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THE PUBLIC LIFE OF JULIUS ROSENWALD

by Robert Paul Frazin

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of the requirements for the Degree of
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THE PUBLIC LIFE OF JULIUS ROSENWALD

DIGEST

Julius Rosenwald was born in Springfield, Illinois, on August 12, 1862. His birthplace was almost directly across the street from the house where Abraham Lincoln lived. As a child he showed business prowess and soon began his business career officially with his uncles in New York at Hammerslough Brothers with whom he remained until 1885. Rosenwald and his cousin Julius B. Weil then returned to Chicago and began the firm of Rosenwald and Weil. Rosenwald was president of the firm until 1906.

In 1906, he bought an interest in Sears, Roebuck and Company which was to lead him to the presidency of the firm. In his relationship with Richard Sears, the two of them differed as to fair advertising practices. Rosenwald was interested in honesty in all catalog descriptions, whereas Sears was little concerned with this. Rosenwald became acquainted with Richard Sears through the large orders of clothing they had placed with his firm. As a result of this Rosenwald concerned himself greatly with the clothing aspect of the mail order business.

Rosenwald built up the mail order business by concerning himself chiefly with the farmer who was "behind the catalogue." He developed a code of ethics which had to be followed to the letter in the business firm of Sears, Roebuck and Company. His crowning achievement was in connection with his "Employees Savings and Profit Sharing Fund," which

he set up. The fund was built around the employees paying in 5 percent of their salaries and receiving a share in the company's net earnings every year. In thirty years an employee was able to receive ten times what he deposited.

Throughout his lifetime Rosenwald maintained a definite philosophy of professional philanthropy. He was opposed to the principle of storing up large sums of money for philanthropic uses centuries hence. In other words he was opposed to perpetuities. He felt that they directly implied a pessimism with regard to the future, and he was confident that future generations would be as humane as generations past.

During the First World War Rosenwald served his country by bringing messages from "the folks back home" to our soldiers in France. Rosenwald the patriot, although contracting an illness, stayed on to bring joy to the "boys" who needed it.

Perhaps more than anything Julius Rosenwald is best remembered for his dedication to the cause of the Negro. He believed in better education for the Negro and therefore contributed over 4,000 schools for Negro education in the South. He, like Booker T. Washington, with whom he was quite friendly felt, that the salvation of the Negro lay in education. He also contributed \$25,000 to each of twenty Negro YMCA's in this country.

On October 30, 1917, a fund was incorporated for the "well being of mankind." Known as The Julius Rosenwald Fund,

it dedicated itself to the established purpose of enriching Negro education and equalizing opportunities for the Negro in other matters.

Throughout his lifetime, Julius Rosenwald maintained certain essential principles concerning his Jewishness and the problem of the East European Jew. He was opposed to any colonization of the Jews in Palestine and favored colonization in Russia. Although opposed by many Rabbis and laymen, he held firm to his conviction that the Jewish problem in Russia must be worked out in Russia itself. Also through his far-sightedness he placed the Hebrew Union College on a firm financial footing. He held that the future of American Judaism lay in American Jewish education. During his lifetime, Rosenwald was extremely concerned with the problems of anti-Semitism which arose in the 1920's and he fought to combat it.

Throughout his lifetime Rosenwald was active in Chicago politics as well as national politics. He served as a member of the Chicago Vice Commission which sought to clean up Chicago's worst districts. During his service he came under the direct fire of Barrett O'Hara, chairman of the Senatorial committee set up to investigate the problem of low wages and prostitution. Because of inconsistencies, Rosenwald was highly criticized.

Rosenwald was also an ardent supporter of prohibition and President Herbert Hoover in his presidential campaign.

He came out in direct defense of Hoover's platforms and policies expressing his views by radio to the American public.

In Illinois politics Rosenwald did not fair well. He was accused of offering a bribe to a member of the Illinois Commerce Commission, Frank Smith, in order that Smith might withdraw from the Illinois race for Senator in 1926. Rosenwald's friends came to his defense and said that the millionaire philanthropist had only taken this action for the welfare of the state.

Upon his death on January 6, 1932, a flood of eulogies were written expressing the love that the Negro, white man, Jew and Gentile had for the "other man from Springfield."

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THE PUBLIC LIFE OF JULIUS ROSENWALD

Introduction

This work is not a full-fledged chronological biography of the millionaire philanthropist Julius Rosenwald, but rather a study of various aspects of his public life. Rosenwald's private life does not concern us in this work.

Julius Rosenwald was actively engaged in the acquisition of wealth during one of the greatest periods of American commercial expansion. Free-enterprise economic principles were the rule, and social consciousness was only beginning to be born as the opportunities of a pioneer civilization became more obvious.

Rosenwald came to maturity during the eighteen-eighties, when there was a concentration of great wealth and a spread of social unrest in this country. He saw during this period a tremendous expansion of transportation as railroads were being consolidated, i.e., the Eastern Railroad consolidation and the Southern Railroad consolidation. He also saw the granting of land to the railroads in 1884, and the beginning of highway construction in 1900. Airplane travel was beginning to develop as a source of transportation following the first successful flight of the Kitty Hawk in 1903. Communications were rapidly increasing from one end of the land mass known as America to the other with the organization of the Radio Corporation of America in 1919.

Rosenwald also saw within his lifetime the great devel-

opment of merchandising methods. He took an active part in this development with his ideas for dealing with the American public through the mails. The mailbox served as the counter, while the catalogue served as the firm's showroom.

Rosenwald took part in an amazing number of the important movements and projects of this period. He served as a source of joy and camaraderie to "our boys" overseas during the First World War. The war presented a different picture of America. It was a time of unity when the country became one in word and deed. Rosenwald exemplified this oneness to the troops on the front and the folks at home.

His part in all national activities whether economic or social was that of a practical business man, actively engaged in the industrial struggles of the time, and yet aware of the social problems of the time. During this time the Negro was attempting to achieve some degree of education. Booker T. Washington was fighting the cause of the "black man" to climb the social and educational ladder.

The Ku Klux Klan was gaining in strength in the South, and America was going through a period of anti-Semitism and Negro hatred. Rosenwald was well aware of this, and in his way attempted to correct the situation. He sought to educate the Negro and find a home for the East European Jew. He recognized that while industrialization was expanding and better systems of communication were being developed, society was growing smaller in its social views.

America was experiencing the growth of anti-semitism within its midst. Henry Ford's Dearborn Independent was one of the vehicles by which anti-Semitic propaganda was being distributed to a non-Jewish public. The Frank case was gaining prominence in the eyes of the American people as well as Ford's version of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion.

Rosenwald had seen a shift during his lifetime from a period of philo-Semitism which existed in the 1890's to one of extreme hatred during the 1920's. The intolerance of the '20s was something new to the philanthropist, and therefore a greater interest in Jewish activities on his part was displayed during this period.

It was also during the '20s that Rosenwald became much involved in the politics of his era. He was a declared Republican and did everything in his power to back the Republican party during his lifetime. Following the World War, America, had gone on a spendthrift. The consumption of liquor was increasing greatly and the patronage of German beer firms was also on the ascent. Thus, the government established the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the manufacture, sale and transportation of alcoholic beverages. Rosenwald was in sympathy with this legislation and when it became one of the basic articles in the platform of the Republican party during the Hoover campaign, he voiced his support.

By the time of Rosenwald's death in 1932, it was evident that economic expansion had reached a turning point, and that free-enterprise principles in both industry and social welfare had reached a point of stabilization. As income tax came to the fore, the era of tremendous personal fortunes was coming to an end. The railroads were built and consolidated; the natural resources were being consolidated rapidly; industry was organized and finance was coordinated; radio had gone network; air travel was coming into its own; and mail order was largely in the hands of the two large houses, Sears, Roebuck and Company and Montgomery Ward and Company. The pioneering period of the development of large corporations in which most of the profit went to one or two men, was now giving way to stock ownership. The stock market crash of 1929 was a sign of the change. Thus, we can see that the span of Rosenwald's life was a great one.

I have chosen to write a biographical study of Julius Rosenwald's public life because, throughout my life as a native Chicagoan, I have heard of the many contributions he made to the needs of mankind. It was often that his name was spoken in our household, whether in regard to his philanthropic work, his Chicago Museum of Science and Industry, or his development of Sears, Roebuck. Therefore, it was gratifying for me to be able to study his papers which in their original form are deposited in the University of Chicago Library and were available to me in microfilm at

the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati. I followed his correspondence in letters and memos from his earliest years until the day of his death. Also available to me in this microfilm collection were magazine articles, biographical sketches, and addresses delivered about him and by him. The man was very much interviewed during his lifetime as were those with whom he worked closely--such as Louis Marshall, A. C. Roebuck, and Richard Sears. Newspapers of the period offered a tremendous amount of material from which to work. All in all, the 75,000 or more documents found in this microfilm collection provided this author with an extremely rewarding experience.

I wish to thank Dr. Stanley F. Chyet, Assistant Professor of American Jewish History at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, for all his help in preparation of this manuscript. Also I wish to thank my wife Susan for her aid in proofreading this biography, and especially my parents who first brought to my attention the name and deeds of Julius Rosenwald.

I dedicate this biography to my son Jeffrey Edward, that he may in some way during his lifetime emulate the humanitarianism of this great man.

THE PUBLIC LIFE OF JULIUS ROSENWALD

CHAPTER ONE

THE EARLY YEARS

How should one be thrifty?
Spend less than you earn.
Avoid the use of alcoholic liquors
and tobacco and other unnecessary
substances
Prepare an income and expense
budget for the family with an
allowance for unforeseen events;
and live within it.
Save money regularly and keep it
saved, using the funds only in
conservative investments.¹

These are the simple and unpretentious thoughts of the twentieth-century multimillionaire philanthropist, the master of the mail-order business, Julius Rosenwald.

As a boy Julius Rosenwald was not rocked to sleep in the lap of luxury, neither was he prodded by an extreme distressing poverty. He was one of those self starters who find their impetus within. With the natural instinct of the trader, in his early teens he did not limit himself to voluntarily clerking in his father's clothing store in Springfield, Illinois, nor to such odd jobs as pumping a church organ while a musician practiced, but he went from house to house selling little articles. Out on his own he learned to be alert to a possible bargain at all times and under all circumstances, and to fight his own way.²

Rosenwald's father, Samuel, was born in a small town in Westphalia, Germany, June 18, 1828. Little is known of his early life. He served for a time in the Prussian army and came to America in about 1855 or 1856, with a total wealth of about \$20. He was the only member of his family who ever came to America. His father died when he was about eleven

years old and his mother after he had grown into manhood.

Rosenwald's mother, Augusta Hammerslough, was born on July 20, 1839, in a very small village, Beederkase, near Bremen. Her father was a small merchant and the family lived in the back of the shop. The family consisted of four brothers and two sisters. Her brothers emigrated to America. The oldest emigrated at the age of thirteen, and was then followed by his brothers as they approached that age. Rosenwald's mother often told of her brother Edward, who, having received a new pair of boots, wanted to save them for his arrival in America. He carried them to the sailing vessel. As he was about to climb the ladder to embark, he handed the boots to somebody to hold for a moment and when he turned around to take them back, the man had disappeared.

Rosenwald's uncles went directly to Baltimore, where they had distant relatives. His mother left for America when she was about the age of twenty, traveling on a sailing vessel which took seventy-seven days. Her memories of the journey were most pleasant as she made a goodly number of friends during the trip, several of whom were her friends for years afterwards. The other members of Rosenwald's mother's family who remained in Germany after her departure consisted of her parents, a sister and a brother, all of whom came to America later. Rosenwald's mother sent for her only sister several years after her own marriage, when she found an

eligible life's partner for her.

Julius Rosenwald's father, like many of the emigrants from Germany, started his business career in America by peddling in Virginia, with his headquarters at Baltimore. His parents were married on August 23, 1857, in Baltimore, and shortly after their marriage they went south to settle. Their first child, a daughter, Henrietta, died in infancy. Julius's oldest brother was born at Talladega, Alabama, in 1860. Shortly afterwards, Rosenwald's parents moved north to Evansville, Indiana, and then to Peoria, and in 1862 moved to Springfield, Illinois, where his mother's brothers had been in business for several years. The brothers made their home with his parents and remained there until after the Civil War, when they sold their business to Julius's father and moved to New York City. In New York, they established themselves in the wholesale clothing business in which they prospered and became the largest manufacturers of fine ready-made clothing, the firm being known as Hamerslough Brothers. Rosenwald's father remained in business in Springfield until 1886, when he sold out his business to join Julius and his younger brother who had established themselves in a wholesale clothing business in Chicago in 1885.

Julius Rosenwald was born August 12, 1862, in Springfield, Illinois, just one block west of the home of Abraham Lincoln, on the corner of Seventh and Jackson Streets. Lincoln had left Springfield a year and a half before that

date. Rosenwald's parents knew many of Lincoln's intimate friends, as did Julius in his boyhood days. Among these intimate friends and relatives were Ninian W. Edwards, Lincoln's brother-in-law, who was at one time Samuel Rosenwald's landlord; Jacob Bunn, the banker, and John Bunn, the wholesale grocer; the Ridgeley family; the Diller family, whose home was diagonally opposite the Rosenwalds'; Governor John M. Palmer; Milton Hay; C. M. Smith, the drygoods merchant, also a brother-in-law of Lincoln's; Dr. W. Jayne; and Peter Van Bergen, who, when Lincoln used to taunt him about being a Dutchman, would reply that he was no ordinary Dutchman but an Amsterdam Dutchman -- whereupon, Lincoln said he could see no difference between an Amsterdam Dutchman and any other "damned" Dutchman.

In 1869, Samuel Rosenwald bought a residence on Eighth street between Jackson and Market, now Capitol Avenue, directly opposite the Lincoln home, which was then being occupied by Secretary of State George Harlow. The Harlow children were among Julius' early playmates and a son, Richard A. Harlow, renewed Rosenwald's friendship when they met again in Washington in 1917. Rosenwald attended the Fourth Ward Public School at Twelfth and Market streets, and later, the High School for about two years, until March, 1879, when he left with his brother for New York to go to work there in the business of his uncles, Hammerslough Brothers. This departure from Springfield was his first

introduction to a sleeping car.

When attending school in Springfield, Julius spent his Saturdays in his father's store waiting on customers for small items such as paper collars, which most everyone wore, and also paper shirt fronts, or such items as neckwear and underwear. After school he occasionally earned a dime or two carrying a satchel for someone, and occasionally pumping an organ in the Congregational Church. For this service he received twenty-five cents, which was always in paper money, as were the ten, fifteen, twenty-five and fifty cent pieces at that time. Occasionally Julius got a job at a fruit and confectionary store, when there was a circus in town, or some celebration. Rosenwald himself speaks of his early business prowess:

I think it was in 1875 that Lincoln's monument was dedicated and I remember making \$2.25 selling a little pamphlet, 'History of the Monument.' I also remember going from house to house selling lithograph pictures for framing, which were new at that time. My first regular job was during vacation in the summer of 1877, when I worked for two months in what was known as a 99 cent store, where everything was either 49 cents or 99 cents. There I waited on customers and also delivered packages. I remember taking out a 99 cent croquet set, or a glass globe with two gold fish in it, for 49 cents and no end of other goods. It was during that summer that I managed to save about \$20.00 and as my parents' china wedding occurred in August of that year, I invested my savings in an elaborately decorated tea set as a gift to my mother, who was especially delighted on account of my having earned the money with which to purchase it.³

Many years later in 1924, Julius Rosenwald, then president of Sears, Roebuck and Company, received a letter from his old boss, C. W. Squires, dated July 22:

My dear Mr. Rosenwald:

You will pardon me, but many years ago, I think 1877, I had a very bright young fellow by that very name clerk for me at Springfield, Ill., then some ten year[s] younger than the writer. Since upon seeing the name, I have been wondering, can it be possible--if so, I shall be much pleased to hear from him.⁴

Rosenwald replied positively on July 25:

My dear Mr. Squires:

In 1877, during my summer vacation, I was clerk and errand boy (more the latter than the former) for C. W. Squires, who ran what was known at that time as a 99 cent store. I can remember very distinctly delivering croquet sets, or a bowl containing two goldfish which had been sold for 49 cents.⁵

As one reads Rosenwald's reply further, one gains a deeper insight into his personality:

It is not surprising that I should remember who my boss was, but it [is] rather surprising that you should remember an errand boy's name for these thirty-seven years. I have a great many pleasant recollections of that experience.⁶

Rosenwald was truly a man of deep, sincere humility, greatly to be admired as evidenced from his correspondence with Mr. Squires. Upon Rosenwald's death in 1932, C. W. Squires, the philanthropist's first "boss," was prompted to say: "He was a fine boy and it's easy for me to see how he made a success in his business."⁷

On delights in the many stories of Julius' early enterprises and experiences. They displayed the genius that was to make him the "master of the mail order."

When Julius was a small kid his dad often sent him down town to deliver some eggs. Occasionally he delivered a dozen to Rolla Diller, proprietor of the famous old east side apothecary shop which sported a soda fountain. One day Julius delivered said eggs to Mr. Diller, who counted them carefully and then, in his dear, old, characteristic way, said:

'Julius, my boy, the count is wrong. You have brought one egg too many. There are thirteen.' 'Well,' said Julius, in a fine spirit of budding philanthropy, 'that's all right-- just call it a dozen.'

Mr. Diller argued that wouldn't be fair to Julius. The old gentleman finally said: 'Well, suppose I give you a drink from the fountain--anything you want-- and we'll call it square.'

Julius agreed! Leaning forward, Mr. Diller said:

'What kind of a drink will you have, my lad?'

'One with an egg in it,' said Julius!

During the time in which Julius was working at the 99 cent store, General Grant was president of the United States. Rosenwald recalled in later years Grant's visit to Springfield at this time. Rosenwald remembered seeing him in an open barouche and shaking hands with him. He was particularly impressed because he had on yellow kid gloves, Grant was the first man Rosenwald had ever seen wearing kid gloves.

During this early period in his life, Julius was also very active in selling tickets for strawberry festivals,

oyster suppers or other affairs which were held for charitable purposes. Governor Shelby M. Cullom and Secretary of State George H. Harlow were among his regular customers for these.

When Julius was seventeen years old, he went to work for his uncles in New York. He made his home with one of them. They all lived in much finer surroundings than he had been accustomed to. The home he lived in was a four-story and basement brown stone front house at 44 East 58th Street.

Julius arrived in New York on March 15th, 1879, and the following Monday was St. Patrick's Day, when there was a wonderful parade on Broadway. Broadway at that time was paved with rough granite blocks and there were no street cars or automobiles but rather busses by the hundreds, without rubber tires. The racket they and the heavy horses made was deafening. Julius' wages amounted to \$5 a week as stock boy, but he earned \$2 on Saturday nights working at Rogers Peet and Company, Broome Street and Broadway, or Garhart, Whitford and Company, Canal Street and Broadway, retail clothiers.

After three or four years, Julius finally sold goods for his uncles in the city and suburban towns and later made several trips to various parts of the country for them.

After working with his uncles about five years, his father helped him to buy out the small clothing and tailor-

ing business of Phillips and Van Derbugle at 20 Fourth Avenue, a few doors south of Brokaw Brothers, who were the largest retailers of fine clothing in New York. In this connection Rosenwald had occasion to buy summer clothing from the firm of Alfred Benjamin and Company who were large manufacturers of that line. One of the partners once remarked to Rosenwald that they had received over sixty telegrams for goods in one day which they were unable to supply, and that the demand was increasing constantly for such goods as they were supplying.

I did not give it much thought at that moment but during the night I awakened and thought of what he had told me and the opportunity entered my mind of embarking in the same sort of business. The idea took such hold of me that there was no more sleep that night for me and the next morning I presented my plan to my uncles who thought it might be a capital idea to open a business for the manufacture of summer clothing in Chicago.

With his cousin Julius B. Weil, who was employed in the manufacturing department of his uncles' business, Julius planned to go to Chicago and begin the manufacture of summer clothing. After several months planning (towards the end of September, 1885,) Weil and Rosenwald left for Chicago, and rented a second-floor loft in the Farwell Block, 185 Market Street, October 1st.

This business, although small, started off promisingly, and in the summer of 1886 Rosenwald's father, who had been

in business in Springfield, Illinois, for twenty-five years, sold out his business to some young men whom he had seen grow up--the Myers Brothers who made a remarkable success out of the business. Samuel Rosenwald then went to Chicago to join the firm of Rosenwald and Weil.⁹

The early months in Chicago were arduous. There was little time for leisure, but enthusiasm grew as the firm of Rosenwald and Weil took definite shape. Hammerslough Brothers manufactured most of the first year's stock and gave the firm ample credit. The young men employed two helpers and about twenty-five outside cutters. After a doubtful beginning Rosenwald and Weil made headway.

On a bitterly cold morning in January, 1886, Julius Rosenwald set out for St. Louis with a trunkful of samples. His efforts were to sell light summer clothing in the winter. They met with a reception colder than the weather. Discouraged, he continued to Kansas City, where an uncle gave him an order out of sympathy. At Omaha, Nebraska, and Fort Scott, Kansas, business was better. Within a few months, Rosenwald and Weil was beginning to fill a definite need in the Middle West.

After two years they moved to larger quarters. About this time Julius met Augusta Nusbaum, sister of a business friend. After a short acquaintance, they were married and there entered into his life an influence that did much to shape him in his later years. Mrs. Rosenwald had a fine practical mind and business ability, which were of tremendous

value to the struggling young merchant. His warm humanitarian impulses were later stimulated by her sense of duty to those less fortunate.

Opportunity again knocked for Rosenwald, this time from New York. A firm of cheap clothing manufacturers-- Newborg, Rosenfeld and Company, wishing to develop a market in Chicago, asked him to join them in the enterprise. In this way the new house of Rosenwald and Company was founded.¹⁰

It was in this connection that Rosenwald became acquainted with Mr. Richard Sears, of Sears, Roebuck and Company, which had recently moved to Chicago from Minneapolis. Sears placed orders for clothing in such fabulous quantities, and his method of disposing of them was so novel that Rosenwald was attracted toward that business and negotiated with him for Rosenwald and Company to buy an interest in Sears. This resulted in Rosenwald's brother-in-law buying a quarter interest and Rosenwald and Company a quarter interest in Sears, Roebuck and Company totalling \$70,000, a half interest. This was accomplished with the understand that as soon as possible Rosenwald would wind up his business and become active in the mail order business. He did so in 1895, and the business that was to grow into the largest mail order and department store chain in the world was born with three stockholders.¹¹

CHAPTER TWO

ROSENWALD AND SEARS

Mr. Sears was a year younger than Mr. Rosenwald. Born in a little Minnesota town, he learned to be a telegraph operator. A natural trader, and always an honest one, he began selling watches to the railroad men of his acquaintance. He would buy two or three watches and dispose of them to engineers, conductors and others.

During his leisure time, while sitting at the telegraph instrument, he would write letters to the operators whom he knew. In that way he laid the foundation for his mail-order business. He did so well that he left the railroad business and went into business for himself at Minneapolis, dealing only in watches and selling them by means of circulars and letters.¹²

His handwritten letters and circulars stated that he had some watches to dispose of and asked each express agent if he could send him a watch by express COD, subject to examination, at a certain price for him to sell. The express agent would then retain as his profit all that he could realize above Mr. Sears's price. When a number of orders had been received, Sears sent to a Chicago wholesale house and ordered a sufficient number of watches COD, to fill the current requirements: he held the COD package and reshipped the watches to the express agents, and when returns had been received from the other express agents, either in cash or

merchandise, he would charge for the COD he had paid. This feature of his business was begun early in 1886.¹³

After moving to Minneapolis, Sears thought that Chicago would be a better location for his business, so he moved there. He had already proved the merit of his idea and was on the way to making money. Then in a year or two, a man came along and offered him \$125,000 for his business, provided he would agree not to sell watches again in his own name for a period of three years.

Sears was only twenty-five at the time and the sum that he was offered seemed to be an immense fortune. He thought that he would never want anymore money. So he sold out, and invested \$75,000 in farm mortgages. Being a devoted son, he gave the mortgages to his mother and went to Mexico and California on a vacation.

