are enjoying your outing. I feel very well indeed, but miss you very much.

Very sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

Department of Commerce and Labor,
Washington, January 18, 1913.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I understood you to say this morning over the telephone that Senator Lodge had written to Mr. Marshall that the provision for counsel before the Boards of Inquiry had been omitted because I opposed it. I know nothing about that. It is my understanding that the provision would never have been permitted to stand, no matter what my attitude might have been.

The truth is that after the measures had been sent to conference this Department received its first request for the expression of an opinion. The time was limited, and on the 31st of December, I sent a communication of some nineteen pages in which we endeavored to cover the ground. Most of it was based upon preparation which the Bureau had made at an earlier date in the expectation that its representatives would be called before the Committees. I should be glad at any time to give you a full copy of my letter. The portion which refers to the particular subject now under discussion is as follows:

“While perhaps there is no insuperable objection to allowing counsel before boards of special inquiry, the fact that this outright change in the procedure will seriously impede the determination of cases considered before the board should not be overlooked. The passage of the provision will necessitate a great increase in the number of boards, and, in order to prevent impositions upon the Government, the employment of solicitors or attorneys to oppose and hold in check counsel retained by aliens. The present practice of not allowing counsel has been approved by the courts, which have apprehended that Congress intended that the examination should be a summary and informal procedure.”

I did not regard this matter as of particular importance at the time, because I had no suspicion that such a provision could be retained in this bill. But

apart from that, in my judgment, the objections stated to this provision are good. If counsel for aliens are to be admitted the Government must have counsel. If a trial is to be had, witnesses should be subpoenaed. To all intents and purposes this would constitute a court, and I am not at all sure that any and all proceedings would not be subject to review by higher courts. Furthermore, I am persuaded that as a rule the class of lawyers who would engage in this business would not tend to increase the chance for fair dealing and protection of the alien.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES NAGEL,
Secretary.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

Department of Commerce and Labor,
Washington, January 22, 1913.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I find that there is further disposition to make this Department responsible for features of the new immigration act which have proved unpopular. Perhaps it is just as well not to comment on this branch. This Department was not consulted while the bill was really under consideration and when we should have been consulted if there had been any disposition to really take our advice. When our comments were invited our time for consideration was limited, and I was compelled to avail myself of the information which the Bureau had gathered at an earlier period. Furthermore, it is my own impression that in writing a report of this kind it is not merely to reflect the Secretary's views, but should as far as possible present the views of the Bureau which is charged with the work.

With particular reference to the certificate provision the fact is that this suggestion comes from the State Department which has for years been engaged in correspondence with foreign countries upon that subject. The information from the State Depart-

ment was that Italy alone issues these certificates, and that Russia and Great Britain had refused to issue certificates of any character, so that Russia was not considered in connection with the question. I am of the opinion, however, that the provision in the new law is too drastic. I can well see how such a provision may enable foreign countries to embarrass immigrants who seek to come for the very reasons which induce us to extend protection. On the other hand, I do believe that certificates properly issued would be of great value. Experience shows that physical conditions may be examined with some hope of reaching a correct opinion, but points of character are difficult to detect, and a fair and intelligent understanding with foreign countries on that subject would prove of great value and would result in great protection to our country against really undesirable immigration.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES NAGEL,
Secretary.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

Washington, January 29, 1913.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Atlantic City, N. J.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I have just read your letter before leaving for New Haven where I am going at the President's suggestion to endeavor to make a speech. I can not say more than this: I wonder what my successor will do with my correspondence. I regard it as a first-class opportunity for unfavorable limelight.

I had feared that my name might be so coupled with the character certificate provision in the law that I had forfeited the esteem of many of your friends. However, I feel perfectly clear with myself, although it would be impossible to give the full explanation. The recommendation was made for

the Bureau and in the language adopted by it. In other words, it appears in an absolute form which, upon reflection, I should not have endorsed, and against which I should have protested if the Committee had given me a personal hearing. On the other hand, I do not share the fear about such a provision properly guarded. With the necessary discretion lodged here the certificate might be of considerable advantage. True, they would have to be disregarded where countries abuse their power, but they might be respected where they are issued in good faith. And when so respected they would relieve the aliens of many embarrassing questions which of necessity now have to be put to them. I can assure you that when I think of the power of an inspector and the ordeal to which innocent persons must be necessarily put, I am disposed to welcome any measure of procedure that is calculated to relieve the service of this necessity.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES NAGEL.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C., Feb. 27, 1913.

My Dear Mr. Secretary:

As I am going to New York in the morning and will not return until Saturday evening, and knowing how busy you will be on Monday, this may be the last occasion during your administration that I will have to express my great gratification for the admirable manner in which you have at all times conducted the official duties of your Department, and the personal good will and friendship extended to me. I shall look back with the greatest pleasure and delight to the last four years which have indeed been an oasis in the desert of official duties.

May the future bring you and your dear ones health and happiness, and be assured that I am ever

ready to show you how keenly I appreciate all that you have been and all that you have done to and for me.

Very sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

Hon. Charles Nagel,
Washington, D. C.

To which Mr. Nagel replied:

Washington, D. C., Feb. 28, 1913.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I have your esteemed letter of the 27th instant. Your expression of confidence is more than generous. I hasten to add that it is only a confirmation of your courteous and helpful attitude throughout my term of office. You are interested in a branch of my Department which probably has given me more constant concern than any other. In part, no doubt, because it necessarily invited the most unremitting public scrutiny and criticism; but chiefly because every decision was like a human sentence for hope or despair. In the administration you and I had frequently to disagree. It goes without saying that in some, perhaps in many instances, your judgment could not approve my decisions. If all my decisions were now collected for my revision, I should unquestionably make some changes. I endeavored, however, to adhere to some general rule, always keeping in mind the human equation. I had to act as a judge; your part more closely resembled that of the advocate. As a defender of a liberal interpretation of the law, you had the easier task. But you lightened my task by invariably treating the decisions when made, with respect, and thus making it possible to consider each following case represented by you solely upon its merits; with entire freedom on my part to avail of the aid which your large acquaintance with this branch of the service could always provide.

With particular gratitude shall I always remember that when a concerted attack was inaugurated against me, you did not hesitate to defend me. I am persuaded that but for you I would never have obtained the hearing which finally turned the tide. With keen appreciation do I recall that after this hearing the general attitude changed; and the citizenship which you especially represent, judged my official conduct with patience, impartiality, and, perhaps, indulgence.

With best wishes for the happiness of your family, and for many years of active service for you, I am,
Very sincerely yours,

CHARLES NAGEL.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

Everything possible was done by all the combined forces to prevent the enactment into law of the new immigration bill pending in Congress, notably on account of the literacy test, although there were other objectionable features which were not so material and so commanding in importance as that. A hearing to those in favor and in opposition to the bill was given by President Taft in the East Room of the White House. A large aggregation was present, representing individual and associated thought. One minute of time was allotted to me, acting as Chairman of the Board of Delegates, but in this short space of time I said, "One of our ancient sages when confronted by a heathen with a knife in his hand, who threatened to kill the sage unless he could tell him what there was in religion while he (the heathen) was standing on one foot, gave as his answer, 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.'"

Notwithstanding all the efforts put forth and influences which were brought to bear, in and out of

Congress, the Immigration Bill, with all its drastic measures, was passed by a large majority.

The President, however, vetoed the bill on account of the literacy test. It was one of his last important acts. It appears that the President was greatly in doubt as to the course he should pursue in view of the action of Congress, but it was fortunate that he had at his right hand Secretary Nagel, whose clear insight was influential in bringing the President to his conclusions. Immediately on learning of the veto, I wrote to the President in the following terms:

My Dear Mr. President:

I have not yet read your reasons for vetoing the Immigration Bill, but am confident that they are sound and in every way tenable. I felt sure from the first that after due and mature consideration, you would act as you have done. Permit me to sincerely congratulate you in the interest of our country. As time goes on, your action will be more and more approved, and you, yourself, will rejoice that you were so far-sighted as to deny your signature to a bill that was contrary to all the principles of our Government.

Ever sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.

February fourteenth,
nineteen hundred and thirteen.

To Secretary Nagel, in this same connection, I wrote:

My Dear Mr. Secretary:

At no time since our acquaintance have I felt prouder of your work than I did this morning when I read the reasons given by the President for vetoing the Immigration Bill. It shows that your clear insight into this live wire question has been appre-

ciated and made the dominant reason for the veto. Only a man like yourself who has been intimate with all the facts in connection with immigration, is a real judge, aside from your high standing as an American citizen and sincere patriot. This action of the President and yourself will go down in American history as a bright page, and as the representative of various Jewish organizations, resident in Washington, and individually as your friend, I tender you hearty and sincere congratulations, and trust that the future will bring you that reward which you so eminently deserve.

Very sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

Hon. Charles Nagel,
Washington, D. C.
Feb. 15, 1913.

To which Mr. Nagel answered:

Department of Commerce and Labor,
Washington, February 17, 1913.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

Knowing how deeply you are interested in the immigration bill, I was not surprised to find your very warm letter of the 15th instant. You are so fully advised of my position and the considerations which decided me and gave me concern, that it is hardly necessary to add another word at this time. The more I have reflected upon this question the more clear am I about the correctness of my position. The fact is that my observation, gathered from innumerable cases involving every possible nationality, has by degrees forced this conclusion upon me.

I do not dispute the value of the opportunities which the Immigration Commission has had, but on the other hand I am prepared to assert that my examination has at least the advantage of being made at first hand and not by proxy. What the ultimate result will be, of course, I cannot guess, and in fact

about that I am not much concerned. The important thing was to have the executive branch of the government right. If the bill is now passed it will, in my opinion, demonstrate in a very brief space the correctness of our position. The particular clause was important because it represents a principle, and it had to be given importance, although in the form in which it appears it has practically the life compromised out of it.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES NAGEL.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

Investigations into the subject of Jewish illiteracy abroad showed conclusively that the Government immigration records were correct in indicating that approximately twenty-six per cent of Jewish immigrants would be excluded by the reading test of the Dillingham-Burnett Bill. It was largely due to my efforts that the Conference Report on the Immigration Bill was recommitted by both Houses of Congress, with instructions to strike out the objectionable "certificate of character" provision for immigrants, which would have barred out substantially all religious and political refugees, whom their home countries wanted to persecute by arbitrarily denying such certificates to them. It was by a vote lacking but a few of the legal two-thirds majority that the bill was finally defeated.

THE BLOOM INCIDENT.

During the early part of May, 1911, I received a call from Mrs. Elizabeth Bloom, wife of Joseph A. Bloom, who was a tailor at Ft. Myer, near Washington. The purpose of Mrs. Bloom's visit is shown by

the letter which I addressed to the President, which embodied Mrs. Bloom's letter to me, setting forth all of the facts in the matter. This letter, together with the entire correspondence in the Bloom affair, are given here in full and explain quite clearly this most interesting case:

Washington, D. C., May 3, 1911.

To the President:

I am well aware that you are a very busy man, and that as a patriotic citizen and a loyal friend I ought not in any way annoy or worry you. But circumstances over which I have no control compel me to bring to your especial notice a matter that involves the fundamental principles of our institutions and the integrity of our Government.

Some years ago Chaplain Pierce, then post chaplain at Fort Myer, asked me to indorse the application for appointment to West Point of a young man by the name of Frank Bloom. President Roosevelt, unfortunately, could not grant his request, but told him to enlist and like a true American fight his way up for promotion from the ranks. The young man took the advice and entered the army, has an excellent record and recently was examined for promotion. On the papers the officer commanding Fort Myer, Col. Gerrard, made the following endorsement:

"The applicant is a son of Mr. Joseph A. Bloom, of Jewish persuasion, who is now and has been for a number of years a tailor at this post. His associates, as far as I know, and those of his family, have been with enlisted men and their families, and have been respectable. The young man is undoubtedly honest and upright, ambitious and probably deserving, but for the reasons stated I would not desire him in my command as an officer and social and personal associate. The presence of the applicant's family at a military post would be subversive of discipline, and

their probable treatment a source of mortification to them and frequent cause of trouble to commanding officers. From an experience of many years I have found, except in few cases, few communities where Jews are received as desirable associates," which explains itself.

The indorsement was brought to me by the mother of the young soldier, who is now doing his duty on the Mexican frontier. He is a private in Battery F of the 3d Field Artillery.

Since Mrs. Bloom has called to see me, asking my good offices, I have received the following letter from her:

"I called on you the other day (Wednesday) in regard to an injustice to my son, Private Frank Bloom, a citizen of American birth, who is a member of Battery F, 3d Field Artillery.

"I have acquainted you with the facts—the fact of a recommendation being given by an officer, in which it seems that the only objection which that officer holds against my son being an officer is that he is of Jewish parentage, and for that reason objectionable as a fellow officer and associate.

"In our conversation I told you the injustice connected with the case; the great wrong being done to the Jews, their being shunned, as it were, by their fellow human beings. But I did not tell you my end and aim in coming to you.

"I spent good, hard money to give my boy an education, to prepare him to make his mark in the world. We, his parents, consented, advocated and endorsed his entering the army; we wanted him to serve his country in the capacity of an officer.

"My object is not one of revenge, not one of spite, to punish a man who is guilty of a gross wrong done to his fellow human beings, the Jews. No, I want to see that my son is dealt with fairly, to be given a chance to make his mark as others of his race have made before him.

