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PSYCHE & ETHOS OF JULIUS KAHN AS REFLECTED IN HIS
ACTIVITIES ON THE NATIONAL SCENE.

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts in Hebrew Letters and
Ordination.

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion

Date: 1974

Referee Professor J. R. Marcus

DEDICATION

To my parents who taught me to love Judaism
through their example.

To Ellen, my wife, for her steadfast love and
devotion which has made everything possible.

DIGEST

Though Julius Kahn was born in Germany, there can be no doubt as to his love and allegiance to the United States. All of his works on the national scene illustrate his profound gratitude to the country which afforded him every conceivable opportunity. Kahn dedicated his life to public service as an expression of his eternal appreciation.

The contents of this thesis are based upon the speeches and addresses made by Julius Kahn through the various media. The objective of this work is to discover the nature of his psyche and ethos. The thesis deals with the main issues of his political career which include the following topics: Oriental immigration, literacy and immigration standards, the United States' presence in the Philippines, the regulation of business trusts, prohibition, legislation on behalf of the fourth district, and Julius Kahn's career on the Committee on Military Affairs.

Of special interest to this researcher is the secondary nature that Kahn's Judaism played in his career and life. On more than one occasion he made it quite clear that his country commanded his allegiance before his Judaism.

Julius Kahn when viewed with twentieth century

eyes appears to have been a patriotic extremist. However, Kahn was merely a reflection of the times. He kept within the mainstream of his party and was regarded by his constituency as a loyal citizen and faithful servant. The psyche and ethos of Julius Kahn are most apparent when these factors are understood and appreciated.

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P R O H I B I T I O N

Congressman Kahn was, above, all, a reasonable man who desired honesty from his colleagues. He sought a pragmatic approach to the problems that faced him in the House of Representatives. A great deal of controversy surrounded the issues pertaining to prohibition legislation.

In a talk given to the House of Representatives, he struck a very sound note when he told the Speaker that prohibition was not temperance. Rather, temperance was something we should practice for our own sake. Kahn called for all Americans to exercise temperance in their physical exercise because excesses could lead to heart failure and death. Kahn noted that many more people died from obesity and over-eating than were fatally stricken with death from the excessive use of alcohol. The temperance that should have been taught was not only that of liquor, according to Kahn, but in everything that concerned the human race. On this Kahn based his assumption that temperance was healthy for the country, while prohibition was unhealthy:

Temperance harms no one; on the contrary, it does good. Prohibition, on the other hand, has generally resulted in making men liars, sneaks, and hypocrites. If men want liquor, they can invariably get it, and they can get it even in prohibition states.¹

Kahn learned from the police reports that trucks

1. Congressional Record, 63rd Congress 3rd session,
p. 533

carrying liquor were being stopped all over the state. He then ascertained from the reports that prohibition must be regulated by the individuals if the state was to remain dry. The drinking problem was not the result of the anti-prohibition stand, but the over indulgence by the individuals who drank the beverage to excess. That temperance should be taught in the home is explained by these remarks of Kahn:

Wherever the children are taught by their fathers and mothers the evils of intemperance you do not find drunkenness. The figures presented here today by the gentleman from Alabama show that the drinking habit is usually formed between the ages of 16 and 21 years. Those are the years in which the parent should point out to the growing youth the evil of over indulgence in alcoholic liquor. But many parents, instead of following a same course of that kind, lock up even the alcoholic stimulants kept for medicinal purposes and tell their children that they must not under any circumstances take a drink of liquorHaving never been told that it is not the use, but the abuse of alcoholic drink that does the harm, the probability is that the young man, by overindulgences on the first occasion he tastes liquor, makes a beast of himself.²

The establishment of laws does not lead to the control of the general citizen's intake and wise use of alcoholic beverages. Kahn felt that the education in the home would have certainly accomplished much more to

² Congressional Record, 63rd Congress, 3rd session, pp. 533-534 .

eradicate alcoholism than the restrictions he and his colleagues contemplated.

Congressman Kahn had a certain amount of contempt for those who tried to legislate the drinking habits of Americans and for those who campaigned for prohibition but who were known to have sipped or even dispensed the taboo liquor. When Kahn asked his colleagues to be reasonable and honest, he was referring to those who engaged in the following behavior:

On the 3rd day of November we had an election in California on State-wide prohibition. We have local option in that state. On that day a druggist in the city of Pasadena, which had voted dry under our local option laws, displayed a big sign in his window, "Vote the State dry." That very afternoon he was arrested for running a "blind pig". (Laughter.) That is a fair sample of some of the hypocrisy that follows in the wake of prohibition legislation.³

Kahn seemed to feel that there was a 'do as I do' ethic in the House in relation to the stand taken by those who favored the legislation supporting prohibition when he read the following creed:

Believe as I believe, no more no less;
That I am right, and no one else confess;
Feel as I feel, think only as I think;

3. ibid, p.534

Eat what I eat, and drink what I
 drink; Look as I look, do always as
 I do,
 Then, and only then, I'll fellow-
 ship with you.

That I am right, and always right,
 I know;
 Because my own convictions tell me so;
 And to be right is simply this to be
 Entirely and in all respects like me;
 To deviate a hair's breadth, or
 begin
 To question, doubt, or hesitate, is sin.

'Twere better that the sick should
 die than live,
 Unless they take the medicine I give;
 'Twere better sinners : perish than
 refuse
 To be conformed to my peculiar views;
 'Twere better that the world stand
 still than move
 In any other way than that which I
 approve.⁴

Seven years later, Kahn was still fighting to write
 favorable legislation for the grape industry of California.
 The smugness and piety of certain members of the House
 must have been the impetus for the following remark that
 Kahn made in 1921:

I believe that this thing ought
 to be handled in a rational way; and
 this prohibition legislation you all
 know is not rational. Gentlemen all
 know that the law is being violated
 every day of the week and every hour
 of the day. There is drunkenness all
 over the country today, despite the
 prohibition. I do not drink myself.
 I believe in absolute temperance.
 But there are men here who vote for

4. ibid.

prohibition who drink more in one week than I do in one year. (Applause)⁵

The applause in place of laughter indicates that Kahn was speaking with a certain amount of truth when he attacked the two-faced individuals who voted one way and drank when their constituency was turned in the other direction. I believe that the dishonesty expressed by these congressmen must have upset the idealism of Kahn.

As Julius Kahn fought to have the wines of California taken off the market at the last possible moment, so he also strove to have them returned to legal status as a first in a series of measures designed to amend the Volstead Act by petition of the people to the Congress. In a letter that was originally sent to the attorney for the Sanity League of America, Kahn expressed the strategy of petitioning instead of the time consuming and potentially unsuccessful attempts to amend the Constitution with a two-thirds vote from both Houses of Congress and the ratification of three-quarters of the states.⁶

Kahn wanted what was best for the country, and any law which made a great many of the citizens criminals and violators of the statutes was not serving the needs of

5. Congressional Record, 67th Congress 1st session p.3117

6. Letter from Sanity League of America that contained a letter from Julius Kahn to the League's Vice President, August 5, 1974. California Historical Society, San Francisco.

this country. Besides, it appeared that the system which presented man with a number of forbidden fruit was asking for man's human nature to get the best of him. Kahn used the Bible to make his point about temptation in the following:

Let me call your attention to the Bible and to the description of the formation of the earth. The Almighty, after having created all things, turned to Adam and Eve and said, in effect: "This is all yours, to have, to enjoy, to hold, and to possess; but in that corner over there is one tree; I prohibit you from eating of the fruit of that tree." That was the first prohibition law. As soon as the Almighty was out of sight, they ate of the fruit of that tree and broke the law. And then Adam, like a liar, sneak and hypocrite, blamed it all on the woman.

I am simply pointing out to you that there is something in human nature which makes us want to get something that we are told we can not have. That is an instinct in the human being that is as old as the world itself.⁷

The straight-forwardness of Congressman Julius Kahn was exemplified in his arguments regarding prohibition. He seemed to always be rational and driving toward a logical conclusion and remedy without concern for any group interests. The emotionalism surrounding prohibition did not veil the true problem in America of moderation and temperance for our astute representative from California's fourth district.

7. Congressional Record, loc. cit.

L I T E R A C Y A N D I M M I G R A T I O N

In 1914, Congressman Julius Kahn took a different stand toward immigration than he had supported and initiated during the first decade of this century. The Congressional Record reports Kahn's unfavorable reaction to the following news letter of January 10, 1914 that was sent across the country to promote support for a literacy test as a means to control and screen immigration. The excerpt is quoted below:

This literacy test is very broad and liberal. When it is enacted into law it will prove to be equally valuable as a means of protection to native-born workmen, foreign-born workmen already here, and foreign-born workmen who may come in the future. A foreign-born workman able to read will not be so easily imposed upon as the foreign-born workman who can not read. It will enable such to become more easily acquainted with American institutions and American trade-unions, and protect all from the greed and rapacity of the big corporations that are striving their utmost to keep labor in this country under their subjection.⁸

Congressman Kahn asked that his fellow colleagues not ask for literacy requirements from immigrants if their own constituency itself had a large percentage of illiterates. Kahn displayed his usual sense of humor to make his point when he said:

When a physician has a remedy or nostrum with which he proposes to cure an evil, if he be afflicted with the disease which his

⁸. Congressional Record, 63rd Congress, 2nd session, p. 2671

remedy is supposed to heal, he ought to be willing to take a dose of his own medicine to cure himself; and when a barber wants to sell a hair restorer to his baldheaded customers, if he himself be baldheaded, he should be willing to use it first upon himself and bring back his own head. (Laughter.) "Physician, heal thyself," is certainly applicable in such cases.⁹

The Hebraic law, as Kahn called it, orders that the woman who commits adultery be stoned to death; whereas the New Testament law does not call for stoning except by those who are without sin. How much better it would be if that was the spirit that dominated the immigration policies instead of the waves of bigotry and prejudice that Kahn felt were sweeping the country. Kahn said that to enact the illiteracy immigration law would be another leap in the dark. The motivations appear not to be entirely altruistic on Kahn's part, but partially sponsored by the sound reasoning of economics when he added:

The American native born ordinarily does not do the hard work of laying railroad ties and rails, of digging trenches, of balancing roadbeds, and work of that character that these illiterates do.. It is your illiterate, your uneducated man, who has to work with his brawn and not with his brain, who is willing to do it; it is he who is your hewer of wood, your drawer of water; and you want to shut the door upon that kind of immigration. I say you could better afford to keep out some of your educated skilled labor than

9. ibid.

lose the benefit of the brawn and muscle of the illiterate laborer who is content to take that employment which the educated man can not or will not perform.¹⁰

As there was little opposition to the Oriental immigrant who did so much of the back-breaking stoop labor during the gold rush days, so was the opposition sparse against the European immigrant. But, when the Oriental immigrants had to leave the mining regions and began competing with the native-born, there was much friction and the eventual call to shut off their immigration. The European immigrant became the source of ill-will too, but economically he was more an integral part of the industrialized East, in addition to often having relatives and close family here to sponsor him.

Kahn's attitude toward the European immigrant centers on possibly two fundamentals lacking in the nature of Oriental immigration. Kahn felt that the European would not corrupt the moral fibre of this country because their life style and ethics were very similar to the people of this country. The second principle was that their allegiance to this country was not placed in question like their Oriental counter-parts. The illiterate from Europe somehow seemed to be one seeking freedom. His illiteracy was not a measure of his future capabilities, but more a scar of an unfortunate and deprived past.

^{10.} ibid. p. 2672

Julius Kahn did oppose the admission to our country of immigrant criminals, paupers, the physically and mentally unfit. He added that he did not fear the illiterate immigrant, but the educated scoundrel whose presence would be a real source of trouble for this country's institutions and its general welfare.¹¹

The history of this country seemed to reaffirm the position that Kahn had taken against the literacy tests. The founding fathers and the laborers who first came to the shores of this great national were in many cases illiterate, and had there been a literacy test in those days there might not have arisen a nation such as Kahn gloried.

When the bill passed the Congress and reached the desk of President Woodrow Wilson he vetoed the bill and returned it.¹² Congressman Kahn, who was never afraid to tangle

11. Congressional Record, 63rd Congress, 3rd Session p.3029, Kahn indicated that he had little use for those foreigners who come here to preach the doctrines of anarchy and destruction of property.

12. An interview done the Summer of 1973 relates closely to the veto that President Wilson cast against the proposed examination. Mrs. Maurice Hepner, of San Francisco, relates that her father went to Washington on business and stopped in to see Congressman Kahn. Kahn was glad to see him and queried Mr. Sugarman if there was something he would like to do, and he replied that he would very much like to meet the President. A meeting was arranged for the next day. Kahn introduced Mr. Sugarman to President Wilson and told him that Mr. Sugarman was originally an illiterate immigrant who had not a horse and wagon until many years of work. Years later he sent his children to college and had been a good citizen of San Francisco and a pillar in the Jewish community. Mrs. Hepner related that the President, who had been indecisive about his stand, became convinced that he should veto the legislation requiring literacy for immigrants.

with the presidents, did not have to confront him as evidenced from this statement:

I have not always been able to agree with the President of the United States in his policies, but in his veto message to this House on this bill he hit the nail squarely on the head when he said, in effect, that the literacy test tends to deprive a man who had not had opportunity in his own land from getting the benefit of the opportunities that this country would afford.¹³

Had the literacy test been a measure of character or the ultimate loyalty the immigrants would give to this country, Kahn would have then endorsed all immigrants taking the examination. At times Kahn blurted out that the literacy test was merely an excuse used by the representatives "in every stage of this country's history" to keep out foreign elements¹⁴ and cultural minorities.

The financial supporter of this immigration restriction in the halls of Congress was organized labor. Kahn noted the following in Congress about the President of labor:

Take the great labor organizations...its president was born in England: its secretary was born in Canada: many of its officers were born abroad. They have made splendid records for themselves in the United States, and we are proud of the work

¹³. Congressional Record, op. cit. p. 3029.

¹⁴. ibid.

that they have done for the uplift
of the downtrodden and oppressed. 15

Kahn further asked his colleagues why would these very same men desire others not to find similar opportunities to serve this great country. Kahn asked how could a country of immigrants shut its own doors to the same type of people who were the founding fathers?

The following quotation again reiterates Kahn's feeling that all who are loyal to this country, above all else, are the true Americans whether they have immigrated from Ireland or Italy ... Kahn loved this land every so deeply and believed that all who came to its shores should be grateful and loyal.

Ah, Mr. Chairman, we have heard the loyalty of our foreign-born citizens and the descendants of foreign-born citizens seriously questioned in recent months. They have been referred to sarcastically as hyphenated Americans. I have constantly asserted that they did not hyphenate themselves. The American politicians hyphenated them for political purposes. They love the Union. No matter whether they or their fathers were born in other lands, they and their children are loyally devoted to these United States. And they will never hesitate to show their devotion in case this country should need their services in its defense.

They may have a sympathy for the

15. ibid., 64 Congress, 1st Session p.4792

land in which they first saw the light of day; but their hopes, their love, their devotion, their ambition, is centered in these United States of America. Here is where they have found their opportunity. Here they have builded their homes. Here they have reared their children. Here even the unfortunate illiterate from foreign lands is giving those children the splendid advantages of an education that was denied the parents in the old country. I, for one, hope the doors of opportunity may still swing open for the downtrodden and the oppressed of every land. I would keep out the criminals, the mentally ill and physically defective, the anarchists and the blackhanders. I would make character a test for admission. But I would never deny to those unfortunates who by reason of environment or social condition were unable to secure an education in their native lands the right to seek better surrounding, better educational facilities, better opportunities beneath the glorious Stars and Stripes. 16

Kahn was the most perfect example of the American he desired to immigrate to America. Julius Kahn came as a young boy to a foreign land too young to take the admission test for literacy, but he certainly would have performed in an excellent manner if he were quizzed as to his character and loyalty. It can be said that Kahn never took his citizenship nor the country of opportunity for granted. He realized the privileges that America afforded him, and most of all, the responsibility of becoming an active and trustworthy

citizen.