After traveling for six months, he returned to Minneapolis weary from idleness. A. C. Roebuck, who was much older than himself, formerly had been in his employ as a jeweler. Mr. Sears was attached to Mr. Roebuck and had great respect for his mechanical ability and his character, while Roebuck had great respect for Sears's business acumen.¹⁴

Richard Sears was so enthusiastic about selling and advertising that he frequently overstepped the legitimate possibilities of his capital. For instance, he forced on his firm against the advice of his colleagues, a grocery line. He took the view that it would be easy to satisfy customers by buying direct from the local manufacturers and jobbers and put very

little of Sears's capital into it. but inside four months they had over \$20,000 tied up, a very appreciable share of their capital.

Richard Sears's genius lay in advertising and selling, and this was very largely responsible in early days for establishment and great development of the business. As an illustration, Wards was founded round about 1870, Sears, Roebuck in 1889. But in 1897, Sears passed Ward on express shipments and in 1898 on freight. All built up on dynamic advertising and furious selling.¹⁵

A letter from Mrs. Louis Asher, of Chicago, to Mrs. Jerome Frank, Rosenwald's biographer, in 1932, gives us a deeper look into the makeup of the man called Sears.

The most impressive thing I can say is that Mr. Sears was one of the two individuals who were the greatest influence in my life. For ten years I was assistant to co-worker with Mr. Sears in the promotion work of Sears, Roebuck and Company. We worked together desk to desk, days and nights and Sundays too. This was the most valuable period of my life and afforded me my best growth and maturity. I am writing you this not to throw light upon my life; I cite the experience as something deriving from the force and influence of Mr. Sears's personality.

Richard W. Sears was a man of broad vision, one who could create long range plans for the future and make them become real. A most magnetic personality, warm-hearted and of radiant cheer. He had that rare talent of bringing out the best in people--in making them believe in themselves, in giving them self confidence and the sense of dignity and importance. He was a man of large build, nearly six feet in height, well proportioned. His features were handsome, large lustrous eyes, a long straight nose. A pleasant agree-

able voice with a tendency to rapid enunciation as he explained anything in which he was deeply interested. I think a marked characteristic was his gracious manner which made everyone, big or little, feel at ease in his presence. He was to use the trite phrase "one of nature's noblemen." There was an air of gentility, of innate refinement (as against acquired polish) about Mr. Sears. He was extremely democratic and most approachable and yet he had an efficient technique for safeguarding his time against bores or those not fully warranted in imposing upon his attention.

Like most big brainy men he had the power of intense concentration. A splendid listener giving you his undivided attention and followed your thought closely. His mental processes were incredibly rapid and he could (and frequently did to save time) anticipate your thought or plan in detail. He was not what is called an educated man, at least he had no formal education after he was fifteen years old. Yet I always marvelled at his facility with language, his wide range vocabulary, and he could write, using only simple words, the most gracefully phrased letters I have ever read.

He devoted himself to the business. He ate, slept and dreamed Sears Roebuck and Co., and that is the explanation of the rapid growth of the institution in those formative years. A man most prolific in ideas, he would come down of a morning especially after a weekend spent at his country home at Grays Lake, Illinois, with his pockets literally bulging with manuscript, sometimes forty or fifty handwritten pages.So he would come to the office always early and always fresh (because he led no social life to speak of) pull the stuffing of sheaves of papers out of his pockets, call his stenographers and start dictating. He would dictate two to three hours at a

stretch.

He was a good executive, a splendid judge of men; he had imagination and could understand the other fellow. An outstanding quality of Mr. Sears was his understanding of an consideration for his associates and other people.

This consideration, this absolute honesty, this frankness and straightforwardness were marked characteristics of Mr. Sears. In the early days when he dealt with manufacturers himself on the huge deals for merchandise that he negotiated he was known for his liberal attitude. He always wanted the other fellow to prosper, to make a profit, and he depended upon large scale buying and manufacturing, mass production, to bring costs down and enable him to make sensationally low prices on his goods rather than to strip the manufacturer, the man who was selling to him, of every penny of profit in the deal.¹⁶

Under the contract Sears had made in Chicago he was barred for three years from engaging in the mail-order business under his own name. So he organized the A. C. Roebuck Watch and Jewelry Company and reestablished himself in Minneapolis. Mr. Roebuck, neither then nor after, had any financial interest in the business. He was always an employee on a salary.

The company prospered, and when Sears was free to do so, he changed the name of his firm to Sears, Roebuck and Company. He had widely advertised the old firm and believed that Mr. Roebuck's name was of considerable value. Therefore he used it, along with his own, although he was the sole owner of the business.

Richard Sears returned to Chicago in 1895. Up to that time he had sold watches and jewelry exclusively. When he added a small line of clothing to his stock, Julius Rosenwald showed him samples from his factory. Thus, they struck up an acquaintance. Sears told Rosenwald about his business, at which time Rosenwald and his brother-in-law joined with him in partnership. Each paid Sears \$35,000. The company of three was later turned into a corporation. Sears was elected president while Rosenwald was elected vice-president and treasurer. When Sears retired in 1908, Rosenwald succeeded him.

The first impression people got of Julius Rosenwald during his association with Sears, Roebuck was that he was a fine individual. He attempted to understand everybody. He had, according to Mr. Roebuck, what one would call a typical Jewish countenance. Small and stout, he impressed everybody by his exceeding frankness, his affability and ready sympathetic smile. He liked jokes, and to joke, and had an unfailing source of ready wit, which frequently took the form of puns.

In the business Rosenwald was actively interested in everything, with the emphasis on the clothing supplies. He had a quiet, forceful way of doing things. He lacked Sears's spectacular personality and his dynamic manner. But Julius Rosenwald was a good counterbalance, because he was not swept off his feet by enthusiasm. He was very

analytical and a good thinker concerning business matters. He was also extremely efficient. In his quiet forceful way he stood out in quite a dominating way against the background of men like Sears and Roebuck. He specialized in nothing, but was active in everything, until with the reorganization of the company he became especially interested in finance.

Sears and Rosenwald were generally very popular with the hired help. Both were very affable, appreciative of good service done, and lovers of efficiency. They were both remarkably free from irritation in hours of rush business.

Rosenwald and Sears got along fairly well, but Rosenwald was not always ready, like Roebuck, to withdraw his opposition to Sears's will. At time he showed keen resentment at seeing his judgment overruled when he knew himself to be in the right. The most friction was displayed over advertising. Rosenwald wanted to tone down materially the catalog descriptions and sober up the whole range of their advertising. Sears was addicted to flamboyant advertising, to a type of exaggerated advertising.

Rosenwald did not exactly bring about a sudden change for the better in the advertising ethics, but he certainly was a very good permanent influence in continually keeping honesty up to scratch. In time this became a tenet of the business, but it came unconsciously. Rosenwald was always insisting that catalog descriptions be made as nearly as

possible exact descriptions of the objects in question. After a time, even Sears saw how this satisfied customers and brought back numberless repeat orders.

It is strange to think how certain qualities of Richard Sears brought about a sort of "disintegration" of his destiny in Sears Roebuck. Rosenwald, on the other hand, quieter, more modest, more tenacious, more abiding in his faith in the business, seems to have linked himself more permanently with its history than did Richard Sears.

Julius Rosenwald is a steady shining planet. From the beginning there was an imperceptible but inevitable tilting of the balance from Sears high up toward Julius Rosenwald at the other end. The balances righted themselves and they swung Julius Rosenwald on high--to stay there. How this is reflected today is seen in the different family situation. The Rosenwald family, father and both sons are firmly linked to the business, the sons ensuring continuity for at least another generation. Here, perhaps, is the inevitable working out of a Jewish racial quality. Richard Sears, the genius whose brain conceived the business and whose "happy warrior" spirit thrust it up to greatness, has only a memory of himself left, fading slowly with the years. His family has no interest in Sears Roebuck, and both his sons, after minor connections have gone. The dynasty of Sears will never come into the kingdom their father created.¹⁷

These words of prophecy spoken by A. C. Roebuck fail to take into account the confidence that Sears had in the future of his firm. Yet with his tremendous confidence there were two qualities which Sears possessed that forced

him out of the firm. The capital reorganization of Sears in 1906 was, perhaps indirectly, the first step Sears took to accomplish his resignation. It was merely a cashing in on of the assets, and this desire to cash in haunted Richard Sears for years. He wanted some safe place where he could put his money; some gilt-edged type of investment. This underlying fear of sudden loss and the resultant worry of it played a great part in his development.

The second quality was his desire to see things always go his way. He would often argue a subject from both sides and enjoy it, but he always wanted it to finish with the opposition accepting his judgment. Circumstances, social changes and the opposition of colleagues towards the end made many of his policies either unworkable or liable to severe modification. So he felt he was losing his grip.

By 1909, these two qualities of his nature had forced him out of the business. How he felt when relieved of the tremendous weight of responsibility is shown by a remark he made to Roebuck soon after his resignation:

Sears put his two hands together, the palm of one hand on the back of the other, and drawing the palm of the hand uppermost over the back of the other towards the wrist, he said:
'Now that I am out of that business, I can just feel the responsibility tingling out of my very fingers.'¹⁸

The burden now lay on the shoulders of the entrepreneur from Springfield. Rosenwald assumed the presidency of Sears Roebuck in 1909.

As president of Sears, Rosenwald endeavored to raise the moral tone and eliminate questionable practices in advertising and the catalog. Slowly but surely his code of ethics began to prove profitable. Honesty abundantly justified itself as the best policy.

Unlike many short-sighted presidents, Rosenwald never sought to relegate all power to himself. Department heads were given an amount of leeway unknown in most enterprises. They were encouraged to think up new ideas and were given a free hand to try them out.

We give opportunity to other to do things. We place confidence in them, give them plenty of rope to work out their own ideas, even if they do make mistakes occasionally. The results are better than if we were to dominate them with one person's ideas all the time.¹⁹

Yet even as liberal as he seemed to be, even with the encouragement he gave employee's endeavors, Rosenwald had very strict ideas about the deportment of employees. He took a fatherly interest in the thousands of girls employed at Sears, and rigidly enforced a cast-iron rule that any man, no matter how important, who attempted to abuse his position automatically dismissed himself; from this rule there was no appeal. Picnics or other social functions which would encourage familiarity between the men and women workers were forbidden, although no concern at this time did more in supplying facilities for wholesome amusement and recreation to its force than did Sears. Elaborate facilities were provided for

the daily feeding of thousands of employees at ridiculously low prices. Here also the women and the men were kept apart by seating them at separate tables but in the same room.

A story is told of a visitor who was dining with Rosenwald in the Sears, Roebuck lunchroom, when Rosenwald noticed a man and a girl at the same table. He immediately investigated, found that they were father and daughter, and ordered the cafeteria manager to set apart a special table so that in such cases the two could lunch together every day without infringing the rules.

Perhaps Rosenwald's crowning achievement in connection with his co-workers was the "Employee's Savings and Profit Sharing Fund" which he had set up. The employees who joined agreed to pay 5 percent of their salaries into the fund and thus share in the company's net earnings every year. For example, a worker receiving twenty dollars a week, paying one dollar weekly into the fund, in fifteen years, would receive for the \$750 paid in by him, \$3,428.00. In thirty years in return for \$1,560 paid by him, he would receive \$10,556. Rosenwald felt the plan would bring home to the people the value of saving part of their earnings.²⁰

Julius Rosenwald, truly a great success in the business world, firmly believed that the success of a business enterprise was due to the work of all the employees and not one man alone. He felt that success should not change the individual and fill him with arrogance, but rather that the indi-

vidual should be cognizant of the fact that success is 95 percent luck and 5 percent ability.

If I had followed a definite program instead of taking the lucky breaks I would still be in a modest clothing business in the Loop. I have always tried to put myself on the buyer's side of the counter. The opportunities of life are too varied to be confined to rigid programs. When I began to sell mail order I could see on the other side of the counter the millions of farmers and rural dwellers who wanted the better merchandise which the townsfolk enjoyed. To take advantage of the golden opportunity awaiting me was not genius but simply following an idea to its logical conclusion.²¹

Rosenwald, always mindful of the plight of the consumer, held as basic to individual management, careful expenditure, and elimination of waste. For he felt it was this which made it possible for one family to live well and save money on a small income upon which, perhaps, the family untrained in thrifty ways would go hungry. He held that careful buying was almost the hardest lesson of all to teach Americans. Yet with all his emphasis on the rights of the consumer, he maintained that the seller must beware, for he, not the buyer, takes the risk. This simple philosophy was what molded Rosenwald into the "magician of the mail order."²²

Rosenwald often gave advice to members of his family concerning their business enterprises. In counseling Louis Rosenwald in Salina, Kansas, he wrote:

You are carrying entirely too much stock for the amount of your business.

You must run your stock down and keep it within bounds. You must be careful and not carry over your merchandise from season to season. If you do, it means that you make no money. You will lose every dollar you can possibly make in profit on the sacrifices of old stock.²³

Rosenwald warned against anyone getting too deep in debt in credit affairs.²⁴ He also had definite modern views on merchandising.

It occurred to me that whenever you put an advertisement in the paper you ought to cut it out and paste one of them on each of your windows. They have proven very attractive and will be equally so with you. Arrange with the principals of different schools there, to furnish a certificate good for a suit of clothes for each poor boy under fourteen years, and on Thanksgiving Day they honor the certificate. There are any number of things probably that could be done to brighten up your business and you must keep on the lookout for them.²⁵

He also gave advice to others outside his immediate family concerning humility in business and stock investment. He wrote a man in Kansas City, Missouri, congratulating him on a great improvement in position in the firm for which this man was working. He warned the man not to let his newfound prosperity warp his sense of judgment to the extent of feeling that he was immeasurably responsible for his own success, through his own work. Rosenwald also warned this gentleman against free use of the personal pronoun in his business activities.²⁶ As for stock investment, he greatly

advised people to invest in Sears, Roebuck and Company, especially in preferred stock which would always pay dividends.²⁷ Rosenwald, himself never subscribed for stock in his own name but always in the name of someone else, as he explains in this letter to the La Salle National Bank of Chicago:

I would subscribe for some of the stock, but would not take it in my own name. I hold no stock in my own name in any bank or any company incorporated for profit, my reason being that where I have taken stock in companies that were being formed, I have done so merely out of personal regard for, or at the request of someone interested in the organization and have had the stock subscribed for in some other name, since I make no investigation, and my name as a subscriber, might induce someone else to subscribe, believing that I have become a subscriber after investigation and in that way it might be misleading.²⁸

Julius Rosenwald stepped down as president of Sears, Roebuck on October 28, 1924. At that time he became chairman of the board of directors. General Robert E. Wood, recently resigned vice-president and merchandising manager of Montgomery Ward, was elected president of Sears. The only statements made regarding Rosenwald's resignation were that the load was getting too heavy for him and his partner Albert Loeb. Loeb was stricken on May 20, with a heart ailment and had been confined to his sick room ever since.²⁹

Speculation has it that there was more to Rosenwald's resignation than the load being too heavy. The Chicago Correspondent of the New York World at the time of this

change ascribed it to the fact that the company had made sluggish progress in earnings during the three years prior to 1924.

The correspondent also believed that the change made, Wood in place of Rosenwald, was due to Sears Roebuck having been placed under a ban by the Ku Klux Klan, which resulted in the immensely increased business of the company's competitor, Ward's.

The Ku Klux Klan organs at this time also confirmed the rumor that the company was under a boycott because of Jewish control. The Jewish Telegraphic Agency, inquiring as to the authenticity of this report, received the following answer from Rosenwald:

Not a scintilla of truth in report referred to in your telegram. No evidence of harm from that source has been noticeable even in the slightest degree.³⁰

With these words Jewish leadership in Sears Roebuck came to an end.

CHAPTER THREE

ROSENWALD AND "THE ART OF PUBLIC GIVING"

The generous Julius Rosenwald was another side of this great man's character. A multi-millionaire in his own right, he devoted many of his waking hours and much of his accumulated wealth to those in need. During his lifetime his gifts exceeded \$22,000,000 exclusive of the Rosenwald Fund, which had assets worth \$40,000,000 in 1928.³¹

Yet throughout his lifetime Rosenwald maintained a definite philosophy of professional philanthropy. In his philosophy he was opposed for two reasons to the principle of storing up large sums of money for philanthropic uses centuries hence. First of all, it directly implied a certain pessimism with regard to the future, and Rosenwald had no such pessimism. He felt confident that the generations hence would be every bit as humane and enlightened, energetic and able as his generation and that the needs of the future could safely be left to the generations of the future. Secondly, he was against any program of philanthropy that would inject the great fortunes of his day into the affairs of the nation 500 or 1,000 years hence. He sincerely believed that philanthropic enterprises should come to an end with the close of the philanthropist's life or at most a single generation after his death. In other words he was totally opposed to perpetuities.³²

Every endowment made in our time should

expend itself within a period during which the need can be forecast. Everytime a permanent endowment is made it lessens the amount available for immediate needs; and our immediate needs are too plain and too urgent to allow us to do the work of the future generation.

I am in favor of endowments that disburse interest over a portion of the principal in equal installments over a given period.

The past gives plentiful evidence that perpetual endowments, so-called, have outlived the needs which caused their creation. There can be no doubt that money, left in perpetuity often is misused.³³

Rosenwald was very much opposed to foundations and benevolent trusts which restricted their enterprises to narrow limits and perpetuated themselves by spending only interest on the vested capital.

He pointed to the fact that millions of dollars were tied up in perpetuities to endow orphan asylums which in his day were outmoded because of discriminating charity's attempts to keep the home together. He also pointed out that millions which were left to endow the study of certain diseases were lying comparatively idle because science had mastered the diseases, and legal chains prevented the money from being adapted for more pressing needs. He felt that a project useful in his day may not only be useless but vicious in the future, and he urged that the law be amended to give authorized persons discretion to change objectives of endowments when the original plan had ceased to further

a useful end.

In his opposition to the storing of large sums for use in centuries hence, Rosenwald pointed to the fact that the final disposition of the Julius Rosenwald fund was set for a period not longer than twenty-five years after his death.

Multimillionaires and foundation directors were in agreement with Rosenwald at the time of his stated philosophy of public giving. They agreed that "dead hand" bequests should be avoided and that the trend of modern philanthropy should be in that direction. They too were aware of the millions of dollars which were left idle because legal provisions chained the moneys to specific purposes that were no longer useful to the community. But the philanthropic leaders of the time disagreed with Mr. Rosenwald's dictum that all moneys must be spent within twenty-five years after his death. The prevailing opinion seemed to be that it was well for trustees of foundations to have power to use the capital and that such use should be left to their discretion.³⁴

Although Rosenwald, a man of vision, met opposition to his twenty-five year program, he did point up to the public the plight of the professional philanthropist. He attempted to show them that the path of the freelance philanthropist was hard.

I made my money in retail trade--
but when it comes to philanthropy,
I'm preferably a wholesaler. The

mere matter of the time involved in listening to private appeals and investigating them makes retail giving by individuals physically impossible on any scale large enough to amount to anything, and beside, I believe that giving without proper investigation is likely to do more harm than good.

But individual, direct-to-consumer giving has a still greater psychological handicap. Its disappointments are most certain to be so numerous and so bitter as to blight the generous impulses of any but the most incurable philanthropist. Having no desire to have any human sympathies chilled and my arteries hardened I have avoided adventures into that field.

About the only persons who make a fair success of what you call free-lance charity--direct personal giving to individuals--are the poor. When Jane Adams remarked that those who give most and most successfully to the poor are the poor themselves, she spoke a great truth. That it is a kind of giving which most frequently escapes leaving its recipients more impoverished than they were before. Why? Perhaps because it carries its own proof of unselfishness and is more generally accepted as an obligation than the charity of the rich. When Mrs. Levy gives Mrs. Lewis a little from her meager family store to help out because Lewis is unemployed, Mrs. Lewis accepts the gift with a knowledge that the tables may be turned almost any time and it will be her turn to repay Mrs. Levy in kind.

But when you consider wholesale philanthropy only, do not imagine that you have entered seas which are so well charted that your course is clear. You can't imagine how difficult it is to give money away so that it will

serve a useful and constructive purpose and yield a clear net benefit to humanity. It is far easier to make a large fortune, honestly, than it is to give one away in a manner that will assure the promoting of human welfare or the building up of human character.

I spend many wakeful night hours planning concrete problems along this line. As a result, I am sure that one of the most difficult things a man can do is to give away large sums of money wisely, constructively and to the real benefit of his fellow beings. I have long since lost faith in those forms of charity which are merely palliative. My interest has shifted to those forms of help which hold promise of preventing the further need for gratuitous financial help.

There is quite as keen a call for the exercise of sharp watchfulness of expense in giving a fortune away as there is in making it. The high cost of giving is no idle phrase.³⁵

Although Rosenwald in the preceding words seems to tone down his views toward public philanthropy, and yet remain firm in his convictions; perhaps the following gives us a fuller expression of the deep-seated opposition within the man toward foolish philanthropy:

...philanthropy is a sickening word. It is generally looked upon as helping a man who hasn't a cent in the world. That sort of thing hardly interest me. I do not like the 'sob stuff' philanthropy. What I want to do is try and cure the things that seem to be wrong. I do not underestimate the value of helping the underdog. That, however, is not my

chief concern, but rather, the operation of cause and effect. I try to do the thing that will aid groups and masses rather than individuals.³⁶

Throughout his life, Rosenwald held steadfast to his philosophy of philanthropy and never swayed from it. His lifetime activities point to the fact that this was truly a man of firm convictions, who was not frightened to make these convictions known to his fellow entrepreneurs.

CHAPTER FOUR

ROSENWALD AND THE WORLD WAR

During the First World War, Julius Rosenwald was commissioned by Newton D. Baker, who was then Secretary of War, to serve as a member of the Advisory Commission for the Council of National Defense.³⁷ He was a friend of Presidents and had served as a member of the Advisory Committee of the National Committee since July 18, 1912.³⁸ Theodore Roosevelt was perhaps the most influential force in Rosenwald's commission. On July 12, 1918, Roosevelt wrote to Thomas Mc Lane, the Chairman of Overseas Entertainment for the YMCA, stating:

Mr. Julius Rosenwald stands in the front rank of our citizenship as regards character and ability. I am intimately acquainted with his work for Tuskegee and for various colored YMCA institutions. If he will undertake entertainment work for our soldiers overseas, I shall regard our army as fortunate.³⁹

Another factor in Rosenwald's War Work was the pressure brought upon him by the Jewish Welfare Board. In a letter from Mr. Harry Cutler, Chairman of the JWB, Rosenwald was approached and asked to serve the cause of American Jewry overseas:

The more I go into the question of overseas work, the more thoroughly am I convinced, and this view is held by my colleagues, Dr. Adler, Messrs. Schiff, Marshall and others that our High Commissioner for a

limited period at least, in England and France, must be a man whose unswerving Americanism and standing in Jewish and non-Jewish affairs is of the highest order; and whose qualifications, temperament and ability will do much to offset the mental reservation and open suspicion entertained in high political circles abroad regarding, the attitude of American Jews toward the Allies.

To such a man is offered an opportunity for service to American Jewry, which cannot be measured by any present standard of value—a service which will be far reaching during and particularly after the war in gaining for us the prestige to which we are entitled, at the same time making it possible to carry out our work for the boys at the front more efficiently and with less chance of being hampered from directions, which mediocre representation might unconsciously stimulate.

My honest judgment is, and this view is shared by every member of our Executive Board, that you are that man. Can you consider a three four or six months' leave of absence in this connection, which I am confident that our government will grant you? I do not hesitate to approach you, for the task requires really big-men—they cannot come too big—especially when we are about to undertake the initial steps of our work "over there." Your associates and workers will be men whom the Board considers qualified, and the State Department approves.

I sincerely trust that you will give an affirmative expression, and that Mrs. Rosenwald will consent to your undertaking this function, the importance of which I can not emphasize too strongly, and I am sure that your knowledge of me, based on our friendship, will convince you of my sincerity in the characterization I have made. 40

Rosenwald, not leaving any time for delay, replied promptly by wire:

The confidence which you and your colleagues express as to my being the man for the purpose outlined in your letter of the thirteenth is most gratifying and if I can be of service to you in connection with the duties for which I have pledged myself to the Secretary of War, I stand ready to respond, but feeling as I do in regard to the overseas work, as expressed to you, I could not accept the position which you have outlined.⁴¹

Cutler exerted further pressure upon Rosenwald, in voicing his view that Rosenwald should not only represent the YMCA in overseas work as Roosevelt suggested, but also should represent the Jewish Welfare Board:

....if you were to go abroad representing solely the Y.M.C.A., or any other agency, your venture would be misunderstood and I fear misconstrued, and internationally the Jewish Welfare Board, which is functioning only in accordance with the War Department's advice and direction, would receive a very severe blow; for in spite of your innate modesty, Julius Rosenwald, is a Jewish international figure, who stands for much in American life.