"I had hoped that my son would be a support to

me as he was before he entered the army, and it is to him that I look for comfort and happiness in my old days.

"To be brief, I will hastily go over my wishes. The final examination comes off September 1. We, his parents, are positive that this indorsement was the only thing that prevented my son being eligible to take the final examination. We would like to have him get permission to take the final examination, which he surely deserves, in view of the fact that the time for preparation is being shortened day by day. He should be allowed to live, not to be down-trodden for the simple fact that he is a Jew.

"If it can not be that he may get his final examination in September, then it is my request that he be honorably discharged from the army by favor, so that he may pursue another course, so as to prepare himself for his life's work. Either he shall be allowed to take the final examination this September, or that he be discharged.

"I hope, honorable sir, that you will understand my views entirely, so that you can act accordingly in so serious a case.

"Any action that you may take in this matter would not only be of great service and of great favor to me, but it would be of service in stopping antagonistic action toward our race.

"Assuring you of my heartfelt appreciation and thanks for your noble interest in our trouble, and trusting that we will obtain our aims, I beg to remain, yours very respectfully.

"(Signed) ELIZABETH BLOOM."

which also explains itself.

It would certainly show gross ignorance on my part were I for a moment to suppose that you would stand for any such indorsement or the consequences of such indorsement, for it goes without saying that the result of this un-American act on the part of Col. Gerrard has proven disastrous to the aspirations

of the young American soldier and is violative of every principle of our American institutions. What this person who wears the uniform of his country thinks as an individual of his fellow-citizens of Jewish faith, or of tailors by profession, concerns no one but himself, but when in a representative and official character he so far forgets every obligation to the rest of his fellow-citizens it is high time that he should not only be taught his duty, but punished for not knowing it.

I sincerely invoke your co-operation in this direction, and especially do I trust that neither the father, who is earning a livelihood at the post, nor the son, who is serving his country efficiently, will suffer in consequence of bringing this matter to your notice.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) SIMON WOLF,
*Chairman of the Board of Delegates
and Resident Representative of
the Independent Order B'nai B'rith.*

White House, May 8, 1911.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I have your letter, and without comment I inclose a copy of my letter to the Secretary of War. I shall advise you of further steps in the matter.

Sincerely yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

Simon Wolf, Esq.,
14th and G Streets,
Washington.

White House, May 8, 1911.

My Dear Mr. Secretary:

I inclose herewith a letter from Simon Wolf, a lawyer, and a very prominent and respected citizen of Washington. This gives to the statement he makes every presumption of accuracy and truth. It is difficult for me to read the indorsement of Col. Gerrard, set forth in this letter, with patience and

without condemnatory words that had better not be written. I wish you would examine the record and verify the statements of Mr. Wolf, and, if he has not been misinformed—and his letter sets forth the facts—direct that this young man be admitted to examination for a lieutenancy in the army.

The statements made by Col. Gerrard are not true with reference to the standing that Jews have in this country, and I resent, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, that any officer of either should permit himself in an official document to give evidence of such unfounded and narrow race prejudice as that contained in this indorsement.

After you have made an examination of the record please advise me of your action.

Sincerely yours,
W. H. TAFT.

Hon. J. M. Dickinson,
Secretary of War,
Washington, D. C.

SECRETARY DICKINSON'S REPORT.

War Department, Washington, May 9, 1911.

My Dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant, relative to the preliminary examination for lieutenancy of Private Frank Bloom, Battery F, Field Artillery, and to certain remarks of Col. Gerrard, 15th Cavalry, on Private Bloom's papers relative to the latter's Jewish parentage, brought to your attention by Mr. Simon Wolf, of Washington.

The indorsement attributed to Col. Gerrard is correctly stated, and I entirely agree with you that such views are not only absolutely unfounded, but give evidence of narrow race prejudice, not to be expected from an officer of the army.

However, Private Bloom's disqualification by the War Department was in no wise influenced by Col. Gerrard's remarks, but resulted wholly from the fact

that the soldier failed to secure the percentage required under War Department regulations in two separate subjects of his written examination. His general average on the entire mental examination was also below requirements.

But in view of the apparent impression on the part of Mr. Wolf and of the soldier's parents that Private Bloom's disqualification was caused by his commanding officer's indorsement, and in order to show that the department has no sympathy whatever with the views contained therein, I shall designate Private Bloom to take the final examination in September next, and shall cause him to be notified accordingly.

Very respectfully,

(Signed) J. M. DICKINSON,
Secretary of War.

To the President, The White House.

PRESIDENT'S ACTION.

The White House,
Washington, May 11, 1911.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I inclose to you a copy of a letter I have just received from the Secretary of War, which explains itself. I shall take steps to see that the examination to which Private Bloom is subjected is one in which he will be given a fair chance and not be exposed to any unjust prejudice.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) WILLIAM H. TAFT.

Hon. Simon Wolf, Commercial National Bank Building, Washington.

The White House,
Washington, May 11, 1911.

My Dear Mr. Secretary:

I have your letter of May 9 in respect to Private Bloom. I should be glad to have you present to Col. Gerrard the question whether he did make such an indorsement, and then have you consider what steps

should be taken to discipline an officer who would make such an indorsement.

Sincerely yours,

W. H. TAFT.

Hon. J. M. Dickinson, Secretary of War.

The result of all this correspondence was that young Bloom, having been ordered to take the examination, passed splendidly, and was appointed a second lieutenant in the Army. His trials and tribulations for more than a year need not here be recounted. It was most fortunate that General Leonard Wood, Chief of Staff of the War Department, gave the matter his personal attention, and made a thorough investigation of all that Bloom was charged with, which led to Bloom's complete exoneration. Bloom for a time was in the Philippines, where he was promoted to first lieutenant and passed his examinations for a captaincy, which he has since received and no doubt, with other brave American soldiers, has been ordered to France.

Few of my readers will ever know or appreciate the immense amount of work and sacrifice which I had to endure to prevent, in the first place, an injury being done to the son of an American citizen, and finally to prevent his dismissal owing to a cabal which naturally had no use for a civilian, and one who unfortunately, as they regarded it, was a Jew besides. At no time during my acquaintance with President Taft did he show a finer sense of American citizenship and patriotism, and give way to more indignant utterances than he did in the Bloom case. It was a splendid tribute to the proper conception of official duty in preserving the rights and privileges incident to each and every American.

In answer to a letter which I sent to the President, thanking him for what he had done for Lieut. Bloom, I received the following:

Butte, Montana, October 19, 1911.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

The President has asked me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of October 13th, and to thank you for what you are good enough to say of his action in the case of Frank Bloom. The President is very glad to know that the young man has been successful in his examinations.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES D. HILLES,

Secretary to the President.

Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.

April 4, 1918.

Hon. William Howard Taft,

New Haven, Conn.

My Dear Friend:

I am sure it will be very pleasing to you to know that our protege, Frank Bloom, "a Jew and the son of a tailor," has, by virtue of merit, gone right along on the road to promotion, and is now captain, and will no doubt soon go to the front in France. So you see Colonel Gerrard, aside from being prejudiced, was mistaken. "A Jew and the son of a tailor" may have the making of a Major General of the United States Army—who knows?

Very sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

April 9, 1918.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I have your letter of April 4th. I am very glad to know that Frank Bloom is getting on so well, in spite of Col. Gerrard's "break."

Sincerely yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

Mr. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.

VARIOUS INCIDENTS.

President Taft honored the Washington Hebrew Congregation by addressing a large and representative audience at the Temple on Eighth Street on May 16, 1911, on the occasion of advocating the erection of a monument in memory of the great American patriot, Haym Salomon, and in his speech he referred to the fact that I had brought to his attention this great patriot and the neglect of the Republic so far in commemorating his services.

The following appeal in justice to the memory of Haym Salomon will be doubly interesting from the fact that it met with the approval of President Taft:

JUSTICE FOR A JEWISH PATRIOT.

In a letter to the *Washington Post*, Hon. Simon Wolf makes the following appeal for public recognition of a public benefactor's unselfish deeds:

I notice that a movement has developed in the city of Philadelphia to honor the memory of Robert Morris, the great Secretary of the Treasury at the time of the American revolution. Any one who has studied the history of the United States can not but be pleased at this recognition, for Robert Morris was not only a great financier and statesman, but was in addition thereto one of the most patriotic of Americans, to whom no sacrifice was too great, and although at this late day the close friend of the immortal Washington is to receive, at the hands of his grateful countrymen in the city which he glorified, perpetuity by men as of a monument, it nevertheless is a sad commentary on the appreciative sense of the nation. Mediocrity and imbecility, clothed for the moment in the political ermine, disgrace many of our public parks, and yet such great men as Robert Morris have been ignored.

In this connection I can not help but be reminded

of another great American, whose name is forever linked in immortal fraternity with that of Robert Morris; one who did as much, if not more, to aid the struggling colonists than any other American of his day. I allude to Haym Salomon, of Philadelphia, the Polish Jewish exile who adopted the United States as his home, and the Jerusalem of the prophet's promise; who enjoyed the confidence, esteem, and respect of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Morris; who loaned the United States Treasury nearly \$300,000—a sum fabulous for that period; who, at his own expense, sent an agent to Spain to prevent that country from joining England against the colonies; who, as is shown by the narrative of Jared Sparks, loaned money to the great statesmen of that period, and who even paid their board bills at the time they were members of Congress. None of these loans, neither that made to Robert Morris, as Secretary of the Treasury, or to the individual statesmen, were ever repaid. With a generosity as boundless as his patriotism, he unselfishly and disinterestedly gave to the perpetuity of the republic, recognizing that in so doing he was aiding the institutions which conferred liberty of conscience, not only to his own co-religionists, but to all mankind. Time and again his descendants had bills introduced in Congress asking for the repayment of the loan without interest, and this request shared the fate of a thousand other meritorious claims, being used as the shuttle between Senate and House, weaving the shroud of defeat and pigeon-hole, while thousands of other claims, introduced by nonentities for imaginary creeks and rivers, were successfully passed.

Only four years ago, the heirs having abandoned all desire for reimbursement, I attempted to have Congress pass an act, authorizing the striking of a gold medal in commemoration of this glorious event, so that the descendants of Haym Salomon might at least have an heirloom to treasure the glorious deeds of their illustrious ancestor. But this simple act of

W. YOUNG
LIBRARY
LENOX
FOUNDATIONS



GENERAL CHARLES H. LAUCHHEIMER, OF THE MARINE CORPS
1918

justice failed, and I am therefore emboldened at this hour, when in the Statuary Hall of the Capitol, where are so many Americans immortalized in marble and bronze, to recall to the statesman of the United States and to its patriotic citizens this episode of American history, and ask, in the name of all that is just and equitable, whether the hour has not come to do justice to the name of Haym Salomon?

Washington, D. C.

General Charles H. Lauchheimer, of the United States Marine Corps, was as the result of a personal controversy with the then Commandant of the Marine Corps, transferred from the Adjutant and Inspector's Office of the Marine Corps Headquarters at Washington, D. C., a position he held by law, to the Philippine Islands. In due course of time he was transferred to San Francisco, and finally returned to his former post in the City of Washington.

President Taft took an active interest in this matter, and did full and ample justice in the case.

The appreciation by the Army, Navy and Marine Corps officers of Colonel Lauchheimer is best evidenced by the fact that as soon as he landed in Manila, he was elected President of the Army and Navy Club, and when he returned to Washington the same distinction was conferred by the Army and Navy Club of Washington, D. C.

He has lately by act of Congress and by virtue of his great ability been promoted to the rank of General. He holds the position of Adjutant General and Inspector of the Marine Corps.

It is the first instance in the history of the Republic that an American citizen of Jewish faith has been promoted to the rank of General in the Marine Corps.

In connection with their twenty-fifth anniversary I wrote the President and Mrs. Taft a letter of congratulation, to which I received the following reply:

White House, June 17, 1911.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

Mrs. Taft and I very deeply appreciate the kind congratulations and good wishes which you express in your letters of June 15th on behalf of yourself personally and of the organizations represented by you in Washington. Please accept our warm thanks.

Sincerely yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.

The Executive Committee of the Order of B'nai B'rith sent a magnificent basket of orchids to the President and Mrs. Taft on their twenty-fifth anniversary, which were greatly appreciated by them.

On the same page in my Seventieth Year Book, whereon Grover Cleveland wrote his sentiment, President Taft wrote:

"I congratulate you to a green old age, thou sage in Israel.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT."

GENERAL JULIUS STAHEL

General Julius Stahel, a patriotic citizen of Hungary and the United States, and who was the military escort of President Lincoln to Gettysburg in November, 1863, when the great and immortal address was delivered, died in December, 1912. A few weeks prior to his death, President Taft sent his aide, Major Butt to convey his congratulations, and a beautiful bunch of White House roses in commemoration



JULIUS STAHEL
HUNGARIAN PATRIOT AND MAJOR GENERAL U. S. A.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

of the General's 87th birthday. General Stahel was buried December 6, 1912, at Arlington Cemetery, and at his grave I delivered the following eulogy:

Major-General Julius Stahel was a Hungarian by birth, an American by adoption, and by those very facts, a lover of liberty and equal rights. A nobleman by title, as well as by nature, he left the Austrian-Italian service as an officer, and joined the ranks of his Hungarian compatriots, who were fighting for the emancipation of their countrymen. A close friend of Louis Kossuth, and aide on his personal staff, he fought heroically during the struggle. Was wounded and decorated on the field of battle. The Revolution unfortunately, owing to the intervention of Russia, failed, and General Stahel came to the United States, to enrich our country, as so many other noble sons of all lands have done, in aid of the progress and glory of our nation. Our struggle for independence brought Lafayette, Steuben, DeKalb, Pulaski, Muhlenberg, Gallatin, and other great patriots, who aided the immortal Washington in securing for us the priceless boon of liberty and independence. So our second struggle for national life brought to the forefront other men, born in other lands, who strengthened the ties of kinship, and secured more firmly than ever the bonds of the national union, such as Schurz, Sigel, Blenker, Von Steinwehr, Stahel, and many others too numerous to mention. Thus proving beyond all controversy the deep and abiding faith these adopted citizens of our republic had in the perpetuity of our country, and gave in the days of struggle and trial, freely and unstintingly, as they did during the days of peace.