O R I E N T A L I M M I G R A T I O N

The most controversial issue which Julius Kahn supported during his first term in Congress was the attempt to limit the immigration rights of the inexpensive coolie labor coming from the Orient. Julius Kahn was always an American first and than a Californian. Based on these two priorities, he felt that conditions were intolerable which would allow open immigration to the Chinese and Japanese.

Kahn continually wrote and spoke of the history of the Orientals in California in his attacks against the loopholes which allowed them to flood the labor markets in what were already considered times of high unemployment.

It is most probable that Kahn and his family first encountered the Oriental laborers when they were in the gold mining camps in northern California in the 1860s. Actually, the Orientals were brought to the West coast in the early 1850s shortly after the great Gold Rush. They were a good source of cheap and conscientious labor for the hard work in the gold mines of California. But after less than twenty years, the mines were generally either worthless or too expensive to mine for the precious yellow metal, and the Oriental was then searching for other work at basically the same wages he received while mining. The greatest number of the Orientals returned to the larger port cities to settle.

There they soon began running the vast majority of laundries and doing labor of a menial level with an incredibly low salary. Soon a threat developed when they began competing with the white working class and undercutting his wages. The working man was terribly angry and rightfully upset about this new force which nearly toppled the entire California labor market. Initially, the companies who did the exploration of the mines had agreed that the coolies were only to be hired as temporary help. They did not come with the expectation of making California their home like most true immigrants who arrive in this country. They came under contract to one of six rather large companies.¹⁷ These six Chinese companies were to have stipulated in the labor agreements that the jobs all required the ultimate return of the Oriental worker to his native homeland when the employment was terminated, even if he died while in this country.

Many of the Oriental laborers could not read their English contracts, and thus many remained illegally in the United States. They quickly found employment when the industrialists offered them jobs at a quarter of the white's normal wage. Those who employed the unskilled Oriental found that they learned their trades quickly and were basically good workers. By 1870, there were at least 80,000 Chinese laborers in the State of

¹⁷. Julius Kahn, "The Japanese Question from A Californian's Standpoint." The Independent, January 3, 1907.

California with an even greater amount of cheap and, what Kahn termed, demoralizing coolie laborers awaiting the opportunity to emigrate from China to the United States.

Kahn's Republican party espoused an anti-Oriental platform and won easily at the polls in 1871. Eleven years later, the first Federal Exclusion Act was enacted to keep laborers and less desirable classes out of the country. A decade later in 1892, the Geary Resolution allowed anti-Oriental laws to remain on the books for another ten years. Kahn entered the House of Representatives in ¹⁸⁹⁹1900, and during his first term he co-sponsored the Mitchell-Kahn Bill that was directed at allowing only the Chinese merchant class to enter the country. The fear of loop-holes in the bill forced them to add that even if Orientals were living in a possession of the United States, they could not enter freely and without due processing.¹⁸

In a very comprehensive article on immigration in the magazine, The Independent,¹⁹ Kahn casted aside all doubt that the stand in California was more than "the utterance of the sand-lot." Kahn wrote that, "the Californians have come to know the Chinese coolie completely and that he is a canker in the heart of our

¹⁸. Kahn continued with such efforts to control immigration as evidenced from an article in the San Francisco Chronicle December 21, 1915 in which he prevents naturalized Orientals from obtaining full rights to land ownership and farming in California.

¹⁹. Julius Kahn, loc. cit.

civilization and he indulges in practices calculated to pollute our young men and women." Kahn related in this article that the British Parliament had a report made by an official about the vices of the Chinese coolies working the gold fields of South Africa. The report revealed that their behavior was so revolting as to cause the censors from printing the full report. To further add to his case, he addressed the House of Representatives and told them of the danger the merchant class brought about in society when he said:

It is the so-called merchant class that is largely responsible for the commission of most of the crimes committed by the Chinese in this country. It is they who import Chinese girls into the country for immoral purposes. It is they who hire highbinders and murderers to assassinate their business and personal enemies. It is they who own the gambling houses and the lottery joints. It is they who are the owners of opium dens and whose money is invested in houses of ill fame. Of course, I do not intend to say that all Chinese merchants are of this class, but I do say ... that a large number of Chinese merchants in this country are guilty of the things that I have mentioned.²⁰

The entire text covers several pages in the Congressional Record and is full of emotion and drama of the style which Julius Kahn was accustomed to use when he was on the theatrical stage. In order to show his colleagues that he was not merely attacking the Orientals because of their impact on the labor market, 20. Congressional Record, 57th Congress 1st Session, pp.3689-3690.

he quoted quite extensively from a report from Reverend Ira M. Condit, D. D. who had been engaged in missionary work among the Chinese. Again, Kahn used the text to show how young girls were procured for slave trade and prostitution in the dens of Chinatown. Also among the merchant class he found that they were using hired assassins who carried chained armor, revolvers, knives and a large assortment of concealed weapons. Congressman Kahn originally had given a qualified approval for the merchant to be allowed entry, but he expressed disapproval for a laborer who was upsetting the wage scale by working for coolie wages. Kahn realized through his work with Mitchell how unfeasible it would have been to exclude both classes of Orientals from immigrating to the United States. Kahn went even further. He proposed that the Act of 1894, which allowed foreigners to cross our country while enroute to another destination, be abolished because the Treasury officials were allowing too many to gain entry without the assurance that they left the continental boundaries of this country.

Julius Kahn's arguments for the exclusion of the Oriental brought about much concern that the foreign governments might be quite insulted about the way their people were being looked upon by this country. Kahn clearly said that he did not wish to implicate the awareness of these governments in the devious plots to

achieve illegal entry into this country. Congressman Kahn indicated that even if trade would have suffered with China it would have had no catastrophic effect upon our economy. Kahn presented the arguments quite clearly when he illustrated that the Exclusion Law was not the reason that trade had fallen off sharply. When the Geary Law of 1892 was enacted trade with China fell to \$5,600,00 from the \$8,700,000 of 1891. Though some had interpreted these figures as reflecting the state of relations between the two countries, Kahn brought representative trade figures to the attention of the House of Representatives from the United Kingdom, France and Germany. The data showed similar proportional drops in the amount of trade, and that these countries did not have any form of exclusion or adverse changes in their relations with the Chinese people or their government.

After Kahn illustrated that Chinese trade with other nations was dwindling, he then attacked the future of China as a market place for our goods. He reported that the cotton goods were purchased from the United States because of the relatively poor quality of the finished cotton goods produced in Europe. Kahn noted that the Chinese would have most assuredly bought from whichever nation in the market place offered equally good or even superior products at cheaper prices. The British consul at Niuchwang reported to his government

in 1890 that it was perfectly immaterial to the Chinese if the goods were manufactured in Great Britain or the United States of America.²¹ Furthermore, when the consul visited working production facilities he had occasion to ask a few of the workmen about the machinery they were using and if they knew where it came from. The laborers had no idea, nor did they feel it important to know according to the British consul. Kahn had adequately portrayed the Chinese as businessmen, and not as loyalists, who would not trade with our country if we did not offer the best products at the cheapest prices. Therefore, to assume that the trade balance was directly related to anything other than the normal influences of product and cost was idealistic and foolish. As soon as they found another source they would avail themselves of the product, and when they were able to produce their own goods with their own labor, "it is only economic logic that they will cease from importing the cotton goods from our looms." ²². Kahn went further to quote Kipling by relating:

...does any man who knows the character of that people-who as Kipling says, "Work and spread, pack close, and eat everything, and who can live on nothing" - that people "with a devil born capacity for doing more work than the ought" - who will deny that when they have become proficient in the industries and professions which they

²¹. ibid. p. 3691

²². ibid.

are studying they will do their own developing without the aid or assistance of "foreign devils."²³

Kahn once and for all warned his colleagues that economic friendships can easily be made or broken and the determining factors are purely financial. He further described the technological advances as the "awakening of China" which would lead to their own self-sufficiency.

Congressman Julius Kahn's tone began to change with- in the context of this address to the House of Representatives in the quotation by Kipling in which Kahn generalized about the Chinese:

Perhaps there is no people under the sun with the imitative ability and adaptability for all kinds of work and every condition of climate and environment of the Chinese race. They adapt themselves alike to the tropical heat of the Philippines and the icy cold of the Alaskan fisheries... As I stated before, they have been inured to all kinds of privation for forty centuries. ²⁴

In the above quotation taken from the Congressional Record, the first signs of praise for the Chinese people exist. If he had not expressed the negative connotations prior to this, one could easily get the impression that he would have been a strong supporter of unlimited immigration of people of such high caliber.

It is ironic that Kahn was opposed to Chinese

23. ibid.

24. ibid.

immigration to the Philippines to help develop the resources of the United States newest possession. But, Kahn warned that the coolie does not long remain a lowly laborer for too long a period. He asserted that the Chinese were born traders and were always ready for a bargain. Kahn warned, based on his experiences in his last trip to the Philippines, that there would be an intense hatred for this newly arising merchant class among the native Filipinos. Thus, for Kahn, it became evident that immigration to the possessions should not be encouraged at the expense of each territory's internal peace and social order. Another motivation behind restricting Chinese immigration stemmed from Kahn's fear that the Philippines and other United States possessions would have been staging grounds for a mass invasion by what he termed the "yellow hoards".

Julius Kahn also showed what appeared to be a genuine concern for the preservation of the islands for the natives. He felt that it was better to allow the natives to participate in the development of their own country than to allow our own capitalists to exploit the population.²⁵ Kahn argued that the best interests of that country would be served if the United States allowed them to industrialize at their own rate. According to

²⁵. Some 11 years later he still felt they were not capable of self-government as evidenced by correspondence in the chapter on the Philippines.

Congressman Julius Kahn, "The best way to insure that there will be little foreign intervention is to extend the exclusion policy to all the new possession."

As was the custom with Congressman Kahn, he would frequently employ humor to reinforce the points wh wanted to make in his addresses. An example of this was his use of Coleridge's description of his walk through Cologne:

I counted two and seventy stenches,
All well defined, and several stinks.²⁵

Kahn added that had Coleridge visited the cities of Canton on Shanghai, he would have been compelled to stop his count! After a round of laughter he commented further by saying that Bayard Taylor stated that Shanghai would be flattered by a description such as Coleridge's. Julius Kahn used the next round of laughter about the deplorable conditions in Shanghai to describe Canton as being considerably worse. This famous statesman and author who did not have what Kahn described as the "California anti-Chinese Prejudice" was quoted by Kahn as having said:

It is my deliberate opinion that the Chinese are morally the most debased people on the face of the earth. Forms of vice which in other countries are barely named are in China so common that they excite no comment among the natives.²⁶

^{25a.} Congressional Record, loc. cit.

^{26.} Congressional Record, 57th Congress, 1st Session, p. 3623.

Kahn went on to postulate that even though they had lived in this country for fifty years, they still remained much the same as they were in their homeland:

We of the Pacific Coast are perhaps more deeply concerned in this question than any of our fellow citizens. We feel their presence among us more than any other section of the country.

He is a present, living, vital problem with us, and we feel that our cause is also the cause of the laborer and the wage worker in the Eastern States. It is only the sordid and the selfish, who prefer a low standard of wages and a low grade of morality-men who want cheap labor because it will increase their individual profits-who would open loopholes in the barriers we have erected after many years of hard, bitter, practical experience.²⁷

Referring to Taylor's account, he added that our society could not endure their influence without suffering moral degeneration. Kahn again seems to go beyond the realm of financial considerations with this quote from Taylor:

Their touch is pollution, and harsh as the opinion may seem, justice to our own race demands that they should not be allowed to settle on our soil.²⁸

The gross generalizations about the Chinese people are representative of Julius Kahn's efforts to reach his particular end at any cost. In order not to end his April 4, 1902 appeal in the House without sound reasoning

27. ibid.

28. ibid.

and hurling words of hate and disgust for the Chinese people, he concluded by saying:

In conclusion, however, let me say that our exclusion laws have been a great boon to the laborers of this country. They now ask us to continue extending our sheltering aegis over them, and I feel that there is not a patriotic, loyal, liberty loving American who does not desire the workingmen of his country, it "hewers of wood and drawers of water," protected against this unequal competition. The American laborer and mechanic in his neat and comfortable home, seated at his fireside surrounded by his wife and little ones, is the peer of any wage worker in any part of the world. Let us keep him so. 29

The Congressional Record notes a loud applause following this speech. Kahn's delivery was probably most dramatic and, as a piece of art, deserved praise.³⁰

The San Francisco Labor Council had initially presented their resolution through Congressman Julius Kahn during the first session of the 56th Congress. The resolution was in favor of re-enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act and the extension of the Act to include the Japanese. It was presented to the Committee on Immigration

29. *ibid.*

30. It is most difficult for this researcher to uncover some motivation behind using any other reason than economics to justify the continuance of the Exclusion Acts. Admittedly, Kahn was not the only anti-Oriental as evidenced from the voter sentiment expressed in the elections during the 1890s. To say that the Chinese were amoral, causes much disappointment on my behalf. I am unable to comprehend the fears and ignorance of my fellow Californians at that point in time which lead to even greater sanctions against the Chinese people.

and Naturalization. Very little was done to further the embargoes against the Japanese, despite the sponsorship by "the man most responsible for halting all Chinese immigration."³¹

The Japanese were a different type of people from their Chinese counter-part that immigrated to the United States. The Japanese were not found as frequently on the relief rolls and were not competing with the white-laboring man. The largest group of them was in central California in the San Joaquin Valley engaged as either farmers or laborers. It has been speculated that because some acquired land either privately or by pooling of interests, they aroused the jealousy of Americans who were unable to go into business themselves.

Julius Kahn did not win his first bid for re-election to the House of Representatives, but that did not cause any lapse in the efforts of labor to control Oriental immigration. Just prior to Kahn's re-election to the fourth district in San Francisco, a new wave of prejudice swept the Bay Area. The San Francisco Chronicle ran several editorials calling for sanctions against the Oriental's right to attend public schools and own land in the state of California. Kahn

³¹ Mildred Welborn, "Events leading to the Chinese Exclusion Act" Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly, Vol. 9, p.53.

began to speak out publicly on the Japanese question and wrote an article on the subject.³² The citizens of San Francisco forced the Japanese and Chinese children to attend segregated public schools. This policy by the Board of Education brought much disapproval from around the nation and was the beginning of conflict between Kahn and President Theodore Roosevelt. Julius Kahn dismissed the assertions that the relations between the two trading countries would be endangered so as to precipitate a war when he said:

The action of the school board contemplated the consolidation of all Japanese school children under one roof ... and whose corps of instructors were experienced in their work and compared most favorably with the teachers in the other schools of the city... Unfortunately, the discussion of the school question has constantly carried more or less war talk in its train. Personally, I have never taken any stock in such talk. I have always felt that the common sense of the two nations would assert itself and that a solution would be found which would be creditable alike to the people of our own government and to the government of Japan. 33

32. There are several articles written by Julius Kahn on this matter, as compared to the relatively few that he wrote on the other issues during his tenure as congressman.

33. The text of this speech was originally given by Kahn to the Middlesex Club of Boston, Mass., on February 12, 1907. This speech on Asiatic immigration later appeared in the Congressional Record, 63rd Congress, 3rd Session, pp.3229-3230.

Kahn dealt with the Japanese problem in much the same way of attack as with the Chinese some five years earlier. He stressed the dangers that they would bring into our society if their immigration was not opposed. As debasing were Kahn's remarks against the Chinese in 1902, they were topped in the amount of hatred and animosity exhibited in his speeches as evidenced from the following text:

And now, once more California is threatened with an Oriental invasion. Since the great disaster which overwhelmed the city of San Francisco in April ³⁴, Japanese laborers to the number of 1,000 per month have been swarming through the Golden Gate; and I think that I am not stating the facts too strongly when I say that the people of California regard these Japanese coolies with greater abhorrence, aye, with greater fear, than they did the coolies from China. We feel that the former have all the vices of the Chinese, with few or none of their virtues. ³⁵

Kahn asserted that the Japanese were not like the Chinese who lived up to the letter of their obligation in business, but were people who would not hesitate to break their obligations if it suited their needs. Kahn stated further that:

Why, even in Japan all the principal banks and commercial houses employ Chinese in the two important positions of compradore and shroff.³⁶

³⁴. This disaster refers to the 1906 earthquake and fire of April 18, 1906.