I deem it my duty to present this phase to you, and I am sure you will appreciate the spirit that prompts it. My desire is paralleled by your own, namely, to write such a record, through our war work, in representing practically three million Jews in this country, that not only shall we help to win the war, but we shall gain the commendation and approval of the one hundred million citizens of this republic, of which we are a component part. Honestly, holding these views, you can appreciate all

the more my anxiety to obtain your sympathetic consideration, and active service for such an important and delicate mission as confronts the Jewish Welfare Board.⁴²

Finally, on July 29, 1918, Rosenwald received his official orders from the Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker:

I want you to go to France, move around among our American troops, and avail yourself of every opportunity which arises to address our boys on the conditions at home, and particularly on the opportunities of American life as you have observed them in your own successful business career.

It is not unlikely that your chief opportunities will be among the men in the so-called Services of Supply, of whom there are great numbers, who are deprived of opportunity for service at the front to render valuable service in the lines of communication, upon which the safety and efficiency of that army at the front depends. You will find them filled with the spirit of service and sacrifice; you will find all our boys enthusiastic, intelligent, and brave. Your special opportunity of usefulness to them will be to take a message from home, pointing out how the country appreciates the services they are rendering and how great the opportunity will be for them to build up business and professional careers at home when once the menace of militarism has been removed from the world. Carry them as a message from me, or rather from the people of the United States, for whom I venture to speak to them, this thought; that in a time of universal sacrifice they are having the heroic opportunity, and that their privilege is to vindicate again in the eyes of the world the wholesomeness and beauty of the principles upon which American liberty is based; that

this war will free France and Europe, but that in addition to that it will free America, and that when they have helped to make men free everywhere the blessings and rewards of a finer civilization will be especially theirs to enjoy since they have so greatly contributed to their preservation.⁴³

Following the announcement of Rosenwald's orders, the Jewish Welfare Board made it known to the world that Julius Rosenwald would represent them overseas.

Colonel Harry Cutler, Chairman of the Jewish Welfare Board, announces that Honorable Julius Rosenwald, the distinguished philanthropist and merchant of Chicago and member of the Council of National Defense, will shortly go to France at the request of the Secretary of War.

Mr. Rosenwald has been interested in the work of the Jewish Welfare Board since its inception and has contributed generously to its support.

The Jewish Welfare Board is enabled to announce that as far as Mr. Rosenwald's duties of the War Department permit he will in the capacity of Commissioner of the Welfare Board aid in establishing its headquarters in Paris and London, in coordinating the duties of the other Commissioners and workers and in making arrangement for cooperative relations with the officials of the army and with other American welfare agencies abroad.⁴⁴

Letters of introduction were sent out to the various diplomatic and consular officers in England, France and Italy by Frank Polk, the Acting Secretary of State, and Bernard Baruch, a member of the War Industries Board. The

letters spoke of Rosenwald as one of high public spirit and a loyal citizen of these United States.⁴⁵

Rosenwald's mission was different from any other man's in the great war. He was an officer without rank, but he wore nobly the uniform of Uncle Sam. He was a great morale booster for the American boys. He traveled, often in danger, suffering great hardships, from camp to camp, carrying letters from governors of each state, and greetings and words of praise from the solid rank of American people behind the home lines.⁴⁶

Some extracts from the long letters of the governors read this way:

CAPPER of Kansas--Your years of war shall not be years of waste in your lives. Your places are ready for you when you return. Your loved ones are cared for while you are away.

BURNQUIST of Minnesota--The folks at home are working saving, giving, and going the limit to back you up.

PHILLIP of Wisconsin--All is well at home. We have bumper crops, enough to feed all our own people and a big surplus to spare. We miss you very much. We shall welcome the great day when your work is completed and you return to Wisconsin in triumph.

HENDERSON of Alabama, who forgets that he is a governor and writes like a father or a mother--Things at home are the same as when you left except for the absence of yourselves, who are so dear to us.

But there are no complainers.
Both in the homes and kitchens
here at home is the same spirit
of loyalty and determination that
you show in France.

LOWDEN of Illinois--No Illinois
man will lose his life in vain by
the war.⁴⁷

The troops became very fond of the man they called "Rosy."
While in France he delivered about forty speeches to groups
of 4,000 to 7,000 boys, imparting to them a message of cheer
from home. Sometimes he made two or three speeches a day,
but usually he talked once at night. He had planned to
return October 1, 1918, but so many requests had been made
for him that he was determined to remain another month.
Rosenwald wrote home that heavy rains had saturated the
sector of the fighting line in which he was working. On
September 9th, he waded knee deep in mud. Women of an
advanced Red Cross canteen gave him a bed in order that he
might proceed to a post still further advanced.

Rosenwald marveled at the size of the American hospitals
in France. One he inspected held 50,000 beds--300 times
the size of the average hospital in Chicago.⁴⁸

Rosenwald kept the "folks at home" well-posted on what
was taking place overseas. He spoke of the marvelous work
the Americans had done at the many seaport towns he visited.
In one seaport there were about twenty camps of various
kinds, sixty-eight enormous warehouses and hundreds of
miles of track put in by the Americans.

He spoke of another town full of American soldiers and sailors. About 20,000 were there all the time, besides the troops near by. He spoke of the wonderful sight he saw of a ship which had been torpedoed and saved. It was in a dry dock and the hole in its side was the width of six ordinary doors and twice the height.

Sept. 10--Such a day as I have had! Spoke to a small group this morning, then proceeded to my second place, a large motor repair place, where several thousand men are employed.

I stood in the rain and spoke to them. Of course, I had to cut it short, but you should have seen that place--a marvelous development--all since May 1. Enormous steel and glass buildings, full of machinery and stock. What our people have accomplished industrially beats anything one could have dreamed of, but that's too long a story!

It pelted rain all day yesterday and the day before that. Both days I tramped about in mud up to my knees. I have spoken forty-one times, so far.

I saw my first sign of war aside from men in uniform as soon as we got outside of Paris--transports or bit auto trucks by the score, loaded with men and materials. I saw about a thousand in three days.

Every town we passed through had numbers of American soldiers.⁴⁸

When speaking to "his boys" Rosenwald usually closed his talks with what they must make of America when they return--a real nation, all her citizens belonging to each other. He was proud that these boys in the army were

demonstrating that men from all places were able to work together for one cause.⁴⁹

Yet Rosenwald was so dedicated to his work that his health came second. On September 29, 1918, a cable was received from Paris to the effect that Julius Rosenwald was ill with a slight attack of pneumonia. His illness was not considered serious, but he did remain for awhile at a hospital in Tours.⁵⁰

On October 1st, the news was released that Rosenwald had completed his stay at the camp hospital and again reiterated that his illness was not severe.⁵¹

Rosenwald returned to Chicago by October 14th, receiving words of welcome and concern over his illness from many prominent individuals. Among these were: Edward B. Butler, president of Butler Brothers, one of Rosenwald's competitors; Cleophante Campanini, general director of the Chicago Opera Association; Emmett J. Scott, special assistant to the Secretary of War; and Tiffany Blake, an editor of the Chicago Tribune.⁵² Probably the most beautiful words of welcome came from the Illinois Technical School for Colored Girls in Chicago:

Permit us to extend to you our greetings and welcome you again to dear old USA and to Chicago. We are sure you have accomplished much good for the cause of liberty, during your absence but your poor health has been an anxiety to your Chicago friends, among whom we beg to be considered.

Our grateful prayers and those of the little ones whom your kind charity enables to care for, have attended you and will continue. We sincerely trust that your health will soon be perfectly restored. Begging God to bless you and yours...53

The greatest tribute any American citizen could possibly receive following the performance of an act of heroism or any other praiseworthy act is to have those who participated in this with you proclaim to others their great admiration for you. "Rosy" was truly admired and loved by the troops whom he tirelessly and unselfishly visited in order to bring a little bit of home to them. Numerous letters were sent home by his great admirers praising the works of this little man who called himself "General Merchandise."

1st Lt. William P. Mc Farland, in the United States Air Service, wrote home:

We had a visit from Julius Rosenwald. His talk and the governor's letter cheered the boys a whole lot, but his wonderful 'I'm your friend and backer' smile made them feel less alone than they had felt for some time. They cheered him and they meant it.

Another young aviator wrote:

After luncheon I dropped into the YMCA. There was a lecture going on, and the place was packed. The enthusiastic cheering, whistling and clapping aroused my curiosity....the speaker was a short, heavy man of middle age. He was an artist in touching just the right chord in the fellows, and he talked in such a personal way, and so whole-heartedly mixed in a few good stories now and then, that he took the boys by storm. I turned

to a mechanic next to me and said,
'Who is he?'

'Dam fine! The fellows call him
Rosy. He's a big bug from Chicago
on the National Defense. He cer-
tainly is dam good!'⁵⁴

A letter from Pvt. Lucius W. Woodruff to his friend
John Herbert Toal, of Rand McNally, stated:

Julius Rosenwald gave a most wonder-
ful talk at the Red Cross building this
P.M. He met all the Illinois and
Chicago boys afterward and shook hands--
also read a message from Sec. War Baker,
Gov. Lowden and Chas. M. Schwab. Told
him I was from M.F. and Company and had
a short chat, said he had seen Simpson
a few days ago. He has a good mission
to perform over here in addition already
to his service in Washington and his
message to us from the American people
carried a multitude of cheer and thought.
If he takes with every bunch of soldiers
as he did with us, which I am sure he
will, he will have accomplished some "bit"
as his share.⁵⁵

Rosenwald was the boys' connection with the news at
home. Corporal Sol Marx in writing home to his Aunt Rose
praises the man on a mission for the words of comfort he
brought from the homefront:

Today after a long wait, your letter
dated July 31, and posted August 2,
arrived. It was welcome Auntie Dear,
for I feared you were not well or the
like, until Mr. Rosenwald, who visited
us, told me you were "the same old Rose"
and that meant worlds to me.

One day at mess an announcement was made
(on Labor Day) that a mass meeting would
be held in the drill ground. Our band
was playing so we finished our meal,
dropped down on the sand and waited.

Soon Col. Edward's (Post Commandant's) car drove up and to my surprise I saw Mr. Rosenwald in uniform. He delivered a very cheerful message, in fine style and read many messages from representative home folk--I was so proud of him he represented so much as he stood there, a national figure, doing a big work. He requested Illinois men to shake hands with him--they swarmed in so I refrained because such would be unsatisfactory. About 4PM I had to take up a question with Adjutant and was going from my office when I saw Julius Rosenwald about to enter his car. I had a fine talk with him and we arranged to breakfast together the next morning. We did. A Miss Rau, related to the Good-kinds of St. Paul (a Red Cross worker) was present also. Of course I drained him of home news--he seemed to have appreciated my letter too--but he is such a plain unassuming, kind man; his soul is right and his monumental success is well deserved.⁵⁶

As Rosenwald traveled through France, he was often reunited with boys from Chicago, enjoying it immensely, and oft times subject to surprise!

He had just finished speaking to a large crowd of doughboys at one of the larger camps and had read Gov. Frank O. Lowden's message....'Now, boys,' said Mr. Rosenwald, with a big smile, 'I'd like to shake hands with every one of you, for I just love every man with all my soul and heart. But I can't speak to each boy personally, although I would like to see some of the Illinois boys, and Chicago boys in particular.' He climbed down from the box and was surrounded by quite a mob at once. They came from all corners of Illinois and had a regular reunion for a while. Mr. Rosenwald saw a fine lookin' six footer standing near him, smiling and apparently enjoying it all. 'Hello son,' said Rosenwald,

grasping his hand, 'are you from Illinois, too?' 'Better still, the soldier replied, 'I'm from Chicago.' 'The deuce you are,' exclaimed Rosenwald. 'Then you probably know me.' 'I ought to,' the doughboy smiled, 'I am a witness to your will.' 'The--.' Rosenwald just got the aspirate out, but did not pronounce the full word, 'Well what do you know about that?' he ejaculated. Then he shook his hand again and observed, 'Guess it was a pretty good will, wasn't it.' The doughboy happened to be Mr. Marks, a law student in Lessing Rosenthal's office in Chicago. Mr. Rosenthal drew the will and Marks was one of the official witnesses.⁵⁷

Even following Rosenwald's return to the United States, the troops were still reminiscing over his visits with them. On December 2nd, 1918, "Rosy" received these words of greeting from Sergeant First Class Harold Henry, of Company D, the 108th US Engineers, now stationed in the St. Mihiel Sector in France:

During pleasant hours of reminiscence by the flickering candle light and reviewing the wonderful events of the past, I have often thought of our unusual but pleasant meeting in the trenches on famous old Mort Homme.

I cannot forget how surprised I was at being informed that none other than Julius Rosenwald himself was traversing the muddy, slimy, shell torn trenches which wound around the crest of Dead Man's Hill.

It was a great sight and inspiration to see the vigor and youth pouring forth from one of your years and the feeling of security at knowing what you and the people back home were

for us.

I wish to take this opportunity in thanking you for the courtesy of informing my parents of our meeting while over here and wishing you a Merry Christmas and the Happiest of a New Year.⁵⁸

Rosenwald's feelings towards those he cheered were mutual. He greatly admired them and was so very proud of the American boys. In addressing a dinner meeting of the American Jewish Relief Committee at the Blackstone Hotel in Chicago, Rosenwald verbalized his feelings:

The last fifty odd times I've addressed audiences my auditors were all in the uniforms of American soldiers, and I want to say that I didn't believe until I rubbed elbows with them in England and France, that our boys were the wonderful fellows they proved to be.

You would be prouder than ever that you were American citizens had you seen the type of men as I saw them, who went "over there" to fight for America's ideals. I saw them by the hundreds of thousands in all conditions and I never saw one under the influence of liquor-- and with liquor on sale on all sides too! I never saw one who was not a gentleman! Not once did I see any outbursts of rowdyism!

Also, all honor to the men who went "over the top," but don't forget those who wanted to go to the front, but had to stay behind and help supply those at the front. I hope every city and community will appoint committees and voice its honor and pride in these wonderful, glorious men--our fighting boys!⁵⁹

Julius Rosenwald lived his life in order to fulfill his mission to mankind. His war work was only one byway along the road to fulfillment. Here was a man who had an opportunity to stay at home and operate from this end of the front, but he wanted to be with "his boys." Mankind will long remember the patriotism of a man called "Rosy."

CHAPTER FIVE

ROSENWALD AND THE NEGRO

Perhaps, more than anything, Julius Rosenwald is best remembered for his commitment to the cause of the American Negro. He was devoted to educating them and giving them a share in this world. His efforts were made to elevate them from second-class citizenship to first-class status in these United States, a country based upon freedom, freedom for men of all races and religions.

Why did Rosenwald so fully devote himself to the cause of the American Negro? His reasons were plain and simple. He preferred to have his children and grandchildren live where there was no ignorant, uncouth and vicious underprivileged class. He felt that if we were to keep the Negro down, we would have to stay down with him. He felt that much injustice was being practiced against the Negro. Rosenwald recognized the need to educate the Negro and give him a chance to earn a good living. He had a strong conviction that the Negro would ultimately attain a high place in the scale of civilization. He firmly believed that the Negro deserved a fair chance to get, as he called it, "a better environment," and he was determined to do all that he could, during his lifetime and beyond, to see that he got it.⁶⁰

Whether it is because I belong to a
people who have known centuries of

persecution or whether it is because I naturally am inclined to sympathize with the oppressed, I have always felt keenly for the colored race. My sympathies, however, remained more or less dormant until the book, An American Citizen-- the life of William Henry Baldwin Jr. came to my notice. I had of course read Dr. Booker T. Washington's Up from Slavery and later writings, but interesting as they were they did not for some reason or other make the impression upon me that did this book. Particularly was I impressed with Mr. Baldwin's contention that if the question of deportation--is dismissed, it leaves the single issue that in some way the two races must occupy one country.

They have to learn probably the highest and hardest of all arts, the art of living together with decency and forbearance. Nothing will so test the uncertainties of our religion, our moral obligation, or even our common self respect as will the exigencies of this, which is among the greatest of all our problems.⁶¹

Soon after Rosenwald read An American Citizen, he met Booker T. Washington. Washington asked him to become one of the Tuskegee Institute trustees. In that way Rosenwald became interested in the education of the Negro.⁶²

On October 27, 1911, a party of Chicago people, traveling as the guests of Julius Rosenwald and Mrs. Rosenwald, arrived at Tuskegee for their first visit. The purpose of their visit was to inspect the work of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. Traveling with the Rosenwalds were Mr. and Mrs. Morris Rosenwald, Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, Dr.

Graham Taylor, professor of civics at the University of Chicago, Mr. E. G. Cooley, former superintendent of Chicago City schools, and L. W. Messer, general secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association of Chicago.

On their way to Tuskegee the party visited Vanderbilt University, the Belmont College for Girls, and two Negro schools, Fisk University and Meharry Medical College.⁶³

While at Tuskegee, Rosenwald, who had become interested in providing YMCA buildings for Negroes in sixteen cities throughout the United States, addressed the student body with these words:

I am very glad to say a word to you after the inspiration I have had and my friends have had yesterday in Nashville and today in Tuskegee. If anyone again claims that colored men and colored women will not and cannot be as good citizens as there are in America, I shall ask him to come down to Tuskegee and visit the places we have visited and I am sure that no other evidence will be required to prove to him altogether the proof was not necessary so far as I am concerned but to prove to any doubter that colored men and colored women are just as capable of good citizenship, of learning, as any of the white people who have just come into my experience.

I am just going to say a word along the lines of the song you have just sung about "back-biting will soon be over." That is optimism and I believe that the colored people of this country have every right to be optimistic. I have always felt that there was a future, for them, but never felt so assured of that future, or that it was so near at hand as has been proven in my experience

with the new movement for building Young Men's Christian Association buildings for colored men in the large cities of our country.

When we stop to think that wherever these movements have been started and they have been started in a number of cities in the North and in the South--the white man has joined the colored man in the movement and has expressed himself as willing to give him a helping hand. Would you ever dream that in Atlanta, a Southern city, that such a movement would meet with the help and encouragement from the white men that it received? There, in only a few days, a sum of \$100,000, or the necessary \$75,000, was raised, as was done in Philadelphia, in Los Angeles and in Washington, although a large portion of it had been raised in Washington prior to that time, but in all of these cities the white man has shown his willingness, not only to furnish money for this purpose, but the Young Men's Christian Association people themselves of the white organization in these cities have shown a willingness to undertake in the helping and formation this work until sufficient trained men are found among the colored men to take it off their hands. This is only one instance of what looks like a bright future not alone for the colored man, but for the promise of the colored man and white man being able to live together in America.

What I have seen here today has inspired me beyond words. I only regret that some of the gentlemen whom I wanted to bring with me were not able to see what I have seen in this glorious work. Your principal, Mr. Washington, to my notion, has done the greatest work of any man in America. How he can be as modest as he is with what he has accomplished is something unheard of, so far as my experience goes. If only more people knew!

I have asked Mr. Cooley, one of our party who has made a study of school life in America and Europe, to write his opinion and his views and to give expression to the enthusiasm he has expressed here today on this great work. So that the people of the country will learn from a man in whom they have confidence, what this work really is. Nobody knows what there is here and what wonderful things are being accomplished. I know you will be glad to hear Mr. Cooley and have him tell you himself what his impressions are, and I only want to say "thank you" one and all, for the hearty welcome accorded me and the ladies and gentlemen who have had the pleasure of being here with me.⁶³

In speaking of the industrial features of Tuskegee Institute, Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, another distinguished member of the visiting party, said:

There was one great difference between the gods of the old Greek world and the Hebrew idea of God. The Greek gods were idlers; they sat on Olympus, sipped nectar, drank ambrosia, indulged themselves in all kinds of human passion, and to an extent that the Greeks in later times were ashamed of their gods. The Hebrew idea of God was that the Hebrew God was a worker. In Genesis the story is told of how God labored six days and rested the seventh," and God made man in His own image," God Himself worked, and He considered that man should work. Have you ever thought that Jesus was a carpenter? He did not have a classical education but worked with His hands. The sanctity of labor is the gift that your noble institution has made to you and your race. I has made you the apostolic message of religion to labor.⁶⁵

The Christian world viewed the visit to Tuskegee as a sign of the times, in that Christians and Jews were beginning to worship and serve together more frequently. The striking visit to Tuskegee brought together Julius Rosenwald, a Jew; Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch; Graham Taylor, a Christian minister; and L. W. Messer, secretary of the YMCA of Chicago. Students of Tuskegee heard these men speak from the same pulpit, preaching a harmonious message that the only true life was one devoted to the service of mankind.⁶⁶

Upon Rosenwald's return to Chicago from Tuskegee, he expressed his great delight in what he had seen:

I have heard for years that they were doing wonderful work, and I wanted to see for myself. I was astonished at the progressiveness in the schools. I don't believe there is a white industrial school in America or anywhere that compares with Mr. Washington's at Tuskegee.⁶⁷

Between 1912 and 1917, Rosenwald inaugurated what he called a "five year plan." The idea of it was that there would be a group of ten who would pledge \$5,000 a year for five years--making a total of \$25,000 from each, and a total from all of \$250,000 in five years. This was to insure a fixed income each year for current expenses. Tuskegee benefitted thus by \$50,000 a year, between 1912 and 1917.

Rosenwald's policy was to pledge a certain sum annually for five years, provided a certain number of like pledges were obtained. His pledge was to be paid when evidence was

submitted that the total sum had been pledged and all annual payments made, year by year, by the pledger.⁶⁸ In toto, Rosenwald matched the \$250,000 pledged by others to the Hampton-Tuskegee Fund for Negro Education.⁶⁹

In one of his many talks with Rosenwald, Booker T. Washington, pictured to Rosenwald the miserable condition of the Negro secondary schools in the South and asked him to finance an experiment in extension work that would cost \$25,000. Rosenwald did it. The experiment was a success. There was \$2,000 left over. Washington asked him if he would let him use it to help build a number of experimental schoolhouses. His idea was to interest both the white people and the colored people in the building of modest but substantial and comfortable schools in given rural communities, with Rosenwald donating one-fourth of the cost, after one-fourth of the cost had been raised by the Negroes themselves and the balance by the white people. The plan worked so well that before the first of these schools was built there were applications for funds for more.⁷⁰

On June 30, 1928, there were 4,138 Rosenwald schools standing in the fourteen states of the South, a number of them with separate buildings for shops and teachers' homes. Eleven thousand teachers in these modern schools gave elementary instruction in the three R's, in home-making, and in simple farming and mechanical industries to more than half a million colored children. These schools were a

part of the great American system of public education for all the people and were an incentive to the progress and development of schools in the South. The Rosenwald schools represented investments of twenty million dollars, of which Rosenwald gave three and one half million while the Negro gave four million.⁷¹

A striking result of the Rosenwald rural school construction was the effect it had on the white people. The schools constructed for the Negroes were in many cases superior to those of the whites. In some instances, before there could be erected a comfortable building for the Negroes, one equally as good or better had to be erected for the whites, inasmuch as race prejudice was so intense that the Negro building might otherwise be burned down. In the communities where there was less feeling of this sort, and the Negro building was first constructed, there was set going almost immediately an effort to establish a modern schoolhouse for the whites. Moreover, in some instances the Negro building was taken as a model for the building of the whites.

Of course, the whites had no particular desire to be following in the footsteps of the movement in behalf of the Negroes, but the Rosenwald buildings were carefully worked out by architectural assistance and in accordance with requirements of school hygiene. As most of the State departments had no special law providing for school construction

they had not worked out such plans. Lacking funds to employ agents and architects for the supervision and construction of such work, they found the best solution of their problem was in following the plans already set up and brought into the states by the Rosenwald agents. In this way Rosenwald helped general school construction in the South.⁷²

Aside from improving school facilities for 100,000 Negro children in North Carolina, there were two or three other outstanding results; Crimes among Negroes were greatly reduced, and there was a building up of better inter-racial understanding; White people and colored people learned the art and the value of working together for making better, more progressive local communities, and for the development of the state as a whole. There was vastly more respect for and confidence in each race by the other.