General Stahel enlisted in the Eighth New York

Volunteers, and as is now historically established, Blenker's Brigade, of which the Eighth New York formed a part, stemmed the tide of disaster at the first battle of Bull Run, and the Confederate archives will corroborate this statement. By splendid service, gallantry and bravery, he rose step by step, until he became Major-General of Volunteers, commanding at one time the Eleventh Army Corps, and at another time a large division of cavalry.

President Lincoln had unbounded confidence in his skill as a commander, and his loyalty as an American, and trusted him with a part of the defenses of Washington. He was selected as the President's escort to Gettysburg, where the sainted martyr pronounced his immortal address. The General received the Medal of Honor for conspicuous bravery on the field of battle of Piedmont, where, although wounded, and urged to retire to the rear, he had his wounds bound up, and was placed on horseback, and continued in the fight until victory had been achieved.

As a Diplomat in China and Japan, he was recognized by the State Department, and all the officials of those two governments, as a man of consummate tact and liberal judgment. So much so that when the Cleveland administration came into power, Secretary Bayard urged him not to resign, as his services had been so conspicuously brilliant.

As an official of one of the large financial interests of New York, he gave evidence of an intelligent comprehension of the duties incident to his position, and aided materially in broadening and enlarging the scope and sphere of their business in the Orient.

So we can safely say that along all the lines of

human achievement, General Stahel never failed to do his duty. He was the soul of honor, cheerful, entertaining companion, lovable in all his ways, and his acts of friendship and philanthropy are as many as his days were. He had a kind word for everyone, never harsh in his criticisms or judgment, but firm, manly and conscientious in his opinions. He had a large circle of influential and loving friends, who looked upon him as a model, and who were honored by his friendship.

There is no occasion to mourn his loss—on the contrary, we should be cheered by the knowledge of having known such a splendid example of manhood, who enriched our country with his brawn and brain, and who will live in the memory of those surviving, and go down on the pages of our national history as a son worthy of his country. A peerless knight “sans peur et sans reproche,” whose life’s sun set in the furthest regions of the western slope.

Dear friend, patriotic American, genial companion, gallant soldier, refined gentleman, we salute you, and as the circling sun and moon will greet your remains at morn and noon, and as the stars in their vigils will cast their glorious sheen on the mound beneath which you sleep, so will we ever cherish and honor your memory. Auf wiedersehen.

I was a faithful adherent of Mr. Taft’s political fortunes and did what was proper in the advocacy of his re-election. I did not then, nor do I now, believe he was justly treated, and therefore remained faithful to the party traditions. I saw the President quite often during those memorable days preceding, during and after the nomination. I met him in

Atlantic City when he was touring the country, and felt deeply touched by the sincerity of his speeches. I feared that the result would be disastrous, yet could not but consider that he was inspired by no other motive than that of doing the right thing in view of all of the conditions of his administration.

A few days prior to President Taft's retirement from office I addressed a letter to him:

Washington, D. C., Feb'y 27, 1913.

My Dear Mr. President:

As I am leaving for New York today not to return until Saturday evening, and which more than likely will prevent me from seeing you at the White House, as I know you will be very busy on Monday, I take this occasion to extend to you my sincere and heartfelt thanks and congratulations. I have time and again expressed to you and others the great admiration I have always entertained for you personally and officially, and the future will more than justify that sentiment.

I sincerely hope that you will have a good rest from the strenuous duties you have undergone, and that you will have health and happiness galore. I trust you will always have a small reservation in that big heart of yours for

Yours ever sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.

To which he replied:

The White House, February 28, 1913.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 27th. I greatly appreciate the friendly and sympathetic interest which you have manifested toward me and my administration, and I am gratified to have had your approval and your good will.

With warm regard,

Sincerely yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

The *Washington Post* of Sunday, March 2, 1913, had a very beautiful tribute to President Taft, which I can not refrain from embodying herein:

WILLIAM H. TAFT—THE MAN.

On Tuesday at noon William H. Taft will become a private citizen. The glamour of office will vanish, and the power of the Presidency will pass. He will leave Washington, the scene of his long labors, and nothing attaching to the mightiest office on earth will go with him.

But he will go away with something in his heart that neither riches, nor power, nor prestige, nor political skill can give; something that neither detraction, nor misrepresentation, nor defeat can take away. He will take with him the lasting friendship and affection of the American people.

William H. Taft has gone through one of the most astonishing episodes in the history of the country. He has been called upon to endure an experience which, but for the fact that he was true to himself, and, therefore, true to every man, would have been keenly humiliating. He went into office by an enormous vote. He leaves it after a historic defeat. But, in spite of defeat, and, because of his splendid bearing in defeat, he is one of the best loved men who ever occupied the White House.

Other men may look back at the election in November with chagrin, or humiliation, or regret, according to the part they played. But Mr. Taft can look back upon it with no bitterness of heart, no humiliation, and no regret; and we believe that he does.

History will take care of William H. Taft, and he leaves his record to the judgment of his countrymen, secure in the knowledge that he has acted always with honor and in obedience to an honest sense of duty. His heart has been right; his faith in his fellows has not been impaired; his devotion to the law

and the Constitution has inspired him always; and he has never misused his power or influence for the benefit of any man or any cause.

Let history deal with the public acts of Mr. Taft and the Taft administration. They will stand examination, and will wear well against time. Of Mr. Taft's personality and private character, posterity will judge best by reading the estimate of his contemporaries. Posterity will learn that he won the admiration even of his opponents by his optimism and kindheartedness in the midst of detraction and defeat; that he radiated good cheer and good fellowship; that he bore his honors meekly, met misfortunes smilingly, performed his duties courageously, and at all times lived so that all the world might look into his heart and find it wholesome.

The new President of the United States could not wish for better fortune than to go out of the White House, in his turn, with the strong affection and hearty good wishes that follow William H. Taft.

I could add nothing more to these splendid and truthful sentiments than that I heartily echo everyone of them, as I believe the majority of the people of the United States also do.

I can not at length say all that I should love to in regard to the characteristics of President Taft. He is still, thank Heaven, with us, a tower of strength in every civic and patriotic movement of our Government. Enough for me to say that like some of his eminent predecessors, Mr. Taft will rank high as an executive of eminent ability. Genial, whole-souled, he adorned every position he filled, and the future historian will give him first rank among our American Presidents.

Some of the correspondence that passed between Mr. Taft and myself since his retirement is herewith given and explains itself, while others are reserved

for the historian of the future, when both writers shall have crossed the bar:

January 4, 1915.

Hon. William Howard Taft,
New Haven, Conn.

My Dear Friend:

My attention has been called to an address which you delivered before the Young Men's Hebrew Association of New York. I am well aware that newspaper articles are not always reliable as to the full context. Therefore I write to you to know your exact meaning as to the criticism you made of secret societies.

I infer without having your answer that your opinion was leveled at religious societies who made use of their secrecy in the interest of politics, or to the injury of other religious bodies. You certainly could not have intended fraternal organizations such as the Order of B'nai B'rith, whose medal of honor you so worthily wear, for that organization, secret as it is, works solely in the interest of humanity—its aims and objects being thoroughly American and patriotic, and at the same time, cosmopolitan. It was founded not in opposition to any other form of faith, but to strengthen the lines of brotherhood among all men, and to educate the incoming immigrants to a full realization of their civic duty. You will remember at the great meeting held in the City of New York, where you honored us by being one of the speakers, you heard in a feeble outline delivered by me, of the aims and objects of that great organization.

I fully concur with you that any attempt on the part of any secret religious society to undermine the superstructure of our form of government is criminal and dangerous, but Associations such as I have described, and other kindred organizations, are helpful and beneficial.

Wishing you a Happy New Year, I am,

Sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.

New Haven, Conn., January 6, 1915.

My Dear Simon Wolf:

I have yours of January 4th. Of course I had no intention of instituting a crusade against Secret Societies, for I belong to the Masons. I was a Secret Society man in college. Of course my remarks are to be taken in the connection in which they were uttered. What I referred to was a Secret Society with political aims engaged in pushing a bigoted prejudice into the election or rejection of candidates for public office.

Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.

LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



WOODROW WILSON
1913

WOODROW WILSON

Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, has spoken in words that need no amplification on my part. His administration, outside of the Civil War, is undoubtedly the most momentous in the history of our country, in the conditions that surround the nation requiring sane statesmanship, sound reasoning, logical thinking, and prompt and patriotic action. I believe Mr. Wilson possesses these eminent attributes in a high degree. His messages to Congress, notably those of recent date, mark a lofty conception of duty, fearlessness of expression, and an eloquent diction unsurpassed in the annals of our country. His estimate of the difference between autocracy and democracy, between civilization and barbarism, marks an epoch worthy of the best traditions of our country.

I am most happy to state that although differing from the President in matters of party politics, his personal and official treatment of me has been most cordial. I have had the honor and privilege of writing to him on various subjects, all of which have received his most prompt and satisfactory attention, exceptionally so, as will be shown by the various letters which will be set forth hereafter.

It gives me pleasure to insert herein, as evidence of my first intercourse with President Wilson, after his inauguration, the following letter which I addressed to him:

Washington, D. C., March 5, 1913.

My Dear Mr. President:

I sincerely and heartily congratulate you for the splendid and humanizing Inaugural you delivered

yesterday. It is worthy of your past record, and is illuminating as to your future conduct.

As an American citizen, I am ready to serve in the ranks to aid you in the course you have outlined for yourself and for the benefit of the Nation.

Very sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.

To which I received the following answer:

The White House, March 6, 1913.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

The President directs me to acknowledge receipt of your kind letter of March 5th, and to thank you for writing it. He is glad to learn that his Inaugural address meets with your approval.

Sincerely yours,

J. P. TUMULTY,

Secretary to the President.

Mr. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.

From the very beginning, even before he was elected President of the United States, Mr. Wilson took a deep interest in immigration affairs, and all conditions pertaining thereto; as an evidence thereof I desire to reproduce herein an editorial which appeared in one of the newspapers on the occasion of Mr. Wilson's visit to Ellis Island:

"President-elect Wilson's visit to the Immigration Station on Ellis Island was a significant incident. It is well for the man who is to be Chief Magistrate of this Republic to see with his own eyes the working of the system by which prospective new citizens are admitted. Gov. Wilson had little time to examine closely the methods employed by the immigration officers to test the fitness of aliens seeking admission, but he saw enough, doubtless, to leave an indelible picture on his mind which may serve, in some

way, to help him when some problem relating to immigration calls for his official notice.

“We need immigrants who are healthy, industrious and law-abiding. Restrictions on the diseased, incompetent, and criminally inclined can not be too sternly enforced. But any general restriction of immigration would work ill for the country. The South and the West need farmers and farm laborers, the North and the East need industrial workers. We must take them as they come and teach them to become good citizens. Many of the men whom the President-elect saw on Saturday at the great gate of the port will be citizens in five years. Some of them may turn out to be bad citizens, but if the officers at Ellis Island have done their duty in admitting them, that result will likely be as much the country's fault as theirs.”

From the commencement of President Wilson's administration I had several interviews with him and acknowledgments from his private secretary to communications sent to the President, which for obvious reasons had best not be published at this time.