³⁵. Julius Kahn Op. Cit. p.28

³⁶. The compradore is the purchasing and selling agent who acts as the go between his employer and the firms which is the customer. The shroff is the one who is the expert in setting the currency exchange rates.

...As a rule foreign firms doing business in Japan place full reliance on the word of the Chinese compradore. And if the bankers and business men are not to be relied upon, what reliance it to be placed on the lower classes Japanese society? 37

In the above quotation, isn't Kahn also slandering the professional class and not the lowly working man and coolie? The hatred seems not to be limited to any certain strata as indicated from the following remarks which were made only five weeks after those in the previous quotation:

However, I deem it but proper to state at this time, and in this presence, that there is no antagonism on the Pacific Coast to the Japanese of the better class, such as scholars, professional men, bankers, and merchants. The opposition is entirely directed against the coolie or laboring class. And I say frankly that the Japanese is much more feared in California than is his meek, docile, child-like, and bland counterpart from the vicinage of Canton. 38

It is perfectly clear that Kahn did not desire any great influx of what he earlier called the 'yellow hordes'. At certain times he abhorred the merchant class for their lack of business ethics, and during other occasions he based his opposition solely on the catastrophic effect that the coolie had upon the organized labor market in California.

37. Julius Kahn, ibid.

38. Congressional Record, 63rd Congress, 3rd Session, p. 3230.

The attacks made upon the Orientals can be explained easily enough by ascribing the tenets of his position to the working classes and the industrial influences of the city he loved so dearly, San Francisco. Julius Kahn loved his country probably more than anything else in the world. Because of this intense love, he desired that the integrity of the people remain high and that all should contribute to the well being of this nation with their loyalty.

This thesis is verified in his talks to Jewish audiences when he described how great this country had been to the Jews and that "there should be no limit to what the Jew is ready to give for his land."³⁹ In a similar vein, he includes what might have been his primary objection to giving the Orientals full rights, the fear that their first allegiance would not be to this country but instead to their motherland. In the Independent he wrote:

We who have learned to know the little brown man, by reason of our close association with him, have no faith in his professions of loyalty to any country but his own. We feel that even tho he might go into our courts and forswear allegiance to the Mikado, if ever the time should come when there might be a struggle between our country and his native land, his sympathies, his influence and his actual support would go to that

39. The Jewish Progress, October 6, 1893, p.4.

native land. He does not recognize the binding force of our oaths. All men who have had dealings with him will testify to that. And so the mere formality of having taken an oath of allegiance to the United States would not be considered by him as binding upon himself in an emergency of that kind.

There can be no gain saying the fact that he is intensely patriotic and devoted to his Island Empire. All Americans admire him for that devotion...But the people of California, after having him among them for many years, feel satisfied that he will always remain loyal to the Mikado, and that the oath of naturalization would be to him but a hollow mockery, an empty formality signifying nothing. We do not want that kind of citizenship, and we do not intend to have it, if we can prevent it! ⁴⁰

Kahn had made it very explicit that unless one was loyal and patriotic to this country, he should not partake in its bounty and share the rights and privileges while neglecting to share the responsibilities. It was not prejudice alone that led Julius Kahn to attack, at times viciously, the attempts by the Oriental to gain equality, but Kahn's concern for his newly adopted home.

Kahn was not only a patriot, but also a military man. This aspect of Kahn was always present, but generally subdued. He was a most effective military man and had been credited with having saved more lives

⁴⁰. Julius Kahn, loc cit.

than any other man in the United States.⁴¹ Kahn seems to have mixed the military with his patriotic sensitivity at the conclusion of the article. This appears to be a familiar trait with Congressman Kahn in order to rally support at the end of his addresses and articles. The conclusion did not serve as a summary, but as a unifying force which united the listeners with his patriotism. His messages were part of carefully worded speeches with crescendoing finales that could have people awarding Kahn a standing ovation even if they disagreed with much of what he previously advocated. The final portion of the last paragraph from the article in the Independent illustrates this rather typically:

Today, both the people of the United States and the people of Japan are engaged in a friendly struggle for the commerce of the Pacific. With the passing years this competition will grow more keen, the possibility of friction will become more and more probable. There are still some things that the world is not willing to submit to arbitration. History has taught us, to, that most of the world's great wars have arisen out of greed for commercial supremacy, or greed for territorial expansion. He will rank as a wise, far-sighted statesman who will constantly, from this time forward, remind his countrymen that we should in time

41. Time, December 29, 1924, p.7. This refers to his work that brought about a speedy end to the war. Therefore, many lives were saved.

of peace prepare for war.⁴²

⁴². Kahn, locit. In retrospect, it would have been difficult to think that Japan would even be ready to go to war after just finishing one with Russia. Kahn was one who always advocated that preparation was the best deterrent to war.

T H E P H I L I P P I N E S

When Congressman Julius Kahn returned from his trip to the Orient and the Philippines, he made a lengthy address to the House of Representatives on June 20, 1902. The speech begins with a rather long introduction which sets the stage in a most dramatic manner for the body of the talk which dealt with the ability of the Philippines to govern themselves.

Julius Kahn began his speech by stating how very important it is to be hopeful and optimistic about the future. He noted further that there are pessimists who would automatically appear every time a man like Fulton would propose that his steamship be run on the Hudson River. In a similar fashion, there were those who called Samuel Morse a crackpot when he tried to link Washington, D. C. to Baltimore with a telegraph line. Kahn again used the Adam and Eve narrative to make his point about those eternal pessimists in the following:

And, I verily believe that if some of these pessimists had been present in the Garden of Eden when the Almighty took a rib out of Adam and created Eve they would have shaken their heads dolefully and would have sorrowfully exclaimed, "It's no use; she won't work." (Great laughter and applause.) 43

The value of being an optimist was clearly acknowledged by Julius Kahn as a positive virtue. Kahn, being the

43. Congressional Record, 57th Congress, 1st Session, p.7120.

the American that he was, believed that no condition would ever arise to baffle the skills and abilities of this country's people. But, Kahn saw no way possible to bring independence to the peoples of the Philippines. He blamed their state partly on the natural effects of being ruled by Spain for nearly three centuries. Julius Kahn in the Congressional Record cited the decision of the minority membership of the Committee on Insular Affairs with courage to admit that the people of the Philippines are unprepared for self-rule. Julius Kahn acknowledged the dissatisfaction that might be expressed by his fellow congressmen, but congratulated the committee for being bold, honest and fair-minded to admit the unfavorable conditions in that 'distant archipelago'.⁴⁴

Kahn evidently felt that if the islands were given self-government, their allegiance to this country would be at a low level. If the United States waited until the literacy level of the people was raised, then according to the following quotation, the situation in the Philippines would be ideal:

Senor Fabie-who is one of the leading men in Manila-said to me that he ventured the prediction that in twenty-five years from now, when his people shall have fully learned to know and understand the Americans as he understands them, when they shall have become acquainted with our history as he is, when they shall have learned our system of government as he does, there would not

44. ibid p.7121

be a single Filipino who would not be as ready to lay down his life for the American flag as any native of the United States. (Applause.) 45

Kahn believed that the condition of hostility toward the United States was the result of lies by various Philippine leaders who desired hostility be implanted in the minds of the people to keep the tyrannical Americans from their country. Kahn cited the case of an American school teacher from California who was the first to enter the public schools of Manila. When she took charge of her class, she queried them as to the number of continents. She was amazed that the children, without exception, did not know anything about either South America or North America, or even that they existed. Thus, Kahn was able to ascertain that the hatreds expressed by the people were based on lies and ignorance. The hatred could be lifted by continuing the new civil governments in the various areas of the Philippines. The people who Kahn met said that since the civil governments were initiated in the provinces, they were more assured that the desire by the United States was not sinister. During his visit many of the laws being passed by the new Civil Commission in the Philippines were exceedingly liberal and fostered the conclusion that the purposes of the Americans were noble and humane.

45. ibid.

Kahn talked at length about his encounters with many fine people from both the common class and influential dignitaries. They did not convey to Kahn the desire for independence as some of Kahn's colleagues tried to assert. Those congressmen were generally those who had never seen a Filipino, let alone visited the Philippines. Kahn postulated from his interviews that the people wanted something similar to one of our state's governments.

When Kahn was queried as to why some of those who made similar trips the same summer as he had differing views about the character of the people and the futility of keeping our soldiers there, he replied with a clever little story that enforced the point that he wished to make. The story was based on a lecture by Max O'Rell, a French satirist. Max O'Rell was visiting the States and happened to hear about a lecture being given by a man who had just returned from O'Rell's home town, Paris. He was most interested to hear the impressions the American had and he attended the lecture. The lecturer focused upon the wretched state of Paris and how he had spent his time going from one den of iniquity to another. The American concluded that Paris was in shambles and the public should refrain from visiting a city of such ill-repute. O'Rell was rightfully upset and he rose and told the American that he did not realize that Paris was now so very wicked. He then asked the lecturer which places did he go to, and

did he not see the beautiful art at the Louvre, or see the people sitting on the Champs Elysee listening to music, or go to the Tomb of Napoleon? O'Rell continued listing the major cultural places of interest and he finally asked the American, "But if you did not see all this, where did you go?"⁴⁶

After this story Kahn continued to speak of the good this country had done in the Philippines for the people. School enrollment was nearly 200,000 compared with the maximum of 30,000 who attended school while the Island was under the rule and domination of Spain. The natives had been taught sanitation and hygiene. The city of Manila's death rate was cut nearly in half since the introduction of the American presence. They also established an efficient police department to control the bands of ladrones that were a constant source of harassment for both natives and foreigners. Kahn also noted that courts had been established for the first time in the history of the archipelago and that justice was equally distributed between the rich and poorer classes.

Instead of being a dark blot on our history, as some of the opponents of the Administration have been pleased to characterize the expansion policy, I boldly contend that future generations will applaud the patriotic endeavors of our countrymen in their noble efforts to bring peace and education, enlightenment and justice to this poor

46. ibid. p.7122.

downtrodden people that, until we came, had only known three hundred years of ignorance and superstition, tyranny and oppression. Sir, I contend that it is one of the brightest pages that illumines and will continue to illumine the annals of any nation that has ever existed. (Applause)⁴⁷

Kahn admitted that atrocities had been committed against some of the Americans, but he would not blame the scattered attacks on the entire population of the Philippines. Kahn mentioned that a young man in the Army stationed at the Presidio of San Francisco had shot a clerk when he was drunk. If the entire Army could not be held responsible for the actions of the young man, then the people of the Philippines were not liable for the crimes committed by a few of their own people.

Kahn's military background enabled him to perceive that the Philippine endeavor should not only be based upon the humanitarian concerns for an underdeveloped nation. Kahn viewed the islands as strategically valuable to this government as they were during the Boxer uprising when so many ministers of foreign powers were besieged in their posts in Peking. When the appeal was made to the House in the following quotation, both sides of the House rallied around Kahn with applause:

Fortunately for us we had an
army in the Philippines, and for once in

47. ibid. p. 7123

its history our country did not have to appeal to any foreign power in the world to protect the life and property of its minister. (Applause.)⁴⁸

The dramatic side of Julius Kahn appears near the close of the following lengthy address to the House in 1902, when he tried to link the people of the Philippines with his own country by recalling the incident of the crowds singing "The Star Spangled Banner" on the fourth of July:

As the first note of the beloved national anthem floats out upon the soft tropical air, every hat is reverently raised and the hum of conversation is hushed until the last note of that soul-stirring and inspiring melody has faded into the silence of the night.

I could not altogether suppress my emotion when I witnessed that, to me, never to be forgotten spectacle, and a vagrant tear fell from my eyes—a tear of earnest thanksgiving and joy at witnessing these people, who, three years earlier, had not probably ever known the existence of the great Republic across the Pacific, but who, having already learned a full measure of love and admiration for our institutions, thus silently and reverently saluted the song that represents to all American hearts the hopes and aspirations of this majestic nation. (Applause.) I thanked God that I was a citizen of that great Republic that brought liberty and enlightenment to these 8,000,000 of human beings; that had introduced education and freedom where before had existed ignorance and intolerance; that had lifted up a downtrodden and

48. ibid. p. 7124.

oppressed race and placed them
 upon a higher plane of civilization
 than they had ever dreamed of, and
 that asked no greater reward than
 they should be loyal, patriotic and
 enlightened people under the glorious
 Stars and Stripes. (Loud applause.) 49

This concluding section of the address to the House indicates the reoccurring theme of loyalty and patriotism that were the foremost qualities that Julius Kahn espoused and desired for all his fellow Americans. Because Kahn saw this ultimate virtue in the Philippine people, he continued to struggle against the measures that endorsed the independence of the archipelago nation. His efforts for the Philippines did not falter even when his efforts seemed doomed to failure. When the civil disorders of 1913 in the city of Manila reached an intense level, Kahn received a letter from a military friend in the Philippines, General H. H. Bandholtz, who wrote that he and his men "are very much up in the air as to what will happen to the Philippines."⁵⁰

Julius Kahn continued to fight against the Jones Bill that endorsed an eight year deadline for the withdrawal of American personnel. Kahn believed that the anarchists would have prevailed if the Congress had chosen to "scuttle" the Philippines. Kahn estimated in his return correspondence to General H. H. Bandholtz:

49. *ibid.* p. 7125.

50. Letter to Julius Kahn, March 7, 1913 (Michigan Historical Society).

...it will require several generations to bring them to that standard of civilization and education which will enable them to govern themselves. 51

.....
51. Letter to General Henry Hill Bandholtz, April 16, 1913, (Michigan Historical Society).

CORPORATE TRUSTS AND TARIFFS

The desirability of allowing corporate trusts to continue within the United States was brought before the 62nd Congress. It was held that the means to control foreign business, and their emergence within this country, was through the imposition of tariff laws and regulations. It was common belief that if tariffs were applied to foreign goods, the result would be dominance in the market place by a few large American owned businesses. Kahn sponsored the path which he felt would benefit both business and laborer while increasing the Treasury with a grade surplus instead of the all too familiar deficit.

Kahn continually asked for postponement of tariff legislation until more facts were known and the results of a report from the House Ways and Means Committee could be assembled. Congressman Julius Kahn always stood for rational thinking and his continual efforts during the 62nd Congress indicate his struggle to seek edification before legislation.⁵²

The appearance of modern business trusts was inevitable according to Kahn when he said:

The trust movement is one of the phenomena of modern business and commercial advancement, and trusts exist in free-trade England even more numerously than they do in this country.⁵³

Kahn was attempting to illustrate that tariffs did

52. Congressional Record, 62nd Congress, 1st Session pp.2032-2040

53. Ibid. p2033

not produce business trusts. These trusts were a manifestation of the highly progressive nature of commerce in the twentieth century. To end the tariff would not in itself have toppled the trusts which were the imagined threat to the public. Kahn was most certainly a reasonable man who used emotion and reason in his addresses in the House of Representatives. Kahn pleaded for patience on his colleagues part when he insinuated that they, like himself, did not fully understand the import of the very complicated trade bills. He accused the Democrats, during this lengthy account in the Congressional Record, of pushing legislation without regards to its merits.