The white and colored people in the South loved Rosenwald for helping in a great cause in so sound and practical a way. They loved and honored him as a great American and as a genuine friend at a time when the aid he gave was most needed.⁷³

Rosenwald also expressed his interest in YMCA buildings for Negroes in cities by contributing \$25,000 to each of twenty Y's in eighteen cities in this country.⁷⁴

At one time Mr. Rosenwald was approached by a Mr. W. S. Powers, of Wilson Brothers, a Chicago Wholesale House, to contribute \$1,000 to the colored YMCA in Evanston, Illinois.

Rosenwald told Powers that he felt there was enough wealth in Evanston to take care of the Y. Then he asked Powers why he was so interested in the colored Y. Power's reply was:

Bless you Mr. Rosenwald, I was raised in old Virginia, and an ol' culud mammy brought me up. By the by, she only died about six months ago, and I shall put a tombstone above her grave and inscribe this: "She was faithful to the end."

The story touched Rosenwald so that he gave the contribution. After Powers had pocketed the check, Rosenwald said:

Were you really in earnest when you talked about putting that tombstone on your mammy's grave?

Indeed I was!

Well here is the Sears, Roebuck and Company catalogue of tombstones. Please make your selection and give me your order.

He sold Powers a tombstone in Chicago for delivery and erection in the state of Virginia.⁷⁵

Rosenwald was an ardent fighter for equal rights for Negroes in employment. He carried on a campaign at Sears, Roebuck looking for better positions for capable Negroes in the company's employ. He found it very difficult. He was asked to pledge his support in 1913 to The Association for Equalizing Industrial Opportunities. Since he found it difficult to accomplish the result of equal opportunities

for Negroes in his own company, he felt that he would be in an illogical position, if he were to pledge himself to such an association.⁷⁶ He favored a militant editorial which appeared in the Philadelphia Ledger asking for equal industrial opportunity for the Negro. In fact he wrote the editor, George W. Ochs, asking:

Is there any way in which I could be helpful in having this editorial copied in other papers? I would, if necessary, be glad to pay for the required distribution of this copy if I knew of a way to have it published.
To my mind there is nothing more important than this very question of giving the Negro an opportunity to work. If we expect them to be honest and decent, they must be given an opportunity to earn a living.⁷⁷

Aware of the fact that he would not be able to realize the urgent needs of the Association for Equalizing Industrial Opportunities with immediacy, and admitting so, Rosenwald came under great criticism by the Cleveland Gazette, a Negro newspaper. The article, written after Rosenwald had dedicated a Negro YMCA in Chicago, was entitled "Jim Crowe's YMCA Dedicated." The sub-heading read "Magnificent Monument to Race Prejudice, Intolerance, Inhumanity, and White American Christian Hypocrisy Opened at Chicago. Wealthy Jew Gives Money to Aid Establishment of the Color Line."

The article stated that the remarks made at the dedication would be ludicrous were it not for the seriousness

of the matter. It went on to quote Rosenwald:

We are here to dedicate this building and we should dedicate ourselves to the great task before us of removing race hatred.

The article ridiculed the idea that through segregation, race hatred could be removed. It said that race hatred could be removed only by free mingling in religion as well as business. It asked if Rosenwald would give money to a "Yiddish YMCA." It went on to ask if he was using the race problem in the United States to make himself popular with prejudiced white "Christians" in order to reap a reward in dollars.

The article continued on by attacking Rosenwald for not giving "work to our girls in his great mail order house." It cited a specific instance with the name of the girl who answered an advertisement of Sears for general office work and was refused. It cited an instance when Rosenwald attempted to give "a Colored man a menial place in one of his office buildings" and backed down on complaint of tenants. The article went on by saying that as head of the largest mail order house in the world, with a private fortune estimated at from \$25,000,000 to \$50,000,000:

Mr. Rosenwald has the power to make places for numbers of our men and women in his business, and he is not in anyway hampered by the objections of labor unions, for his employees are not organized. He could do more to really assist the race by giving us good

places, in one year than his 'Jim Crow Christian' associations will accomplish in a thousand years, because every moment of its existence it is teaching the lesson of race-segregation. What we need is a chance to make an honest living, not patronizing 'jimcrowism.' The YMCA, as it exists today, is a prejudice breeder of gigantic dimensions. It is the tool of the PREJUDICED WHITE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN SYSTEM which has for its object the degradation of our people. It means to despoil the race of every right, and will not be satisfied until a race of "good n--rs" has been produced....⁷⁸

Thus, we see that others took the philanthropic work of Julius Rosenwald in other ways. Yet it is interesting to note that a leader of the Negro movement at this time such as Booker T. Washington was very much pleased by the work Rosenwald was doing.

Julius Rosenwald, always concerned with the civil rights of the Negro, became active, through contributions, in the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He was most interested in the cases of twelve Negroes sentenced to death for participation in the Arkansas race riots in 1920. All were convicted by Phillips County juries from which Negroes were excluded and in a state of feeling, which, owing to the riots, made fair trials impossible. Five of the twelve were convicted in eight minutes.

The NAACP charged that the Phillips County Court

machinery was being perverted to railroad Negroes to death or prison and that the trials were part of an attempt to terrorize black farm tenants and prevent their seeking redress in the courts for exploitation and cheating by the white plantation owners.

Thus, a fund was raised to guarantee that the twelve Negroes would not go to death undefended and without the justice of an appeal allowed by law.⁷⁹

As a result of this occurrence, Rosenwald made a pledge of \$500 to be added to each \$4500 collected, up to a total of \$25,000. In other words, he gave a total of \$2500 for this cause.⁸⁰

Rosenwald contributed to other appeals in cases of Negro convictions such as the case of Isaac Bond who was defended by Clarence Darrow in a murder, rape trial. For this appeal Rosenwald contributed \$250. In the case of Joseph Campbell, a Negro convicted of manslaughter, Rosenwald contributed \$600 in order to take the case to the Supreme Court. In the case of John Cloures, who was convicted of the murder of a fellow prisoner at Joliet prison and sentenced to hang, Rosenwald had his sentence commuted in order that he might take his case to the Supreme Court. But the commutation was of no avail for Cloures was hanged.⁸¹

On October 30, 1917, a fund was incorporated for "the well being of mankind," named the Julius Rosenwald Fund. Like a number of other foundations in their early years, the

Fund, from 1917 to 1928, remained largely under the personal control of its founder. The Fund was established for the purpose of enriching Negro education and equalizing opportunities for the Negro in matters of health.

The Fund's program was originally concerned only with building rural schoolhouses. Later it was enlarged to include aid to high schools and colleges, fellowships to enable Negroes of unusual promise to advance their careers, help to Negro hospitals and health agencies, the development of county library service in the southern states and activities looking toward the distribution of medical services to persons of moderate means. With the passing years, activities were reviewed, as fresh opportunities or lacks were recognized, and as assets increased or diminished, certain programs were concluded and new projects were added and developed.

During the 20's the swift upswing in the stock market made possible a greatly increased scope, larger appropriations and expanding programs within the Fund. In the eighteen-month period from April, 1928, to September, 1929, the paper value of the Fund's holdings increased from twenty million to more than thirty-five million dollars.

The Fund had been reorganized as of January 1, 1928. Control and policy making were vested in a newly created board of ten trustees.

At the first meeting of the new Board of Trustees,

Rosenwald announced an additional gift to the Fund of twenty thousand shares of Sears, Roebuck and Company stock. This brought the total of his contributions to the foundation to somewhat more than two hundred thousand shares of this stock with a market value at that time of approximately twenty million dollars.

As we already have learned, in turning over this gift to the reorganized Fund, Rosenwald established a philanthropic precedent. Believing that perpetual endowments could easily become a hindrance to progress, he stipulated that all of the foundation's money must be spent within twenty-five years after his death.

It was during the period after the reorganization that the Fund began to add to its other interests contributions in the broad fields of educational methods and general social studies. Appropriations were made to such causes and agencies as the experiment in education at Swarthmore College, the Social Science Research Council, the American Council on Education, the New School for Social Research in New York, the development of the mental sciences, studies in child growth and development, state campaigns for reduction of illiteracy, the improvement of public administration, and to a number of other projects.

Then came the crash. The value of the Fund's stock dropped from a high of nearly two hundred dollars per share to less than ten dollars. Yet large commitments made when

the market was at its peak had to be met. To care for these obligations without sudden liquidation of the Fund's resources, careful financial arrangements were made. At the same time, the trustees adopted the policy of sharply limiting the programs and concentrating more heavily on wielding influence through studies, publications and consultation rather than through grants to outside agencies. The large programs in general education and social studies were dropped. Even so, the Fund during this period had to expend a considerable portion of its capital. Yet it managed not only to meet all its pledges and clear its debts, but to continue active programs through the depression. And, when the country began to find its way out of the slump, the scope of the work was again enlarged.

While financial resources naturally influenced the extent of activities, the determining factors in closing programs or entering new fields were the changing needs of the times. And, as the Fund entered one field and the problems and opportunities became clear, it was driven forward step by step into further ventures. At first, it simply undertook to get schoolhouses built for a neglected group of the population. When it became evident that there was no special virtue in thousands of schoolhouses if the education provided in them was poor, attention was given to improving the quality of teachers, and interest moved on to Negro high schools, normal schools and colleges. Both pupils and

teachers lacked books. So supplementary reading and extension libraries were brought into the programs. The realization that the progress of any group depends largely on creative leadership led to the providing of fellowships to give able Negroes--and later, white Southerners--opportunities to develop their talents. Acquaintance with the faults in the distribution of medical care brought about work in medical services and Negro health. And as it became evident that it was no longer enough to provide special opportunities for this neglected group, that the important thing was to incorporate all citizens in the general stream of American life, the Fund shifted its emphasis to an active program of race relations.

The trustees having followed the policy of expending principal as well as income, ended the Fund's work on June 30, 1948, with a total expenditure of \$22,244,174 with the majority of this expenditure having provided for the needs of the Negro.

Rosenwald's philosophy concerning the Negro can be summed up simply. He felt that through the process of education the Negro could elevate himself to the highest humanity has to offer. As a result of this his greatest wish for mankind would ultimately come true in that all men would have equal opportunity and whether black or white all men would be friends.

Generally speaking, the Negroes were very thankful for

this great man's generosity. Nothing could express their thankfulness better than a song composed by members of the student body of Tuskegee as a token of their appreciation for Rosenwald's helpfulness:

What kind of shoes you going to wear?

R-O-S-E-N-W-A-L-D slippers.

What kind of shoes you going to wear?

R-O-S-E-N-W-A-L-D slippers.

R-O-S-E-N-W-A-L-D slippers, I'm bound to wear;

Best we ever had.

Yes, yes, yes my Lord, I'm going to join that happy band.

Yes, yes, yes, my Lord, I'm going to join the band!

What kind of clothes you going to wear?

R-O-S-E-N-W-A-L-D goods;

What kind of clothes you going to wear?

R-O-S-E-N-W-A-L-D goods;

R-O-S-E-N-W-A-L-D goods.... 83

CHAPTER SIX

ROSENWALD, THE JEW AND THE JEWS

Throughout his lifetime, Julius Rosenwald maintained certain essential principles concerning his Jewishness and the problem of the East European Jew. A Reform Jew in his own right, he was greatly influenced by Dr. Emil G. Hirsch of Chicago.

As a child, he was a bar mitzvah at the age of thirteen. A year later his congregation in Springfield, Illinois, dedicated a new Reform temple in which he was confirmed.

He and his parents attended Friday evening services regularly and kept the more important holidays. Most of the Jews of Springfield were members of that congregation, and he always believed that the respect which the Jews of Springfield received from their Christian brethren was largely the result of their congregational life and the fact that the rabbi represented the Jews when occasion arose.

When Rosenwald went to Chicago, he affiliatated himself with Dr. Emil G. Hirsch's congregation and attended services regularly, every Sunday, during the time of Dr. Hirsch's rabbinate. Never once during all that time did Rosenwald leave the Temple without feeling that he carried away some helpful and inspiring lesson which could not have come to him unless he had placed himself under such influence. He felt indebted throughout his life to Dr. Hirsch for the

inspiration received through his teachings. For he felt he was truly enriched spiritually and morally.⁸⁴

As a result of this spiritual enrichment, Rosenwald embarked upon many worthwhile Jewish philanthropic ventures. He concentrated a great deal of his interest upon the plight of the East European Jew and the problem of Jewish Colonization. Whenever the topic of discussion turned to the subject of Colonization of the Jews in the Crimea or in Palestine, Rosenwald would liven up and become almost ecstatic. For these questions were of the greatest importance to him. He was not an anti-Zionist, but rather what one would term a non-Zionist. He was a vehement opponent of Jewish colonization in Palestine and almost what we might call today, an avid anti-Zionist.

Rosenwald's theory concerning the Eastern European Jewish question was that, insofar as it was an economic problem, it must be solved in the country of their residence; inasmuch as he felt it was neither feasible nor economical to transfer the Jews from one country to another for colonization.

He was for Jewish colonization in Russia because it was both practicable and economically sound. The fact that he supported colonization in Russia did not necessarily imply that he believed in the permanence of the Red Regime, or that he considered colonization the solution of the Jewish question in Russia.

He felt that colonization of the Jews in Russia would lessen substantially the struggle for existence of the city populations, inasmuch as the colonies would absorb yearly a considerable number of those populations. In other words, he believed that it was more feasible and economical to colonize the Jewish urban population in Russian villages rather than in Palestinian villages. For, whereas the Russian government aided the settlers by giving them land and money, the Palestinian government contributed nothing. It cost only one thousand dollars to equip a family for farming in Russia, while it cost \$15,000 to accomplish the same thing in Palestine; beside the important fact that the Jews would feel at home in Russia, in Rosenwald's opinion, while in Palestine they would be as strangers.

Rosenwald was not interested in colonization of the Jews in Biro Bidjan, but rather Jewish colonization in European Russia alone. He would not support the Biro Bidjan colonization because he did not think it feasible. He felt it was wrong to get away from the central part of the country, as Biro Bidjan was in Siberia. Yet he did feel that the Biro Bidjan project was far more feasible than Palestine, for at least the people would still remain in their native country.

Rosenwald was convinced that in the Russian villages, surrounded by Russian peasants, there would grow up just as good a generation of Jews as in Palestine amidst an Arab

peasantry.

Is the new generation around Rochovoth a generation of good Jews? Well there they have the Arabs as neighbors. The Russian peasants will not interfere with the bringing up of a Jewish generation anymore than the Arabs do. As a matter of fact, Jews can remain Jews wherever they choose to do so.

Rosenwald felt that European Russia would be the best choice. He did not consider the Soviet Regime as sufficiently stable to remove any apprehension as to the future of the Jewish settlers on the farms, but he was willing to speculate. He felt his speculation to be a fairly sound speculation. He believed that the colonization would prove to be a lasting contribution to the welfare of the Russian Jews. He felt it would relieve them in their state of privation.

Rosenwald went so far as to state that if the Agro-Joint, the American Organization in charge of the resettlement project had not undertaken the task of colonization in Russia, he would have done it himself.

Rosenwald considered Palestine to be a desert like the desert of Arizona. He felt that in Palestine, the Jews could accomplish nothing.

I shall not lift a finger to advance the emigration of Jews to Palestine for Palestine has nothing to offer them. The soil is too poor to support them. Nor is Palestine a field for either manu-

facture or industry. The Jews never went to Palestine of their own choice. They were simply lured to go there by all sorts of promises; and they went; and when the bait will be withdrawn, they will certainly refuse to settle there.

Rosenwald felt that the emigration of more Jews to Palestine would lead to great disaster. Although he wanted to be more emphatic and outspoken in his warning, he had too much regard for the honest idealists who sincerely believed in the cause of colonization in Palestine.

He held the view that the Zionism of his day differed radically from the Zionism conceived by Theodore Herzl. He believed that Herzl's ideal was merely a Jewish territory, whether it be Palestine or any other place; whereas the Zionists of Rosenwald's day were fanatically pro-Palestine. Thus, we find that Julius Rosenwald was an ardent non-Zionist opposed to the establishment of colonies in Palestine and favoring the furtherance of Russian colonization.⁸⁵

On September 14, 1925, in Philadelphia, American Jewry pledged itself to raise the sum of \$15,000,000 within three years in order to bring reconstructive aid mainly to Russian Jewry.

The decision was reached after a bitter struggle and dramatic developments at the Philadelphia conference called by the Joint Distribution Committee in which over 750 delegates from over 100 cities in the United States participated.

The two opposing groups consisted of noted American Jewish leaders. One was composed of such leaders as Felix M. Warburg, chairman of the Joint Distribution Committee; Louis Marshall, president of the American Jewish Relief Committee; Col. Herbert H. Lehman; James N. Rosenberg; Julius Rosenwald; and Dr. Joseph A. Rosen, head of the Agrojoint in Russia. The other group consisted of such leaders as Dr. Stephen S. Wise, president of the American Jewish Congress; Jacob de Haas, former secretary of the Zionist Organization of America; Joseph Barondess, vice-president of the American Jewish Congress; Maurice Samuel, writer; Jacob Fishman, editor of the Jewish Morning Journal; and Carl Sherman, former Attorney General of New York. The issue being contested which ended in a bitter fight was the question of whether American Jewry should commit itself to a policy of developing Jewish colonization work on a larger scale in Soviet Russia or should merely continue reconstructive relief to Russia and recognize the importance and priority of Jewish resettlement in Palestine.⁸⁶

Among those who were taking part in this conference was Dr. Joseph A. Rosen, a Russian-American agronomist, who was a chief participant in the vast resettlement scheme for Russian Jewry.

In a report before the leaders of American Jewry. Dr. Rosen declared that the Jewish population of Soviet Russia under the present regime was faced with a triangle of alter-

natives, starvation, emigration or adaptation. He declared that more Jews died in Russia during the last few years prior to his report than in the World War, the Civil War and the Revolution combined. He felt that to speak of emigration of the Jewish masses with the closed door policies of nearly all countries was nothing but a mockery and that of the approximately 3,000,000 Jews living in Russia, 5 percent were engaged in agricultural pursuits, 10 percent were professional, including government officials, 15 percent were laborers and handicraft workers and 70 percent were former traders and "luft menschen." Rosen urged that the only possible way out of the situation for Russian Jewry was adaptation. For him adaptation meant colonization. Enumerating the difficulties of the Jewish artisans and the slight possibility of the Jews to engage in industrial work under the conditions that existed in Russia, Rosen unfolded the advantages of colonization:

1. The fundamental advantage is that under Russian conditions, in colonization, we are not confronted from the very start with market conditions. We approach the problem principally as a matter of family or group production for their own consumption. This is not possible in any other occupation. Markets and marketing conditions play here only a secondary part.
2. The settlers do not depend on anybody but themselves to supply them with work.
3. Instead of "declassed pariahs" who are

only tolerated, the settlers at once become full fledged citizens of the country, enjoying equal rights with the privileged class of workingmen and peasants, for themselves and their children.

4. The Government is in full accord with the proposition, and as a matter of fact, furnishes, by far, the greatest part of the necessary investment, by supplying: (a) Free land; (b) Greatly reduced rates of transportation, over the Government railroad; (c) Free tracts of timber land for cutting lumber; and (d) Some cash credits.
5. Under these circumstances, colonization becomes the most expedient and cheapest form of reconstructive work for a philanthropic organization such as ours.
6. From the point of view of getting our funds and help directly to the people who are to be benefitted by us, no other line of reconstruction work could compare with colonization.

Rosen felt that Jewish mass colonization was not only feasible but a proven fact in Russia because of five things. The objective political and economic conditions in Russia not only favored colonization, but made it a necessity. The second factor was that settlers did not have to be transported for thousands of miles. Thirdly, settlers did not have to adjust themselves to new conditions of climate, social environment, and foreign language, as was the case with Argentinian and Brazilian colonization of the time. The fourth reason was that the necessary investment was lower than any other country. Lastly, the government was actively interested and was greatly favoring the movement

in a practical way, rendering substantial material assistance to the settlers and granting them many privileges.

Rosen would not commit himself so far as to say that the colonization would solve the Jewish problem in Russia, but rather he felt that there would be some considerable alleviation of the difficulty:

It would be a ridiculous contention to claim that any single measure could untie the complex agglomeration of economic, social, political and cultural knots that go to make up the so-called Jewish problem. And Russia is not the only country where this problem affords insurmountable difficulties. But mass colonization even to the extent of settling additional 25,000 to 30,000 families, which is a perfectly feasible proposition would go a long way toward solving not only the economic, but some of the political, social and cultural aspects of the Jewish problem in Russia. It is, of course, difficult to determine exactly what constitutes the disturbing surplus of the Jewish population, but it is perfectly reasonable to assume that by the removal of even 10-15% of the disturbed population, the general conditions would be perceptibly improved. Taking the disturbed population as about one-third of the total, which is a fair estimate, this would mean the settlement of 20,000 to 30,000 families, or about 100,000 to 150,000 souls, a thing that under present conditions can certainly be accomplished within three years provided an amount of \$6,000,000 to \$9,000,000 are made available for this work. With additional funds the program could be extended, as the Government is prepared to set aside sufficient land for the settlement of 100,000 Jewish families.⁸⁷

Rosenwald was so moved by Rosen's report that he rose

to pledge \$1,000,000 toward a \$15,000,000 Reconstructive Fund, and spoke these words:

Dr. Rosen, the first privilege I want is that of shaking hands with you.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Some of you may think my rising on this occasion may have been staged or pre-arranged by the Committee. I want to assure you that up to the time I entered this room I had not the slightest idea I would ask to speak except incidentally, sometime during the day and then for only a moment. But I have been so impressed by what this wonderful man, Dr. Rosen, has told us that I am not willing to sit quietly by and permit this moment to pass.

This is a subject that has interested me for many years. I have contended, -whether rightly or wrongly- that the only way to help your co-religionists in those benighted lands overseas is to help them where they are.

My experience and what I have been able to find out from the experience of others, is that subsidized immigration, where you have to transport masses of people, is absolutely impracticable. My friends from Chicago will vouch for what I say, that this is not an opinion I have formed recently by my unwillingness to join in the Palestine movement is not at all based on my being opposed to Zionism. I am not opposed to Zionism. I have been willing for years to help certain efforts made in Palestine, and have done so, but I have never been willing to subsidize immigration to the extent of moving people in masses from one country to another and trying to establish them with funds. This, to my mind, is impossible at the present

time. I do not believe it is possible to establish successfully a family in Palestine or anywhere else where land must be bought and the people taken care of until they are self supporting for less than \$5,000 a family. It cannot be done for less, surely, and as time goes on it will cost more. To me, this seems an impossible task. In many cases the transportation and movement of large numbers of people bring about great unhappiness as compared with taking care of those same people in the lands where they have lived all their lives. There is a vast difference between transporting them possibly a thousand miles, where they have to adapt themselves to new customs and habits, and helping them to remain in the country where they have been brought up, where they have been born and raised and where their families have lived for generations, and in whose terms and speech they think.

I make this statement that you may feel I have not been entirely moved by the splendid presentation of Dr. Rosen. I have thought and thought and thought about this subject, year in and year out, and particularly for the last six or seven months, since I have given a greater amount of study to the Russian situation.

I am firmly convinced that the Jews have never had an opportunity to do a real constructive thing, for their co-religionists, until now; that what they have done heretofore has been palliative. During the war I was willing to go along, but I am willing no longer to give in any large measure for palliative relief. People will continue to require assistance. There will always be orphans and sick. There will always be poverty, but I believe those things must become local

responsibilities. We can't hope to provide funds for our people all over this world who are poverty stricken. Furthermore, I believe it is a mistake to make people dependent upon charity. If they can be placed in a position to help themselves, to have a part in placing them would have my heartiest accord. I am very anxious indeed to have the colonization movement take precedence over relief work in the campaign which is contemplated.

I am afraid failure for this movement will result, if we are to mass everything and consider the colonization work as a part of the relief work. Any movement along that line, I believe, will prove a failure.

What I would like to see would be that agricultural work, as outlined by Dr. Rosen, be made the first feature of this program and the first nine million dollars (if you want to take that figure for three years of work for this movement) be set aside for this particular work. We ought to know how much is to be used for this purpose and how much for other work, and not leave the matter open, saying: "We will decide later how much we shall spend in one way or in one country, and how much we shall spend in another country," because then we will get into politics. Each man will try to use his influence to get his particular pet hobby favored. I don't believe that is the way to raise money. I think I know, because I am an old Schnorrer myself. I have been in the business for a great many years. I don't believe people want to give money unless they know for what it is going to be used. I would like, as I said, to see the first part of this fund set aside absolutely to do this constructive work.