When President Wilson was elected, thus for the time being ending the Republican administration, many of my friends thought my usefulness as a representative of various interests, especially the welfare of our people, would be at an end, but the best proof that this was an erroneous conclusion is the fact that one month after the Inauguration a banquet was given by District Grand Lodge No. 5, of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, to which I had invited the President, Vice-President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Labor, Secretary of the Navy, Judge Julian W. Mack, and other notable men. The President on account of a previous engagement could not honor us with his presence. However, the Vice-

President, the Secretary of State, accompanied by Mrs. Bryan; Secretary Daniels, and Secretary Wilson, of the Department of Labor, all were there, and responded to toasts. Unfortunately, I have only Secretary Daniels response, which is given herewith:

“I count it a blessing and a privilege that as a boy I grew up in a village in which one of its first citizens and a near neighbor and friend was Emil Rosenthal, a merchant prince of his community, whose heart was touched by pity for misfortune and whose purse was open to alleviate human suffering. His whole life may be illustrated by an incident that impressed itself on my memory. One morning the news was brought to town that the house of a poor farmer had been burned and his large family was homeless. At the postoffice, where the people gathered, many expressions of sympathy were heard. Mr. Rosenthal came into the company to get his *Baltimore Sun*, which he read every day of his life. He listened to the words of sympathy, and then remarked: ‘I am sorry fifty dollars worth,’ and, turning to those loudest in expressing their sorrow, he asked, ‘How sorry are you?’ This direct appeal brought large contributions from the neighbors. In a somewhat varied life it has been my good fortune to find that this practical charity of one of my earliest Hebrew friends is characteristic of the whole race of which he was an ornament, as well as an example for emulation by men of other faiths and other races. My ablest college friend was the most brilliant youth of my acquaintance, a splendid young Hebrew, Soloman Cohen Weil, who died in his young manhood, joined me on Sunday afternoons in the study of the Bible. Before he was twenty-five years old he was Professor of Greek in the University of North Carolina, and who, though dying before thirty, had won an enviable place among the ablest men of the Empire State of New York. I take it that it is because of such inti-



JOSEPHUS DANIELS
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

macies and friendships in my North Carolina home that I am honored by an invitation to be with you tonight. By the most sacred ties of my life I am bound to your people, and no man of your race and belief rejoices more in the glorious work of this noble organization than your speaker. I sometimes think if it were possible for all men to live in small communities, like the one in which I was reared, where you can know your neighbor intimately, there would be such an appreciation and regard of our fellows as to make a complete acceptance of the brotherhood of men of all shades of opinion, religious and political. The Scattered Nation, of which Senator Vance, of North Carolina, spoke with ripe knowledge in such a way as to become the idol of Hebrews everywhere, constitutes the Gulf Stream of America's population. Clearly demarcated, a part of the ocean and yet keeping in its own separate channels the Gulf Stream warms the shores of northern Europe and tempers the rigors of every clime it borders. So the Jewish race, coursing through the arteries of other races and tongues, is a valued part of all social and political and industrial life, giving of its best to making all mankind better and happier by its stimulating intellectuality and its devotion to its high standard. The Hebrew race has made good in everything it ever attempted, and though not generally known, this includes the sea. The parents of Moses applied rather early to have him admitted as a midshipman, and it was while he was navigating the Nile that opportunity, in the guise of Pharaoh's beautiful daughter, held out the soft, white hand that lifted him to the palace, to the court, to the schools of Egypt, and made him the man who gave the world the Decalogue. Jonah was the first captain of a submarine. However, the great engineers declare that the lines and measurements of the battleship and the ocean liner are modeled closely after those of the Ark, though Noah today might be considered by some as deserving of court-martial for

running his vessel aground. It is only a little over three weeks since I was called to your city to become Secretary of the Navy, and though I have been hard at work, I fear I have not yet learned enough to speak upon the right arm of American defense as fully as I hope to be able to do after a longer service in the most interesting department of the Government.

“John Paul Jones was the hero of boys of my State, particularly because its greatest citizen, Wiley Jones, gave him the sword that now reposes in the Navy Department, and John Paul added, ‘Jones’ to his name in remembrance of the goodness to him of the North Carolina patriots. From John Paul Jones to Victor Blue, naval heroes have been enshrined in the affections of the people in the good State from which I hail, and my present ambition is to be able as best I may to be true to the tradition of the Department of which I am now the head. I will confess to you the secret that I came to Washington with much apprehension lest, ‘land-lubber’ that I am, I would not justify the President’s faith, but two reflections consoled and cheered me. One was the story of a predecessor, of whom it is told that during his first months in office he decided to take a trip on an armored cruiser. He had read about them, and when invited to go below, was astonished and said: ‘By jinks, the thing is hollow. I thought it was solid.’ The second comforting suggestion that came to me was the fact that Gideon Welles, Lincoln’s Secretary of the Navy, had the same experience for Secretary of the Marine as I had, namely, he had long been editing a party newspaper and was national committeeman of his party. He made a reputation as Secretary of the Navy, but most by the recent publications of his diary. If a Connecticut editor could manage to stand upon the deck, I reflect, may not a North Carolina editor do likewise? Such was my thought and my encouragement. The story of our Navy has never been fully written. From its beginning, when John

Paul Jones left North Carolina to fight for the freedom of man, to the morning when Admiral Dewey sailed into Manila Bay and there destroyed the Spanish squadron, our Navy has fought for the freedom of the sea. The success of our Republic is due in a large part to the preparedness and efficiency and successful operation of its naval forces. The Navy is the strong arm of the Government. Never to injure others, never for aggression, never for conquest, never for glory. No race has the right to build a Navy for national boasting and glory, but only for defense. Every dreadnought ought to be built with the prayer that it will never be used and with the hope that the day will come when universal peace will be established."

Secretary of State Mr. Bryan requested me over the telephone to call at the Department at my convenience to discuss several matters of importance concerning my coreligionists. The following letter which on the day after this conference I addressed to Hon. Adolf Kraus will give a brief history of what took place between the Secretary and myself:

June 28, 1913.

Hon. Adolf Kraus,
Chicago, Ill.

My Dear Kraus:

Yesterday W. J. B. telephoned over to have me call and see him. It was a curious coincidence, inasmuch as I intended to go to see him today. He desired to know the standing and character of the B'nai B'rith, whether it was the representative Jewish organization, and whether it was looked upon by the Jewish community at home and abroad, as representative and worthy of confidence. You can easily imagine my answer. He then said he would ask me about the qualifications of a number of men who had applied for office, one of whom the Depart-

ment wanted to appoint in the diplomatic services. Naturally I spoke highly of those who deserved it. In this connection it struck me that Mr. ——— might possibly want to go as Ambassador to Turkey, or some equally representative post. I told him that it was a pity that Spain had been promised to someone else, as it would have been a fitting recognition, after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, to send a citizen of Jewish faith back as representative, especially as Spain was getting quite liberal and asking Jews to come back. He said he felt very sorry that the matter had not been called to his attention, as he would have been pleased to have accepted my suggestion.

He told me that he had sent for me, knowing that I was the representative of the Order in Washington, and of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and that it was easy to get a Democrat but not so easy to get a representative of a class.

I then told him about the escapades in regard to your letters, and he laughed heartily, and said he bore no ill-will—on the contrary, he admired you for your frankness, and thanked you for your good will, and is going to take further action, although some has already been taken, in the Roumanian matter.

He also assured me that the administration would make no treaty with any government in which the rights of all American citizens were not recognized. The interview was quite lengthy, in every way satisfactory, and indeed quite complimentary to the Order and its worthy Chief.

Very sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

On December 3, 1913, I addressed a letter to the Department of State, making inquiry as to whether or not negotiations were pending between our country and Russia looking towards an early commercial treaty, and if so, whether the State Department would adhere to its action so far as to the recogni-

tion of the American passport when in the hands of any of its citizens, irrespective of their religious faith or nationality. In answer to which, I received the following reply:

Department of State,
Washington, D. C., December 6, 1913.

Mr. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

The Department begs to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of September 3rd, in which you inquire whether there are any negotiations pending between this country and Russia looking towards an early commercial treaty, and if so, whether the State Department will adhere to its action so far taken as to the recognition of the American passport when in the hands of any of its citizens, irrespective of their religious faith or nationality.

In reply to your inquiry I have to inform you that there are no negotiations pending between this country and Russia for a new commercial treaty.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,
For the Secretary of State,
J. H. MOORE, *Counselor*.

On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Hebrew Orphan's Home of Atlanta, Georgia, of which I am the founder and was the president for twenty-five years, I sent to President Wilson a souvenir publication of the occasion. In acknowledging the same, he sent me the following letter, which I deeply appreciated:

The White House, March 26, 1914.
My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I warmly congratulate you upon the completion of the twenty-fifth year of the work of the Hebrew

Orphan's Home. It is an institution that has done a work of which you have every reason to be deeply proud. How fortunate you are to have been able to do this distinguished work of charity. It must afford you a great deal of genuine happiness.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Mr. Simon Wolf,
2013 Columbia Road,
Washington, D. C.

In my Seventieth Year Book, President Wilson wrote the following sentiment:

“Let us pray that our dear country mixed of almost every element of the modern world, may have sympathies as wide as the world, put away the provincialism of prejudice and fulfil her mission of justice and humanity to the utmost.

WOODROW WILSON.”

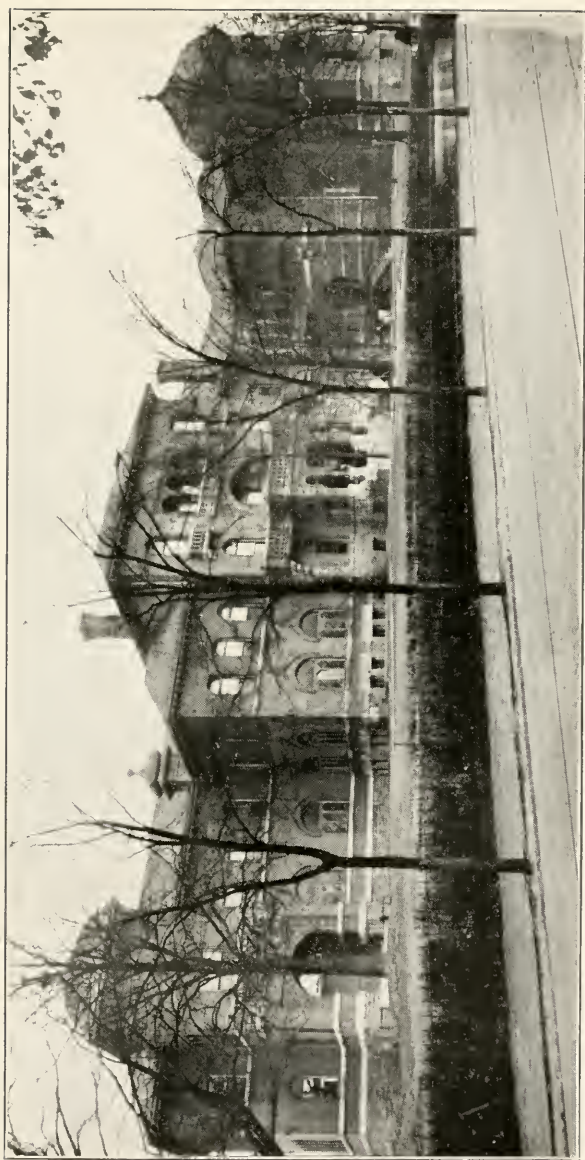
7th June, 1914.

In my copy of “The History of the People of the United States,” written by Woodrow Wilson, he wrote on the fly-leaf of the first volume in June, 1914, the following:

“This is too large a stage, the play moves with too varied a plot for any spectator to see more than a typical incident here and there—the main motive and the chief figures of the epic drama, may that much be really seen and vividly, in these pages.

WOODROW WILSON.”

During the early part of 1915, a hearing was given by the Immigration Committee of the House to vari-



I. O. B. B. HEBREW ORPHANS' HOME, ATLANTA, GEORGIA.
FOUNDED BY SIMON WOLF.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

• ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

ous representatives, on the Immigration Bill pending at that time before that Committee. The Burnett Bill, as the law was known, contained the vetoed literacy test and other features that were more or less objectionable.

The American Jewish Committee was represented by Mr. Cyrus Sulzberger, the president; Mr. Louis Marshall being absent on account of pending court business; the Board of Delegates and the Order of B'nai B'rith were represented by Hon. Abram I. Elkus and Mr. Max J. Kohler, of New York City, and myself.

Mr. Sulzberger made a strong presentation along various lines of Jewish activity, and his reasons for opposing the literacy test. He was listened to with attention and questioned by a number of the members of the Committee. Mr. Elkus, like Mr. Sulzberger, made an admirable statement and recommendation as to what would be desirable in changing the character of the pending Immigration Bill. Mr. Elkus was also interrupted by numerous questions. Mr. Kohler, as usual, made a lucid, logical and historical statement in regard to immigration, of which subject he is a past master. Mr. Morrison, the secretary of the American Federation of Labor, was put on the stand and for six hours made an elaborate statement, and answered innumerable questions from each and every member of the Committee, and while the friends of the immigrant could not agree with Mr. Morrison in what he demanded so urgently in the interest of labor, yet it could not be gainsaid that he made a strong, intelligent presentation.

The Committee was in session for fourteen long

hours, except for a recess to eat a bite. It was at 1.30 o'clock on the morning of the 13th, when the chance came for me to speak. I had very patiently waited, and while an effort was made to take a recess and postpone hearing me until the morning of the 13th, it was determined by the Committee that they would hear me, and thus conclude the hearing.

I spoke on all that immigration had heretofore achieved; stated the Jewish position on this subject with lucidity, and pointed out how Jewish immigrants coming from Russia and Roumania differ entirely from the general immigration; that they were not immigrants but refugees, fleeing from religious and political persecution, and that the law should be so changed as to give a wide discretion to the Government officials in admitting these unfortunate victims of oppression and persecution.

I pointed out the wonderful work the Jewish people were doing in every city and hamlet of the country in aiding these incoming future Americans. The Jewish women were caring for the girls who otherwise might be stranded; that they did not become public charges, and how the great boon of American citizenship entitled them to fuller consideration when the wife and children, as so often happens, came and one or more of the group afflicted with some disease, that the citizen was entitled to the highest consideration; that the steerage in one sense was superior to the cabin, as they formed a valuable asset to the nation's wealth and prosperity. It was a dramatic scene in the early hours of the morn, and one never to be forgotten.

A number of tilts between Judge Goldfogle, Judge Sabbath, and the Chairman of the Committee, Mr.