Instead of standing here upon this floor and denouncing the Republican Party because that party has placed on the statute books a tariff law which not alone has given new impetus to the industries of this country, but which also have brought enormous revenues into the public coffers, it would be well for the gentlemen on the other side of this chamber to heed the suggestion of the Philadelphia firm to adjourn and go home. In the interim between now and next December let them study this all important question of the trusts in every phase and aspect, in order that they may be able at the regular session of Congress to bring in a measure which will be in the nature of constructive legislation.⁵⁴

Though Kahn might seem overly zealous, he was a man who strongly believed that his fellow congressman owed his constituency the best that he had to offer in order to bring his district actual benefits as evidenced from the

54. Ibid. p. 2037.

following:

...to bring in measure...constructive legislation on this important subject. In that way they may bring honor and glory upon themselves and their party. They may then acquire the confidence of the country. In that way they can perform an actual service to the people. But to bring in this piecemeal tariff legislation, which helps nobody in this country and to keep up this tariff tinkering, which simply tends to paralyze the country's industries to the detriment of hundreds of thousands of mechanics and laborers who are dependent upon those industries for their daily bread, is, to my mind, an utterly useless and senseless performance.⁵⁵

Even though it appeared logical that tariffs would eliminate competition from foreign firms, Kahn held to his stand that tariffs do not affect business trusts. Kahn explained by saying:

The tariff in this country has no more to do with the formation of trusts in this country than no tariff in England has anything to do with the formation of the trusts in that country. This is the industrial situation all over the world: The men who have large amounts invested in industries are trying to avoid keen competition. They have discovered that competition, and especially the brand which is known as "cut-throat competition," has been ruinous in times past.

...they have found out that competition wherever it has become exceedingly keen has resulted in what they call cut-throat competition practically a ruination of industry, and it was in order to prevent that kind of competition that combinations have been made in England in free-trade England, even before they were made in our protected United States.⁵⁶

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

Congressman Julius Kahn agreed with the economist McCrosty that in both protected and unprotected markets the prices fell as a result of wild efforts to reduce costs by larger outputs.⁵⁷ Julius Kahn further stated that the large trusts in England were the sources of money for the emerging and existing ones in the United States. Free trade would not end the large trusts, but neither would tariffs. Therefore, tariffs were not the solution, but they were sources for income for the treasury and a means of protection for the factory workers' jobs.

Kahn was confronted with further congressional opposition to the trade tariffs because of the sentiment for the consumer. Added tariffs would increase the merchants' costs which, in turn, would affect the consumer. Those items which were tariff exempt were thought to be cheaper for the consumer if the added taxes were eliminated. Kahn knew that the lifting of the previous oil tariffs had not reduced the price to the consumer despite the theoretical principles that free trade rests upon. Before he could finish his remarks to the House of Representatives, his time ran out because of the many questions that his colleagues asked from the floor. Kahn cited the results of free trade on consumer prices in the following remarks:

Mr. Chairman, I want to make this further statement, namely, that since free

57. Ibid.

trade with Puerto Rico has been established the price of sugar and the price of tobacco have not been reduced a fraction of a cent to the consumers of this country. 58

The most significant factors controlling prices were the large trusts and combinations who were able to control all production output in England, Germany, and the United States. Kahn addressed the House and told them that the trusts and combinations were organized in this country and free trade England for three main reasons; raising prices, limiting production, and stifling the competition.⁵⁹ The motives for these large combinations were certainly less than altruistic when Kahn described their purpose as being organized for their own benefit and not for the best interests of the public.⁶⁰

Kahn perceived no appreciable advantage for the public in the large trusts who had the ability to control the market place to serve their own financial needs. Congressman Kahn was asked by one of his colleagues if it were not the duty of the Congress to regulate the oppressive and nonpolistic companies who used their self-interest in order to obtain whatever they lawfully could from the public? Julius Kahn came right to the point when he advocated abolishing the trusts and monopolies. If that were too difficult, he felt the least that they could do was to regulate them⁶¹

58. Ibid. p.2039

59. Ibid. p. 2040

60. Ibid. p. 2039

61, Ibid. p. 2040

As was the customary style of this orator, Kahn made his closing remarks hinge on a patriotic and dutiful note in order to elicit support for his proposal. The Congressional Record carries the following text:

... there must be a remedy for every wrong, and the political party that will solve the problem of how to control and regulate, or, if need be, dissolve the trusts, will be doing more for the common people of this country than all the theorists who would tinker with the tariff by trying to engraft their particular theories thereon. And so I say to the Democratic majority, quit your tariff tinkering; adjourn and go home. Study the question of how to handle the trusts and combinations which tend to stifle competition and thus increase the cost of living; come back next December with a proper bill to cure these evils, and you will be doing yourselves and the country an actual service.⁶²

62. Ibid.

MILITARY

Julius Kahn sponsored and enacted much legislation for his people of the fourth district while serving thirteen terms in the House of Representatives.⁶³ The legislation that brought the Pan Pacific Exposition to San Francisco, the controls upon Oriental immigration, and an effort to permit the wine industry to be excluded from the sanctions of the Volstead Act were all acts aimed at improving San Francisco's industries and its people. Congressman Kahn did not reach the level of national prominence solely because of his labors for local legislation, but for his altruistic efforts when he served on the House Committee on Military Affairs from 1905-1923. He was its chairman from 1919 until 1923, during the 66th and 67th Congresses. Congressman Julius Kahn gave of himself completely in his work often against the popular sentiment of his associates.

Kahn's health began to fail shortly after the end of the first World War, and it is ironic that he then accepted the heaviest burden of his career. As part of an article eulogizing Kahn, the New York Times noted:

Although not in sympathy with many of the President's views, he supported all measures which tended to help strengthen the fighting forces in the belief that the best way to end the slaughter in Europe was to push for victory with every ounce of strength. It is not far from the truth to say that his death was in no small measure

63. Except for a defeat at the polls in 1902, he served the longest consecutive term of any representative from a large city until that time.

due to the extent to which he overworked himself during and after the war years in behalf of a sound policy of national defense.⁶⁴

In an interview with Conrad Prag Kahn,⁶⁵ the younger son of Julius Kahn, it was revealed that the Congressman had a stroke shortly before his trip in 1919 to the Paris Peace Conference. His son felt that he went there at the request of General John J. Pershing. Because of his ill health, he was forced to go with the family doctor, Dr. Hertstein. Dr. Hertstein was a busy doctor, but the desire to look after the Congressman coupled with his longing to meet the General were sufficient motivations for him to take a leave of two weeks. Conrad Kahn felt it was necessary to include in the interview that Dr. Hertstein paid many of the bills incurred on the trip. Upon their return to San Francisco, Dr. Hertstein donated a statue of General Pershing to the city which still stands in Golden Gate Park with the Dr.'s name on it as the donor.

The words spoken about a man in his eulogy or immediately after death are filled with emotion and much praise. A statesman cannot be properly evaluated until some years have passed, and it was with this consideration that a Congressional Medal was proposed for him ten years after the end of the first World War. The following

64. The New York Times, December 20, 1924, p.14.

65. Dr. Norton B. Stern, Additions to a Report of an Interview with Mr. Conrad Prag Kahn, June 3, 1968.
(American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio).

article relates the efforts by his colleagues:

The perspective of ten years since the World War closed makes all the more gracious and significant the proposal to confer a posthumous decoration on Julius Kahn for the service he rendered his country as chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee.

Under the rules which make the House committees virtual commissions in control of legislation Chairman Kahn occupied a position of power over the military resources of the Nation second only to that of the President himself. The intelligent zeal with which he upheld the hands of the President at the times of the country's need won the gratitude and admiration of the patriotic public.

The Congressional Medal is proposed for him after a decade has given opportunity to appraise his services under the calm light of peace. San Francisco, which had the honor of giving this faithful and efficient servant to the Nation, rejoices in the merited distinction about to be conferred on his memory. 66

The following pages of this chapter will deal with his efforts on behalf of the House Committee on Military Affairs to establish the Selective Service Act and to achieve a state of military preparedness in both times of war and peace.

Kahn's pre-war and post-war legislation concerning the military was centered around granting honor to soldiers who gave service to their country, increasing benefits for the retired, lending support for increasing present military installations and construction of naval
 66. San Francisco Chronicle, December 10, 1929, p.13. After hearings were conducted, it was determined that Julius Kahn merited the medal, but was ineligible because he was foreign born.

shipyards and harbors. The backing for these measures before World War I set the stage for his eventual move to the position of the ranking minority leader. Kahn began with these simple measures and later gained the respect of his colleagues as a man who possessed "The loftiest patriotism and self sacrificing devotion to his conception of right."⁶⁷

When the army appropriations were being discussed during the 62nd Congress a cut in military spending seemed inevitable judging by the sentiments expressed in the majority view from the Committee on Military Affairs. When Julius Kahn differed with the majority he expressed no qualms about it. His style is concise and to the point as in the following:

Mr. Chairman, at the very outset I want to compliment the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Virginia, for the able manner in which he presented the majority views of the committee upon this floor on last Saturday. I regret exceedingly that the report of the majority members of the Committee on Military Affairs was not equally free from caustic criticism. I hope to show as I proceed that much of this criticism is unfounded. I want to say in the beginning that the minority members of the Committee on Military Affairs are opposed to the legislative features of this bill. They believe that a much better purpose would be served if those matters would be taken up in a separate measure. Long experience in the House has determined the fact

⁶⁷. The New York Times, December 20, 1924, p. 15, The Text of the condolence letter sent to Florence Prag Kahn by President Coolidge.

that it is ill advised and not conducive to good results to legislate on important questions upon a general appropriation bill.⁶⁸

Too many things were being contemplated for this one appropriations bill. Not only was there to be a budget cut, but also a complete realignment and reorganization of the various branches of the Army and a change in the length of enlistment. Kahn saw ways of cutting the budget in the certain areas by streamlining operations, but he also knew that areas had to be expanded. To lump the legislation in a single package would have been difficult to sell to his colleagues.

A recurrent theme throughout Kahn's career on the Committee on Military Affairs was military preparedness during peace as well as war. Any changes in the Army should not result in the lessening of the number of ready combat troops as evidenced in the following:

The legislation that is pending proposes to reorganize by consolidation, some of the most important staff bureaus of the War Department. ...The reorganization of the line of the Army is being considered at the present time by the General Staff.

...This legislation which is proposed in this bill should be made to fit the reorganization of the line of the Army-in other words, the fighting branch-should be made to fit the reorganization of the Staff Corps. It has been said before our committee-

68. Congressional Record, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session p.1844.

and that probably bears out the statement the gentleman from Kentucky made a few moments ago, that so far as the fighting branch of our Army is concerned, we practically have no Army.

We have no Army, either in tactical or geographical units. The various branches of the Army are out of proportion, and it is therefore the purpose of the General Staff to present during the present session of the Congress a measure that will reorganize the line of the Army so as to create proper units that can be expanded in time of war and contracted in time of peace. ⁶⁹

The inability to organize an Army in a time of crisis appears to have been a great and real fear of Congressman Julius Kahn. The frustration he felt of not having an adequate standing army and reserves probably was a significant factor that led Kahn to eventually advocate the Draft Law. Kahn must have also felt that a weak Army was an invitation by others to take advantage of the United States in her compromising position. Therefore, though the expenditures were high for the military establishment and could be cut in selective cases, it was imperative that caution be exercised as indicated:

The majority of the members of the committee contend that the legislation is conducive to economy. There is no difference of opinion among the members of the committees as to the necessity for economy. We all favor that. But

69. Ibid.

we do not favor economy at the expense of efficiency, and I shall try to show as I proceed that the legislation which is pending in this bill will not make for the efficiency that is claimed by the majority.⁷⁰

Thus, it appeared that Kahn desired foremost an effective Army judging from the preceding citation. Being a practical man, Kahn was aware of the problems created by the vast number of desertions in the Army. He proposed that the period of enlistment need not be as long as five years. He based this on statements expressed by the great military leaders who recommended that re-enlistment be optionable after three years of service. In the Congressional Record ⁷¹, seven high ranking military men were quoted who supported the three year enlistment over the mandatory five year obligation. If the five year enlistment brought about a great deal of desertion, and the three year plan caused a significant drop, then it was only logical for Kahn to advocate the three year enlistment.⁷²

At the close of Congressman Kahn's address to the

71. Ibid. pp. 1844 & 1845

72. The same reasoning here parallels Kahn's concern for the eradication of laws which go against man's behavior. In this case 5 years appeared too long a term and men went AWOL. If changing the law would not make these decent citizens criminals, then Kahn was for the change. The same reasoning was used at a time when many good citizens were drinking and Kahn felt they should not be punished, but rather the Volstead Act should be revoked.

House, he summed up his remarks and concluded with the thoughts that appear to have been the foundations of his policy toward the status of military preparation:

...But, in conclusion, at this time I wish to say that I want to see the Army a real force

We should heed the lessons of the past. All too often we have lamented our unpreparedness for war at the outbreak of hostilities. I believe that if we were to become embroiled in the near future with any first-class power we would suffer extreme humiliation because we are unprepared for war.

The patriotic duty of the hour is not to enact piecemeal legislation, but to reorganize the entire Army from the ground up, and not from the top downward. We are a peaceful Nation. I hope my countrymen may never again become embroiled in war. But if ever the battle flags of the Republic must be again unfurled I hope the Army, for once in our history, will be able to respond "Ready" when the first rumble of the war drum is heard.⁷³

Congressman Julius Kahn ended the above address in his customary style that could have evoked a patriotic note even within the greatest of cynics. That Kahn loved his country and would sacrifice nearly all for it is quite clear in his pleas, and speeches both in the House and on the national scene.

Five days later on February 13, 1912, Kahn was still working to clarify the issues of the Army Appropriation Bill. Kahn felt that the Quartermaster General should have been allowed to create a reserve supply of clothing by increasing the appropriation to refurbish depleted stocks of Army uniforms.

73. Ibid. p. 1846.

Kahn was asked by his colleagues if the Quartermaster profited by the three uniform changes during the previous decade. Kahn proceeded to squelch all the rumors that the Quartermaster General had been selling the outdated clothing for his own personal profits.

More questions followed from Kahn's colleagues as to the advisability of purchasing new uniforms when the budget was already over-extended and Congress was trying to economize. One congressman asked if it was not a peculiar matter for Kahn to desire funds for reserve clothing, while the bill requested no reserve allocations for ammunition. Kahn answered with the following:

Nevertheless, the soldier should be proud of his uniform, and he should have an adequate one when he goes marching under the Stars and Stripes.
(Applause.)⁷⁴

Congressman Sherley from Kentucky replied to Kahn's remark with these comments:

I agree with that; and the gentleman's statement is very pretty. But the proposition is not to supply the soldier with a uniform. It is to lay up a reserve that is not needed, and which has been changed so often that since 1898 you have lost \$800,000 in money by it. I say to you, that it is better that the soldier have ammunition than to have a uniform when he is sent into battle.
(Applause)⁷⁵

The appropriation was later declined. It appears in this issue that his patriotic spirit evidently over-

74. Ibid. p. 2014

75. Ibid.

came the rational spirit that was so much a part of his nature. Perhaps, the uniform and the pomp that were associated with it were most important to this ex-theatrical man as a stimulus to instill pride and patriotism in the man going into battle.

During the next three sessions of Congress, Kahn continued to work quite extensively on the Committee on Military Affairs. Another area he pursued in addition to his efforts on the Military Appropriations Bills of each Congress were measures to obtain relief for the volunteers of the War with Spain. He worked hard to build and fortify the Presidio of San Francisco and to establish a Maritime Hospital in the Bay Area (HR 12743) during the 63rd Congress. The 64th Congress saw Kahn sponsor another Bill (HR 12766) to further bring the Army to new levels of efficiency. He also proposed during the second session that additional funds be allocated for a continuing line of national defense⁷⁶ and to increase the amount and exposure of military training for a civilian reserve that could be called to action in times of hostilities.⁷⁷

During the 65th Congress, Kahn began to achieve national prominence for the legislation which he struggled to have enacted. In attempting to increase the size of the military establishment, Kahn advocated the Draft against the wishes of the majority party and against the chairman

76. Congressional Record, 64th Congress 2nd Session, p. 3459 & 3460.

77. Ibid. p.4466

of the Committee on Military Affairs. Kahn may have feared that holding the minority view could have caused interruptions when he began his talk before the House of Representatives on April 27, 1917 which he began by asking the Chairman the following:

Mr. Chairman, I ask that I be allowed to proceed with my remarks and that I not be interrupted with questions until I have made my main statement; after that I shall be glad to answer questions.