I shall not oppose any of the other work which it is desired to do. I do not consider myself capable of judging on their merits many of the projects suggested.

Consequently I am not willing to deprecate anyone of them. I am willing to contribute, under certain restrictions, which I will take up with the committees, \$1,000,000. I assume from Dr. Rosen's report that nine million dollars will be required during the next three years for this work. If we can get more than that for this purpose so much the better, if it can be used to advantage, but toward the first nine million dollars, in fair proportion to the amounts contributed by other people, I am willing to contribute the amount mentioned.

This plan properly presented to the people of our country would, I believe, result in securing rapidly nine million dollars payable over a period of three years. If this could be done over a period of two years, it would probably be a great deal better, but that may not be feasible. How rapidly this money can be used to advantage, I do not know, but the first thing this meeting should do is to provide for raising it. If this meets with your approval, I shall very gladly make that contribution.⁸⁸

During this same conference at which Rosenwald delivered his eloquent message, debate and tumultuous scenes transpired. Mr. Jacob de Haas, former executive secretary of the Zionist Organization of America, startled the conference with his question to those who supported the Russian colonization plan: "Do you Jews of America wish to declare today that it is your desire and your judgment that the Jews of Russia are at your cost, to mount on the Russian Vesuvius?" He pointed out that since the Crimean Cossak disturbances of 1648, every Jew that got out of

Russia was the better for getting out.

Ninety-nine percent of Jewry will agree with me and with Dr. Rosen when he said that at the very best the position of the Jew in Russia is hazardous. The life insurance expert knows how to draw a table as to the life of a human being. The record of Russian, Polish and East European Jewish history for over three hundred years provides us with a table of expectancy by which we can learn the measure of reoccurrence of pogroms and outrages upon the Jewish people. One must judge Russia by its three hundred years' record during which the Russians have on every occasion, under different circumstances, poured out the blood of those Jews who remained in Russia.

A disturbing scene was provoked at the conference when the speaker who had just finished this point in his talk was interrupted by S. Niger, a well know Yiddish writer, who shouted: "It's a lie. It's a libel against the Russian people!" Several delegates of Russian origin protested shouting: "Why then did the interrupting delegate leave Russia?"

Dr. Stephen S. Wise protested to the chairman of the convention against permitting the use of such expressions in the convention hall. As the tumultuous noise continued, General Abel Davis stopped Mr. de Haas warning him and the following speakers that the discussion would be limited to the purpose for which the conference was called, namely the continuation of relief activities.

General Davis, the presiding officer went on to say further:

If you want me to preside, you must not do anything that will bring disgrace to the good name of the Jews of America. So long as I am in the chair there will be no discussion about the government of any country of the world-- I do not care which it is.

Nothing will be done except with the proper understanding of the guidance of the Stars and Stripes which float over these deliberations. I want to caution the delegates that the discussion must be limited to the purpose for which this conference was called. That is, shall the Jews of America, with their love for their fellow men, be they Jew or Gentile, continue the effort which was started at the conclusion of the war of helping our suffering brethren throughout the world.

The disturbances quieted down, and at that point Nathan Strauss entered the conference hall. Then a very sharp controversy developed between the chairman, General Davis, and Dr. Wise on the Chairman's ruling that no reference be made outside of Dr. Rosen's report. This controversy was resolved with the assurance of the chair that Dr. Wise would be granted complete freedom of expression. Mr. de Haas, finally was able to continue his speech and concluded by submitting the following resolution:

This conference does not commit itself to a program of Jewish colonization in Russia, but holds for the appointment of a competent and qualified commission to study the problems

and possibilities of Jewish Agricultural colonization in Europe and other lands with particular reference to the political, economic, social, religious and educational problems involved in such colonization, and that the report of such commission shall be presented to a joint meeting of this conference. In moving this resolution, I ask for most earnest consideration. I ask for a thought and a prayerful thought for all the human lives behind the figures.

The tension increased from minute to minute as the discussion continued, and reached its pinnacle when the leaders of the two groups, Stephen S. Wise and Louis Marshall, met in a duel of words. Wise went on to plead for his cause, for his Palestine:

This is no time for war hysteria. This is a time for calm, earnest, careful deliberation, touching the problems which face us. My good friend Dave Brown, this is no violation of confidence, came to me this morning and said, "Hello, Wise-- You should have heard what a Jew on the street said just now--he said that you, Stephen Wise, were the greatest anti-Semite in America." He wouldn't let anyone say that of Louis Marshall, Felix Warburg, or Abel Davis, or Nathan Straus.

I am giving my life to the Jewish people and the Jewish cause. Dr. Wise continued by stressing the unwisdom of dealing with the Soviet Republic while it was still unrecognized by the United States:

I tremble to think what would have happened to a company of lesser men if, a year or two ago, or even yesterday, we had proposed a step which involves a certain measure of public

dealing with the Soviet Republic.

This project of Russian colonization is a new departure, a tremendous step, in the life of Israel in America. It is a new thing in Jewish life, in the Jewish life of America, our country never yet having recognized the Soviet Republic, for us to enter into formal organized public relations with the Soviet Government, whatever the grounds, whatever the purposes.

At the moment I am not concerned about the circumstance that is of the utmost importance--that back to the land, back to the land, gives no guarantee with regard to organized, collective Jewish life for the future.

But in 1917 Great Britain issued the Balfour Declaration. Next month, eight years will have passed since that Declaration, and not a single step has been taken in these eight years by American Jews collectively to express their sense of indebtedness to the British Government for its great and noble action.

I know very well the Joint Distribution Committee allotted \$200,000 for the Ruttenberg scheme, but partly because of our own failing, it has not entirely materialized. I know the Committee has expended some millions, eight or ten percent of its entire fund, in the last nine years, but no one could have gotten organized collective Jewry, no one could have gotten Julius Rosenwald to give \$5,000,000 for use in Palestine, virgually under the British Government, yet Great Britain is the great friend of the Jewish people.

Dr. Wise continued by comparing the conditions existing in Russia and in Palestine:

We are asked to vote our confidence publicly in the purposes and in the integrity

of motive of the government of that land in which colonization is to take place. It has been said we threaten to expose the Jews at the outposts of peril. There are perils, too, in Palestine, the greatest risks in the world. But the Jews of the world have decided that it is worth their while to take any risk for Palestine. We Jews are not afraid of risks, but we are afraid of exposing the Jews to risks for a cause which may not be, I do not say that it is not, that may not be worthwhile.

Mr. Brown himself told me if the Jews who are going on the farms in Russia were asked their preference, eighty percent of them would go to Palestine.

We are asking American Jews quickly to send money to Russia, in order that our economically broken fellow Jews may be pushed and pushed into the hands of Russian peasants after a year or two. I do not like the taste of that in my mouth. In Russia Abel Davis might have been a trader or now, a candidate to settle on the land, but here he is a general in the United States Army.

I urge that General Davis go with Rosenwald's millions--to be given, I hope, without qualification or reservation--and ask the Jews of America for \$50,000,000 this year--for a truly completely united and harmonious campaign for relief--a campaign to include Palestine as well as Europe. Tell the Jews of America that we have not reached a decision about colonization or reconstruction, but we wish to deliberate, investigate and consult. Make a complete study of conditions, consult with the leaders of European Jewry--and then call another meeting and we shall stand and work together.

Following the words of Wise, Louis Marshall took to the floor and stated his position:

When recently it was desired by the Zionist organization that the non-Zionists of America should cooperate with the Zionists in the enlargement of the Jewish Agency, as was required by the terms of the mandate /Balfour Declaration/, I responded to the call that was made upon me, and called for a non-partisan conference of the leading Jews of the United States in order that they should set aside any prejudice that they might have had and stand side by side with the Zionist organization in the effort to make the Jewish Agency for Palestine what the League of Nations intended it to be, an agency composed of all Jews of the world, of every shade or color. The effort was made; we acted before the Zionist organization acted to express our readiness to enter into such a plan. We awaited the action of the Zionist Congress as to its willingness to enter into it; in anticipation of that fact a committee was appointed to determine a plan of representation of the non-Zionists of the United States upon that agency. And now that the Zionist organization has spoken, we shall keep our part of the contract.

I have been very indifferent to what people have said or written about me. I have had the greatest amusement of my life in some of the articles that have appeared in the press of the country--I mean of the Yiddish press. I have been described a superannuated individual. Mr. Warburg and even Mr. Rosenberg who is not so old as we, has been described as one of those ancients, who should take a back seat and let the people of Eastern Europe run this country.

I have before me the report and recommendation of the Joint Committee regarding the allocation of funds, under date of March 4, 1923 two and one half years ago. At that time, it was supposed that matters were

adjusting themselves in Russia. That was the time the new economic condition was being adjusted in other countries, when conditions were improving, but even at that time, we were unwilling to liquidate without first have made a determined effort to get more money and especially for Russia.

We said that at the proper time, it would be desirable for us to conduct a campaign--not a spectacular campaign, and raise five million dollars. That was in 1923. At that time Dr. Rosen had been in Europe, had been in Russia, for upwards of a year. He had made his investigation. He made his investigation on the spot. He knew what the needs were. He proceeded to try out the theory which was based not upon mere technical knowledge, but practical experience. It was at that time that various newspapers which were very active, and whose statements were found to be absolutely untrue, stated that it was the purpose of the Russian Government to create a Jewish Republic in the Crimea; to establish a new Jewish State. There was sufficient objection in the United States with reference to one Jewish State, and there would be a great deal more objection with reference to two Jewish States. Therefore, when that question came up, I objected to any appropriation of any money for this work until I was satisfied as to whether or not there was any such purpose in mind, or whether any such plan was under consideration. And my motion was carried unanimously. Later, we found that this was a false report.

Dr. Wise says that he is perfectly willing that I should be appointed chairman of a commission, that would go to Russia for the purpose of investigation of this matter further. What do I know about farming? I have seen corn grow and I have seen wheat grow and I know the difference between wheat and rye, if I get close enough to it,

but what do I know about the real matters of agriculture? I don't think that there is anything to be gained by any such experiments as have been suggested and I feel that Dr. Wise is entirely in error when he thinks that is the proper policy to pursue. Now sometimes I have been called upon to defend criminal cases. I like to get postponements as often as I can so that the case may be forgotten. Those of us who have no politics believe that the time has come for action and not for delay. How long do you think the Angel of Death will stay his hand in order to allow us to investigate by a committee of Jews of the City of New York?

We have been carrying out a policy which was begun four years ago. Nobody has any doubt as to what the object of that experiment was. It was to ascertain whether or not we could safely go into this work of taking care of the Jews who desire to go on the land. The Jews who came from Russia are not so much concerned; the Jews who are in Russia are the ones who are concerned.

Marshall then read a letter from the Rabbi of Lubavitch and other rabbis favoring the colonization plan, and continued:

I have evidence that this is not a wish superimposed upon the people of Russia but this is their spontaneous desire, their one wish. I suppose that Dr. Wise, after 1921, will recognize that Dr. Weizmann is a pretty good Zionist and a pretty good Jew. I heard Dr. Weizmann in the city of New York at a public meeting last spring say that there was a desire on the part of the people of Russia to go upon the land. While at Geneva, five days before the

Zionist Congress convened, in the presence of Dr. Magnes, I had a long conversation with Dr. Weizmann upon this question. He wanted to know whether or not the campaign that we were about to enter upon for agricultural work in Russia would injure the cause of agriculture in Palestine. I assured him it would not. He said, I might as well tell you, Mr. Marshall, that there is today seething throughout the Jewish world in Russia a desire to get upon the land, to work the land,-- they cannot wait. They want to work the land. It is a miracle from Heaven, that feeling which has ingrained itself in the heart and soul of the Jews in Russia. Everybody who knows anything about the Jews of Russia knows that this is true. The Jews of Russia have always been self-respecting, they have never been paupers, they do not desire to be pauperized, they are not asking for alms.

The verbal dispute between Wise and Marshall was finally resolved by the adoption of a harmonious resolution proposed by Marshall:

This Conference, called by the Joint Distribution Committee and its constituent organizations, Sunday, September 13, 1925, Philadelphia, herewith resolves that we call upon the American Jews to initiate and carry thru at the earliest possible moment the campaign that has been inaugurated for the securing of the sum of fifteen millions of dollars to be expended by the Joint Distribution Committee along the lines of relief and reconstruction pursued by it heretofore and up to this time. This Conference believes that it is necessary and inevitable to continue the work initiated by the Joint Distribution Committee four years ago in the field of industrial and agricultural settlement. Such work can be extended and this Conference believes that such necessary political

and moral safeguards may be accorded as will guarantee to American Israel the practical and serviceable extension of those activities.

In addition to the work of continuing and as far as may be of extending the work of agricultural settlement the Joint Distribution Committee is herewith empowered to continue its fruitful work of relief and service in the fields of war orphan care, medical sanitation and prevention of disease in the care of our unhappy refugee brothers, especially those stranded in the ports of Europe, in the field of industrial aid to artisans and tradespeople, and in cultural work.

The Conference does not call upon American Israel to undertake any new or untried task in the field of social amelioration and reconstruction. This conference does no more than urge the men and women of American Israel to face their duty with the same eagerness and generosity with which they made possible the high achievements of the Joint Distribution Committee in other years.

This Conference regards it as self-evident that American Jewry whenever called upon is prepared generously to support the work of Jewish re-settlement in Palestine. It is persuaded that thru the Jewish Agency and other instrumentalities the Jews of America will always give adequately and generously of their strength and substance to the performance of this great and historic task.

The resolution was seconded by Felix Warburg, by his meeting Rosenwald's offer of \$1,000,000 with a pledge of \$300,000. Thus, the Conference came to a harmonious conclusion.⁸⁹

Although the Conference ended with some measure of agreement, throughout America, Jewry was in great disagree-

ment concerning Rosenwald's and Marshall's plan for Russian Colonization. A particular individual, who never failed to speak his mind concerning policy toward Jewry throughout the world, and under whose tutelage this author learned the basic rubrics of Judaism, came out in direct opposition to the Russian Colonization Plan. He was Rabbi G. George Fox of South Shore Temple in Chicago.

Prior to the Conference in Philadelphia, Dr. Fox wrote to Frank B. Kellogg, the Secretary of State, requesting information of whether there ought to be official communication with the Soviet Government on the part of any body of American citizens, since our government had no diplomatic relations with the Soviet Republics.

Is it fundamentally wrong for any association of Americans to carry on official intercourse with a government which our own country does not recognize, and in which it apparently has no confidence. I feel that, should fifteen millions of American dollars be invested in this agricultural experiment, that a great benefit would redound to the Soviet Republics, without any guarantee on its part that can be assumed to be honorable; and I make this assumption because we have refused to recognize them.

I am absolutely in favor of putting Jews on land in such countries and under such conditions as will guarantee to the American sponsors some measure of our own governmental cooperation and protection. But under the present status, it seems to be both unwise and inexpedient for a body of American Jews, of which I am a member, to carry

on any negotiations with any officials of the Soviet Republics.

I want to know whether in your opinion any relationship that might be created between an American Jewish committee and officials of the Soviet government, may work out, not only harmfully, but may also create a wrong impression with regard to the encouragement that might be thought will be given to the Soviets by American citizens of the Jewish faith, and which will be contrary to the policies of our government itself.

Needless to say that a misunderstanding of this sort on the part of a public which might misapprehend the whole situation, would cause immeasurable hard to American-Jews.⁹⁰

In Kellogg's reply to Fox he expressed the desire not to comment with respect to the "propriety and expediency of the participation of American Jews in the proposed undertaking." He affirmed the fact that any organizations entering into any kind of relations with the Soviet authorities did so at its own expense. It was that organization's own responsibility.⁹¹

Following the Philadelphia Conference, Louis Marshall, after seeing Kellogg's reply to Fox's query, wrote to the spiritual leader of South Shore Temple a most deprecating letter. The venom which stung Fox was due to Marshall's catching a glimpse of the letter that evoked Kellogg's reply.

I have no hesitation in saying to you that no friend of our suffering brethren in Russia could have penned such a document. It is a betrayal of these unfortunates, an act of mischievous in its

intent, and of one who, regardless of consequences, is ready to sacrifice any cause, however sacred, in order that he may dwell for a brief moment in the limelight of publicity. The answer which you received was not that which you sought to extract, and, therefore, your plans were frustrated. But the will to do evil nevertheless existed, and I, therefore, deem it my duty as a member of the Joint Distribution Committee to point out in its enormity the offence which you have committed.

Marshall then proceeded to charge Fox with misrepresenting the work of the Conference. He took each statement which Fox made in his letter to Kellogg and challenged it, pointing up the author's errors in logic. Finally, Marshall concluded with a personal assault on this man's qualifications for the rabbinate.

I wonder what any red-blooded man who is not a Jew can think of a rabbi who gives such evidence of downright cowardice, unmanliness and lack of dignity as you have. The rabbis of old were never troubled with such fears in times of trouble, of persecution, of threatened massacre. They stood prepared to die for their people and for their religion. They were not troubled by petty fears of what an anti-Semite might say or think. They were ready to act without counting the cost when by action there was at least a hope that some good might be accomplished. They were not smugly considering their own comfort, convenience or peace of mind, but their thoughts were of those who were in the midst of perpetual alarms and whose very existence was trembling in the scales. None of them would have been willing to die rather than to stand in the shoes of Moses.

It has been very painful for me to write this letter, but I feel it to have been my duty to do so and I trust that you will regard it as an admonition from an older man as to the dangers which may flow from inconsiderate action with regard to subjects of the utmost delicacy.⁹²

Through the strength of anger Marshall presented a very valid argument against Fox, but as we look back upon this moment in history today, we see that perhaps the young rabbi from Chicago was correct in his assumptions.

As a result of Rosenwald's favoring the Russian Colonization project, in 1928, he donated a sum of five million dollars to the project. His opponents deplored this action in that it demonstrated his indifference to Palestine. His deed came under great fire in the Zionist press. They issued a protest which was an expression of hurt pride. They claimed that the donation which was made on the day of Dr. Chaim Weizmann's arrival in the United States served as an open demonstration of Rosenwald's antipathy to Zionism.⁹³

Other Jewish newspapers in America looked at the donation for Russian Colonization as the spark needed to fan the fire of Palestinian Colonization. It was felt that the generous donation by Rosenwald and his equals might serve to awaken a sense of duty among the American Jews, for Palestine. For a loan for Palestine was considered as a good investment too, for it was guaranteed by the Jewish

nation, by the growing Jewish settlements in Palestine, by the Zionist organization, and by the Jewish Agency in which many persons of the Rosenwald circle were now becoming active.⁹⁴

Yet Dr. Stephen S. Wise could not regard Rosenwald's contribution with such optimism. He felt highly insulted because the donation was assigned for Russia solely and not one cent of it went to Palestine. He considered Rosenwald's contribution as a personal insult to the Jewish nation, and thus, he took the drastic step of resigning from the Zionist Organization.⁹⁵

I am of the opinion that Wise's action was uncalled for, because throughout his lifetime Rosenwald did a great deal in contributing to the strength of Palestine. He was responsible for numerous advancements in the Holy Land. Numberless Zionist demands were made upon Rosenwald, and although throughout his life he favored Russian Colonization, he still did what he could in contributing towards the needs of the people of this land. One must remember, though, that Rosenwald did not lessen any of his contributions to the cause of Russian Colonization in favor of any Palestinian projects. In fact, his contributions to the Russian cause far exceeded those of the Zionist cause. Yet mention must be made of the Zionist demands he did fulfill.

In 1910 a new American institute of research was incorporated in New York under the title of the "Jewish Agricultural

Experiment Station" and Rosenwald served as the president of its board of trustees. This new experiment station was to be located at the foot of Mt. Carmel in Palestine, seven miles from Haifa, and was the first agricultural institution of research supported by private American capital to be established in a foreign country. Jacob Schiff and Julius Rosenwald furnished the first \$20,000 necessary for the station's initial equipment. Mr. Aaron Aaronsohn was the director of the new station.⁹⁶

In 1925, Rosenwald donated the sum of \$50,000 to the Hebrew Teachers College of which Dr. David Yellin, the vice mayor of Jerusalem was the principal.. Rosenwald made the contribution to Yellin for the erection of the circular portion of the proposed building of the College. This gift was conditional upon the same amount being secured for the balance of the building which, exclusive of the land, was to entail an expense of \$100,000.⁹⁷

In 1915, Rosenwald contributed \$10,000 for the relief of orange growers in Palestine who had lost their crops.⁹⁸ In the New York American in 1917, Rosenwald was regarded as generously behind the Zionist movement that reseeded Palestine with Jews.⁹⁹ Julius Rosenwald was also mentioned by the Boston Herald in 1918 as a member of the Zionist commission headed by Chaim Weizmann which was laying the foundation of a Jewish State in Palestine.¹⁰⁰

Finally in 1919, talk began, that Rosenwald was favored

as president of Palestine. The man who had in most cases turned down requests for donations for the Jewish state in favor of requests for Russian Colonization became a prime candidate for the leadership of this state.¹⁰¹ Rosenwald's home in Ravinia was named Tel Aviv.¹⁰²

Although one can criticize Rosenwald for lacking a greater interest in the Palestine problem, one must respect the man for not being a hypocrite concerning his basic beliefs with respect to Colonization. One must also respect the man for not wholly denying the cause of the Palestinian Jew but rather contributing to his strength. In 1922, an unsigned defense of Rosenwald appeared in an article in East and West which presented an excellent response to the critics of the millionaire philanthropist:

Julius Rosenwald is known today as the prince of Jewish philanthropists...As a matter of fact he is the first great American philanthropist. The others who have preceded him have been philanthropically inclined men, but they have not been great philanthropists. None of them has given a million in cold cash for a Jewish cause as has Mr. Rosenwald. None of them has ever said: "I will give ten or twenty-five percent of all the money you may raise for a certain Jewish purpose"....

There are people who criticize Mr. Rosenwald. They object greatly to Mr. Rosenwald's apparent disinterestedness with the cause of Palestine. They object to Mr. Rosenwald's apparent disinterestedness with the future of our people. They say that men of Mr. Rosenwald's type should try not only to alleviate the sufferings of our people at present, but should also try to shape their future

and help determine their fate by working for their future...most of the critics of Mr. Rosenwald, and the severest of them, are to be found in the East, especially in New York. We confess that we cannot see the soundness of this criticism...because this criticism is entirely lacking in an understanding of the driving forces in Jewish life and Jewish history...there have always been two tendencies prevailing in Jewish life--one with an outlook on the future and one which tries to shape the present....In the life of other peoples these tendencies find their embodiment in the politician and the statesman. A politician works for the present for the next election, while a statesman works for the future, for the next generation. In the life of our people these two tendencies do not find the same expression because they have an entirely different meaning. A man like Sir Moses Montefiore or Adolph Cremieux, who has devoted his energies and all his creative talent to the betterment of the situation of the Jewish present cannot be spoken of as a politician. The late Jacob H. Schiff, who devoted all his time, energy and ability to the improvement of the situation of his people at the present, cannot be spoken of as a politician either. He, too, was a statesman and thought in terms of statesmanship. It may be that his view of the fundamental problems of Judaism was wrong. It may be that his conception of the Jewish problems was somewhat antiquated, but that does not alter the fact that he was a great Jew and a Jewish statesman. Julius Rosenwald still belongs to this category of Jewish statesmen. He too is a great Jew, though he is more interested in the Jewish present than in the Jewish future. We have no right to say that he is not interested in the Jewish future at all, but to him, as a great business man, it seems that unless the present deplorable situation of the Jews is ameliorated and the present suffering of the Jews alleviated at once, there is no future for our people altogether. One should bear in mind that business men in general care nothing for the past and not

very much for the future, but a great deal for the present.

Most of the great Jewish leaders who come from the academy or the laboratory or from the business world introduce into their Jewish activities and their Jewish statesmanship the psychological trend of the businessman--the caring for the present. In the first place Mr. Rosenwald is a practical minded businessman. He is not a theorician and does not pretend to be one... does not size up the Jewish situation from the point of view of a sociological or political theory, but from the point of view of the needs of the day. In his view of the Jewish situation he sees hundreds of thousands of Jewish orphans uncared for in the Ukraine, hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees in Eastern and Central Europe, and hundreds of thousands of crippled Jewish men, war and pogrom victims....He is anxious to help them and help them at once, and hence his anxiety to see our great relief work a success. This is the Leitmotif of Mr. Rosenwald's philanthropy.