Burnett, took place. The two former were ardent supporters of the contention that the literacy test was unnecessary and worked great hardship, while Mr. Burnett was in favor of the bill, naturally, being the father thereof.

The outcome of the hearing is well known. The bill passed both Houses with all the objectionable features, and when it reached the White House, President Wilson, like his predecessors, Cleveland and Taft, vetoed it on account of the literacy test. The House attempted to pass it over the veto and failed, not being able to get the constitutional two-thirds majority.

In the next session of Congress, however, the fight was renewed, the bill passing both Houses and again vetoed by the President, but unfortunately became a law by being passed over the veto.

After the vetoing of the Immigration Bill, I addressed the following letter of thanks and congratulation to President Wilson.

January 29, 1915.

The President:

As Chairman of the Board of Delegates on Civil Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and as resident representative of the Order of B'nai B'rith, I wish to thank you most heartily for the words contained in your veto message to Congress on the Immigration Bill. They are worthy of the best traditions of the Republic, and express the sentiments, I am sure, of the sane, patriotic and progressive element of our people. Education confers no superiority, if character is lacking, while on the contrary, character is the basis of good citizenship. As you say, a large number of immigrants are deprived in their native country of a chance to educate themselves. My own sainted mother could only read

the Hebrew Prayer Book, and yet, I am sure she was in every way worthy of the privileges and opportunities which she and her children enjoyed in this country. And so there are thousands and thousands of descendants of those who have given the world the Bible, the Psalms, and best literature of the dark ages, who would be deprived by the literacy test from entering. So the descendants of fair Italy, the heirs of the classic literature, art and song, the defenders of liberty, would be deprived, all of which would be criminal, and deprive the nation of an asset which it so sorely needs. But why amplify? You undoubtedly understand the whole situation, and have grasped it in a terse, patriotic manner.

Very sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

And to which he answered:

The White House, January 30, 1915.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

The President has read with a great deal of interest your kind letter of January 29th, and he asks me to thank you warmly for having written. He genuinely appreciates your generous expressions and your good will.

Sincerely yours,

J. P. TUMULTY,

Secretary to the President.

The rights of political asylum has never been defined and outlined more exhaustively and intelligently than that which is contained in the following article by the able publicist, Mr. Max J. Kohler, of New York City, which appeared in the *New York Post*, May 3, 1916:

"RIGHTS OF POLITICAL ASYLUM THREATENED.

Little-Discussed Amendments to the Immigration Bill
Which Would Revolutionize American Policy
Toward Political Refugees and
Domiciled Aliens.

To the Editor of the Evening Post.

Sir:—The Burnett Immigration Bill, as reported by the Senate Committee after its passage by the House, contains several amendments of great importance. As amended by the Senate Committee, the bill restricts the proviso of section 3, exempting persons convicted, or who admit the commission, or who teach and advocate the commission "of an offence purely political," only if such offence is not a felony." Such reference to "felonies," with respect to offences committed abroad, where (except in Anglo-Saxon lands) our own distinctions between felony and misdemeanor are unknown, is most unwise and confusing and uncertain; but however the provision be construed, almost every offence to which it can apply would be removed from the exemption, for practically no other offences involve "moral turpitude," and only such offenders are excluded, whether the act be purely political or not.

It is not very long since our country was agitated by the effort to extradite Pouroto Russia, on the charge of murder, through a political offence committed in the course of a revolt against Russian despotism, and our Government finally refused to deliver him up. Yet what would become of our extradition treaties if all their restrictions and safeguards could thus be circumvented by such summary deportation under the immigration laws. Still more recently in the Castro case (involving alleged murder, resulting from ordering an insurrection stopped) (203 Fed. Rep. 155), and the Mylius case (criminal libel of the King of England) (203 Fed. Rep. 152, affirmed 210 Fed. Rep. 860), the courts were called upon to protect political refugees against arbitrary

and unjustified administrative deportation under the immigration laws, yet what would become of the restrictions there recognized by the courts, under this new legislative abolition of the right of asylum for such political refugees, President Wilson's emphatic language, based upon a true appreciation of our history, would be a hundred times more applicable to the new bill:

It seeks to all but close entirely the gates of asylum which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable rights of men, * * * a radical departure from the traditional and long-established policy of this country, a policy in which our people have conceived the very character of their Government to be expressed, the very mission and spirit of the nation in respect of its relations to the peoples of the world outside their borders * * * The right of political asylum has brought to this country many a man of noble character and elevated purpose who was marked as an outlaw in his own less fortunate land, and who has yet become an ornament to our citizenship and to our political councils.

But all sorts of difficult and confusing questions of law would also arise, which the petty administrative officers, having no legal knowledge, would be wholly incapable of deciding properly, and which probably only the Supreme Court of the United States can ultimately unravel. Our existing immigration law excludes all persons who have committed crimes involving moral turpitude, whether they be felony or misdemeanor, unless they be purely political offences, so there has been no occasion thus far to inquire into the question whether the offences be felonies or misdemeanors and whether the distinction is to be gauged by the provisions of the foreign country's law (if it makes it), or our Federal Penal Code provision (Sec. 335), or the law of the particular State in which admission is applied for, or

that of the State in which the immigrant is destined. Even the existing statute was shown in the *Mylius* case to be most confusing and uncertain in its provision as to "moral turpitude," both District Court and Circuit Court of Appeals reversing the Board of Special Inquiry and Secretary Nagel on this point of law. But ever so much more troublesome questions would arise if the "felony" test must also be taken into account, and particularly if the lay inspectors must suddenly become experts in the criminal law of every country from which the immigrants come.

Strong reasons suggest themselves for assuming that the question whether the offence be a felony or not is to be determined by the provisions of the law where it was committed. Such would seem to be the theory of the *Castro* decision, but, on the other hand, as hereto pointed out, few foreign countries establish our particular distinctions between "felony" and "misdemeanor," and it would seem unreasonable to ascribe to lay immigration officials knowledge of the criminal laws of all the foreign countries involved, and this would be a construction of our laws which the courts would not favor.

The alternative would be very difficult and troublesome also, however—an investigation into the character of the offence under the foreign law, and the application to the same of our own varying and confusing tests as to the distinctions between felonies and misdemeanors. These definitions or tests vary in the different States, and the Federal Penal Code provision is still different. Originally, the more serious offences, roughly speaking, were felonies, but different laws arbitrarily made certain acts felonies, or misdemeanors, as the case might be, involving much confusion and uncertainty as to the common law and each State even.

Should the distinctions existing in the State where the immigrant lands be adopted regardless of his destination? If so, he would be admissible in one State, but not in another, and after landing, could

go wherever he pleased. If his assumed destination is the test he could assign one favorable to him, and nevertheless go wherever he wanted to, after admission. Moreover, such consideration of local State conditions on application to enter the United States seems inconsistent with the policy ably laid down by the United States Supreme Court in the recent case of *Gegiow vs. Uhl*. The alternative would seem to be the application of the Federal Criminal Code provision (Sec. 335), defining as a felony an offence punishable by death, or imprisonment of over one year, but that, in practice, would cover almost every offence involving moral turpitude, political or not, and would practically expunge the political offence exemption entirely.

Another serious change made by the Senate Committee is the omission of the House provision, permitting aliens who have declared their intention to become citizens to re-enter, in the discretion of the Secretary, despite other possible disqualifications. Many years ago, even under the Chinese exclusion laws, the United States Supreme Court recognized that unmistakable language in a law must be present to cut off the right of return of aliens domiciled here, recognized by international law, and this principle was subsequently applied, even to the wives and children of domiciled aliens. Surely, formal and solemn declarations of intention to become a citizen of the United States is most cogent evidence of acquisition of a permanent domicile here, and will often involve serious liabilities under the laws of the country of original citizenship, if United States protection is thus cut off. Yet even discretionary power in the Secretary to admit them is cut off. This provision becomes all the more serious, because this bill established a new and revolutionary definition of "alien" under the Immigration Law to include only native-born or naturalized citizens of the United States. This will result in harsh and heart-rending separation of families. It will exclude wives, though

their husbands are here and are citizens, whose citizenship, except as to Chinese, has been heretofore recognized as resulting from the husband's. It will exclude minor children of citizens, not only on an original entry, but even afterwards though Secretary Nagel, in an able opinion, upheld their right, even in the first-named contingency, to enter, in order to avoid heartless breaking up of families. Such exclusion of wives and infant children may take place on the flimsy and irrelevant reason that they may have some petty, insignificant "defect that may affect their ability to earn a living"—may, however, improbably—and notwithstanding the fact that the husband or father may be so well off that there is no reasonable probability that the wife, for instance, will ever be called upon to earn her livelihood. This change is all the more remarkable, because the Senate, a few years ago, amended a House Immigration Bill by expressly providing that the wives and minor children of citizens should be regarded as admissible and an appropriate exception might be made, if advisable, of such as suffer from loathsome and contagious diseases, for instance. It is obvious that these provisions are very ill-advised, and have been adopted without careful consideration of the consequences.

MAX J. KOHLER."

New York, April 29, 1916.

Some of the most dramatic incidents in connection with the landing of refugees, the future Americans, transpired time and again, not only in this Administration, but during many years prior. On several occasions people who had been ordered deported, and for whom at the last moment I had secured admission, were taken off the steamers sailing down the bay. The joy and happiness of the out-going immigrant, rescued, can never be told in cold type,

but their letters of thanks and their personal expressions, have been more than compensation.

The question of securing the assurance of our Government that it would use its good offices to bring about a recognition on the lines of equality and liberality for the Jews in those countries where it had been denied them is evidenced by the following correspondence between President Wilson and myself:

February 9, 1915.

To the President,
Washington, D. C.

As Chairman of the Board of Delegates of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and as resident member of the Executive Committee of the International Order of B'nai B'rith, I beg to present to you the wishes of your fellow citizens of Jewish faith, who are, in every sense of the word, patriotic and loyal Americans, and therefore are deeply concerned in the outcome of the present war when terms of peace shall be determined on. You are well aware of the conditions of our co-religionists in certain parts of Europe; that for centuries in those countries they have been denied equal rights, either political or religious, in consequence of which a large number have sought refuge in this land of opportunity, and that unless our Government can be instrumental in securing those rights, to the enjoyment of which they have so far been denied, the influx of such refugees from the lands of oppression will not only continue, but be largely increased.

John Hay, when Secretary of State, made this proposition very clear in his famous Roumanian note. He regarded the persecution of the Jews as an act of hostility to the United States, as it brought to our shores immigrants that would have remained in the land of their birth, were they treated in a spirit of fairness and justice.

We do not believe that at any time in the world's history has the time been so opportune to secure equal rights for the Jews in Europe as at the time when terms of peace shall be agreed upon by the belligerent powers. The United States Government has a vantage ground equaled by none; one that can, I am sure, through your wise and sane statesmanship, become a dominating factor in the solution of this great and important question. It will not only be conducive to the welfare and prosperity of the people in question, but aid very materially the citizens of the United States, and we, therefore, most respectfully but earnestly suggest that you give this great international problem due consideration to the end of securing justice.

With sincere regards, I have the honor, Mr. President, to subscribe myself.

Your very obedient servant and fellow citizen.

SIMON WOLF.

The White House,
Washington, April 7, 1915.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I read with the greatest interest the letter you were kind enough to leave with me a short time ago bearing the signatures of representatives of the Order of B'nai B'rith and the Hebrew Congregations of the United States. I beg that you will assure those who were kind enough to send me this interesting letter that I follow from time to time with the greatest interest the fine work of the organizations which they represent, work which undoubtedly contributes to the uplift and betterment of the nation, and I have been particularly interested in the work of education and philanthropy and the effort to destroy so far as they can the provincialism of prejudice as between races.

Will you not be kind enough to convey to them my warm appreciation of their letter and my assurance that whenever and in whatever way it may be possi-

ble for me to serve the interests which they represent, I shall conceive it a privilege to do so?

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.

In addition thereto, to be assured of the status on the part of our Government, in concluding a new treaty with Russia, the following correspondence took place, which evidences that I have been watchful and vigilant in securing those rights to which the Jew as a man and citizen is entitled:

April 8, 1915.

To the President:

The newspapers have recently and again today, made statements that our Government was about renewing the treaty with Russia. You are well aware that the treaty of 1832, between the United States and Russia, existed for eighty years, when by almost unanimous voice of the American people, it was abrogated under the administration of your immediate predecessor. The cause of said abrogation was brought about by the nonrecognition of the American passport by Russia, when in the hands of an American citizen, Russia contending that under their police regulations they had the right of precluding the domicile and sojourn of all persons seeking admission into Russia, especially those who had been born in that country and naturalized in the United States. Our contention was and is that, whether born or naturalized in this country, American citizens are entitled to equal rights and privileges. Therefore, I sincerely hope that any treaty to be concluded with Russia shall have the important clause of travel and sojourn in Russia by any American citizen irrespective of nationality or creed. Any neglect on the part of the Government to recognize this important factor of American citizenship would, I am sure, be

resented by the same overwhelming majority that led to the abrogation of the former treaty.

In bringing this matter to your attention, I am not voicing the opinions of American citizens of Jewish faith alone, although they are mostly concerned, but principally as an American citizen looking to the future growth and prosperity of the republic, and recognizing the all-important fact that, unless Russia enters the domain of civilization by recognizing all men as equals, that the principal sufferer by pursuing her course would be the United States, owing to a continued abnormal and unnatural immigration, and as a patriotic American, I trust that whatever treaty shall be concluded with Russia, shall embrace the important paragraph, the absence of which led to the abrogation of the former treaty.