I have a high regard and deep admiration for the chairman of the committee and the members of the majority. I do not approve of the attacks that have been made upon them, because I believe that they are actuated by the same high motives that actuate the members of the minority. ...The minority always does occupy a difficult position. It is hard to stand up against a majority, but I hope before I conclude to convince the House that the views of the minority are sound and that at the very beginning of this great struggle that confronts us we must start our military policy upon a proper basis. (Applause.)⁷⁸

The preceding quotation from the Congressional Record indicates for this researcher the recurrent attempts by Kahn to put a potentially hostile audience at ease before he presented an issue that went against the consensus of the group. In this address before the House, Kahn attacked the selfish and the cowardly who did not accept their responsibility when their country needed their services during war times. Congressman Julius Kahn used his oratory skill to unite his colleagues with emotionalism against those whom Kahn described in the next quotation

78. Congressional Record, 65th Congress 1st Session, p.1368.

from the preceedings in the House:

The high-spirited, patriotic courageous sacrifice of personal interests and creature comforts and often even life itself, in volunteering for the Republic. The timid, the selfish, the cowardly, are permitted to shirk this duty. The burden ought never to be allowed to fall upon the shoulders of the former alone. Universal obligation to serve ought to rest upon the shoulders of all alike. The Nations should never permit our patriotic citizens who are willing to volunteer solely to do the fighting. I do not- I can not-complain about the volunteer soldier. On many a bloody field in our country's history he has demonstrated his valor and his splendid fighting qualities. I would never tolerate any disparagement of him, but I am opposed to the system which permits him alone to do the fighting for the Republic and permits the timid and the cowardly to stay at home. (Applause.)⁷⁹

Being an American carried not only privileges for its people, but the responsibility to serve when the call came. Congressman Kahn could not easily tolerate those who were not willing to rally around the Stars and Stripes for the land which the Congressman held so dear to his heart.

Kahn quoted from a letter from George Washington to the president of Pennsylvania, Thomas Wharton. In the letter Washington complains about the makeup of the volunteer Army and how futile it was to be unable to depend upon a standing Army. The present system for Kahn

79. Ibid pp. 1368 & 1369.

was ineffective because of the poor caliber of men being paid to take others' places, and more importantly, it was unrealistic to expect the quotas to be filled by volunteers only. Kahn based his position from the pages of this country's history that demonstrated that the volunteer system had been a failure in providing adequate well organized troops. Kahn further differentiated between the nature of the wars when Washington was general and the challenge of World War I. The system did not work properly then, and it was unrealistic for Kahn's colleagues to believe differently as explained in the following:

...the great Jefferson believed that each and every male citizen between certain ages ought to be trained in the use of arms, so that upon occasion he could be called to the defense of his country.

In the War of 1812 we had a peculiar situation. The volunteer system showed its inefficiency in that war as it had not done theretofore in our country's history. Two states, Massachusetts and Connecticut, refused absolutely to furnish any troops for the war. In consequence the burden fell more heavily on the other States of the Union.

Such a condition is possible under the volunteer system. Under the system of selective draft every State in the Union must furnish its quota of soldiers. The burden does not fall unequally, as it did in the War of 1812. It falls on each Commonwealth in exact proportion and on all the citizens of the State exactly alike.⁸⁰

It was a disgrace according to Kahn's thinking to

80. Ibid. p. 1370.

allow this unfair and unpatriotic system to cast its injustices over the nationa. Julius Kahn thus suggested the following:

Under the conscriptive plan proposed by the minority of the Committee on Military Affairs every state in the Union must furnish its quota. The strong arm of the United States Government reaches out and takes them into the military service during the war. In this country of ours, this glorious Republic under which the American citizen enjoys so many privileges, so many advantages, ought he not gladly risk even life itself in defense of the rights of Americans and the lives of the citizens of the Republic? (Applause)⁸¹

Kahn noted that although the method to obtain troops during the Civil War was referred to as a draft system, it was anything but that. Kahn cited in his testimony that \$650,000,000 was paid to induce men to volunteer.⁸² And even with the financial incentives there were thousands lacking in the fighting regiments. Kahn cited the confrontation at Chancellorsville where the troop strength of 253 regiments should have been 290,773 under the laws of the Union. The total force was less than half of the legal number for only 130,000 fought.⁸³ The tragic result of insufficient fighting men is detailed in the quotation below:

There were more thousands lacking than were present at that battle under the volunteer system. If the policy of selective draft had been in vogue, the Republic could, as it would have had the

81. Ibid. p. 1373

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid.

right to do, have called every citizen of military age to come to its defense. The regiments would have been kept up to their legal strength. It is my honest opinion and my absolute belief if the selective draft system had been in force during the Civil War that war would have been ended two years earlier and the great number of lives that were lost, the great volume of treasure that was expended, would have been saved to the Republic. (Applause.)⁸⁴

Kahn implored his colleagues not to allow this country to go to war unprepared, but rather with a proper military policy that would have advocated a draft of all able bodied men between the ages of 21 and 40 years of age. In the following citation, Kahn expressed his basic, underlying desire that all men share in the benefits of this country, hence, they should equally bear the yoke during war:

Let us not start this war wrong.
Let us start right in our military policy.

I am afraid that this is going to be a long war. I am afraid that it will last some years. Many sacrifices will have to be made. Let us start the war by telling every American citizen that in this hour of the country's peril the United States expects every American to do his duty (Applause.); that it will not be for him to say whether he wants to do it or not (applause); that the country will demand of him that he do it in payment for the blessings of liberty that he has enjoyed all these years under the folds of Old Glory. (Applause.)⁸⁵

84. Ibid. This is the import of the meaning from Time that expressed the idea that Julius Kahn saved more lives than any other man in the US.

85. Ibid.

Congressman Kahn postulated that the draft would no longer impose a stigma upon those entering military service. If the conscription was done according to Kahn's proposed legislation, there would be no system of sending substitutes nor of paying commutations. Instead, the men of the United States would be under a system that demands obligatory universal service in which every man is treated alike, and thereby eliminating the stigma and odium.

To demonstrate his own belief in service to this glorious country, he did not exclude himself, when he said that "every man should do his duty when the country calls."⁸⁶

But in a Republic like ours every man should do his duty when the country calls. The age limit in this bill is from 21 to 40 years. I am 56 at the present time. I would not object to having the age limit increased so that it would be from 21 to 65 (Applause.) That is the age that is prescribed in many of the countries of Europe. I am willing to do my share of the fighting, if need-be, in defense of my country's rights (Applause.)⁸⁷

Kahn was rightfully concerned with the great war that he felt would not end until 1920, unless the country exerted an all out effort.⁸⁸ Kahn stressed the notion of sacrifice when he included the following into his address:

86. Ibid. p. 1374.

87. Ibid.

88. San Francisco Chronicle, October 15, 1917.

...No sacrifice that we can make will be too great for this country which has given every one of us such an opportunity in life as we probably never have had in any other country on the fact of the earth.⁸⁹

A full year after the above appeal was made, Kahn made a similar appeal in an address at the Mount Morris Theatre on March 24, 1918. Kahn cited the account of the young officer in Everett Hale's novel, The Man Without a Country, who was without a country and a home. Kahn related the exiled officer, gave this advice to another:

..."Stick by your family, boy; forget you have a self while you do everything for them. Think of your home, boy; write and send and talk about it. Let it be nearer and nearer to your thought and the further you have to travel from it and rush back to it when you are free, as that poor black slave... And for your country, boy, and for that flag, never dream a dream but of serving her as she bids you, though the service carry you through a thousand hells. No matter what happens to you, no matter who flatters you or who abuses you, never look at another flag, never let a night pass but you pray God to bless that flag. Remember, boy, that behind all these men you have to do with, behind officers and government, and people even, there is the country herself, your country, and that you belong to her as you belong to your own mother."

That is the sentiment that I want to leave with you this morning-your service to your country.

..."Remember your country and that you owe everything to her, even life itself."⁹⁰

Three weeks later on Saturday, April 13, 1918, Julius Kahn addressed the House of Representatives to

89. Congressional Record, loc. cit.

90. Congressional Record, 65th Congress, 1st Session, p. 296 & 297

refute the assertions that his State of California was not contributing its share of class one men into the Army under the present Draft Law. In the account given in The Appendix to the Congressional Record⁹¹, Kahn refutes the claims and counters the objections made by two of his fellow colleagues, Congressman Burnett from Alabama, and Congressman Caraway from Arkansas. Kahn quoted from statistics that were quite contrary to what had been posited from his fellow members of the House. He demonstrated in his address that California in fact had sent many more men proportionately than his two protagonists:

It is thus seen that California has done more in proportion to her population than any of the States represented by the gentlemen who took occasion to call attention to California's percentage under the draft resolution. I venture the prediction that all through this war California will do her full share toward furnishing men to fight for American rights and to maintain American honor and prestige. Nay, more! She will do more than her share. The people of California understand the present crisis in our Nation's affairs. They will not only respond with men but they will furnish the money that is needed to win the war. I have no apology to make for California. Her acts speak for themselves.⁹²

Kahn did not achieve his level of prominence because of his sponsorship for the draft bill and spending bills for the military. He achieved his high status for

91. Ibid. p. 299

92. Ibid.

the relentless work on the Committee on Military Affairs. The stress on the Congressman was evident after a long summer's work in the House of Representatives. The San Francisco Chronicle commented upon his return from seven months of labor at the Capitol in the following:

The session's labors through the long, hot Washington summer have left their mark on the Congressman. It is plain he is fatigued. He shows the need of the rest he has come home to enjoy.⁹³

Still he has not laid aside his work. His thoughts are as much of duty to the Nation and as occupied with planning for the Nation's defense when seated in his pleasant Webster-street home as if he were still in a Congressional Committee-room or in the legislative hall of Congress. Kahn is in his ninth term in Congress. The work has become a habit. He thinks in broad world terms!

Kahn did not let his fellow congressmen forget that he had endorsed increases in the expenditures for the military. The beginning of the war caught this country unprepared to arm a large number of men because of the lack of foresight.

It is a fact that our Government is short of rifles. We have never had sufficient arms, or the facilities for their manufacture. For years I have advocated preparation in this matter, but until the country actually was in war had been able to make no headway.⁹⁴

More than a year ago, when the national defense act was under consideration, I advocated that the Government purchase the necessary dies, tools and machinery for the manufacture of rifles, and succeeded in having my suggestions adopted into the law and an appropriation of \$400,000

93. San Francisco Chronicle, loc. cit.

94. The quotation appears as written above with faulty grammar.

made for the purpose. But when war actually had come, I discovered the War Department had made no move in the matter.

I say this only to show the state of woeful unpreparedness in which we were found by the war.⁹⁵

In the same article from the San Francisco Chronicle, Julius Kahn commented upon the various occasions when his fellow representatives approached him regarding the selective draft:

The law as a whole has proved good, it provided the truly democratic method of raising an army. Men who originally opposed the measure, before I left Washington came to me and offered congratulations on the excellent results obtained, and promised that in the next session they will support every measure proposed by our committee for the prosecution of the war.⁹⁶

Seven months later, May 28, 1918, the military appropriations were increased nearly 50% over the proposed allocation of \$7,700,000,000 to \$12,000,000,000. Before the House debate and hearings began, Kahn prefaced them in his function as the ranking minority leader by relating:

Our country was notoriously unprepared for war. For years some of the Members on this floor, realizing how absolutely unprepared we were to defend American rights, tried to make the House see that we were living in a fool's paradise; but the light did not strike in on the minds of the majority of the Members of the House. And so we drifted, even "while the sparks were flying everywhere,"

95. Ibid.

96. Congressional Record, 65th Congress 2nd Session p. 7170

and refused to make appropriations so that we could become, at least in a measure, prepared for a possible conflict. Eleven months before this country entered the war I offered the amendment to the military appropriation bill asking that the Army be increased to 250,000. That was noted down by a substantial majority. Repeatedly I had offered amendments to increase the appropriations for ordnance, small arms, for ordnance ammunition, for small-arms ammunition.⁹⁷

Congressman Kahn expounded further by elaborating upon the false sense of security that left this country vulnerable in the following speech delivered exactly three months after the previous speech cited above:

...Some gentlemen probably thought we could prevent war by handling out religious tracts or high-sounding pacifist phrases to those who might become our enemies, and thus ward off the conflict. But we refused to make the necessary appropriations. So when we got into this war we were notoriously unprepared, and that very knowledge was in the minds of our enemies. They knew how criminally unprepared we were. They thought that we would never fight, no matter what they did to us. That is what they banked on. So when this war started, so far as our entrance therein was concerned, we had to commence at the very beginning of things. We had to create many war industries, because there were none in existence in this country. That was especially true of airplanes.⁹⁸

Congressman Kahn knew that the United States was at a distinct disadvantage beginning her preparations at such a late date. He knew that the war would not be over

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid.

soon, for this country of his was not equipped to squelch the mighty German war machine:

I feel we are in for a long and a severe war. A miracle may happen and bring peace sooner, but I do not look for the end within three years. I do not minimize the great German fighting machine, nor am I impressed with reports, many of them coming from German sources, of an alleged depleted condition of German food supply.

The Germans are not starving, and are not likely to starve. They are resourceful, and the people subsist on very little, and also the Germans have forced the civil populations of the territory they have taken in Belgium, France, Rumania, and Poland to produce food for the German Army. I do not believe they will be starved into surrender.⁹⁹

Not only did Julius Kahn know the nature of the enemy, but more importantly he advocated measures to channel this country's resources in the proper directions to bring an end to the war. Increased weaponry and appropriations are the instruments indicated in the following quotation:

We must win the war by force of arms; by putting into the field a fighting force superior to the Germans. I have great hope and faith in our aerial force. The nation which wins control of the air will win the war, and we are making rapid progress toward that desired supremacy.¹⁰⁰

Congressman Kahn did not think himself the final authority, so he advocated working in conjunction with those who had both experience and education in military affairs.¹⁰¹ Kahn was against the opinions of the Secretary

99. San Francisco Chronicle, op. cit. p.2.

100. Ibid.

101. Congressional Record, 65th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 9370.

of War, the Chief of Staff, and the Provost Marshal General when they stated that in order to bring about the close of the war the young men who are 18 must be drafted for immediate military service. Kahn had previously believed that the youth should be saved for the final attacks. He felt they should be registered for the draft, but should only be sent into action when the other men's ranks were depleted. Kahn graciously bowed to the military men and their experience:

In matters of this kind I think it wise to defer to the opinion of those men who, by reason of their experience and education in the military service of the country, are charged with the duty of winning this war. I, for one, will not set up my opinion-a layman's opinion-the opinion of a civilian who has not studied military tactics-against their opinion. ...But when I have the opinion of these military authorities that they are absolutely necessary for the speedy winning of the war, I throw my own personal views into the scrap heap and abide by the judgment of these military authorities.¹⁰²

Congressman Kahn cited the sad examples of the co-belligerent nations who erred by not calling all its eligible men into emergency military service. Kahn hypothesized that if the United States enacted several half-way measures, then she too was likely to topple:

This country proposes to learn something from the mistakes of the co-belligerent nations. We see where they have fallen down, and we are trying to shape our

^{102.} Ibid.

legislation so that we shall not fall into the errors that they have committed.

Does anyone doubt, anyone who has studied the war in all its bearings, that if England and France at the very beginning had called out their entire man power to fight the enemy that this war would not have ended long before this? No; they made these mistakes of procrastination in calling out their man power, which some of the gentlemen on this floor are trying to repeat at this time in this country. The allies went at the thing piecemeal. They took a million men, for instance, this six months, another million or a million and a half six months later, and still another million six months further on. We propose to furnish the man power now and finish it up as speedily as possible. That is the difference in the programs. (Applause)¹⁰³

...And we instead of waiting until the last want to raise the necessary forces to win this war and avoid the shedding of human blood as speedily as possible by taking as a military necessity the boys of 18 and 19 now. (Applause.)

It is in world wars that the great loss of human life is encountered, and we are in the midst of probably the greatest of wars now.