We do not say that from our point of view Mr. Rosenwald should not care for the Jewish future too....but Mr. Rosenwald...will not answer that one man can do only one kind of great work. There is, however, one great philanthropist in this country, Mr. Nathan Straus of New York who is both a great relief and Palestine worker. All the others without exception are neither one nor the other, but Mr. Rosenwald is the leader of the group in America which is mainly concerned with the betterment of the present Jewish situation. We believe that in the course of time Mr. Rosenwald, with his mind open to all Jewish problems, will also participate in the great work of Palestine reconstruction and will thus attempt to also determine

the future of our people...He will come to see more and more, not only the absolute necessity but also the wisdom of establishing a Jewish homeland for Jews in Palestine. Mr. Rosenwald is not the only great Jew in America or the world over who has concentrated his activities on the betterment of the present Jewish situation. There are hundreds and perhaps thousands like him, but he is the outstanding figure of this group because from him radiate greater philanthropic energies than from the others. A Jew with a historic understand of Jewish life and the tendencies prevailing therein, should not criticize Mr. Rosenwald and should not complain about the one-sidedness of his Jewish activities. He represents one of the phases of the great tendencies now prevailing in Jewish life...103

The author of the preceding article certainly showers Mr. Rosenwald with a stream of praise, and perhaps his thesis that at that moment in Jewish history, Jewish life, philanthropy in particular was going through a phase, was correct. But he was proven wrong in his vision of Rosenwald's contributing to the strength of Palestine's reconstruction, because the millionaire never did so throughout his entire life. Rosenwald remained consistent in his plan for Russian colonization up to the day of his death.

During the First World War, Julius Rosenwald allied himself with the work of the American Jewish Relief Committee which aided those suffering Jewish war victims in Russia, Poland and Galicia. It was in connection with this organization that Rosenwald contributed what has been termed his "most telling piece of philanthropic work." The story con-

nected with this contribution involved Jacob Billikopf, the Executive Director of the Federation of Jewish Charities of Philadelphia, who approached Rosenwald for the contribution. Rosenwald was against Billikopf's accepting the call from the American Jewish Relief Committee to raise large funds, as he felt Billikopf was more of a "social worker" than a fund raiser. Rosenwald, frankly told him, that had the Committee consulted him, he would have advised against Billikopf.

Billikopf arrived in Washington, D. C. on March 4, 1917, President Wilson's Inaugural Day, and resolved to ask from Rosenwald "a single great gift" to head a campaign for \$10,000,000. He waited for a long time at the Willard Hotel in order to meet Rosenwald who had promised to see him "late in the evening," after an official dinner.

"Well, tell me about it" he said as soon as we had sat down. I glanced up at him and my entire harangue on which I had spent so much arduous toil and thought evaporated. I heard myself to my great surprise, telling him in simplest and most unadorned style that a campaign for ten million dollars was about to be launched; that it needed some powerful dramatic stimulus to start it off effectively and to end it successfully; that the committee had determined that nothing but a great single gift would serve and that he alone could make that gift. I dwelt hardly at all on the state of things abroad, merely indicating in a matter of fact way what he was well aware of, that the condition of European Jews was growing increasingly worse, and that therefore a renewed effort on a much greater scale than had ever been

tried before must be initiated. He listened to me without comment while my appeal was gathering momentum. I had had hundreds of conversations with Mr. Rosenwald but I had never before asked him for contributions of any sort, and never before had I seen a face so transparent and serene and yet so profoundly thoughtful. We seemed both caught by a common great purpose. As I concluded with my specific request for a round million, the earnestness of his expression deepened. He said: "Do you think it will do any good?"

I nodded and was about to make a highly colored forecast of the results of such a contribution, when he added: "Very well, I will do it. You may go back to New York and tell them that I'll do it."

This was Rosenwald's greatest single gift in all of his philanthropic work. On March 9, 1917, Rosenwald formalized his offer, in a letter to Louis Marshall the Chairman of the American Jewish Relief Committee:

The marked change for the worse which has taken place in the condition of our co-religionists in belligerent lands, so graphically outlined by Mr. Jacob Billikopf, has impressed upon me most acutely the great need of raising immediately the fund which the American Jewish Relief Committee is endeavoring to collect.

In the hope that the urgency of the situation will be brought home to the Jews of the United States, I make the following offer:

I will donate to the fund of the American Jewish Relief Committee an amount not to exceed one million dollars, conditioned as follows:

For every million dollars collected after March 1st I will contribute \$100,000, but in order that results may be obtained

with sufficient rapidity, at least in some small measure, to meet the present crying needs, I put a time limitation until November 1, 1917--upon this offer.¹⁰⁵

Rosenwald was greatly honored for his contribution. The President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, sent a telegram praising Rosenwald, who was then a member of the Council of National Defense.

Your contribution of \$1,000,000 to the \$10,000,000 fund for the relief of Jewish war sufferers serves democracy as well as humanity. The Russian revolution has opened the door of freedom to an oppressed people, but unless they are given life and strength and courage, the opportunity of centuries will avail them little.

It is to America that these starving millions look for aid and out of our prosperity, fruit of free institutions, should spring a vast and ennobling generosity. ~~By your gift~~ ^{By your gift} it lays an obligation even while it furnishes inspiration.¹⁰⁶

Further honors were bestowed upon Rosenwald. At a dinner given in his honor by Jacob H. Schiff, at the Savoy Hotel in New York, Rosenwald divulged his reasons for donating his "single great gift:"

I feel that the Jews of America have a serious duty that they cannot evade. These starving men and women and children must depend on us to do for them what we would expect them to do for us were the conditions reversed. We have been successful as we view success, but there are hundreds of thousands who have worked harder than we have and have been just as able, but it has been ours to have the opportunity that they lacked. And now it is our opportunity to aid them. We have had the good luck to live in this free

country the United States, and it is our duty to help those whose cradles happened to be rocked in Russia instead of here. They are no more to blame for their condition than our children would be if they were similarly situated. What we must do is to bring it home to the Jews of the country that it is our duty to aid the Jews of Europe.¹⁰⁷

Rosenwald was known for quick decision, and his fifteen minute decision to answer Mr. Billikopf's appeal with a donation of \$1,000,000 ran true to form. It is said that his decision to go in with Sears was made and also acted upon within fifteen minutes.¹⁰⁸ Rosenwald recognized the urgency of this relief money and pushed the \$10,000,000 campaign through as rapidly as possible. The campaign was extended to terminate on December 31, 1917. In a report issued by Rosenwald to the Chicago Examiner on December 26, 1917, he seemed quite optimistic concerning the results of the drive. He had just returned from the East, where he was informed that the committees were highly successful. In Rochester, New York, the local committee delayed the canvas in order to stage an enthusiastic rush for funds. On the first day they obtained \$100,000. Des Moines, Iowa, also decided upon a belated campaign and achieved remarkable results. The work in Chicago and New York was practically completed.

When Rosenwald first offered 10 percent of collections as an incentive to speed up the campaign there were 3,000,000 Jews in the Eastern War Zone who were at the point of starva-

tion. Now conditions were growing worse.¹⁰⁹

The final amount collected in the campaign totalled \$7,789,252.79 and Rosenwald paid \$778,925.28 plus the \$150,000 he pledged separately in the Chicago campaign.¹¹⁰ Thus, he fulfilled his pledge of his "greatest single gift."

During his lifetime Julius Rosenwald became the "saving power" for the Hebrew Union College during the depression years. In 1920, as Vice President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, he made a speech at a UAHC Conference in which he stated that as many communities as possible should be provided with leaders like Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch. In order to accomplish this "the Hebrew Union College must be supported whole-heartedly and generously because this institution and the synagogue and school extension work are essential in any solution of the problems which confront the Jews of this country."¹¹¹

In 1923, Rosenwald received a letter from Julian Morgenstern, the president of the Hebrew Union College, asking him to accept an Honorary Degree of Doctor of Hebrew Law for his generosity to Jew and non-Jew alike. Within the letter Rosenwald was acclaimed as one who has given "thought and effort to countless projects for human betterment, and has thereby brought materially nearer to realization the prophetic vision of the brotherhood of mankind."¹¹²

Rosenwald refused the invitation. Again Morgenstern offered the degree.

I might, of course, urge your reconsideration of the decision upon the basis of the conditions printed in the catalogue of the Hebrew Union College, upon page 26, covering the awarding of the honorary degree of Doctor of Hebrew Law. This reads as follows:

The Faculty of the Hebrew Union College with the consent of the Board of Governors is authorized to confer the degree of Doctor of Hebrew Law (D.H.L.) honoris causa, upon Rabbis and laymen in recognition of distinguished service in the cause of Judaism, provided that in no scholastic year more than two sons shall be so honored, and provided that in each case the diploma record specifically the service rendered by the recipient which the Hebrew Union College takes pride in recognizing.

You will see from this that Jewish scholarship is in no sense a requisite for meriting this degree, but only the condition of having rendered distinguished service to the cause of Judaism. Knowing you as I do, I feel that you may be inclined to argue even this condition; but I am sure that you will agree with me that the Faculty of the College ought to at least appreciate what distinguished service to the cause of Judaism is, and for this reason they honor themselves through their decision to confer this degree upon you. However, as I said, I feel that I have not the right to urge you to reconsider the matter and change your decision, although speaking strongly and personally, I would like very much to do so. I have given you these facts solely, or rather primarily, to make clear to you the basis upon which the Faculty came to this decision, and which we believe is in every way justified, notwithstanding your modesty in this matter. Therefore, without actually asking you to do so, I am going to hope for a little while anyway, that you will write to me again with regard to this matter. Meanwhile, I shall hold your letter in reserve and will not convey your decision to the

Faculty and the Board of Governors
for a while at least.¹¹³

Again Rosenwald refused to accept the honor.

In 1925, a series of correspondence between Rosenwald and Adolph S. Ochs, the publisher of the New York Times, was carried on in regard to a five million dollar endowment fund for the Hebrew Union College. Ochs suggested that a hundred men either make for themselves, or undertake to secure, contributions of \$50,000 each on the condition that payment thereon should be five percent per annum for interest on the subscription during the lifetime of the subscriber, thus leaving the principal to become an obligation against his estate to an amount not exceeding ten percent of his residuary estate.

Confidentially, if some such plan be adopted I contemplate making myself responsible for several of these \$50,000 subscriptions. If this interests you, I should like to hear from you.¹¹⁴

Rosenwald's reply was immediate:

Without committing myself, I would say that, to such a combination as mentioned, I might be willing to contribute \$50,000 a year for 15 years (setting aside a sum which would produce that amount), provided at least \$250,000 annually for that term could be secured under some such plan as you have in mind. Your \$200,000 if absorbed in 15 years (interest and principal), would add nearly \$20,000 annually if my calculation is correct. It might not be impossible to get \$500,000 a year on some such "combination plan." During these 15 years, if the interest

in the cause, and the work being done by this group justified it, there should be no difficulty in securing the necessary funds to continue for another 15 year period.

I am opposed to permanent endowment funds for any institution and have been contending against it for twenty years, but this is a long subject and I would prefer to take it up at closer range.¹¹⁵

Ochs was overjoyed with Rosenwald's reply:

Let us now get together and start this movement with enthusiasm and confidence and acclaim:

"Sound the loud timbrel o'er Egypt's dark sea!

"Jehovah has triumphed--His people are free!"

...it gives me the hope that my long cherished dream may come true and that is that the College at Cincinnati become one of the outstanding theological institutions in the United States;--a lighthouse the rays of which shall penetrate the darkness of ignorance, bigotry and prejudice.¹¹⁶

Later in this same year Rosenwald became extremely concerned with certain happenings taking place at the College. In writing to Jacob W. Mack, he asked questions concerning reports of considerable unrest among the students at the College. Four students had been found guilty of cheating at the University of Cincinnati, one student had committed suicide, another student who had been found cheating was later permitted to preach at one of the religious services, and Dr. Morgenstern's authority was being defied.¹¹⁷

Mack assured Rosenwald not only that the report was true, but also that adequate measures were being taken to correct the mishaps and to discover their causes.¹¹⁸

As the year progressed, Rosenwald began to show greater interest in unifying the three schools of Judaism, Orthodox, Conservative and Reform, into one. He felt that differences should be reconciled and therefore a stronger Judaism would be the result.¹¹⁹

Ochs was not totally opposed to Rosenwald's view that all the schools of Judaism should be supported, but he felt that since the Hebrew Union College stood for American Judaism, it should hold the predominant position. Ochs asked Rosenwald to reconsider the matter of putting the College on a sound financial basis.¹²⁰

After much pressure put upon Rosenwald through correspondence and personal conferences and after Ochs had undertaken the job of raising a Five Million Dollar Endowment Fund for the College, Rosenwald finally made his tremendous interest in the cause of the Hebrew Union College known by contributing a gift of \$500,000 to the institution on August 31, 1928. The gift was given under the following conditions:

1. That a capital fund, including the present endowment, be raised of not less than four million dollars, (\$4,000,000) of which my gift is to be a part.
2. That there be created a Temporary Endowment Fund into which shall

be placed (a) funds newly raised, (b) funds already contributed by larger donors who are still living and will agree to change the terms of their gifts, (c) funds, if any, previously given without restriction but placed by the trustees in the permanent trust. This Temporary Endowment is to be held not in perpetuity but with the understanding that the Trustees of the College may not only spend the income but also may and will set aside from the principal no less than 3% and not more than 5% each year. These sums taken annually from the principal are to be used at the discretion of the trustees, either for the current expenses of the College for that year, or placed in a surplus or reserve fund to be drawn upon from time to time for buildings and budget needs. As much as possible--at least three million dollars (\$3,000,000)--of the funds of the College shall be placed in the Temporary Endowment.

3. That not less than one half of this fund be invested in prime common stocks of corporations of the highest standing--stocks issued by houses of the first rating, such as J. P. Morgan, Lehman Brothers, Kuhn Loeb & Company, Goldman, Sachs & Company; and that an advisory committee supplementing the finance committee of the College, and consisting of such men for example as Robert Lehman, Arthur Lehman, Howard Sachs, Mortimer Schiff be created to pass, at reasonably frequent intervals, upon the securities in which the funds are invested.

The income derived from this trust and that received from regular sources should enable the college to get a faculty of the highest type, maintain good buildings and equipment and attract an excellent student body. "By their fruits ye shall know them." These improvements in standards and students

should produce an institution of such superior quality as to attract as years go on ever-increasing funds, which in turn will make possible still better facilities and greater usefulness. Precisely as a business house instead of lending its capital at a low rate of interest, devotes a portion of it to building up the business, so this college might well use its capital to greatest advantage in developing to the highest degree its educational work. The improved and enlarged service thus rendered may safely be depended upon to produce continued and increased support.¹²¹

Rosenwald was highly praised for his fine offer. He had manifested an interest in the institution in years past but none so great as at this moment in its history. He had contributed to the construction of the Clifton Avenue campus, to expansion of the Library and to the erection of a new Library.¹²² But now he had made his largest offer, an offer that was to sustain the College during the dreadful depression years.

Among Jewish charities, the pet of all of Rosenwald's charities was the Associated Charities of Chicago of which he had been the honored president for many years.¹²³ He donated \$250,000 to this fund.¹²⁴

Rosenwald used to recall with fond memory an offer and contribution he made to one Morris Shanedling, of Virginia, Minnesota. Shanedling entered Rosenwald's office on May 7th, 1919, and saw Mr. Graves, Mr. Rosenwald's secretary. Mr. Shanedling submitted evidence that on February 19, 1910, Mr.

Rosenwald had given him \$100 for a house of worship for the Congregation B'nai Abraham of Virginia, Minnesota, and had promised him an additional \$150 when the buildings and grounds were free from debt. In this way Mr. Rosenwald promoted many building programs. Mr. Shanedling had a soiled and tattered subscription list which Rosenwald had signed in two places. He also brought the mortgage release and four cancelled mortgage notes for \$500 each, representing the \$2,000 mortgage. The Congregation had worked for nine years to pay off that debt. Many of the payments endorsed on the backs of the notes were as small as \$20. Mr. Graves knew Mr. Rosenwald's heart would be touched by such an act of fidelity to a trust and he asked him if he would step into his office and congratulate Mr. Shanedling. Mr. Rosenwald said:

Why that's the man who came into
see me with Mr. Gatzert of Rosen-
wald and Weil.

He walked into Mr. Graves' office and shook hands with Mr. Shanedling and asked:

Aren't you the man who came to see
me with Mr. Gatzert of Rosenwald
and Weil?

Yes, I am the man!

Mr. Shanedling was greatly surprised as the interview had taken place more than nine years before. Mr. Rosenwald congratulated him on the success of their building program and directed the payment of \$150.¹²⁵

Another means of Jewish philanthropy was Rosenwald's promotion of Jewish scholarship in an essay contest he organized attempting to find the answer to the question of Judaism's ability to adjust itself sufficiently to the modern viewpoint and environment without losing its identity. In other words he was attempting to find the answer to the future of American Judaism. The contest was announced in 1929 and continued until 1935. The first prize was \$3,500, the second prize was \$1,500 and the third prize was \$1,000. The first prize winner was Dr. Mordecai M. Kaplan, then professor of Homiletics at the Jewish Theological Seminary and Head of the Teachers Institute of New York. The result of his essay was his famed book Judaism as a Civilization. The second prize was awarded to Dr. Lee J. Levinger, then rabbi in charge of the Hillel at Ohio University. The third prize winner was Rabbi Eugene Kohn, of Bayonne, New Jersey.¹²⁶

In 1928, Rosenwald became extremely concerned with the problems of anti-semitism in America. Evidence of his interest was demonstrated in his correspondence during this year. In a letter to Harry Eugene Kelly of this year, Rosenwald praised the Union League Club of Chicago for electing General Abel Davis to membership in the club. He criticized the club for its bigotry with regard to those who are not members of the Christian faith.

In my humble opinion the Club has been

disgraced by its past action, not only in regard to this candidate which is outstanding, but in its attitude toward representative citizens just because they are not of the Christian faith.

The bigotry of the membership of this Club, which has for years been evidenced by this attitude is not one iota less culpable than are the bigots who would vote against Al Smith because he is a Catholic.

There are a number of representative Jewish citizens who might care to join the Union League Club, but whose self-respect would not permit them to do so as long as this condition of affairs exists. I believe the Club could only make amends by deliberately inviting a number of such persons to become members, thereby indicating their desire to be fair and just.¹²⁷

Kelly did not deny that Rosenwald's charges were true. He considered them as the absolute truth which "is a blot on the 'scutcheon of the Club.'" Kelly himself had attempted to wipe out the bigotry in the club and eradicate its evil influence. He felt that a step forward was the election of General Davis to membership.¹²⁸

People not only sought counsel from Rosenwald in monetary matters but also in the problems of the day. A former Jewish student, Mr. Harold Kramer, of the University of Chicago wrote Rosenwald, a trustee of the University, in 1928, expressing his alarm over the displays of prejudice he experienced at the University:

My first few days at the University I was rushed in a fraternity, but dropped like a hot potato when it was ascertained I was Jewish. It was really my first contact with that sort of thing, because out here in the small towns of Nebraska the subject never arises in any way, shape or form, financially or socially. After awhile I of course became used to it, and schooled to it.

What I cannot understand, and have frequently thought of writing to you about, is how the school authorities at the University countenance a continuation of the prejudice of the fraternities. They are really encouraging it. They are teaching it to the young men at their most impressionable age. And what I cannot further understand is how you continue to add to their endowment. Don't you know about the situation, or, if you know about it, upon what basis do you justify your action? Possibly the theory of "turning your right cheek if your left one is smote."

To me, my experiences were sad blows. To other young Jews, I believe it is likewise. To gentiles, it is a shame to start them out in life with those prejudices, for they have to overcome them to a great extent after they get out into the business and social world.¹²⁹

Rosenwald in reply to Kramer pointed to the present Presidential campaign of Al Smith as that instance which had uncovered a great number of flagrant examples of religious prejudice in the United States. It was this campaign which had also created great interest on Rosenwald's part in the problems of anti-Semitism. Rosenwald pointed out to Kramer

that wherever one finds a large group he was bound to find prejudice, and just because religious prejudice became overt during the present Presidential campaign did not mean one should condemn the entire United States.

Neither should one, by similar reasoning, condemn the University of Chicago. Whatever may be the feeling among certain groups in the student body, I am satisfied that the faculty and trustees do not entertain prejudice, contrary to your suggestions that "they are really encouraging it."

Rosenwald who was greatly concerned with the historicity of Jesus at this time went on to tell Kramer what should be done to counteract the prejudice of the day. First of all the truth should be spread. Rosenwald continued by quoting an article from the November issue of the Atlantic Monthly by Robert Keable entitled, "The Great Galilean", in which he says:

No man knows sufficient of the earthly life of Jesus to write a biography of him. For that matter, no one knows enough about him for the normal Times obituary notice of a great man. If regard were had to what we should call, in current speech, definitely historical facts, scarcely three lines could be filled.

Moreover, if newspapers had been in existence, and if that obituary notice had had to be written in the year of his death, no editor could have found in the literature of his day so much as his name.

We do not know, with anything approaching historical certainty, of whom he was born, or when, or where; how long he lived, or how long he labored; and the sayings which are indubitably his are a mere handful.

The stories of his reputed resurrection are so contradictory and confused that it is impossible to make more than a guess at their true import.

It was Rosenwald's feeling that research of this type if exposed to the public would tend to overcome the false impression of the crucifixion of Christ by the Jews.

The other things which Rosenwald felt college men should constantly bear in mind was that all persons of the religion to which they belong were likely to be judged by their conduct and that, therefore, it was important that young Jewish men and women at the colleges conduct themselves properly.

In summary, Rosenwald expressed to Kramer the need for the extension of the truth and proper conduct in order to break down prejudice.¹³⁰

In this same year, 1928, Rosenwald came across a letter offering positions to young men by the John B. Wiggins Company, who were engravers, plate printers and die embossers in Chicago. The letter contained the following statement---

"However we really have an exceptional opportunity for clean-cut young hustlers-Gentiles, etc." Rosenwald felt this cast a reflection upon and tended to injure to a great

extent every Jew, regardless of his ability and character. Rosenwald requested that the company discontinue this method of securing help, a method which he felt discredited "thousands of reputable American citizens."131

The president and manager of the company, Arthur D. Wiggins was quick to reply.

Regret exceedingly that any reflection was cast on the Jewish race by mentioning the word "Gentiles" in letter which you refer to.

These letters were prepared by a direct mail concern which we patronize and while the writer read over the letter the meaning of this word really escaped our notice. Our firm is employing at the present time quite a number of workers of the Jewish race and we have the highest regard for their character and ability. You may be assured that we fully realize the injustice of this mistake and will see that any further letters sent by our house in the future are more carefully read over.

We believe in the Golden Rule and are an old established engraving firm endeavoring to do legitimate business and are barring no applicants regardless of their race for any positions we have to offer.132

During his lifetime Julius Rosenwald served as a vice president and member of the American Jewish Committee and although opposed to its policy concerning Palestine, he served as a member of the Personal Executive Committee of the American Jewish Congress.133

As has been shown, during his lifetime Julius Rosenwald was not merely a passive benefactor. He was a man of decided and definite opinions. Before he contributed to any cause, he would make a thorough investigation of its merits, and practicality, and then would act accordingly. He would never leave such investigation to others, but would try to arrive at the truth for himself.

Rosenwald did not believe in the theory of assimilation. He felt that the Jews as a people, as an ethnic group, had existed for thousands of years and would continue to exist as such in America in the future.

I cannot say what will happen to the Jews within the next thousand years. No one can. But as regards the next hundred or two hundred years, I feel certain the Jewish People, including American Jewry, will exist as a separate group. There is no danger that American Jewry might degenerate into a mere religious sect or lose its cultural significance.

He believed that in the not too distant future the coming generations of American Jews were destined to undergo many modifications. He felt that certain aspects of the life of American Jewry would undoubtedly change considerably within the next few generations. He did believe however that there would never be a dearth of lively activity in American Jewish life.

Rosenwald was very much interested in Jewish education. He was also interested in Hebrew education, not only in America,

but in Palestine as well. He felt that a thorough Yiddish and Hebrew education was essential to the normal development of Jewish life in America.