Very sincerely yours,
SIMON WOLF.

The White House,
Washington, D. C., April 12, 1915.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I have your letter of April 8th. You may be sure that when we negotiate a new treaty with Russia we shall not be forgetful of the very important matter to which you call my attention.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.

In connection with the question of our co-religionists in Russia and Roumania, I take the liberty of quoting an excerpt from the book entitled "The Doctrine of Intervention," written by Mr. Henry G. Hodges, of the University of Pennsylvania. Coming from a distinguished Christian student of the question, his discussion of "Intervention in the Interest of Persecuted Jews" (pp. 92-96), is particularly significant. He says:

The case of an intervention in the interest of persecuted Jews presents several distinct peculiarities. In the first place, the race has no direct protecting governmental authority. In the second place, due to their scattered condition, they are unable to unite in sufficient numbers for their own adequate protection. These two facts are sufficient to explain the peculiarity of the present situation of the Jews in Roumania.

At the Berlin Conference in 1878, the Powers agreed to recognize the Balkan States on the condition that they should not impose any religious disabilities on their subjects. This was the spirit and letter of Article 44 of that Agreement. Recognition was granted with the understanding that this stipulation would be fulfilled. Hence it follows from the spirit of Article 44 that should this article be violated, the Powers signing that agreement had the right, and even more the duty, of intervention. Nevertheless, in accordance with the municipal law in Roumania, the Jews are, with a few exceptions, considered as foreigners so that they may not come under the provisions of the article just mentioned. On the other hand, the authorities argue that since these Jews are not subjects of any other State, Roumania may compel them to render military service. The authorities treat them, in respect to many other matters, as their discretion may direct. It would seem that the parties to this Berlin Conference are lax in the fulfillment of their obligations so long as they allow such actions to continue. For them intervention for the correction of the present anomalous condition of the Roumanian Jew, is legally justifiable. For other States the cause is very weak. It must be admitted that the so-called rights of mankind are not absolutely assured.

If Oppenheimer's history of the development of the mutual ascendancy of the Christian religion and the principles of international law is a true one, it is hard to see upon what grounds an intervention for

the suppression of such conditions as exist in Roumania in respect to the Jewish population can be denied.

The development of the "hands off" policy is nullifying sympathy in a similar case, where no agreement exists to justify an intervention. The case of the Jews in Russia is known to the civilized world. The reports can not all be false. The condition of these people arouses pity, but although deplorable conditions exist there, they are not existing in violation of any international agreement. The Jews in Roumania have a much stronger case than the Jews in Russia, but the only legitimate authority for taking up their cause from a strictly legal standpoint has failed to act.

One of the strongest views in opposition to an intervention based on religious oppression is expressed by Hall, from whose writings Oppenheimer says many of his opinions are formed. Evidently this opinion came from a different source. There are several writers who maintain that the Law of Nations guarantees to every individual, wherever he might be, the so-called rights of mankind, no matter what may be his status; that is, even though he may be stateless. Among these writers are Bluntschli, de Martens, Bonfils and others.

We may conclude that, although the opinions of the writers just mentioned can hardly be said to obtain at the present time, nevertheless there is a tendency to depart from that very strict construction given to the principle by Hall. As in the case of humanity, it seems that the tendency of an ever-increasing pressure of public opinion, combined with a more universal demand for justice, is to push the claim for legality of this cause ever nearer that point where it will be recognized by the majority. Religious toleration will be one of the accomplishments of an advanced international community just as surely as it is of the more enlightened States of the present time.

On the occasion of the quinquennial Convention of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, held in San Francisco, California, in May, 1915, which Convention I am happy to state I was enabled to attend as a delegate, I had received the following letters, to be read to those assembled as a mark of good-will and friendship on the part of those whose signatures are affixed to each message:

The letter from President Wilson, dated April 7, 1915, and read at the Convention, has already been quoted in this sketch.

Department of State,
Washington, April 3, 1915.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Woodward Building,
Washington.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I am just in receipt of your letter saying that you expect to attend the quinquennial convention of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith to be held in San Francisco in the near future and suggesting that you will be glad to carry a message of greeting and good-will.

I am, of course, acquainted with this great international organization and profoundly appreciate the large work which it has done in the matter of education and social uplift. Please present to the members in most cordial language my compliments and good wishes, and accept for yourself my thanks for giving me this opportunity to give expression to the interest which I feel in the work that the Order has done and in the still larger work before it in propagating peace and good-will throughout the world.

Yours very truly,

W. J. BRYAN.

Oyster Bay, Long Island, N. Y.,
April 10th, 1915.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

Through you permit me to extend my hearty good wishes to the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith and to wish it all success in continuing its work in strengthening the ties between man and man and endeavoring to contribute to the uplift and betterment of humanity. It has been a great educational and enlightening factor in our American life.

With hearty good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Simon Wolf, Esq.,
Woodward Building,
Washington, D. C.

New Haven, Conn., April 1st, 1915.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I have yours of March 30th. I am glad that you are going to attend the quinquennial convention of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, which will meet in San Francisco sometime during April. I have great respect for the Order because of the good which it has done, the conservative attitude which it has occupied, the harmonizing effect which it has had upon otherwise discordant elements, and the general world fraternity which it has promoted. It is a body of representative American citizens that deserves the approval and encouragement of all their fellow citizens. I sincerely hope that the convention will be full of usefulness, on the one hand, and of enjoyment for the members of the Order, on the other.

Sincerely yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

Honorable Simon Wolf,
Woodward Building,
Washington, D. C.

Western Union Day Letter.

Chicago, Ill., April 24, 1915.

9 a.m.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
St. Francis Hotel,
San Francisco, Cal.

Permit me to express my best wishes for the success of the great charitable and educational work of your organization, at no time in our history has there been more need for enlightened toleration or better reason for taking account of the real contributors to our country's welfare. I am happy to know that you were able to attend the meeting and I trust that California may bestow upon you health-giving warmth and cheer, as you dispense good-will and comfort among your fellowmen.

CHAS. NAGEL.

Honorable Simon Wolf,
Woodward Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wolf:

May I, on the part of the American Red Cross, extend warm greetings to the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith at its quinquennial convention. It was a pleasure some five years ago to address this representative body of Jewish men here in Washington. Since then we have received continuous support and sympathetic interest and aid from the Jewish people in America, and we desire to express our very sincere thanks and gratitude for their assistance. There is no greater humanitarian organization in the world than the Red Cross. It knows neither race nor creed, but unites all mankind in the bond of brotherhood.

Though the Executive Committee of the American Red Cross realizing that the work for the sick and wounded would take all its time, funds and energy, decided not to undertake non-combatant relief work, some funds have been received to aid these non-combatants and the Committee was glad from this

small amount to appropriate \$10,000 for the Jewish Committee that is sending relief to Palestine. It has also been of assistance in sending boxes of supplies through for the relief of the Jewish people in Austria, Poland and Galicia.

Again with most hearty appreciation and gratitude for the aid of the Jewish people in the great humanitarian work of the Red Cross, and asking for their continued assistance and interest, I am,

Yours sincerely,

MABEL T. BOARDMAN.

The matter of shipping whole wheat by and through the consent of the Allies, to be used during Passover by our suffering brethren abroad due to the terrible and prolonged war, having been brought to my attention, I addressed President Wilson to the following effect:

January 5, 1916.

To the President:

I had the honor of informing you the other day that we are contemplating having a mass meeting on the evening of the twentieth, in aid of the Jewish War Sufferers, and at the same time to bring home to official Washington the fearful condition of my co-religionists.

One of the main objects outside of the collection of money is to secure the good offices of our Government for the purpose of getting the permission of the Allies to ship several cargoes of whole wheat so that at the coming Passover it can be used to make unleavened bread. There are thousands of Orthodox Jews who would starve during the period of eight days if they could not have this unleavened bread. In itself it may be termed a trifling affair, but to those concerned, it is a matter of life and death.

Will you instruct the State Department to take up this matter to the end of securing the permission?

As ever, sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.

To which he made the following reply:

January 6, 1916.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I have your letter of January fifth and will be very pleased to take up the matter you refer to with the State Department to ascertain if it is possible to do anything. Of course, we will do it if it is possible.

In haste,

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Mr. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

Letters received from my friend Alvey A. Adee, in regard to the same matter, are also given herein and fully explain themselves:

Department of State,

January 8, 1916.

Mr. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

The Department acknowledges the receipt, by reference from the President, of your letter of January fifth, requesting the President to instruct the Department to use its good offices for the purpose of obtaining permission from the Allies to ship several cargoes of whole wheat so that at the coming Passover it can be used to make unleavened bread.

Before complying with your request, the Department begs to request you to inform it how much wheat you desire to ship, to what places, to whom it is to be consigned, and how it is to be distributed, as these questions are certain to be asked of the Department by the governments from whom the permission to ship the wheat is requested.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

For Secretary of State:

ALVEY A. ADEE,

Second Assistant Secretary.

And later the following letter was received:

Department of State,
Washington, February 19, 1916.

Mr. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

With further reference to your letter of January fifth, to the President, requesting him to instruct the Department to use its good offices for the purpose of obtaining permission from the Allies to ship several cargoes of whole wheat so that at the coming Pass-over it can be used to make unleavened bread, there is quoted herewith a copy of a telegram, dated February 14, 1916, from the American Embassy at London, indicating the attitude of Great Britain toward the shipment of whole wheat at this time.

"British Government has just answered my representation made under your instruction to effect that they had already received a request to authorize the export of such bread from Holland, and that after careful consideration, it was decided reluctantly that it must be refused as far as consignments to Germany and Austria and the territories occupied by their armed forces were concerned.

"British Government adds that from official and public statements made from time to time, by or on behalf of German Government, it appears that supply of flour at present in Germany, is amply sufficient to furnish pure flour when required for special purposes. It is therefore opinion of British Government that application should be made to German and Austrian Governments to allow distribution to their Jewish subjects of such quantities of pure flour as may be necessary to satisfy their religious requirements."

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

For Secretary of State,

WILLIAM PHILLIPS,

Third Assistant Secretary.

A statement having been made by certain parties in New York City, that they had received authoritative advices that an outbreak had recently been made against the Jews of Russia, I was impelled to address the State Department in the following manner:

April 29, 1916.

Hon. Robert Lansing,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Secretary:

My co-religionists all over the country are very much excited and worried about a statement made, which is claimed to be from an authoritative source that there is to be an outbreak against the Jews of Russia at the coming Russian Easter. It is scarcely conceivable that such a crime should be committed at any time, but particularly at this juncture when hundreds of thousands of Russians of Jewish faith are battling for the land of their birth, or at least not shirking the duty they owe to the State, notwithstanding the horrible outrages and persecutions to which they have been subjected.

I, therefore, would take it as a great personal favor, not only for my own sake, but for the sake of millions of our people, if you could secure some reliable information from our Embassy at St. Petersburg, as to the reliability of such statement or the probability of any such outrages.

Whatever reply you may make to me will be strictly confidential, unless it should be of such a character that you of your own accord will permit its publication.

Very sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

And received from Secretary Lansing the following satisfactory and courteous answer:

Department of State,
Washington, May 4, 1916.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I am in receipt of your private and confidential letter of April 29, 1916, requesting information as to the authenticity of a report that there is to be an outbreak against the Jews of Russia at the coming of the Russian Easter.

The Department has cabled the Embassy at Petrograd making inquiry in the matter.

I am, my dear Mr. Wolf,

Very sincerely yours,

ROBERT LANSING.

Mr. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

And later, Mr. Adee addressed me, giving absolute assurance that no such outbreaks had taken place, and that the Russian Easter had passed without incident. His letter is given below in full:

Department of State,
Washington, D. C., May 12, 1916.

Mr. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

In further reply to your letter of April 29th, in reference to the reported threatened danger to Jews in Russia at the then approaching Russian Easter, the Department begs to inform you that it is in receipt of a telegram, dated May 11th, from the American Ambassador at Petrograd, stating that the Russian Easter has passed without incident.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Secretary of State:

ALVEY A. ADEE,

Second Assistant Secretary.

Many letters, and even telegrams having been received, asking whether our Government was making a treaty with Russia, I again addressed the President on the subject, as is shown by the following:

May 25, 1916.

To the President:

I had the honor on February 9, 1915, of addressing you a letter, to which you replied on April 7, 1917, copies of which I herewith enclose.

Since that date various groups of American citizens of Jewish faith have been much concerned as to what attitude our Government will take in securing equal rights for their co-religionists in every part of the world, especially in Russia and Roumania. In the present European conditions, it is hard to prognosticate or conclude as to what may or may not be done when the belligerents shall have concluded on terms of peace, but when that hour comes, we wish to be assured on the part of our great Government, so far as the Executive can promise, that every means consistent with diplomacy and with the demands of humanity, shall be exercised to secure those rights which are inherent in every human being, and which when conceded by all Nations, will strengthen the kinship, no matter what the nationality or creed may be, and materially contribute to solve a great problem, coincident with the prosperity and development of the United States.

Is it asking too much, my dear Mr. President, for you to express yourself as far as is consistent and proper at this juncture, that your determination to do the right thing at the right time has not changed; on the contrary, has been accentuated by the present conditions and by the ultimate prospects of universal peace?