What is to be our part in it? Is it to be the part of a giant or are we to play the part of a pigmy in this war? For God's sake, let us meet our obligations like men. Let our Nation be a giant among the giant nations, and then we will be doing our duty as legislators, our duty to our country, our duty to mankind, and our sacred duty to the cause of civilization. That is why I am advocating this legislation today. (Applause.)¹⁰⁴

These vividly expressed quotations expressed Julius Kahn's concern not only for the country he loved, but the qualities of leadership which a few months later con-

^{103.} Ibid. p. 9371 .

^{104.} Ibid. p. 9372 .

tributed to his appointment as Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. The Draft Bill was often referred to as the Kahn Bill because of his support of the bill against a powerful majority. His prosecution of the World War helped to bring it speedily to a close nineteen months after the United States' entry into the conflict. President Wilson requested a selective service act from his democratic chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, but only Julius Kahn who was a Republican sponsored the much needed bill and worked vigorously to insure its passage against stiff opposition. Kahn perceived the necessity to pass such a bill and to fight Capitol Hill not only for the preservation of this country, but to end the senseless slaughter in Europe. Speaking after the conclusion of the war, Kahn pressed for immediate legislation that requested a standing military force of 500,000 men in order to keep this country in a state of readiness. This Kahn felt would be a deterrent for any future conflicts and save lives and money:

It has cost us billions of dollars and thousands-yes, tens of thousands-of lives. I sometimes feel that if we had been prepared we would never have been drawn into this war. It is cheaper to prepare in days of peace than to wait until an enemy defies your rights and practically makes war upon you. That is how we got into the war. ...We can not maintain our position as a great nation unless we are prepared to do that. My opinion is that we can get along with a comparatively

small Army if we will adopt the principle of universal training in our reorganization program. It is the most inexpensive system. Under a universal training law we could train our young men when they arrive at the age of 18 years for a period of six months, from April to October. We showed in this war that a training of that length of time gives us a force that is effective, dependable, and valiant. Such a force would give us, in my opinion, a much more vigorous, a much more virile, race of young men.¹⁰⁵

Not only did Kahn see the virtue of a ready Army as a symbol of preparedness, but as a means of character building for young men. He also saw the mingling between the northern and southern young men as a chance to understand each other. In the Army Kahn saw the rich and the wealthy sharing the same barracks and learning the accomplishments of team work. All these different young men working together were inevitably taught new respect for law, which, in turn, made them better citizens. Of all the benefits that Kahn could have listed first he chose the following:

The statistics of the War Department show that out of a thousand young men who went to the training camps, young men who came from the homes and the firesides of this country, 271 out of 1,000 had a venereal disease. It was an appalling condition of affairs, and if that condition had continued for another 25 years it is probably that we would have become a nation of moral degenerates, physical incompetents and cowards.¹⁰⁶

^{105.} Congressional Record, 65th Congress, 3rd Session, p. 3280.

^{106.} Ibid.

Congressmen who listened to Kahn still were raising objections to universal training. Congressman Rucker from Missouri expressed his disapproval of the universal training as it might lead to a mass wave toward militarism. Kahn countered his objection by expounding further upon the mandatory training program:

Oh, the gentleman said that he believed it would make for militarism. I do not believe it will. I believe it will give us a much more efficient citizenship. I believe, if anything, it will crush in this country the desire militarism. I feel that the young men, when they get that training will never feel that they want to go to war, but it will give them a training which will make for sturdier manhood in this country at all events, and it will be worth every dollar it will cost.¹⁰⁷

The potential price that would have to be paid if the country did not prepare itself was overwhelming according to the next quotation, which was also part of the answer to Congressman Rucker's objection to the mandatory military training:

The trouble is and has been that we never have been prepared at any stage in our history for our wars. In this very war we were fortunate in that the French and English were able to hold the lines for us after we got into the war until we were able to get ready. That was our salvation. ...countries do not generally wait until a nation prepares to defend itself; they make the attacks when they think the time is opportune and the country to be attacked is least prepared. The safest way to prevent attack is to

107. Ibid.

be able to repel it when it is made,
in my honest opinion.¹⁰⁸

I do not believe that this is the end of war, much as I do like to see it so. This war has made the entire world sick of war. But after every other great world war the people were heartily sick of war and hoped that there might never be another. We are simply passing through the same experiences that the other nations of the world have passed through at the end of every other great war. We hear a great deal of a league of nations these days. That is not a new proposition.¹⁰⁹

It was not be any accident that Kahn ended this segment of the address mentioning a league of nations. Kahn was interrupted by one of his fellow congressmen and asked if he would yield, but Kahn replied, "In a little while, if the gentleman will contain himself."¹¹⁰ Kahn continued with a brief history of other political and military leagues that were formed to protect various ruling classes from toppling, to promote economic trade, and to establish a system of allies in times of war. Kahn pointed out to the House that these goals were not carried out effectively nor for an extended period of time. Kahn envisioned that at some future time the United States would be obligated under a league to protect a throne of a foreign leader by sending our boys overseas. To go to war to protect the rights of those on the other side of the world was foolhardy as exemplified in the following:

^{108.} Ibid.

^{109.} Ibid.

^{110.} Ibid.

I did not vote for the war resolution primarily because we wanted to make the world safe for democracy or for humanity. That was an incidental consideration. I voted for the war because I wanted to protect American rights and I am ready at any time, if need be, to fight for American rights. (Applause.)¹¹¹

Julius Kahn was an American first and then a military man only because the times and the crisis demanded him to be. Further proof that he did not desire our country to be the champion of freedom throughout the world is in a letter he sent to Gus J. Karger while he was in Washington, on February 25, 1919. Gus J. Karger corresponded frequently with former President Taft.¹¹² This letter was written less than two weeks after he spoke against a proposed league in the House. At that time he said in regards to the league:

There has been no concrete project put forth so far as I can recall, by the President. I feel that most of the people of this country hope that war can be avoided by these negotiations, but I have an abiding faith that the people of this country will not agree to any treaty of that kind that will deprive this country of one jot or title or iota of its own sovereignty. (applause.)

I imagine that the people of this country will not agree to allow their sons to go to Turkey, for instance, to police that country and make the people of that country behave themselves. (applause.)¹¹³

Kahn added additional enlightenment in reference to the question of the league when he warned against this country making further progress towards a league when

^{111.} Ibid.

^{112.} Letter of Kahn to Gus. J. Karger, February 25, 1919. (American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio)

^{113.} Congressional Record, loc. cit.

Germany had not yet consented to signing a peace treaty. If the treaty called for a delay in the return of our boys from Europe, then, especially, the American public would not allow such an alliance.¹¹⁴

The question of the United States' sovereignty in its own hemisphere bothered Kahn as indicated from the following excerpt from a letter he sent to Karger:

I am convinced that the people of this country will resent any surrender of their sovereignty to the monarchies and republic of Europe or Asia. They may be carried away by the President's high sounding phrases, but ultimately they will begin to study the subject in a cold, logical way and reach their own conclusion.¹¹⁵

American rights were the sole causes for this country going into the war, and Kahn made this emphatically clear in the same letter to Karger in the following:

I was tired to death this morning at the President's constant repetition of the assertion that we were fighting for ideals. He seems to want the impression to go throughout the world that we are different from other nations in that respect. We fought for our rights, as history well knows. If we had been fighting for ideals, why didn't we get into the war when Germany invaded Belgium, or when a high ideal should have impelled us to go to war. The President did nothing of the kind. He waited until Germany carried out her threat which she made on January 31, 1917. We went to the war to fight for American rights

I have made a number of speeches and have brought great cheers from the audience when I have stated frankly that I was not opposed to the principle

114. Letter to Karger, loc. cit.

115. Ibid.

of the League of Nations, but that I doubted whether the American people would sanction such a league if it should require us to surrender our sovereignty or a part thereof to foreign nations, or if it contemplated the drafting of our American boys to form armies to put down war in the Balkans, or Russia, or some other territory far distant. I still feel that way about it, but I have thought that if the league could agree upon a principle of divided responsibility it might be acceptable.

What I mean is, that an agreement recognizing the hegemony of the United States in the Western Hemisphere, with an understanding that if trouble on this Hemisphere should arise between different nations this country might settle the matter alone, if it should occur in North America; but that we would consult with Argentina, Brazil, Chile and cooperate with them in settling the difficulties of the South American republics. ...Such policies would make the United States rather secure if war should breakout in the Eastern Hemisphere.¹¹⁶

Kahn did not desire the U. S. to show military strength throughout the entire world and to be the policemen of freedom. His attitudes are not those typically of what one might perceive as the views of a military man. Kahn tackled the problems facing this country with all his effort and generally succeeded to accomplish what was necessary within reason. Through sponsorship of dynamic legislation, he solved problems for the immediate future, as well as preventing their reoccurrence.

Kahn's responsibilities to the Committee on

^{116.} ibid.

Military Affairs heightened following the war when he became the Chairman. Kahn sought legislation that would expedite the return of our soldiers to their families from the European combat zones. In addition he requested relief for the families of the men who served during the war as well as providing medals and financial considerations for those who gave most willingly of themselves to protect the rights of fellow Americans. Julius Kahn also sponsored large increases in the peace time military budget to prevent the United States from being vulnerable and unequipped militarily to defend itself.

Julius Kahn wrote a very fine short article for Forum in their March issue of 1921 entitled, "As to World Disarmament." Kahn discussed the European countries and how the United States must assume the role of initiator in a movement to bring disarmament to relieve the financial burdens caused by four years of war. Congressman Kahn knew what had to be done to achieve disarmament so there would be no unfair advantage if hostilities broke out:

...all the leading nations must agree to the suspension of construction. If a single leading nation shall refuse to agree to the program fixed by the delegates to the disarmament conference, it would probably be impossible for our country to refrain from carrying out such a program as our naval authorities may recommend. That is self-evident. A nation is but an aggregation of individuals. Self protection is the first law of nations as it is of individuals.

While it seems evident ... that the

peoples of all countries would be materially benefited by adopting a holiday so far as the construction of additional fighting ships, any disarmament agreement to be effective must be adopted by all the leading nations if it is to have any beneficial result so far as the security of the world against future war is concerned. 117

Julius Kahn was a military man by necessity, and he used his chairmanship to reduce the size of the military and thus to relieve the strain upon our country's budget after the war.

LOCAL LEGISLATION

Though Julius Kahn received national acclaim for his work as a congressman on the Committee on Military Affairs in the House of Representatives, he was no less a faithful, productive, and loved representative from the fourth district of San Francisco. Testament to this fact may be found in his son's relating in a interview that "few would waste the money to run against him because he was such a popular representative, thus he often received both the Republican and Democratic nominations in the primary elections and was unopposed at the pools."¹¹⁸

During his first term in the House of Representatives he sponsored HR 242 to regulate Japanese immigration and HR 3089 and HR 3301 to control Chinese immigration. Kahn proposed legislation to properly label imitations of champagne in his efforts to protect the grape and wine industry of California. ¹¹⁹ During the first session of the 57th Congress he proposed his first of many subsequent amendments to increase the Army's efficiency and to enlarge the Presidio of San Francisco. He sponsored legislation aimed at increasing the capabilities of San Francisco's harbor for trade by improving the port and installing fog signals, and a light house in the bay (HR 8748). In 1902,

^{118.} Norton B. Sterne, Report of An Interview With Mr. Conard Prag Kahn. April 25, 1968. (American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio)

^{119.} Kahn tried to help the wine industry by having the State's wines eliminated from the Volstead Act. When he was unable to do this, he did secure legislation that allowed only domestic wines to be sold during the final sixty days before the enactment of prohibition.

Kahn was forced to retire to private life after his defeat at the polls by 118 votes. He decided to run again in 1904 and won overwhelmingly against his previous opponent who usurped his station as representative of the Fourth District. Upon his return during the first session of the 59th Congress he continued to fight for improvements to the Presidio. (HR 10120) He sponsored a proposal to have the Panama Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco celebrating the meeting of the two great oceans via the Panama Canal. The earthquake of 1906 thwarted San Francisco's bid to have the exposition for nearly ten years.

Kahn sought a joint House Resolution for relief for his stricken hometown to restore it as quickly as possible to a state of normalcy. He sought a bill (HR 24278) that would strip the duty on all building materials used by the earthquake victims in the San Francisco Bay Area. The city was rebuilt remarkably well and Kahn was very proud when he made the following address before the House of Representatives on April 18, 1910, the fourth anniversary of the devastating earthquake:

The modest workshop and the towering skyscraper, the lowly dwelling and the palatial caravansary, church and synagogue, school house and hospital, store and warehouse, that had challenged the admiration of a world of beholders, all went down in the fierce flames of a fiery caldron, and when the fiend had spent his

force there remained nothing but an indescribable jumble of crumbling bricks and jagged stones, of twisted iron and broken glass, of mortar and ashes. Thirty-four thousand acres of buildings had been destroyed. The entire business and financial districts had been wiped out of existence... and that light-hearted, pleasure-loving populace that had been so proud of the city they had reared on the far-western coast by the shores of the Pacific saw the work of sixty years melt away in as many hours.

And so, Sir, the smoking embers had not yet cooled ere that work of rehabilitation was fairly begun. It was estimated that it would take fully two years alone to remove the debris from the burned area. But with the aggressiveness and the grit and courage and enterprise so characteristic of the American people the citizens of San Francisco boldly tackled-aye, sir, that is the proper expression-boldly tackled the task of reconstruction. (Applause.) Tottering walls were soon displaced by towering structures; here, there, and everywhere in the burned district was heard the hum of industry and activity. As if touched by some magician's wand, block after block of new buildings arose to again house those who had been prominent in the city's marts of trade. (Applause.)

And I do not fear successful contradiction when I say that San Francisco today has the finest retail shopping district of any city in the whole world...

Yes, Mr. Speaker, San Francisco, arisen from her ashes, proposes to hold a Panama-Pacific International Exposition to adequately commemorate on January 1, 1915, the wedding of the two great oceans-the Atlantic and the Pacific. Our citizens on this fourth anniversary of the colossal disaster that nearly overwhelmed them, are up and doing. They are perfecting their plans for the exposition. They want all the peoples of the whole world, who poured out their sympathy so lavishly when she lay prostrate and stricken to come and rejoice with them, ...They want the

whole world to see what they have accomplished in such a brief span of years. They want to whole world to behold an ocular demonstration of what American pluck really means.¹²⁰

That Congressman Kahn loved his city, is quite obvious from the preceding address given to the House. He loved and admired his fellow San Franciscans for their ability to raise their city above the rubble within a very short period of time. On the surface it appeared as though he merely wanted to bring glory and admiration to his city, San Francisco. On a more practical level it appeared as though Kahn desired to stimulate the tourist trade in the city which had suffered greatly since the earthquake of 1906. By conducting the Panama Pacific International Exposition, there would be a drop in the unemployment figures which would thus lend evidence that San Francisco was again thriving and capable of assuming new industry and commerce.

The fair was held in 1915 and marked not only the anniversary of the discovery of the oceans, but also commemorated their meeting with the opening of the Panama Canal. The fair stressed the potential role of San Francisco as a port capable to be among the leading ports on the Pacific Coast. Kahn ran unopposed from this time forth as he received both the support of labor and business for bringing the Exposition to San Francisco.

^{120.} Julius Kahn, Speech to the House of Representatives, April 18, 1910.

Kahn's struggle in the House for the exposition was not quite as easy as one would normally presume. The land on which the fair was to be built belonged partially to the Presidio of San Francisco and was to be leased to the fair. Of the land which was partially swamp and submerged it was proposed that the Congress would appropriate some \$300,000 to fill the parts that were on the military post and the Presidio of San Francisco. As part of the rental agreement the fair would fill the other swampy parts for its own use and leave it to the Army at the end of its engagement.