In order that American Judaism may develop normally, we must take the question of Jewish education very seriously. My plan for perpetuating Judaism in America is: 'If we take the question of Jewish education seriously, we shall have here a generation of serious minded Jews; otherwise, I pity the leaders of the future Jewish generation. Jewish tradition is something that has to be studied and mastered. When the Jewish youth in America will take to studying Jewish tradition then the permanence of Jews in this country shall be assured.¹³⁴

It was Julius Rosenwald, the Jew, who throughout his lifetime was one of the primary forces behind the permanence of Judaism not only in this country but throughout the world.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ROSENWALD AND POLITICS

Throughout his lifetime, Julius Rosenwald was both active in Chicago politics as well as national politics. In Chicago, he served as a member of the Vice Commission or Committee of Fifteen under the leadership of Mayor Fred A. Busse. The work of the commission was perhaps the most complete survey of the terrible conditions in the city ever made in the early part of this century. When the Commission's report was published, the Postmaster of Chicago closed the mails to it, as he considered it as a dissemination of obscene matter.

The Commission was set up to inquire into the social conditions of the city. Hundreds of immigrants arrived at the railroad stations, especially Dearborn, every week, and many of them were unable to speak English. In 1910, there were no immigration restrictions or legislation protecting these new arrivals. As a result, because of the lack of protection, several foreign girls disappeared from the stations which were in those days infested by harpies, runners for cheap hotels and peddlers of all sorts of vice. The findings of the Commission brought about an anti-vice crusade which did tremendous good in Chicago.

Rosenwald was later appointed a member of the Committee of Fifteen as a result of the report of the Commission. A

thorough clean-up of Chicago's worst districts was made. Many criminals were prosecuted and many red light houses and dives were shutdown. At times the police showed a disinclination to intervene, so Mayor Harrison took arbitrary action and closed down several on his own warrant. Thus, evidence of police corruption appeared.

The Committee of Fifteen was organized originally in 1908 and incorporated in 1911. Its purpose was to aid the public authorities in the enforcement of the laws against pandering and to take measures calculated to prevent traffic in women.¹³⁵ It truly fulfilled its established purpose. Rosenwald in a statement to the press in 1915 at the annual dinner of the Committee of Fifteen sang the praises of the Committee:

As far as vice is concerned, Chicago is the cleanest city of any large city of this country or of the world. This is primarily due to the work of the vice commission headed by former Dean Walter T. Sumner and more recently to the efforts of the committee of fifteen under the direction of Superintendent Samuel P. Thrasher.¹³⁶

In 1913, a great controversy developed between Rosenwald and Barrett O'Hara over the Committee's findings. In 1911, a report was published by the Vice Commission in which was stated under the signature of Julius Rosenwald, that there was a relationship between low wages and prostitution in Chicago:

The life of an unprotected girl who tries to make a living in a great city is full of torturing temptations. First, she faces the problem of living on an inadequate wage--six dollars a week is the average in a mercantile establishment. If she were living at home where the mother and sister could help her with mending, sewing and washing, where her board would be small--perhaps only a dollar or two toward the burden carried by the other members of the family--where her lunch would come from the family larder, then her condition might be as good as if she earned eight dollars a week.

The girl who has no home soon learns of "city poverty" all the more cruel to her because of the artificial contrast...Poverty becomes a menage and a snare. One who has not beheld the struggle or come in personal contact with the tempted soul of the underpaid girl can never realize what the poverty of the city means to her.

One who has never seen her bravely fighting against such fearful odds will never understand. A day's sickness and a week out of work are tragedies in her life. They mean trips to the pawnbrokers, meager dinners, a weakened will, often a plunge into the abyss from which she so often never escapes.

Hundreds, if not thousands of girls from country towns, and those born in the city, but who have been thrown on their own resources, are compelled to live in cheap boarding or rooming houses on the average wage of \$6.00. How do they exist on this sum? It is impossible to figure it out on a mathematical basis. If the wage was \$8.00 a week and the girl paid \$2.50 for her room, \$1.00 for laundry and 60 cents for carefare, she would have less than

50 cents left at the end of the week.

That is, provided she ate 10 cent breakfasts, 15 cent luncheons and 25 cent dinners. But there is no doubt that many girls do live on even \$6.00 and do it honestly, but we can affirm that they do not have nourishing food or comfortable shelter or warm clothes or any amusement, except perhaps free public dances, without outside help, either from charity in the shape of girls' clubs or friends in the country home. How can she possibly exist, to say nothing of live?

Is it any wonder that a tempted girl who receives only \$6.00 a week working with her hands, sells her body for \$25.00 a week, when she learns that there is a demand for it and men are willing to pay the price? On the one hand her employer demands honesty, faithfulness and a clean and neat appearance, and for all this he contributes from his profits an average of \$6.00 for every week.

Her honesty alone is worth his inadequate wage, disregarding the consideration of her efficiency. In the sad life of prostitution, on the other hand, we find here the employer, demanding the surrender of her virtue, pays her an average of \$25.00 a week.

Which employer wins the half-starved child to his side in this unequal battle? It would be unjust, however, to cast any reflection upon those girls who are brave and pure by intimating that because they earn so small a wage that they must necessarily be in the same class with those other girls who, unable to survive longer the heroic battle against poverty and self sacrifice, have succumbed and gone down.

Rosenwald was subpoenaed by Barrett O'Hara, the chairman

of the senatorial committee of the general assembly appointed and by virtue of Senate Resolution No. 25, to appear on March 7, 1913, at 10 a.m. in the East Room of the Hotel LaSalle of Chicago, in order to testify and give evidence in a certain investigation now pending and undetermined before the said Committee to inquire into the prevalence of pandering, the illegal traffic in women commonly known as White Slavery. It was before this Committee that Rosenwald after further investigation, reversed his views concerning the relationship between low wages and prostitution.¹³⁷

I would say there was practically no connection between low wages and prostitution. I believe \$5 is enough for a girl to live on provided she lives at home and contributes her \$5 to help support the family. This is on the assumption that the girl is 16 years old or under. If she does not live at home she could be honest and live on \$8 a week. I don't believe there is any connection between wages and prostitution. I believe most of the girls who come from the proper home environment and become prostitutes are just as likely to fall at \$8 up or \$8 down as \$10 up or \$10 down.¹³⁸

Rosenwald was very much opposed to the methods used by this Commission in that he felt, they were not seeking out the truth but were more interested in seeking notoriety. He felt that the Commission began with preconceived notions and opinions and then sought to distort and limit the evidence to bolster up their unfounded convictions.

In his testimony Rosenwald showed that Sears, Roebuck

and Company employed 3,267 women at an average wage of \$10.30 per week, with a minimum wage of \$8.00 a week. Yet the Commission was more concerned with the fact that the company employed a number of beginners or apprentices, girls of seventeen years or under at a graduated salary of from \$5 to \$8 a week. Thus, the main emphasis of this commission was put upon the fact that 119 minor fifteen and sixteen year-old apprentices were employed at \$5 per week.

Evidence was presented to the Commission by two ex-employees who had left Sears a year prior to the hearing and whose testimony which Rosenwald considered to be biased, incomplete and untrue was admitted by the commission.

The commission did not seem to be interested in the fact that more than 1,000 women employees had savings accounts, that Sears employed a corp of trained nurses and physicians to take care of the sick and visit them in their homes, and that the company had women whose duty it was to advise and instruct the younger girls and inculcate in them theories and practices of right living and right thinking.

In the face of all of this evidence, the commission still laid stress upon the 119 apprentices who were earning \$5. All of the favorable testimony that Rosenwald gave and the fact that he brought the company's pay roll showing the wages of each and everyone of 4,700 women employees, the fact that the standards of wages for women was higher than any in Chicago for like work, and that the moral and physical

conditions surrounding the employees was pronounced by competent state inspectors to be of the very best, all of this was stricken from the records of the hearing by Barrett O'Hara.139

Extremely angry, Rosenwald wrote to President Woodrow Wilson concerning this matter:

In my opinion the Lieutenant-Governor is not in the least interested in the question of the minimum wage, except as it affects his political ambition and the use he can make of it to gain votes. I say this without the slightest desire to injure him in anyway, but I conscientiously believe that he has done more to injure the good name of the women of this country than any man has ever done or probably will ever do. He has led the women wage earners of this country to believe that they are justified in leading an immoral life if they do not earn a certain wage. He has given the mothers of these young women justification for condoning immorality in them for the same reason. His object in connecting the question of wages and vice was to bring about a sensation which would have been lacking had he tried to urge the minimum wage after the same manner that Massachusetts and Wisconsin have done. I sincerely hope that he will have no encouragement from you along these lines.

I make bold to state that no one in this country is more desirous for justice to the wage earner than the writer, nor is anyone willing to do more to bring about this condition along lines that will in the long run serve that end,

but I earnestly condemn the basis upon which this investigation is being made, since to my mind it is most harmful to the good name of the women of this nation.¹⁴⁰

Rosenwald attacked this commission as insincere and inefficient and was later attacked by Barrett O'Hara. In a Fourth of July address at Armington, Illinois, in which O'Hara referred to the work of the Illinois White Slave Commission and the need for a minimum wage law. He named John M. Glenn and Rosenwald as the two men responsible for the legislature's failure to pass this law at the last assembly:

The man who accumulates an exorbitant annual profit and pays the lowliest of his workers less than they can live on respectably can find no excuse in any religion, in any philosophy, or in any doctrine of social rights to ease his conscience--not even Julius Rosenwald.

This gentleman, Julius Rosenwald, attacks me as insincere, unscientific and a boy. My reply to him is to reason that the laborer who aids to make an annual profit of \$7,000,000 is not worthy of a livelihood, then I should consider it a crime to be scientific. I had rather...than to make \$7,000,000 a year through the payment of less than a living wage to working girls and women, as does Julius Rosenwald.....¹⁴¹

Yet with all the animosity between Barrett O'Hara and Julius Rosenwald which was exposed by the press as a result of this hearing, O'Hara expressed a fondness for the man

which he displayed in a letter to Mrs. Jerome Frank in 1934, two years after the death of the great mogul:

The testimony that he gave attracted wide publicity and I think Mr. Rosenwald was very sensitive of, and hurt by the resultant criticism. His newspaper, the Chicago Inter Ocean, was thereafter not very friendly to the Commission or to me, but on the few occasions on which I met Mr. Rosenwald afterwards, he was pleasant, courteous, and even affable, and gave no indication of harboring a feeling of resentment.

I have always believed that Mr. Rosenwald was naturally kindly of heart. He was at his prime in a period of rugged individualism carried too far by the ten recognized rules of good business that were not always considerate of the rights and plight of humanity. He did possess a social sense, his impulses were generous, and divorced from what he regarded as the requirements of his business I believe he gave himself to these impulses.¹⁴²

Conflict developed between Rosenwald and Henry Ford in 1923 when an article appeared in the Dearborn Independent, Ford's newspaper, stating that Rosenwald had encouraged the Negro exodus from the South to Chicago during the World War. It went on to say that the leaders of the migration "going to Rosenwald for help" were sold 5000 pieces of property on Grand Blvd, Prairie Avenue, and similar streets on an initial payment of \$50, and were permitted to move in after making the first payment. It asserted that this practice and the losses of the older owners were among the causes of the

Chicago race riot that "flamed out in 1919."

The Independent went on to say that the tide of white dispossession began to flow after the riot with indications that it had strong support from "Jewish men of wealth" and that Negroes were encouraged to go into politics.

Furthermore, the Independent claimed that vice resorts and gambling dens, under Negro supervision, sprang up and when called to Chief of Police Fitzmorris' attention, the aid of good citizens was asked. Whereupon Rosenwald organized the Committee of Fifteen with himself as Chairman. According to the Independent, the Committee reported there was no vice; and held its first meeting to curb vice on money furnished by the chief only after the Juvenile Protective Association investigations had made reports which caused Judge McKinley to submit them to the grand jury.¹⁴³

On February 16, 1923, a statement was published by the Committee of Fifteen challenging the incorrect attack made in The Dearborn Independent. Every assertion made by the article was clearly refuted.¹⁴⁴

As a result of the Russian government's refusal to issue a passport to Oscar Straus, United States Minister to Turkey in 1911, because he was a Jew, Rosenwald took a prominent part in the agitation against the passport policy of the Czar of Russia.¹⁴⁵ He and Louis Marshall were appointed to a committee to endeavor to have the platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties of 1912 contain

planks approving the abrogation of the United States commercial treaty of 1832 with Russia and containing the pronouncement that no treaty would be entered into with any country which did not guarantee to all American citizens, regardless of race or creed, equal treatment, and which did not recognize the American doctrine of expatriation.¹⁴⁶

The plank as phrased by Rosenwald and Marshall read:

The proceedings taken by the President and Congress for the termination of the Russian Treaty of 1832, are heartily approved, as an impressive assertion of the equality of all American citizens. Henceforth, all treaties with foreign powers, to which our Government shall become a party, must expressly stipulate for the absolute right of expatriation, and against all discrimination whatsoever, among our citizens, regardless of race, creed, or previous allegiance.

The President had resolved that Russia be notified of the termination of the treaty in the year preceding the formulation of this plank. Congress had passed this resolution and Rosenwald and Marshall had made their bid for a voice in the Presidential campaign in 1912.¹⁴⁷

Rosenwald's voice was not only heard concerning the preceding matter but also in a matter of vital importance in American policy. This was the Dillingham-Burnett Immigration bill of 1912. Within the bill, there appeared a literacy test provision designed to bar from this country aliens who could not read. Rosenwald and a committee of the American Jewish Committee involving himself, Louis Marshall

and Harry Cutler phrased the following letter to President Taft on October 23, 1912:

The undersigned constitute a committee, representing a large body of citizens who are convinced of the desirability of a liberal immigration policy, and who are strongly opposed to the so-called literacy test which has for some time been urged by those who favor a restrictive immigration policy. The advocates of such legislation propose, with certain exceptions which are unimportant, that no immigrant shall be admitted to the United States who is unable to read and write in some language or dialect.

While we are firmly of the opinion, that our immigration laws should exclude all aliens who have a criminal record or who had led immoral lives, as well as those who are insane or affected by a contagious or incurable disease, or who are likely to become public charges, or who are opposed to our principles of government, we are equally convinced that it would be a great misfortune to this country, as well as an act of injustice, if immigrants sound in mind and in body, and morally unobjectionable, should be excluded merely because of their inability to read and write. While a literacy test is undoubtedly justifiable in our naturalization laws, it is utterly meaningless in an immigration act.

At the present moment, this country is suffering from a dearth of laborers. The adoption of the literacy test would still further diminish the needed supply of labor. If such a prohibition had existed in our past history, our material development would have been greatly hampered. The children of illiterate aliens attend our public schools, and in a very short time are as loyal in their Americanism

as are the descendants of our older and more educated population.

If there is to be any discrimination among those who migrate to this country, it should certainly not be based on a literacy test. It is well known that some of our most undesirable immigrants are to be found among those who are well educated. A man who comes here prepared to work and to build up our resources is deserving of a hearty welcome and should not be made the subject of adverse legislation.

We enclose a pamphlet containing expressions of many prominent men, indicative of their views on this topic. We call special attention to the following excerpt from an address delivered by Hon. Charles Nagel, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, on January 18, 1911; "I am on record as being unqualifiedly opposed to the literacy test...I care more for the sound body and the sound mind and the straight look out of the eye and the ability and willingness to work as a test, than for any other test that can be given. I have been asked whether illiteracy stands in the way of assimilation. I say unqualifiedly in my opinion it does not."

We also take the liberty of calling your attention to the remarks of President Cleveland in his message of March 2, 1897, which vetoed legislation similar to that now proposed, and to the views of ex-president Eliot of Harvard University and of President Shurman of Cornell University, all of whom, in common with many others have characterized the so-called literacy test, as unsound in principle. These we supplement with a copy of Memorial

and Resolutions adopted at a meeting held at Cooper Union several months ago, to consider the proposed plan of restriction.

If you can, consistently with your convictions, give public expression of your views on this important topic, we can assure you, that they would be deemed timely by a large body of good citizens, who as such, are vitally concerned in the perpetuation of the policy which has thus far proved a national blessing.¹⁴⁸

It is likely that as a result of this letter, Taft in addressing a Polish College in Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania, on October 26, 1912, concluded his speech with these words:

I cannot close without some reference to the question of immigration and the attitude that ought to be taken by the lovers of our country. I am one of those who believe that America is greatly better in her present condition, and will have still greater advantage in the future, because of the infusion into our body, political and social, of the sturdy peasantry and the better educated classes who have come to us from the nations of Europe.¹⁴⁹

In February, 1913, Taft gave Rosenwald and Marshall a hearing in opposition to the immigration bill.¹⁵⁰ At a three hour hearing before Taft, of the opponents of the immigration bill, Judge Harry Olson of Chicago spoke against the literacy test as inevitably drawing immigration from large European cities and not from agricultural communities. Taft listened to these protests in the East room of the White House, where he sat at a large table stacked with

books and papers. He told those appearing that he was virtually sitting as a judge. He also told them that the burden of proof was upon them, and that it would take strong inducement for an Executive to override both houses of Congress.¹⁵¹

Finally on February 14, 1913, Taft took Executive action upon the bill and vetoed it late in the afternoon. The veto was due to the President's opposition to the literacy test provision designed to bar aliens who could not read. The President based his veto on the view of Charles Nagel, the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, who had been opposed to the measure at every stage. It was Nagel's opposition to the bill that Rosenwald spelled out to the President in detail.¹⁵²

Yet the President's veto was not without a request by Taft for Rosenwald's political support. On September 7, 1912, Taft wrote Rosenwald requesting that he support and assist in his campaign for the Presidential office. Thus, there was a method to Taft's machinations.¹⁵³

Rosenwald, a friend of Presidents of the United States throughout his lifetime, held a great admiration for Herbert Hoover. It was Hoover for whom he campaigned vigorously, in order that he might secure the Presidency. In a letter from James W. Good, Hoover's Western Campaign manager, Rosenwald was requested to serve as the link between the Jews and Hoover:

It is our desire to have a....man to work with the Jewish group. I would like to have a man with good standing and personality who could command the respect of Jewish people and could give a goodly portion of his time from now on until election day to the cause.

I am enlisting the support of quite a number of outstanding men who will devote their time to the campaign without compensation. At best a political campaign is expensive. It becomes more expensive if everybody who does some work is paid for it, so I am asking quite a number to make some sacrifice and to render a short of quasi public service to the end that we may elect Herbert Hoover as our next President.

In talking this matter over with Mr. Hoover he suggested that I get in touch with you, thinking that you could put me in contact with the right kind of man for the position we desire to fill.¹⁵⁴

Rosenwald was the man. He served as the link between Hoover and the Jews. It was he who campaigned ardently for the soon to be elected President. Rosenwald contributed a total of \$50,000 to the Hoover campaign.¹⁵⁵ It was because of Rosenwald's generous contributions that the Republican National Committee of 1928 was able to close its books without a deficit. It was his willingness to accept every assignment and to produce results that inspired others to do their share.¹⁵⁶

The Catholic Clergy resented such an enormous pledge by Rosenwald to the man opposing Al Smith, a Catholic, for the Presidency. They resented it because religion had become an

issue in the campaign. They even built the amount of his contribution up to a sum of \$100,000. In their eyes, Rosenwald's contribution of \$50,000 was plain evidence that the sympathies of Sears, Roebuck and Company were clearly on the side of bigotry. Therefore, as a hostile measure they threatened to boycott the new Sear's store in St. Paul, for it was their feeling that support of Hoover demonstrated Rosenwald's utter lack of tact and business ability.¹⁵⁷

This letter was immediately brought to the attention of Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago, and the boycott was put down.¹⁵⁸

Yet this was only one among many letters Rosenwald received because of his support of Hoover as opposed to Smith. Throughout the country many Catholics were enraged by his action. A letter from Mrs. Martha Bannon, of Cresson, Pennsylvania, to Rosenwald spoke of her discontinuing her patronage of the Sears Philadelphia Store. Rosenwald's reply to her demonstrated his whole-hearted support of Hoover for the Presidency:

I yield to no one in my regard and even affection for the Honorable Alfred E. Smith. He has rendered his State a great service and given his country a fine example of what the patriotic public servant should be.

Nevertheless I have for some years considered Herbert Hoover to be the best equipped person for the

office of President whom I have ever known. Two close friends of mine were candidates for the nomination, Mr. Lowden and Mr. Dawes. But if my own son had been a candidate, I should have still considered my duty to my country to outweigh any obligation of either friendship or filial devotion. Believing as I did, I would have been derelict had I not done everything in my power to further Mr. Hoover's election.¹⁵⁹

In correspondence with others who wrote him concerning his support of Hoover's campaign, Rosenwald made his position quite clear:

No one could possibly more more desirous for the welfare of the farmer than I am. Practically all that I possess is to a considerable degree dependent upon his prosperity, and I am sincerely convinced that Mr. Hoover, with his intelligence and ability, will do more for the farmer, ten times over, than Mr. Smith regardless of any promises the latter might make.

There is no man in the world whom I have ever known who is more anxious to help those who are in need of intelligent direction than Mr. Hoover. He has demonstrated this many times.¹⁶⁰

The Sears, Roebuck advertising staff never took it upon themselves to advertise in any type of religious publication. Because of Rosenwald's support of Hoover and the Christian Science Monitor's backing of this candidate, the newspaper approached Rosenwald declaring their political views and requesting that a change of policy be made, with regard to advertising. Rosenwald complied with their wishes and

suggested to the advertising staff of Sears that the Monitor not be regarded as a "church paper." He recommended the newspaper as a good medium for advertising.¹⁶¹

The Chicago Daily News, well aware of Rosenwald's activities in the Hoover campaign, requested a statement from him with regard to the prohibition issue at stake in the Presidential Campaign.¹⁶² Rosenwald answered their request with these words:

I consider the position taken by Mr. Hoover on Prohibition, as announced in his speech of acceptance, as both commendable and unassailable. Prohibition is a question upon which there is such a divergency of opinion that I can conceive of no one who would have the temerity to attempt now to pass final judgment upon it. To me, it is both an economic and social problem, intimately associated with the material and spiritual well-being of our people, and as such, it demands the most serious consideration and investigation, rather than hasty and perhaps ill-advised attempts at solution. Our individual thought and opinion in the matter largely depend upon our personal observations and experiences-so, as individuals, we quite naturally approach any discussion of it from various viewpoints and hence arrive at different conclusions.

But whatever our views may be on the subject, the fact remains that Prohibition was enacted into law by the deliberate will of the people. They alone are responsible, and they alone can effect either the repeal of the law or its amendment. And until such time as public sentiment is so thoroughly aroused and in favor of either the repeal or modification of the 18th

Amendment, or of the Volstead Enforcement Law, as to proceed to accomplish this in the regular manner prescribed by the Federal Constitution, Mr. Hoover's position is absolutely sound.

The conventions of both the Republican and Democratic parties adopted a plank in their respective platforms pledging law enforcement, but did not make Prohibition an issue in the campaign. As an issue, it has been injected into the campaign by Governor Smith's advocacy of a modification of the Volstead Law and a reconsideration of the Constitutional Amendment. He proposes a modification that will permit each state to fix the alcoholic content and to regulate the manufacture, sale and distribution of intoxicating liquors within its borders. A dangerous adventure and experiment, that in my judgment would be productive of perhaps greater evils than now exist, owing to the confusion and multiplicity of laws in the various states and the futile attempt to enforce them. My feeling is that the cure he proposes would be worse than the disease, if as such we are inclined to consider it. His advocacy of modification, however, makes Prohibition, especially in the minds of the ardent "wets," the paramount issue, which is regrettable, because there are other issues of so much greater importance to the interests of the people and the welfare of the nation! Since it is an issue, however, it is pertinent to consider Mr. Hoover's attitude toward it.

He does not keep us in the dark. With characteristic candor, he meets the issue squarely. The 18th Amendment is an integral part of our Federal Constitution, the integrity of which must be preserved at all hazards. Without equivocation or subterfuge, he said in his acceptance speech-- "I do not favor a repeal of the 18th Amendment. I stand for the efficient

enforcement of the laws enacted thereunder. Whoever is chosen president has under his oath, the solemn duty to pursue this course. Our country has deliberately undertaken a great social and economic experiment, noble in motive and far reaching in purpose. It must be worked out constructively." His position then, so far as repeal is concerned, is definite and certain.