Very sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

To which he replied:

The White House,
Washington, May 29, 1916.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I have your letter of May twenty-fifth. I hope that it is not necessary for me to state again my determination to do the right and possible thing at the right and feasible time with regard to the great interests you so eloquently allude to in your letter.

Cordially and sincerely yours,
WOODROW WILSON.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

This letter of President Wilson should have been conclusive as to the attitude of our Government when the terms of a world peace are to be agreed on, and made from every practical standpoint, a Jewish Congress for the time being, at least, unnecessary.

At the close of President Wilson's first administration and during the campaign for his re-election, in answer to the claim that there was a Jewish vote politically, and to refute this hydra-headed monster preying upon the intelligence and integrity of American citizens of Jewish faith, the following article was prepared by me, which has been received with favor everywhere, irrespective of party, creed or nationality, and I feel that it is quite appropriate to incorporate it in this sketch, if for no other reason than to preserve the same for future reference:

THERE IS NO JEWISH VOTE.

For sixty years I have been in direct opposition to any subject that would favor the so-called idea of a separate vote. I have refused time and again to speak before any Jewish audience, as such, in

favor of one or the other candidates, either local or national. It goes without saying that as an American citizen, irrespective of nationality or creed, I am entitled to my opinion and convictions, and so is every other American from that standpoint solely. We owe no thanks to anyone in power for appointing one of our faith to any position of trust and responsibility. The sole question as to the right of being appointed consists in the fitness and ability of the candidate. Any other course would be prejudicial to all the equities and to all the best traditions of our Government. I find that from the days of Lincoln up to the present, Presidents have appointed American citizens of Jewish faith to important positions by virtue of the principle above enunciated. Members of Cabinets, Ambassadors, Ministers, Judges and other offices of trust have thus been conferred and no credit is due to the one that appoints or to the one that receives the appointment, save and except that the appointing power, conscious of the responsibility vested in him, recognizes all classes of American citizens as worthy of confidence, and that the recipient recognizes party affiliations and not sectarian motives.

I have been asked to speak on the political hustings in various places of the country, and notably to my co-religionists, and have steadily declined, for I would be recreant to all that is best in American institutions if I were to prostitute my name and the good will I enjoy by trying to corral those of my own faith because one or the other President may have appointed one or more of my co-religionists. If I were to speak, I would say: "I am here as an American citizen, voicing my own political convictions, and expect each and everyone of you to vote according to your convictions as American citizens in every possible direction, that while we are Jews in faith, we are American citizens, and being such, we exercise the God-given right of voting as all other of our fellow-citizens are expected to do. Any other

course would destroy the fundamental principles of our government, and the Jews, as well as any other nationality or religious corporation, would be used as a buffer and a "hold-up" to secure favors from one or the other of the political parties.

During my vacation in the summer of 1915, I wrote to Secretary Lansing, congratulating him on the splendid reply made to Austria in the matter of the exportation of munitions of war. He acknowledged my letter in the following manner:

The Secretary of State,
Washington, August 19, 1915.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I was very much gratified to receive your letter of congratulation upon our reply to the Austrian statement relative to the export of munitions of war.

I thank you for your letter and appreciate greatly your thoughtfulness in writing me.

Very sincerely yours,
ROBERT LANSING.

Simon Wolf, Esquire,
Fabyan, White Mountains,
New Hampshire.

On different occasions I addressed Secretary Wilson, of the Department of Labor, concerning certain matters, which are self-explained by Mr. Wilson's replies, which are set forth herein:

Department of Labor,
Office of the Secretary,
Washington, March 6, 1916.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I am sincerely grateful for your kind note of the 4th instant. It is peculiarly gratifying to know that the conduct of this new Department meets with the

commendation of one who has been so observant of the working of the various branches of the Federal Government as yourself.

Again I thank you, therefore, for your generous expressions.

Sincerely yours,

W. B. WILSON,
Secretary.

The Secretary of Labor,

Washington, D. C., March 23, 1916.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 23rd instant relative to the reception in honor of Ambassador Morgenthau to be held in New York on April 5th.

The arrangements suggested by you are entirely satisfactory to me and I will be very glad to accompany you on the train leaving here at 12.30 on that date for New York.

Sincerely yours,

W. B. WILSON,
Secretary.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

The Secretary of Labor,

Washington, April 12, 1916.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I am in receipt of your favor of the 10th instant, with enclosure, copy of letter of appreciation sent by you to President Wilson, referring to my participation in the reception to Ambassador Henry Morgenthau. Please accept my sincere thanks for the very kind references to the address delivered by me on that occasion.

Very sincerely yours,

W. B. WILSON,
Secretary.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Woodward Building,
Washington, D. C.

On one of my personal visits to the White House, I left with President Wilson a pamphlet on Zionism, prepared by the late Dr. Voorsanger, of San Francisco, as well as copy of my sketch of Mordecai Manuel Noah. The following day, after having had a chance to glance at them, the President wrote me a personal note of thanks, in which he said:

June 1, 1916.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

I greatly appreciate your courtesy in leaving with me yesterday the pamphlet on Zionism and your sketch on Mordecai Manual Noah, and I shall value them not only for their intrinsic merit, but also as an evidence of your thoughtful friendship.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Mr. Simon Wolf,
Woodward Building,
Washington, D. C.

The following letter to the President is self-explanatory:

June 11, 1917.

To the President:

I have read with great admiration and patriotic fervor your admirable letter to the Russian people. Nothing could be clearer or sincerer, and the passage about "expending our blood and treasure and that we must be victorious now," I am sure will have a great effect upon all the people of the world. It is providential that in a crisis like this, we have at the head of our great Government a man whose brain and heart are so completely woven together for the common good of humanity.

Very sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF.

The Roumanian Commission being about to visit our country to secure recognition and aid from our Government, I felt the time opportune to suggest to the State Department that steps should be taken to secure some absolute guarantee as to the granting of equal rights to the Jews resident in Roumania. Therefore I addressed the following letter to Secretary Lansing:

June 26, 1917.

Hon. Robert Lansing,
State Department,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Secretary:

I wish to bring to your attention the fact that Roumania so far, either because it did not care to declare itself, or was unable to do so in consequence of conditions, has made no promise of taking any step, as far as known to me, in regard to emancipating Roumanian citizens of Jewish faith. Time and again in the last forty years they have promised to do so—in fact, became a party to the famous Berlin treaty, but which was ignored by the Roumanian Government.

As the Roumanian Commission is about coming here to secure recognition and aid from our Government, it seems to me it would be highly desirable to secure from this Commission some absolute guarantee as to granting equal rights to the Jews of Roumania.

More than likely you have already taken steps in this direction.

Very sincerely yours,

SIMON WOLF,

*Chairman of the Board of Delegates
on Civil Rights of the Union of
American Hebrew Congregations,
and*

Resident Representative of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith.

And in answer to which I received assurances that the subject-matter would be given attention.

On the occasion of the banquet tendered to me by New York friends in honor of my eightieth birthday, President Wilson sent the following letter in acknowledgment of the invitation sent to him:

The White House,

Washington, November 22, 1916.

My Dear Mr. Peyser:

I am complimented by the interesting invitation conveyed by your letter of November twenty-first and sincerely regret that my duties are so exacting and are likely to continue so pressing that it will not be possible for me to join the members of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America in the banquet they are planning to tender the Honorable Simon Wolf. I can only express my appreciation and regret.

Sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Julius I. Peyser, Esq.,
Washington, D. C.

One of the tributes on my eightieth birthday:

TO SIMON WOLF

ON HIS EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY

Made of the stuff from which Kings are wrought

Yet greater than any King

Brother to men of every clime, and

To every living thing

Ruler o'er hearts that prize true worth

Yet servant of all who need

Rich in what you have given away

Though deaf to the voice of creed.

A heart that feels for the woes of men
 Whatever their creed or clime
 Honored thy name the whole world round
 For words and deeds sublime
 We honor you this day of days
 As you cross the eightieth span
 Of the arch of life, a life well spent
 In the service of God and man.

TERENCE VINCENT POWDERLY,
*Late Commissioner-General
 of Immigration.*

October 28, 1916.

The following correspondence exchanged between President Wilson and myself during my summer vacation in 1917 may be of interest to my readers:

Poland Spring House,
 South Poland, Maine.

August 17, 1917.

My Dear Mr. President:

Last evening we had an illustrated lecture on our "five great wars," when your picture and the legend "Stand by the President" appeared, the applause was great and a wave of patriotism swept over the large audience. When Grant's picture appeared and the lecturer said Grant's slogan of "Unconditional Surrender" must be applied to Germany, the Welkin rang with cheers. The people are waking up and I do feel that the horizon is brightening. God and the country is with you.

Sincerely,
 SIMON WOLF.

The White House,
 Washington, 21 August, 1917.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

Your letter of August seventeenth has brought me very cheering information and I want to thank you

for it very sincerely. It was certainly an act of thoughtful kindness on your part to write.

Sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Poland Spring House,
South Poland, Maine.

Poland Spring House,
South Poland, Maine, Aug. 29, 1917.

My Dear Mr. President:

Your trumpet call to the Democracy of the World is masterly, and will rank equal, if not superior to any state paper in our archives. Please accept my sincere appreciation. There is only one way for enduring peace and that way you have outlined in plain Anglo Saxon words. They ring true.

Sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.

On the 9th of January, 1918, I wrote to President Wilson, thanking him for the splendid address he had made before Congress, to which he replied as follows:

The White House,
Washington, January 10, 1918.

My Dear Mr. Wolf:

Thank you very warmly for your note of yesterday. It is much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Hon. Simon Wolf,
Washington, D. C.

It is gratifying that American citizens of Jewish faith have been summoned to positions of great trust and responsibility in this crucial hour, noticeably the patriotic philanthropist, Julius Rosenwald. His example of civic and Jewish duty has been and is an inspiration.

My estimate of President Wilson, tersely expressed, is that his leadership, his literary genius, his statesmanship and political sagacity are unsurpassed in the annals of our country. Our relations have been most friendly, and it is my sincere wish that they will so continue to the end.

In the midst of this great struggle of democracy against military autocracy, it behooves every American, irrespective of nationality, creed or political affinity, to support, encourage and uphold the President of the United States, and at no time during my four-score years and two have I been more optimistic as to the final outcome, confident that the Republic founded by Washington, preserved by Lincoln, will be perpetuated by Woodrow Wilson.

It is most gratifying to state that during all these years of personal and official relations with the Presidents and their several Department Secretaries, as well as the Chiefs of the Bureaus, our intercourse has been uniformly cordial, considerate and humane, and it is gratifying for an American citizen to give emphasis to this liberal humanizing conduct on the part of those who govern the affairs of state.

HUMOROUS INCIDENTS

While seated in the coupe on my way to Lyons, France, a lady and gentleman came in who spoke English. I had just received my mail from the Consulate. Among other things was a copy of *Puck*, which I handed over to the gentleman, and he immediately returned it to me, saying "The dirty dog." I could not understand why he should say that and looked at the cartoon, and lo and behold, it had a picture by Nast of Tweed and his gang in striped clothes. I looked at the man and found that he was Garvey, the plasterer of the New York Court House. In conversation with him I found that he was entirely innocent of the charges, which was confirmed by Father Malone, and we had a very pleasant time together, his wife being a most intelligent, accomplished woman, and they were of my party on the Nile.

During my early days in Washington I taught in the Sabbath School, and one Sabbath a young girl who had been asked to write an essay on King Solomon brought the following: "King Solomon was a wise and great man in Israel. He had 600 wives, 400 lady friends, and there is where all the Free Masons come from."

A few years ago I was invited to speak at the Shamrock Club of this city, of which I am now an honorary member. Being called on to speak, I said, "I am very much reminded of the Irishman who asked the Priest to have him buried, as he was then expected to die, in a Jewish cemetery. When the

Priest, astonished, asked him why, he replied, "Why, your Holy Reverence, the devil never would look for me there," and so I said "My friends would never look for me tonight at this club."

Some years ago on my trip from Atlanta, where I had been attending the annual meeting of the Orphans' Home, coming into the Pullman from the diner, a gentleman greeted me and asked me to take a seat with him. Inquired where I was from and when informed, he said Washington was a wonderfully beautiful city, making great progress. I said "Where are you from?" and he replied, "North Carolina," and I said, "The South is making rapid strides, commercially and financially, and North Carolina particularly so, and if they could get rid of their Governor they would do still more." He replied, "I am the Governor of North Carolina." He then called his son and said he wanted to introduce a gentleman who didn't like the Governor. We became quite intimate and had a pleasant time together, and he has remained my friend ever since.

One evening in Washington I escorted the wife of a Justice of the Supreme Court to dinner. In conversation I found that she was from Ohio, and I asked if she knew a certain person in the city where she lived who had been a notorious copperhead, and an opponent of President Lincoln, and she said, "Oh, yes, Mr. Wolf, I knew him very well; he was my father." And no one enjoyed the incident more than the Justice.

During President McKinley's administration a banquet was given at the Arlington Hotel, and among other toasts, a member of Congress from New York, elected by the Tammany organization, responded to the sentiment "Our Ladies." After going over the stilted phrases incident to this toast, he worked himself up into a grand passion of rhetoric and said, "On the battlefield of Balaklava, when the camp fires were lit, and the moon shone in all its glory, there arose from the different camps the glorious song which has circled the world, 'Annie Rooney'" (instead of Annie Laurie).