An objection was raised to the expenditure of Government funds to fill in any of the land that was to be used for the fair, but Kahn successfully argued that the land would eventually have to be filled anyway and that the present time was as good as any. Kahn added that the Government would get the full benefit of the improvements at Fort Mason of the Presidio.¹²¹ The representative from New York, Congressman Fitzgerald, stated, "I shall not ... appropriate \$300,000 to make this show a success, if I can prevent it". Kahn replied that the money was not to make a success of the show, he said:

Let me call the gentleman's attention to this;
The exposition grounds are flanked on
either side by a military reservation of
the United States. There will be

¹²¹. Congressional Record, 61st Congress 3rd Session, p.1737.

thousands of people to visit that exposition who will get their first impressions of the United States by coming through the Golden Gate. They will come by way of the Orient. They will also come from Australia. It is but proper, in my judgment, that the Government of the United States should have its own fortification in proper shape when these people come.¹²²

When Kahn was asked if the permanent buildings erected on the Government's land would be turned over to the Government, he rightfully answered his critics indicating that there was no assurance that the buildings would even be of value.

Kahn worked equally hard to receive appropriations as he had to secure the act authorizing the Panama Exposition, as evidenced by the voluminous pages of transcript in the Congressional Record. Kahn was the man most associated with the Fair in the House. When Kahn was asked to comment upon a rift within the Republican party, he replied with a long list of the achievements and hard work done under the Republican administrations during the previous fourteen years. A fellow member of the House interrupted Kahn after he listened to the various legislative achievements and jokingly asked him if he was not going to include the act authorizing the Panama Exposition and Congressman Julius Kahn responded:

Yes, Mr. Chairman; that was only one of the many other worthy things that have been done, but I felt too

^{122.} Ibid.

modest to speak about it. (Laughter)¹²³

Kahn ran unopposed following the Fair, and this, in large part, can be attributed to the favorable reactions of his constituency upon this important piece of legislation for San Francisco.

A proposal was entertained to close the Mint in San Francisco, and it was no surprise that Congressman Kahn opposed any such legislative act. He based his arguments to keep the mint operating upon the needs of the citizens of the Pacific coast. Kahn reported the following:

The money, the circulating medium of the Pacific coast is coin. We do not use paper money to any great extent on the Pacific coast. Gold and silver are the mediums of exchange there. During the days of the Civil War when greenbacks were being used in all the rest of this country, the people of California were always on a gold basis.

Now for years that mint at San Francisco has furnished practically all of the coin used by the people of the Pacific coast. ...That institution has been paying for itself right straight along. There has been no loss to the Government of any kind in maintaining it. It has been self-supporting. It has not alone been turning out coins for the use of the people of the Pacific coast, but it has been coining money for the Philippine Islands and has been making a profit for our Government on that. ¹²⁴

Congressman Kahn noted the financial independence of the Mint, but he also stressed the additional expenses

^{123.} Ibid. 62nd Congress 1st Session p. 2033.

^{124.} Ibid. 62nd Congress 2nd Session p. 6171.

that would arise if it were to be closed:

With the completion of the Panama Canal the amounts of foreign bullion and coin arriving at San Francisco will increase considerably. If this bullion and coin should have to be sent to the Denver Mint to be converted into American money, the express charges for transporting it about 1,500 miles across the continent and then returning it to the Pacific coast as American coin would help to wipe out almost entirely the expected savings...under the proposed legislation the express companies would prove the beneficiaries-not the Government of the United States not its taxpayers.¹²⁵

Kahn warned further that the costs to re-open the mint after a shut down would not only be extremely expensive, but that the skilled labor would have to be relocated. Congressman Kahn discerned that the altruism of the mint workers be considered as a factor in the fate of the Mint expressed in the following:

And I want to say one word in regard to these employees. When San Francisco was burning six years ago many of the employees of the San Francisco mint went to that institution and remained within its wall continuously for 36 hours. They constantly put out the fire as it caught the roof of the building. Many of them lost their own household effects. They were burned out of their homes, but they remained at their post in the mint in order to protect the property of the Government of the United States. (Applause.)¹²⁶

The mint was saved from closing and still operates today but at a new location in San Francisco.

To further support the job market in San Francisco, Congressman Kahn opposed the measure that allowed state and federal prisoners to do the Army's laundry. Kahn struggled for preserving this source of income for the city's women

125. Ibid.

126. Ibid. p. 6172.

and finally had the order rescinded and the laundry returned from Alcatraz.

He helped in 1913 to secure the construction of submarines for the Navy at the Union Iron works. He successfully defeated the efforts of those who desired that the United States' gunboat Monocacy not be built at the Mare Island Navy Yard but at the Puget Sound Yard.

He also passed the legislation that made the old Marine Hospital the property of the Associated Charities of San Francisco to be utilized as a refuge for homeless men. He also favored the legislation for appropriations for the new Marine Hospital.

He sponsored legislation for a lighthouse and fog signals to be installed in San Francisco Bay, as well as many measures to improve the shipping facilities of the port.

Julius Kahn was the first member of the House of Representatives to call attention to the necessity of extending the provisions of the law compelling the publication of campaign contributions for both local and national elections as well as in the primaries.

In the latter part of 1910, Kahn requested that the American ships using the Panama canal in coast to coast travel receive free passage. He rightly felt it ludicrous for the United States to charge its own ships for the use of the canal:

There is not a single nation in the world that believes we are crazy enough to spend \$400,000,000 in construction of this canal without giving an advantage in the matter of coast wise shipping to our own citizens.¹²⁷

To protect the agricultural industry in California, Kahn co-sponsored legislation that aided in securing funds and laws to stamp out the Mediterranean fruit fly and to prevent the introduction of that pest and others into the State of California. The bill he proposed imposed a quarantine against all suspicious fruit, plants and livestock that were to be imported into this country.

Congressman Julius Kahn also secured a grant allowing the National Guard to use the Presidio of San Francisco and other installations in the State of California for maneuvers. This was part of his legislation favoring the Army as a standing military force experienced and constantly trained to meet the perils of war.

In 1922 Julius Kahn procured a ninety-nine year lease for what was then a mere sand lot that bordered on Pacific Heights but which was part of the Presidio. Julius Kahn was then the Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, thus, it was one of the easier measures of his career which sought to improve relations between the military and civilian population.¹²⁸

^{127.} Congressional Record, 62nd Congress 2nd Session p. 6909.
^{128.} Kahn sponsored much legislation that gave the Government land to be used for the city and for cemeteries and parks. In the 67th Congress HJ Resolution 148 and HR 2508. In the 68th Congress HR724, 1000 and 7455.

The playground is the only standing monument in San Francisco that bears his name. It is located in the wealthiest residential section of San Francisco near the houses in which he raised his family. In an article entitled, "The Dignified Playground," its uniqueness is described by the following:

Julius Kahn may be the last playground in the Western Hemisphere where leisure and gentleness really count, where kids play rather than compete, and where the biggest problem is an occasional fight between pedigreed dogs.¹²⁹

^{129.} San Francisco Examiner, March 4, 1973, California Living Supplement, p.16

KAHN'S JUDAISM

Kahn's Jewishness played a unique role in his life. He was most proud of his heritage and often espoused the brotherhood of his fellow Jews. In his early days in the theater he was regarded as a "talented young Israelite."¹³⁰ However, he felt that he owed his allegiance to this country which had afforded him many opportunities.

In a lecture he gave at the Mason Street Synagogue on October 2, 1893, he elaborated upon the duties he perceived as incumbent upon his fellow Jews in addition to giving insight to his own motivations to engage in public service.

...It seems to me that every Jewish young man should find just a little time to devote to charitable work, and above all else to public matters.¹³¹

During the lecture Kahn praised the women and their service above that of the men because of the following:

...and what makes their work so much more noble is that their charity is not confined alone to people of their own persuasion. We have often been charged with being clanish, but the action of these young ladies must commend itself to every humanitarian of every belief. Deeds of this kind tend to be more effectual than words to break the barriers that exist between Hebrew and Christian.¹³²

Kahn further elaborated that since the country had given the Jews so much, they should be ready to do their duty and be among the leaders doing all that was possible

^{130.} The Jewish Progress, February 28, 1879, p.5

^{131.} Ibid. October 6, 1893, p.4

^{132.} Ibid.

to affect the welfare of the public at large.¹³³.

Kahn did not rule out politics as a vehicle for this service in the following:

Alas, too often I heard my co-religionists assert that an honest man should not be associated with politics. But, never my friends was a greater mistake uttered. The Jew should take an active interest in that higher and nobler grade of politics that tends to elevate the standard of American citizenship. He should aspire to political positions, and if elected he should fill them with honesty and integrity.¹³⁴

Julius Kahn further described the manner that brought the greatest honor upon the Jewish people in the following remarks at the Mason Street Synagogue:

...for I am convinced that in no way can an American citizen of the Jewish faith bring greater honor upon his people than by a strict adherence to all that is honest in the performance of political duty.¹³⁵

His regards for political duty were expressed in this statement during his first and only term in the State Legislature of California. Kahn detailed the method which would bring the greatest honor to the Jewish people, and he lived by that premise as further developed in the following:

¹³³. It should be noted that San Francisco's Jews were not sojourners in their city, but part of the wealth and were also considered to be among the founding fathers as evidenced in Raab's article, "There is no city like San Francisco" in Commentary October, 1950. and in Danzinger's "The Jew is San Francisco" Overland Monthly April 1895, p.148

¹³⁴. The Jewish Progress, October 6, 1893.

¹³⁵. Ibid.

I would rather a thousand times see a total abstinence from all participation in public affairs than to see a single Jew prove false to the trust. And Why? Because unfortunately, our Gentile friends are still inclined to look upon the individual as type of the race.¹³⁶

...if the young people will come forward and lend their aid the word Jew will become synonymous with all that is liberal, all that is progressive, all that is public spirited, all that is enterprising, and all that is grand and noble in this life.¹³⁷

An editorial comment prior to his election as congressman to the fourth district of San Francisco mentions the pride felt by the Jewish community having a man such as Kahn run for public office:

...without reference to the coming campaign, and looking at Kahn simply in the light of his interesting individuality, we feel like expressing satisfaction that such well trained men and fine characters of the Jewish faith venture into public life. Julius Kahn will honor any position he occupies, and will discharge his duty with credit and ability.¹³⁸

Rabbie J. Voorsanger's Jewish community newspaper heralded Kahn's victory at the polls as though he was the first Jew ever to assume a public office when that was in fact, quite the contrary. In the following Kahn was praised for his struggle rising above obscurity to cast honor upon his fellow Jews:

...he made his way from the ranks by sheer force of will, patient industry, legal and forensic ability, and most wholesome moral

136. Note that Kahn considered the Jews as a race.

137. The Jewish Progress, October 6, 1873.

138. Emanu-El, August 12, 1898 p.5

deportment. His campaign was a remarkable one, vanquishing a Democratic majority of 2,000 and changing it to a Republic majority of 1,700. Now such victories are worthy of emphasis. They mean that the intellectual and civic position of the Jew of the Pacific coast has become a recognized fact, or to put the matter differently, they mean that the people of the Pacific coast will not diseminate between man and man, but will select their public officers from the best material and leave descent and religion to take care of themselves.¹³⁹

Kahn belonged to Temple Emanu-El and both his sons were Bar Mitzvahed there. Julius Kahn gave the sermon to the congregation when his youngest son, Conrad Prag, was called to read from the Torah on the occasion of his Bar Mitzvah in 1919.¹⁴⁰

Congressman Julius Kahn was a co-sponsor of the San Francisco Bureau of Jewish Education along with Rabbi Jacob Voorsanger. Education was always stressed by both Kahn and his wife, Florence Prag. Florence Prag Kahn came from a long line of mavericks within the field of education. Her mother was the first Jewish school teacher. Florence P. Kahn was not only the first university graduate to teach in the public schools, and the first woman member of the Board of Education, but she was the first Jewish woman to be elected to serve in the United States Congress.

If one stops to consider the reason Julius Kahn gave for his opposition to President Roosevelt's proposal that

¹³⁹. Ibid. November 18, 1898 p.5

¹⁴⁰. Stern, op. cit.

the Japanese be naturalized, then we have some further insight into his alignment with Rabbi David Philipson some eleven years later on the Zionist question. In his article in the Independent on January 3, 1907, Kahn explained that he felt that the Japanese would always be loyal to the Mikado and that any oath of naturalization would only be hollow mockery. Thus, in a similar vein, did he fear the loyalty of the Jews subject to re-evaluation if a Jewish Homeland were established as proposed and envisioned by Wise, Wilson and in the Balfour Declaration. In a letter to Rabbi Philipson Kahn wrote:

...While I have not deemed it necessary to throw obstacles in the way of the Zion movement I have always doubted its wisdom or its eventual success. Failure, of course, would hurt the cause of the Jews enormously, in my opinion. 141

Because Congressman Julius Kahn was still very much concerned about the image of the Jew in the United States after the Balfour Declaration, he was evidently prompted to have a speech read to the entire House of Representatives that was entitled, "The Jew as Soldier, Citizen, Patriot, Orator and Statesman." This speech was originally given by the Honorable Walter M. Chandler of New York in Kahn's presence. The address praised Kahn as an immigrant who worked hard for his newly adopted country. The opening

141. Letter to Rabbi David Philipson, October 1, 1918
(The American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio).

remarks relate that Congressman Kahn was a splendid refutation for those casting libel and foul slander against the Jews in America.

Perhaps Julius Kahn's fears were not baseless if he began to question whether a society that attempted to segregate both the Chinese and the Japanese might also look to the Jew for a campaign of smearing and hatred.

Though the motif of being a patriotic American citizen dominated most of his public and private life, he was still very influential in some Jewish circles. While he was Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House, Kahn was asked to go to the Paris Peace Conference at Versailles to be a representative of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations after the armistice of the first World War in 1919. He expressed his concern for the Jews who were living in Europe after the peace treaty signing long before he went to Paris when he wrote the following:

We have a great problem just ahead of us that will challenge the greatest ability of the wisest leaders of the members of our Faith. When the Plenipotentiaries of the numerous conflicting nations sit around the council table endeavoring to formulate the terms of peace, the question of the amelioration of the condition of the Jews in those countries where they are still denied civil and religious liberty becomes one of serious moment to all the liberal peoples of the world. You know how the efforts of Beaconsfield at Berlin were thwarted by Roumania and Russia, which countries claimed that the Jew was not a citizen

of their respective states but he simply was an alien sojourning within the confines of those countries. There must be no language open to similar doubtful construction inserted in the proposed treaty of peace at the end of this war. 142

Kahn as a Jew perceived the problem of the Jew as being a mere alien sojourning amidst the foreign nations after the World War. He did not sponsor any measures to create a homeland, nor did he work to increase the immigration quotas that would enable Jews to come to the United States. The following address was given at Temple Beth Israel on April 5, 1915:

In Roumania, where we are an intricate factor in the destinies of that country, where we bear the standard to the fore, send our best blood into battle and die with loyal words upon our lips-we are officially not conceded Roumanians when seeking no more than the rights and prerogatives of citizens, but are answered by the documentary statement: "The Jews are not Roumanians, but aliens within our borders." Yes; aliens, representing many generations of residence, of productivity and of enterprise-but aliens still.

Be it remembered that in any land that has given him the great measure of civil and religious function, the Jew stands for the best interests of that country, and that he is always imbued with a full sense of citizenship under whatsoever flag he dwells, rears his children, and buries his dead. 143

Though Kahn attempted to take an almost neutral position at first with reference to the establishment of a Jewish Homeland, his name appeared with 150 other

142. Ibid.

143. San Francisco Chronicle, April 6, 1915.

Jews upon a petition that was sent to President Wilson opposing the Balfour Declaration. Though Kahn's sentiments were in line with a majority of Jews and his own congregation in San Francisco, he was still attacked for his actions. Nathan Straus a wealthy Zionist attacked him in an article in the San Francisco Chronicle calling Kahn a counterfeit Jew.