On the subject of modification, he says, "Change in the Constitution can and must be brought about only by straightforward methods provided by the Constitution itself. There are those who do not believe in the purposes of several provisions of the Constitution. No one denies their right to seek to amend it. But the Republican party does deny the right of any one to seek to destroy the Constitution by indirection."

On the subject of modification, therefore, he is equally definite, and on this subject I cannot see how any one can take issue with him. If I correctly interpret his attitude, it is this. He regards Prohibition Law, or in fact any other measure inaugurated by the deliberate will of the people,-- designed to promote their social and economic welfare--as he so aptly puts it, "An experiment, noble and far-reaching in purpose,"--eminently worthy of a fair trial. Terming it an experiment, he is not satisfied that it has had a fair trial. Acknowledging as he does that grave abuses have accompanied the efforts to enforce the law, he nevertheless does not permit this to stampede him into a premature suggestion for modification. Progressive though he is, he does not believe in tearing down until he is prepared to reconstruct. He has not yet arrived at the conclusion that because certain evils exist and crimes occurred, Prohibition

is the cause and therefore a failure. His training and his attitude with respect to problems involved in all important matters are well known. He takes nothing for granted. He investigates, assembles data, considers essential facts; then evolves a plan and executes it.

Mr. Hoover, being intellectually honest and fearless, will if elected president, approach the solution of the Prohibition question as well as other governmental problems in a conscientious and painstaking manner and with an open mind. And if the time should come, when in his best judgment, the interests of the people can be promoted by modification, I am satisfied he will not hesitate to announce his views and make proper recommendation to Congress. This, then is my appraisal of Mr. Hoover's attitude on the question, with which I find myself in hearty accord.

It has been my privilege to know Mr. Hoover for many years. I worked with him in the course of my official duties in Washington during the war, and I was in intimate contact with him for several months, during the Second Industrial Conference appointed by the late President Wilson. From this personal acquaintance, and from my observation of his activities, I have come to know his deep sympathy for those in distress, and his ability to meet and solve great national problems. His record as an administrator in relief work during the dark days of the World War, is a story of humanitarian achievement, known the world over. His ready and effective response to the call of duty in the relief and rehabilitation of the Mississippi flooded area, is also well known. His contribution, during the past seven years, as a member of President Coolidge's cabinet, to the stabilizing and upbuilding of in-

dustry, the welfare of the workers, and the solution of the many vexed problems of state that came under his jurisdiction, exceeds estimate or due appreciation.

A statesman, an organizer, an administrator of large affairs, and a humanitarian-such is the man whom the Republican party recommends to the people as their next president. Fortunate indeed the nation that has a man possessing in such full measure the essential qualifications for this high office-who awaits the call to serve his countrymen.

Everything considered, I believe Mr. Hoover to be the best equipped man ever nominated by any party at any time for President of the United States.¹⁶³

Rosenwald went on radio on October 27, 1928 asking America to support the man whom he favored for the Presidency. He spoke of Hoover as a man who "by training and experience" is a leader. He regarded him as fitted for the Presidency more than any man of that generation:

I know of no man at present in public life who has displayed such extraordinary vision in dealing with many stupendous and wholly novel problems, crucially affecting human welfare. Nor do I know of any man, who, with idealism like Hoover's has also his capacity for translating ideals into successful practice.....

On November sixth-we must choose between the Democratic party - its policies and its candidate - and the Republican party - its policies and its candidate. I am for that leader - who, because of his unblemished character - he great executive and

administrative ability, (tried in the crucible of many emergencies) - because of his temperament and training - because of his profound understanding of the problems that demand solution - and finally because of his broad humanitarianism and deep concern for the well-being of his fellow citizens - I AM UNQUALIFIEDLY FOR HERBERT HOOVER, the man whom I regard as the best equipped candidate ever named by any party for President of the United States.¹⁶⁴

Hoover was elected, and Rosenwald was offered a Cabinet position as Secretary of Commerce, but because of religious pressure, the position was not filled by the great Jewish philanthropist. Although Rosenwald had been notified by Leo Sack of the U. S. Press Gallery his unofficial agent for the position of the possibility of prejudice in his being considered for the appointment, he continued to affirm Hoover's fine qualities:

Your information in regard to my having been offered a cabinet place is without foundation, but this only confirms my judgment about Mr. Hoover's rare ability, and his desire to get the best possible men for the jobs he has to offer. For my part, I am not the slightest degree interested whether he appoints Jews or non-Jews, because I am convinced he has no more prejudice against a man because he is a Jew than you or I have.¹⁶⁵

Following Rosenwald's involvement in politics on the National level, he became a principal character in a scandal enveloping politics on a statewide level. He was

implicated as the guilty party in a bribery case in Illinois involving Frank L. Smith who ran for the Senate in 1926. Smith had been found guilty in times past of corrupt dealings in Illinois politics. As a member of the Commerce Commission he had received gifts from outside sources for acts performed. He was also President of his own bank. It was Samuel Insull whose utility interests had been "treated favorably" by Smith on the Commerce Commission who "bought" Smith into the 1926 campaign. It was Rosenwald who tried to "buy" him out of it.

The offer made by Rosenwald to Smith of \$555,000 to quit the Senate race was divulged by Smith to the Chicago Tribune in 1931. It was this scandal, with its tremendous pressure upon the millionaire philanthropist, that has been considered as a great contributing factor to Rosenwald's death.

In an open letter to Professor C. H. Woody, author of the book, The Case of Frank Smith, which was financed by Rosenwald, Smith asserted that between the primary and the election of 1926, Julius Rosenwald offered him stock in Sears, Roebuck and Company, then worth \$555,000 to withdraw from the Republican nomination. Rosenwald was supporting Hugh S. Magill, an independent Republican candidate against Smith and George E. Brennan, the Democratic nominee.

Lessing Rosenwald, Rosenwald's son, spoke for his ailing father at this tragic moment, stating that the members

of his family were unwilling to bring this matter to his attention at this time. Rosenwald had been confined to his bed for four months prior to this incident, and his doctor refused to allow him to comment on this controversial issue.

The letter to the Chicago Tribune hinged on the paragraph in Woody's book which spoke of Rosenwald's urging Smith to withdraw from the campaign. Smith stated that the book was incorrect in that it did not conclude as it final chapter, Rosenwald's alleged offer.¹⁶⁶

Since Rosenwald was unable to defend himself in this matter because of the severity of his illness, his close friends came to his defense. His friends did not deny the truth of the bribery, but stated that Rosenwald attempted only what he thought would be the best thing for Illinois to save it from the shame of witnessing the rejection of a man it had elected to the senate. For that reason he offered Smith what he considered reimbursement for the costs of the expensive primary battle he had been through and the heavy obligations already incurred for the election campaign then well advanced.

Rosenwald's friends pointed out that Rosenwald's attitude was reflected in Professor Woody's book, the distribution of which by Rosenwald irritated Smith into addressing an open letter to the author asking why he had not told of the offer. Professor Woody phrased the offer in the book about Smith

in the following manner:

The initiative in this case was taken by Mr. Rosenwald....Mr. Rosenwald arranged an interview with him and urged strongly that Smith abandon his candidacy on terms which would fully safeguard him from loss incurred by the effort and expense already invested in the campaign.

It was believed at the time of this controversy that Professor Woody had been told the complete story of the discussion between Rosenwald and Smith but had declined to comment because of Rosenwald's silence due to illness.

During the period of the offer in 1926 Rosenwald had visited President Coolidge and upon his return he said that he had been told by "one very high in authority" that the senate would not seat Smith if he were elected. It was believed he implied that President Coolidge had expressed this opinion to him.¹⁶⁷

In an interview with Hugh Magill, the director of the International Council of Religious Education and a candidate in 1926 for the United States Senate against Frank L. Smith, it was pointed up that the actions of Rosenwald in the Smith Campaign seemed to represent one of his periodical flareups of good intention and fine temporary accomplishment in local politics. Magill and others greatly praised him for his action in unseating Smith.

It was Rosenwald's persistence along which made Magill accept the independent nomination. From the outset

there was little hope of winning with only a month for campaigning and with practically no money. The independent's campaign was a formal protest against corruption and as a result of it, it was soon apparent that Smith could never be seated. It focussed the attention of the entire nation on Illinois politics at that time. Magill stated that Rosenwald would ask him if he had seen Smith since he was thrown out by the Senate, and upon Magill's negative reply, Rosenwald would state:

Well, I hope you won't because I don't think I have ever known a man who is as bitter against another as that man is against you. He says that but for you he would have been in the Senate today.

The Magill campaign had the tremendous effect of putting the whole country against Smith. The best press-Democrat and Republican--outside Illinois, was unservedly for Magill. Every day press dispatches on the front page were recording that the civic conscience of Illinois had awakened under the guidance of Julius Rosenwald.

Rosenwald was a very active and enthusiastic worker in the campaign, although his contributions were quite small. He wrote, for instance, several hundred letters to his friends all over the State asking for contributions. He was personally responsible for most of the money that was raised. At the close of the campaign several of the best downstate papers were coming out for Magill and the rest

would have followed had there ben another two weeks' of campaigning possible. As it was, Magill carried Evanston and the University of Chicago district. Yet throughout this campaign to unseat Smith, Rosenwald was the pulse and conscience. 168

Throughout his life as one seems to determine from a study of this controversy and the political aspects of Rosenwald's life, one is able to discern that he gave a notable impetus to the best political elements in the Nation. Perhaps the man made political errors in his lifetime, yet these errors were calculated for the good of all mankind.

EPILOGUE

ROSENWALD THE MAN

"AS OTHERS KNEW HIM"

On January 6, 1932, these words flashed across the front pages and editorial pages of the nation's newspapers, "Julius Rosenwald is dead." The news brought sorrow to millions. Rosenwald had been a hard worker throughout his lifetime and had never spared his strength. Thus, his strength was sapped by a heart attack at the age of 69.

It may truly be said that all of his energies were devoted to the welfare of his country. He worked hard and ceaselessly to build up a great business, giving employment to hundreds of thousands of people directly or indirectly.

As he gathered in money it was distributed in beneficent ways. Every good cause in America, regardless of religion, race or origin, had his sympathetic ear. He made millions and gave away millions more. Now he was gone, the world, after the first shock, looked in wonder on such an example of ceaseless spontaneous giving. It is very doubtful whether any American, in proportion to the amount of his wealth, ever gave as Rosenwald did.

He helped the poor, contributed to education and was particularly generous in relieving the needs of his own people. All good causes appealed to him, particularly the

cause of those who were downtrodden or looked down upon by their more fortunate brothers.

He built for himself a name and reputation which could be characterized by one word GENEROSITY! 169

The words of consolation and praise pronounced upon the death of Julius Rosenwald are reflections of almost every element of his generous life. The key to Rosenwald's generosity and kindness, according to George W. Kersey, one of the Negro men who had served with distinction in the Illinois state legislature, was his mother, Mrs. Julia Rosenwald:

I knew her for many years. Back in the early nineties. I was a mail carrier and the Rosenwald home at 3342 South Park Avenue, was on my route. Some of the most cherished memories of my life involve that kindly old lady. She gave me many gifts, but these are not the things I remember most. Her concern for the comfort of other people was her chief characteristic. If it rained, she was concerned lest I might get wet. If it were winter and cold, she inspected my clothes to see if I wore enough to get warm. Forty years have passed, but I can still remember her packing papers into my clothes to help keep me warm.

There was one humorous incident connected with her. One winter morning, I went to the Rosenwald home and it was so cold that my nose was red. The kind old lady was so sorry for me that she insisted that I must wear one of her veils over the rest of the

route. But I could not make up my mind on the veil.

Throughout nine years, I enjoyed the kindnesses of Mrs. Rosenwald and the Rosenwald family. If I needed clothes, I had only to go to the old firm of Rosenwald and Weil and I got them. I carry a watch now, running in good order, which Mrs. Rosenwald had her husband give me.

She brightened the life of every person who came near her. Mr. Rosenwald, now dead, was a great businessman, but he could not have gone into any line of endeavor without carrying the mark of that great kindness which his mother stamped upon him.¹⁷⁰

The American Negro professed a great sadness at the loss of this humanitarian. The eulogies which appeared in the Negro press were written in letter form to the bereaved Rosenwald family and characterized the abundant love the Negro cherished for the millionaire philanthropist.

Julius Rosenwald went to heaven Wednesday, January 6 at 2:55 PM. He was at the head of the International Order of the Helpers of Men.

As he left he passed his blazing torch of world service to his children and bade them continue to carry it forward to Jews and Gentiles in every nation and in every race under heaven.

What a rich heritage for those children! A marvelous and matchless humanitarian has gone, but

didn't his light shine while he was with us? Didn't he carry on for God? He lighted, lifted and led in the service of humanity. He loved his fellow man and he showed it in a practical and definite plan of cooperation. He worked with them. He knew the burdened ones and got under the load and showed them how to carry as much of it as they could. He was too sensible to carry the entire burden for them. He carried it with them so that they could learn to carry it without him. He did not help men to become helpless.

He taught men how to work together and how to walk together in the path of human betterment. He walked by their side and gave them the smile of a real brother as he journeyed with them under the load.

His humanitarian spirit pervades the world today as the woman's ointment pervaded the room in which the Master sat. The Master was touched by her unprecedented sacrificial gift and declared that her deed should be her memorial.

The great humanitarian made a beaten path to the hearts of men and built his own monument of love therein themselves, as school house in every hamlet, an open door of Christian association in every city are the great spiritual and moral ideals for which he lived and labored.

What Julius Rosenwald has done throughout the whole world shall also be told as a memorial of him wherever the gospel of social welfare is preached. He built his own monument. His benefactions cannot be enumerated or estimated. Figures cannot tell what he did. No man can number them. They are the leaven in the lump. You who

want to know how much he did to help this old world--to lift it up and light it up, will have to wait until Judgment Day. His gifts will be lined up there. "They will come out of all nations and kindreds and people and tongues, and will stand before the Throne clothed in white robes and palms in their hands."

The great Keeper of Man's Record shall say to this servant of his, who went about doing good, "I was hungry and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in; naked and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me. In as much as ye did it unto the least of these ye did it unto me. Well done." What a day of rejoicing that will be!

The major objectives to which Julius Rosenwald dedicated princely gifts should become the major objectives of the Negro Race. They would be the only monument which he would desire. What were these objectives? First, self-help; secondly, good rural schools throughout the south; third, an open door for Christian association in every city.

If we really appreciate what he has done for us, we will, take up where he left off and carry on. That is the kind of memorial which Julius Rosenwald, the prince of humanitarians, would like to have us build.¹⁷¹

The Negro child, too, was thankful for the schools and education that Rosenwald had provided for him. They too eulogized the great man as these words of a ninth grader express:

R, is for Rosenwald a great man
was he,
Offered opportunity to the colored
race free.
O, is for object of which he had in
view,
To be a great philanthropist although
a jew.
S is for Springfield the city where he
was born,
Under his leadership Negro schools have
grown.
E, is for eradicate illiteracy we have
seen,
He started in Ala. in nineteen thirteen.
N, is for negroes who live in the South-
land,
With his schools and libraries they have
taken a new stand.
W, is for wisdom with his wealth he did
spend,
With his millions for charity he made
many friends.
A, is for Alabama the state he did begin,
to stamp out illiteracy-
Which is the nations sin.
L, is for library with volumes to read,
With plenty of information that we may
succeed
D, is for his death that saddens our
cares,
But his funds are endowed for twenty
five more years.¹⁷²

The man whom Rosenwald supported up the political ladder,
the President of the United States, Herbert Hoover, spoke of
this great American patriot in the most glowing terms:

The death of Julius Rosenwald....de-
prives the country of an outstanding
citizen. His business ability found
expression in commercial achievements
of great magnitude and importance.

His patriotism was reflected both in
his services in the cause of national
defense during the war and in his
devotion to the upbuilding of the
life of the community and the country

in times of peace.

One of his most conspicuous contributions to the public welfare was through his humanitarian activities. His warm hearted human sympathy for all mankind resulted in munificent gifts for the advancement of public health, education, housing, and the wide reach of social amelioration.¹⁷³

The National Broadcasting Company presented a nationwide tribute to Julius Rosenwald on Sunday, March 27, 1932, at twelve noon. The tribute to the world-famed Jewish philanthropist was arranged by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the world's largest Jewish welfare organization engaged in overseas work and one with which it has been shown Mr. Rosenwald was closely identified for many years. A resolution prepared at a special meeting of the officers of the Joint Distribution Committee on the seventh of January, 1932, in the City of New York was presented over the air to a grieving national audience:

We are inexpressibly saddened
by the death of our friend
and co-worker.

For many years he was to us a pillar of strength and support. With the utmost generosity he gave munificent sums toward the relief of the needy and the down-trodden. His warm heart beat ever in sympathy for the persecuted and the underprivileged. In rebuilding the lives of the war-stricken Jews of Europe, his princely benefactions to the Joint Distribution Committee and to its affiliated organizations stimulated and for all time raised

and ennobled the standards of constructive philanthropy.

The wide range of his humanitarian interests, his devotion to duty, the zeal for truth and for justice to his fellow-men which marked his undertakings, the innate nobility of his character and the simplicity of his daily life, made him a unique and outstanding figure in our time. His personality and idealism endeared him to untold millions the world over.

A great Jew, a distinguished American, a beloved leader has passed on, leaving a great void, but bequeathing for all time an imperishable example of a generous spirit and a great soul.

Again President Herbert Hoover was able to express his regret over the loss of his close friend. He appeared on this program of memorial speaking these words:

As one who was a friend of Julius Rosenwald I call to memory this morning that friendship and his inspiring associations of many years and I join with you, his friends, in memorializing the full and goodly life that was his.

I recall how, guided by his keen intellect and great heart, he directed his wealth into those channels which inspiration and study convinced him were for the best service of his fellowmen. I further recall that where there were no channels, he surveyed and dug them, recognizing no barriers of creed or race. I am thinking too, at this moment, of that great enterprise in human engineering in which the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee has now been engaged more than a decade, and which was undertaken primarily because his vision and his benefactions

made it possible to commence it and were so important a part of its total support.

Surely the good which he has done will serve as an inspiration to humanitarian effort for generations to come, and will constitute an imperishable memorial to him--the only one he would have desired.¹⁷⁴

Speaking at the Hebrew Teachers College of which he was a director, in Jerusalem, at the end of the week of mourning for Julius Rosenwald, Mr. David Yellin said that as a general rule, Rosenwald stood aloof from the Palestine movement but from time to time he did support Palestine enterprises.

Yellin went on to say that during the war Rosenwald gave \$10,000 a month to the Provisional Committee for the maintenance of the impoverished Jewish population in the Holy Land. The young men of Palestine who went to California to study agriculture benefitted not only from his personal interest but received also considerable material assistance. He was the main supporter of the Agricultural Experimental Station, as we have already seen, established at Athlit before the War by Mr. Aaron Aaronschn, his desire being to aid the development of Palestine on a scientific basis.

Rosenwald's greatest contribution to Palestine, according to Yellin, was in connection with the Hebrew Teachers College in which he took a deep interest and to which he gave first \$75,000 and later a further \$25,000 for the erection of the building.

Mr. Yellin concluded with these words:

Palestine will always remember him with gratitude, as do the millions of people in American and other parts of the world who benefitted through his great gifts.¹⁷⁵

In a Memorial Address at Chicago Sinai Congregation delivered on January 17, 1932, Dr. Louis L. Mann praised the man Rosenwald for his gifts to all mankind and concluded with these words:

It was my sad privilege to say the last words at the grave in Rosehill Cemetery. The tombstone had been set a year ago; a slab with one word: "Rosenwald." Little more than a marker of a grave! An old Jewish sage said: "The righteous need no monument; their deeds are their enduring memorial; they live by majesty of memory and strength of example in the hearts of men." When Julius Rosenwald, the keen business man, the great merchant, the man of material wealth, will long have been forgotten, Julius Rosenwald, the man, the good man, the philanthropist, will be blessed by posterity.

A white man who carried the burden of the black! A Jew who built Christian associations! An American patriot who loved the people of all nations! Now, he too, like his neighbor in Springfield, "belongs to the ages."¹⁷⁶

And these are the eternal words of Julius Rosenwald:

The commonest and shabbiest thing in the world is advice. A normal man does not require it. His conscience or intellect is sufficient. What he wants is an opening. He may seek it or he may find it. Often it will meet him face to face

when he is thinking about something else. In that event, his heart should not be filled with arrogance.

A thousand men, hidden away, getting pay envelopes every Saturday, live and die in comparative poverty. Many are millionaires in everything save money. There is no occasion for them to under-rate their ability. Chance has not come knocking at their doors. Nor has the man in the next store, sky-scraper or factory, at whose door chance has actually appeared any reason for overestimating his own ability. Meekly should he walk in the presence of himself - and of his family.

"But you have had a programme?" the interviewer persisted.

"None whatever. Had I followed a programme, I would still be in the clothing business."

"Anyway you have a policy,"

"Only so far as trying to feel that I am always selling merchandise to myself. I would stand on both sides of the counter, if we had a counter."

"You were not compelled to split rails in your boyhood," the interviewer said by way of experiment.

"No, but I peddled chromos," Mr. Rosenwald replied.

"The nimble sixpence had to travel pretty hard to get away from me when I was a youngster. I did many things in the way of earning money. Satchels had to be carried and I carried some of them. Also I delivered papers. When the Lincoln monument was dedicated, I sold a pamphlet history of the acts leading to the events and made \$2.50..."

Work to me is not a burden but a privilege, and my sympathy goes out to the man, and more especially

to the boy, who by the unwise solicitude of a grandfather is deprived of the joy of honest, conscientious labor in useful fields of endeavor.

I early learned the value of money, and that lesson has never left me throughout the years. Whether a dollar is paid out for necessities or luxuries, in wages or philanthropy, I am desirous of seeing as full returns for it as possible. Another thing I have observed: The millions that came to me at fifty could not restore a tooth which I had lost at thirty. They could not blot out a single day of grief. To this extent, at any rate, I can see the futility of accumulating money. It might, however, add a few years of life and comfort. I consider, therefore, timeliness one of the basic prerequisites of worthwhile philanthropy.¹⁷⁷

Among Mr. Rosenwald's favorite quotations was one by Mark Twain, from Twain's autobiography. It seems to me to summarize the difficulties of approaching a biography of a man whose life encompassed all of mankind as did the life of the great Jewish philanthropist Julius Rosenwald:

What a wee little part of a person's life are his acts and his words! His real life is led in his head and is known to none but himself. All day long and everyday, the mill of his brain is grinding, and his thoughts, not those other things are his history. His acts and words are merely the visible, thin crust of his world, with its scattered snow summits and its vacant wastes of water--and

they are so trifling a part of his bulk! A mere skin enveloping it. The mass of him is hidden-- it and its volcanic fires that toss and boil and never rest night nor day. These are his life, and they are not written, and cannot be written. Everyday would make a whole book of eighty thousand words--three hundred and sixty five books a year.

Biographies are but the clothes and buttons of the man--the biography of the man himself cannot be written. 178

FOOTNOTES

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will refer to JRP-UCL and will be cited according
to the microfilm, American Jewish Archives, reel
number.

- ²Biographical Notes, (AJA, No. 312).

³ibid.

- ⁴Indices, Chronological Index, (AJA, No. 42).

- ⁵C.W. Squires, Architect, Emporia, Kansas to Julius Rosen-
wald, July 22, 1924, (AJA, No. 42).

- ⁶Julius Rosenwald to C.W. Squires, July 25, 1924, (AJA, No. 42).

- ⁷Obituary, Chicago Tribune, January 7, 1932, (AJA, No. 42)
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- ⁸Editorial, Illinois State Register (Springfield, Illinois),
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- ⁹Biographical Notes, (AJA, No. 312).

- ¹⁰Florence (Mrs. Jerome) Frank, Notes, December 10, 1936,
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- ¹³A. C. Roebuck, "The Watch Story," Reminiscences, JRP-UCL,
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- 24 Julius Rosenwald to Louis Rosenwald, November 6, 1900, (AJA, No. 287).
- 25 Julius Rosenwald to Louis Rosenwald, November 1, 1900, (AJA, No. 287).
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- 27 Julius Rosenwald to Mrs. Benjamin Levy, September 25, 1906, (AJA, No. 287).
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- 41 Julius Rosenwald, Chicago, to Harry Cutler, Providence, R. I., July 16, 1918, (AJA, No. 42a).
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- 49 Chicago Daily News, Tours, France, October 1, 1918, (AJA, No. 305).
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