An incident in Andrew Johnson's career typifies the character of the man. When appointed Governor of Nashville he was told that if he attempted to speak in that city he would be shot. Arriving there he had a large table placed in front of the Court House where he was to speak, and pulling out a large revolver, put it on the table. He said, "I am informed that I would be shot if I attempted to speak here. I am ready to be shot before I commence." There was dead silence and then tumultuous applause, and he made his speech without any molestation.

U. S. Senator McCreery, during General Grant's administration, was a very genial, rough diamond. A nephew of his who had been in Europe called on him and left his card, and when they met, the Uncle said, "Dick, what did you mean by leaving your card marked E. P.?" The nephew explained to the Uncle the meaning of the letters E. P. and R. S. V. P., etc., and the Uncle replied, "Is that what you went to

Europe for?" Several weeks afterwards the nephew met the Senator and he said, "Uncle I see you called on me and left your card," and the Uncle answered, "Yes." The nephew said, "What did you mean by S. B. A. N.?" "Sent by a nigger," the Senator replied.

Senator McDougal, of California, was a very accomplished scholar, but was very convivial in his habits. During Johnson's administration one night, coming from a dinner party, he slipped into a sewer, and would have disappeared down the Potomac had it not been for the curious coincidence of the presence of a policeman, who grabbed him just as he was disappearing. The policeman evidently did not know him and said, "Who are you?" The Senator replied in a guttural voice, "I—I—I was Senator McDougal, but now I am sewered (Seward).

On my way to Egypt I left Vienna to take the steamer at Venice, and as I entered the coupe a gentleman was seated in the extreme end. I said, "Good morning," "Bon jour," "Guttentag," and received no response. I concluded that the man was deaf or an Englishman. As we got to a stopping place where we got the London papers a thought struck me as I heard the boy calling *London Times, Telegraph*, etc., and I beckoned to the boy and bought all the papers he had, and came back into the coupe and sat down on the papers. The train started and the gentleman in the corner said, "Would you be kind enough and let me have one of your papers?" and I promptly replied, "I thought you were deaf," and he laughed and said, "No, I am not deaf; I am only one of those cussed fools who think to speak to anyone without

being introduced is a crime." We became quite chatty, and had a royal lunch together; found he was an English nobleman and member of Parliament, and we parted the best of friends, having handed me his card, and begged me, if ever I came to London, to look him up.

When I returned from Egypt and going from Frankfort to Munich, just as the train was starting a lady was precipitated into the coupe with a number of bundles. I sprang to her rescue and placed the bundles in the rack. We commenced talking. I found her to be a woman of culture. She was on her way to greet her son, who was coming from India. We found many things in common, especially experiences in Egypt. She was an English woman, and we began to converse about the peculiarities and eccentricities of different nationalities. Among other things I told her the incident above related, and showed her the card of the gentleman. She gave a shriek and said, "That was my husband." Subsequently when in London I called on this wonderful couple and had a royal reception, and have ever felt grateful for the curious incidents that led to so pleasant an acquaintance.

While in Egypt the Khedive presented me with a sacred bug, which had been placed with the mummies of Rameses. It was a very valuable treasure, and the London Museum was anxious to get it and offered me a thousand pounds. When I returned home, my father-in-law, when told of this incident, said, "What two fools were there on that day, the man that offered it and the man that refused it."

An incident occurred at the National Theatre in Washington one night when a beautiful opera was given. Some of the attaches of one of the legations were in one of the boxes. They chatted so much that the audience was very much disturbed. I arose in my seat and said in a very loud voice, "If the music and singers do not stop it will be impossible for us to hear what is going on in the box." For a moment there was dead silence, and then the applause was tremendous and then the box was empty.

When I was leaving Egypt on a vacation in April, 1882, Araba Pacha was the Chief Executive and had assumed supreme authority, although the Khedive was still reigning. In making my farewell visit, I said to him, "Your Excellency, I hope when I return I will find you well, and Egypt happy." Araba Pacha, who had a great deal of the native humor of Abraham Lincoln, promptly replied, "That reminds me of a Sheik speaking in the Mosque, who said, 'All of you who are afraid of your wives stand up.' All except one man stood up. At the close of the service the Sheik went up to this man and said, 'Evidently you are not afraid of your wife,' and the man in a plaintive tone said, 'She gave me such a beating this morning that I am not able to stand up.' So, my dear Consul-General, when you return you may find me well, but you will also find that England has given us such a drubbing that we can't stand up." His prophesy was fulfilled.

In 1904, when in Portland, Oregon, I was asked by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, now of New York, then the Rabbi of the Portland synagogue, to speak to the

Sabbath School children on the subject of Egypt. I did so, describing the country and my experiences in simple words and phrases, in order that the children could grasp my meaning without straining their mental faculties.

Among other things, I described my official reception when I arrived in Cairo; that I had been sent for by the Khedive to be brought to the Palace in a gilded coach drawn by white horses, like another Cinderella, and the Khedive's Chamberlain to escort me. At the close of my address I told the children that I would give to one boy and one girl who would write the best essay on what I had said a copy of my book, "The American Jew," and an autographed photograph of the author.

A few weeks after I received two large envelopes from Dr. Wise. The boys' essays were all very good, and I had some trouble in making the selection. In the girls' package I had absolutely no trouble whatever as one of the girls had written the following:

"This morning the good Rabbi introduced the Hon. Simon Wolf, of Washington, D. C., who told us of Egypt and our ancestors; how he was received by the Khedive, being taken to the Palace in a gilded coach drawn by white horses, and that as a mark of goodwill he had even sent his *chamber-maid*."

Needless to add that this girl won the prize.

One day I met my friend, Hon. T. V. Powderly. During our conversation he asked me the number of my business telephone. Main 7777. He laughed heartily and said that reminded him of an incident. "Years ago a Priest went back to his old home in Ireland. The son of an old friend had died. The

Priest was asked to officiate. On the day of the funeral the good Father spoke feelingly (the custom in Old Erin is to put the age of the departed on the coffin). When the Priest saw the figure he halted. Then again spoke of the youth and bright future of the son. He stopped, looked at the figure, and finally said, 'My dear friends, this young man was born before the flood.' The figures instead of 28, showed 7777.

In 1850, in my old Ohio home, there lived an eccentric man, very absent-minded. He would wade through the muddy streets unconscious of what he was doing. On one occasion he wandered into the Post Office and commenced writing. After a while he stopped and rested his head on his hands. The Postmaster, Samuel Haskins, came to him and said, "How do you do, Mr. Dawson?" He was alert at once and said, "That's it, by George, Robert M. Dawson," having forgotten his own name.

For years I was in the habit of stopping in Philadelphia on my way from New York to Washington, to visit my dear and sainted parents, and to get their blessing. On one of these occasions, five years after the celebration of their golden wedding, I rang the bell of their home. Mother opened the door and greeted me as ever. I said, "Where is father?" "The vagabond is in the club," I went out to bring him home. When we were seated, mother said, "My dear Simon, what I have to endure with this man no one knows, but I always knew it was no match for me. When there is a ballet in town, your father sits in front of the stage." All this at the age of

eighty-six and after fifty-five years of happy wedded life. I am happy to say that I have inherited both of their characteristics.

For twenty-five years on the Day of Atonement I addressed the Jewish Congregation of Washington. On one of the evenings after I had made a talk, an old Jewish woman returned to her home. Her children flocked around her, solicitous as to her health, having fasted all day. She said, "I feel well. Oh, children, you should have heard Mr. Wolf today." "What did he say, mother?" "What he said I do not know, but he did speak beautifully." This can be truthfully said of other speakers. William Jennings Bryan said at the B'nai B'rith banquet of District Grand Lodge No. 5, in 1913, "I got all the applause, but McKinley got the votes."

On Lincoln's birthday, February 12, 1917, I was the guest of honor at a banquet given by Joseph Lodge, I. O. B. B., at Bridgeport, Conn. The Governor of Connecticut and other notables were speakers. The Governor praised New England and the Puritan Fathers. I responded to the toast "Our Country." Among other things, I quoted the incident of Haym Salomon and what he, the Polish Jew, had done for the Republic; that he had loaned Washington and other patriots three hundred thousand dollars at a time of dire distress; that some of the heirs had for years tried to secure payment or recognition; that the bill went from House to Senate, or from Senate to House, without result, but this was not to be wondered at, "being the claim of a Jew, naturally, there was no *'pork'* in it."

Years ago I attended a wedding at Goldsboro, North Carolina. The day was February 22d. In the midst of the hilarity, champagne flowing freely, a gentleman who had seen service in the Confederate Army, arose and proposed a toast. The glasses were raised, "Here is to the greatest American, Jefferson Davis." My glass went down. After the cheers, I said, "It seems to me that it would be more appropriate to drink to the Father of Our Country, George Washington." For a moment silence reigned and then great applause followed, and the gallant southerner shook hands with me in a very cordial way.

Shortly after the close of the Civil War an association of which I was a member went to Richmond as the guest of a society. After feasting and singing, I was asked to speak. At the close I asked all to rise and sing the grand anthem of our reunited country. I felt the shock of surprise, but all responded. It was the first time since 1860 that the "Star Spangled Banner" had been heard, and ever since the close of the war the sons of the southland have nobly responded in peace and war, worthy sons of the great and free Republic, and at no time more heartily than now.

At a banquet of the Masonic Veterans of the District of Columbia, Frank P. Sargent, then Commissioner-General of Immigration, and president of the Locomotive Firemen of the United States, was one of the speakers. To illustrate the peculiar ideas of the labor union he told the following story: "It was lunch hour. The men were scattered on the lawn. A foreman made the rounds, and came to a man

lying under a tree groaning lustily. 'What is up, Mike?' 'Oh, I have great pain.' 'Why don't you go to the drug store and be relieved?' 'What, in my *toim*?' "

During the Buchanan-Fremont campaign of 1856, before I was a voter, I was an ardent Democrat. The township in which I lived was Republican, and Buchanan was elected by the nation, while Fremont carried Ohio. The Republicans got up a monster demonstration at Shipton Hall, to which they invited me, but which I declined. I in turn invited the Democrats of Tuscarawas County to a dinner that I arranged in the loft of the warehouse annexed to our store. I sent for music, oysters, etc., and we had a royal time. The chairman of the evening was Dr. John Brisbane. The Republicans had sent to a western county of Ohio for venison. Dr. Brisbane arose and said, "While the Republicans are feasting on *dead venison*, we are the guests of a hospitable living *Wolf*."

In 1870, at the dedication of the Steuben monument in Scheutzen Park, I delivered an address on the German-French War. President Grant, Carl Schurz and Baron Gerolt were present. It made a deep impression and was printed. One of these copies I sent to Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise, of Cincinnati, who was notoriously at that time in favor of France. He returned the copy to me with this endorsement, "Simon, you are a 'Shaute' (fool).

I. M. Wise."

During President Harrison's administration there was an after-dinner club which met at the Willard Hotel. The association had no constitution or by-laws or officers but elected the presiding officer during the evening. On this particular evening, Senator Palmer, of Michigan, afterwards the Director-General of the Chicago World's Fair, presided. William A. Croffut, a celebrated newspaper correspondent, was introduced and proposed as a subject for debate, "Shakespeare or Bacon." After a number of persons had spoken, Senator Palmer introduced me as the next speaker. I arose very solemnly and said, "Ladies and Gentlemen. As a descendant of the ancient people, I do not care for *Bacon*," which of course settled the situation as far as I was concerned.

During the administration of President Hayes, General Sherman was a guest at the annual festival of the Schützenverein, and as I escorted him through the banquet room the band struck up "Marching Through Georgia," and General Sherman turned to me and said, "By God, Wolf, I wish I had never seen Georgia."

When I was admitted to the Bar I went to Mt. Vernon, Ohio, where the District Court was in session and my examination was referred to Columbus Delano, who was Secretary of the Interior under Grant, and Frank Hurd, at one time member of Congress. We went to the hotel, and after dinner they set down to examine my qualifications. Delano requested Hurd to examine me. Hurd said, "Mr. Wolf, what is the first duty of an attorney?" I promptly replied, "To get a retainer." Hurd turned to Delano and said, "Mr. Delano, have you any other questions

to ask?" Delano said, "I think Mr. Wolf has answered all the requirements," and they signed my certificate. I regret to say that I have not lived up to that answer.

In 1874, after the General Convention of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith at Chicago, I went by invitation to Louisville, Kentucky. At the close of the meeting held there, I called on Minna Kleeberg, the noted Jewish poetess. Her marital relations were not very happy. In addition thereto, she had defective hearing.

We had a very pleasant hour, and she did a great deal of talking, and I good-naturedly a great deal of hearing. Among other things she said was, "My dear friend, when I was a young girl I had great ambition. I dreamt of a golden future, and I prayed to God to give me a husband whom I could honor and respect, but alas, he has given me no hearing."

Father Sylvester Malone, of Brooklyn, who was one of my companions in Egypt, was a character. True to his faith, he was thoroughly cosmopolitan. When the Civil War came he hoisted the flag on his church. Some of his parishioners threatened to take it down. He promptly got a rifle and said, "Whoever attempts to take down the American flag, I will shoot." A good lesson for some of our slackers today.

Years ago at the old United States Hotel, Atlantic City, at which I was stopping, two young cockneys with more hair than brains were lamenting as to where one could go and not find these Jews. I promptly replied, "To hell."