Representative Julius Kahn of California was called "un-American and a counterfeit Jew" today by philanthropist and Zionist Nathan Straus at a victory meeting of the Institutional Synagogue here. The speaker denounced Kahn for sending a petition in the name of 150 prominent Jews urging the President not to support Zionism. "That petition which Mr. Kahn sent to President Wilson is a falsehood" the speaker cried. "Any man who opposes Zionism is un-American" proceeded Mr. Straus amid an uproar. Congressman Kahn is an un-American and a counterfeit Jew. England favors Zionism, President Wilson has come out in support of Zionism and everywhere the enlightened liberals have realized the aspirations of the Jewish people. Now Congressman Kahn, an actor, rises and demands that President Wilson refuse a home to the Jews because Kahn does not want it.¹⁴⁴

Nathan Straus was in the minority among the Jews with his pro-Zionist position. His assertion that Zionism was patriotic had been refuted the previous month by Kahn in an article in the San Francisco Chronicle shortly after Kahn sent his cable to President Wilson in opposition to the Jewish State. The article cites Kahn as being the leading Jew in American public life as well as the details of Gus Karger's interview with Kahn on I44. Ibid. March 14, 1919.

Zionism.

Julius Kahn of California is perhaps the leading Jew in American public life. His long service in Congress, where he is now about to begin his tenth term, and particularly his record during the war, when, as the ranking Republican member of the House Committee on Military Affairs, he championed and carried through the selective draft act and held up the hands of the President on patriotic measures when Democrats, who ought to have done it were lukewarm, have made him the most conspicuous Hebrew citizen of the United States.¹⁴⁵

The Congressman further clarified his position when he stated his principle objection to the Zionist movement was the division of one's affiliation with the country in which he lived. The divided allegiance bothered Kahn and he replied that he was an American first, last and for all time and that no other country appealed to him.¹⁴⁶ Kahn's concern for his fellow Jew was manifest in the following quotation as well as his fears of the non-Jewish population's reaction to a Jewish Homeland:

One of the great dangers of Zionism is the fact that the non-Jew will begin to look upon the American Jew as having a lurking desire always to return to the so-called homeland—that the Jew will be accused by the non-Jew of being merely a sojourner in the United States, using the benefits, opportunities and advantages that he can get by residence here with the ultimate object of becoming a Palestinian and a resident of the Jewish state. There are comparatively few Jews of that character in this country, yet the overwhelming majority will be charged with

^{145.} Ibid.

^{146.} Ibid.

entertaining the desire to return.¹⁴⁷

Gus Karger added in the article that Congressman Kahn would be charged with no desire to return.¹⁴⁸ Kahn added that the appropriate behavior for the Jew is the following:

I have another objection to Zionism. Even in this country the Zionists carry their national flag-the blue star of David in a white field. I maintain that the Jews in this country have the right to carry but one flag, the Stars and Stripes, under which so many of their co-religionists gave up their lives on the field of battle. This country has been their zion for a hundred and forty years. They ought to be so loyal to the flag of the United States as to leave no desire whatever in the heart of any man of the faith to carry any other flag.¹⁴⁹

Kahn refuted the claim by the Zionists that the Russian and Polish Jews should immigrate to Palestine to secure freedom from persecution and oppression. Kahn added:

...I doubt whether any nation composed almost exclusively of inhabitants of the Jewish faith of these two nations could ever succeed. I doubt whether they could maintain a country or an organized government such as one would expect from a modern state, one that would comport with high modern ideals.¹⁵⁰

147. Ibid.

148. Ibid.

149. Ibid.

150. Ibid. This researcher wonders if he really felt that his fellow Jew was unable to govern himself. Perhaps Kahn was not willing to grant the Polish and Russian Jew with as much credit for being civilized as he had granted to the Philippine people.

Kahn was so preoccupied with being an American that when he was asked whether he thought the German language press of the country was loyal to the American Government at the present time he answered, "I do not think that all of it is, but I am not a fair judge of that, for I almost never see a newspaper printed in the German language."¹⁵¹

Kahn believe that all of us are Americans and that no group should be hyphenated:

We have just eliminated hyphenism in the United States. Thank God for it. We no longer have the German-American, the Irish-American or any other diluted type of American.¹⁵²

Kahn saw the harm of the Zionists in America when he said in the interview:

...And what is Zionism endeavoring to do? Create a new form of hyphenism, the Palestinian-American, to displace the American Jew by the Jewish American. We want no such thing.¹⁵³

The volumes published during the fourth and fifth Federation of Jewish Charities published in 1913 and 1914 account that Kahn gave thirty dollars annually to be divided equally among the following three charities;

^{151.} Town Talk, August 25, 1917. It could be imagined that Kahn was afraid to admit any ties with his former mother country after the war commenced. Perhaps he feared that even his status and image as a loyal American might be subject to question.

^{152.} Ibid.

^{153.} Ibid.

the Eureka Benevolent, the First Hebrew Benevolent and the Free Loan Society. Congressman Julius Kahn left no doubt as to a choice between his Judaism and America in the following:

...And if I have to make a choice between my country and Judaism that choice is not difficult. I should stand firmly and forever for my country-America, the land of the free.¹⁵⁴

Kahn was remembered in the Emanu-El by the following:

...loyal citizen, faithful public servant and true Jew, this veteran statesman was beloved the country over.

The Emanu-El reflects in its comment upon Julius Kahn's life the order of the priorities and themes which were the motivating factors shaping his attitudes and stands in his works on the national scene.

154. Ibid.

B I O G R A P H Y

Julius Kahn was the first born of Herman and Jeanette Weil Kahn. He was born on February 28, 1861 in Germany at Kuppenheim, the grand duchy of Baden. Kahn's family had lived in Baden for centuries and his grandfather was an activist who participated in the revolution of 1848. Herman Kahn left for the United States in 1865 and a year later sent for Jeanette, Julius and his three brothers, Bert, Frank and Charles. Herman Kahn took up farming in Calaveras County near the mining region on Mokelumne Hill in 1866. The family remained there for only two years due to the poor conditions of the soil and the collapse of the mining region. The family followed the exodus from the gold mining area to Stockton, but were forced to leave Stockton in 1869 because of illness and climate.¹⁵⁵ San Francisco was very much to their liking and they remained there, subsequently two more brothers and a sister were born, Emil, Adolph and Rebecca.

Herman Kahn opened a bakery shop on Post street. The children were all educated in the public schools of San Francisco. Julius attended the South Cosmopolitan Grammar School and later the Boys' High School. He finished high school at the age of 16 and then took a job as a clerical worker with a commission house in the

^{155.} San Francisco Call, November 17, 1922 by Elford Eddy.

city. Close friends of Kahn had always urged him to pursue his talents of oratory and this coupled with his intrigue of the stage, motivated young Julius toward a stage career that lasted nearly eleven years. His stage debut was on his 18th birthday when he played the part of Shylock in the Merchant of Venice.¹⁵⁶ Julius Kahn traveled east with various companies and worked with some very important stars of that era; Edwin Booth, Tomasco Salvini, Joseph Jefferson, Mr. and Mrs. M. J. Florence and Clara Morris. When he returned to San Francisco he was quite an accomplished actor, and the dramatic critic of the Call, George Barnes, hailed him as a very able actor, while Peter Robertson of the Chronicle praised his 'wonderful work'.¹⁵⁷ Even though Julius achieved a fair measure of success in the theatre, he found that it could not provide his financial needs and was not a reliable source of income. In an interview in 1917 it was apparent to the reporter that Kahn was sagacious enough to know that if he followed politics it would do a great deal more for him than the stage.¹⁵⁸ And it was as an actor that he had occasion to visit Washington. The trips

^{156.} All but one account agrees about his first acting part. The dissenting view states that his first part was in the play Hamlet where he played both the roles of Macillus and the ghost. David Belasco was the stage manager while David Warfield was an usher.

^{157.} San Francisco Call, November 17, 1922 by Elford Eddy

^{158.} Ibid.

to Washington, D. C. afforded Julius Kahn a glimpse at the career opportunity Congress offered a man who was willing to work conscientiously.¹⁵⁹

He always seemed to pursue the things and goals which he desired. This was very much in keeping with his deep feeling that America was the 'land of opportunity' where anyone could advance themselves with work and perseverance. When Julius was young he had an affinity to read whatever he could get his hands on. Julius would stop at his father's bakery on Post street and take a couple of pastries with him and, instead of consuming them himself, he would trade them to the newsboy for a copy of the daily paper.

Kahn closed his stage career at the Alcazar theater in 1890 as the leading man. He played the role of Baron Stein in the play "Diplomacy". In the very same year Julius prepared for his political career by attending law school. Being very active by nature, Julius took advantage of his own personable nature and began to participate in community projects. In 1892 he was given a great deal of encouragement to run for the State Assembly by his closest friends. He won this race and later refused to serve beyond his single term. Because Julius had not yet finished his schooling he deemed it essential

159. Tattler, National Miniatures, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1917.

that he return to school, receive his degree and ready himself to pass the California Bar Association's licensing examination. In 1894 Julius Kahn passed the Bar examination and completed his term in office. Kahn joined the law firm of Foote and Coogan mostly because of the loyalty he felt toward A. J. Coogan who had been his mentor and friend since his departure from the theatre. One dubious source indicates that Kahn's motivating force to leave political life in Sacramento was his desire to continue law and to do his share in the building of the city and the country as a private citizen.¹⁶⁰ A less altruistic reason that was posited was that he simply wanted to bolster his financial holdings, which he could not do if he were only a state assemblyman.¹⁶¹

Julius Kahn left the law firm four years later when he sought election to the United States House of Representatives in 1898. The fourth district elected him on his first attempt.

On March 19, 1899, Julius Kahn married Florence Prag, a high school teacher and his ultimate successor for seven consecutive terms in the House of Representatives following his death. Florence Prag, a native of Salt Lake City, Utah, was the daughter of Conrad and Mary Prag.

¹⁶⁰. Clarke, San Francisco, Its Builders Past and Present, Chicago, 1913

¹⁶¹. Harry M. Bartlett, "Julius Kahn-San Francisco's Congressman, 1898-1924" (Unpublished seminar paper in possession of Moses Rischin San Francisco State College,) p 3.

Their family contributed much to Jewry in Utah and later in California. Mary Goldsmith Prag was the first Jewish school teacher in San Francisco. Later she became a vice-principal of Girls High School and was elected to the Board of Education. Florence Prag was a "first" among Jews. She was the first Jewish woman elected to the House of Representatives when she succeeded her late husband and was the first university graduate to teach in the San Francisco public schools.

Julius ran for re-election in 1902 and suffered his only defeat at the polls in a highly contested campaign and election. The voting irregularities at the poll and the confusion on the ballot were the prime causes for his narrow loss.

Elected representatives often serve their constituency without bestowing acclaim either upon themselves or upon the people they represent. Julius Kahn not only desired to bring acclaim to the city he loved, but also wished to bring his wisdom and courage to the various presidents who were in office during his terms in the House of Representatives. Kahn always stood his ground, even against the presidents, in a firm, yet dramatic mood that was reminiscent of the color and style of his 11 years on the stage.

Kahn continued to serve the fourth district of

California until his death in December 1924. On the national scene, he was best noted for his work on the House Committee on Military Affairs which he headed from 1919 during the later stages of World War I, until 1923. As a San Franciscan he helped to bring about much commerce and industrial activity to the city by the bay.

It is rather unjust to reflect upon Congressman Kahn solely on these two issues. The only possible course is to view him through his works as revealed on the national scene. In light of the fact that there are few traces of his labors, either in archives or among family members, we must concern ourselves with his works that were recorded in the media.

CONCLUSION

It is a most difficult task to summarize the important events of one's life. It is no exception in the case of Congressman Julius Kahn, but the attempt to shed light on his psyche and ethos does lend itself to analysis. The one central theme recurrent all of Congressman Julius Kahn's work upon the national scene is his Americanism. This feeling of Americanism is reflected in the motif of his office as described in the following article:

A big American flag streaming in the breeze of the electric fan, a fine picture of a battery of United States artillery at firing practice in California, two big patriotic recruiting posters of the War Department on the wall, and a little marble bust of Goethe on the desk where the adonments particularly noticed by the caller in the private room of Congressman Julius Kahn in the House Office Building at Washington the other day. The fact that Goethe was still there in these war days, in this room of an American statesman who was born in Germany, symbolized a patriotism that had no pettiness about it.¹⁶²

Kahn related further in Town Talk that he learned his love of liberty from the traditions that were related to him by his grandparents from the City of Baden in Germany. He later became fascinated with the soldiers who were willing to give up their lives to keep this nation together during the Civil War.

When the interviewer questioned Kahn about his loyalty to his native country and if it were not strange for him to desire the Germans' defeat, Kahn answered:
^{162.} Town Talk, August 25, 1917, pp 17 and 18

I do not think that the place of birth is such an important factor in a man's life as many credit it with being. Our love of a land, and therefore our allegiance to it, seems to me to be more intelligently determined by whether or not we find anything in it worthy of our support and sacrifice.

Suppose my parents had not brought me here when I was a child, but that I had spent my youth in Germany. I should have learned of it a little later, by reading its history over there instead of on my father's cattle ranch in California, and then no doubt, I would have come to American, not as a child because my parents moved here, but of my own volition as a young man seeking a home in the country which had the fairest record to show in the history of the whole world.

Please do not give me any extra credit for my love of America because of the fact that I happened to be born in Germany. The credit belongs to America for being what she is; a little to me, perhaps, for appreciating what she is. 163

While he was in the House of Representatives, Kahn's politics never seemed to interfere with his sense of duty and of right and wrong. He generally appeared to brush aside party doctrines when they prevented him from carrying on with his best efforts of heart, head and hand. He did not worry about inciting President Roosevelt's wrath when he endorsed school segregation for the Orientals of San Francisco. When Wilson's fellow Democratic leaders in Washington would not sponsor his conscription plans, Congressman Julius Kahn stepped

163. Ibid.

forward to sponsor this unfavorable legislation. Kahn crossed party lines because of his loyalty and dedication to his country in order to work for a system of mobilization that would be just for all.

Kahn's Jewishness played a minor role at best in his functioning as a United States Congressman. Kahn saw America as providing the same opportunities for all its citizens, a land where one has the right to live as a free person. Thus, Kahn perceived that one's loyalty should lie first with his country far before any other affiliations such as religion or race.

Kahn spent more years in Congress than all previous members except for five when he served from March 4, 1899 until his death, with the exception of the 58th Congress. His military committee included the following in their resolution on the day Kahn died that:

...he was foremost in fostering his country's welfare and in his death the country has lost a true, just and wise man, one possessing the loftiest patriotism and self-sacrificing devotion to his conception of the right. 164

Kahn would have been delighted to have read these kind words which reflected his attitude toward the country which gave him not only a home, but a land which allowed him through his efforts to be the type of leader he espoused throughout his life.

164. American Jewish Yearbook, Volume 27, 1925.

Julius Kahn's stand on military preparedness was exemplary of his concerns to achieve the ultimate good for this country without regard to his personal and political affiliations. Kahn crossed party lines to sponsor what he deemed to be for the benefit of this country.

Kahn viewed his fellow Americans as mortals who had weaknesses and flaws. He felt that prohibition was unrealistic as expressed in the Volstead Act. Instead of making law breakers out of those who consumed liquor, he proposed temperance and realism in place of the Volstead Act. He did not believe that liquor would topple the moral structure of society if temperance and moderation was practiced. Abstinence could not be legislated for a population that was already used to drinking. Kahn deplored his colleagues who drank liquor in private, but who sponsored prohibition in front of their constituency. Kahn could not tolerate their hypocrisy, and he was honest enough to tell them so when he addressed the House of Representatives.

Because Julius Kahn was an immigrant himself, he encouraged the immigration of others. Julius Kahn was against the immigration of those whose allegiance to this country was subject to question. When the widespread immigration of Orientals posed a threat to the labor market, Kahn attacked their open immigration

on the grounds that their loyalty to this nation was second to their land of birth. In Kahn's opinion, America must be the first concern and priority in the lives of the American people. Marginal Americans could not be a credit to this country, and therefore were not as desirable as the American who did not share his love and loyalty with another people or country. Kahn worked every so conscientiously to make this country great, and thus he could not license citizenship freely to those who desired to reap the benefits of this country without assuming the duties of being faithful and loyal citizens.

Kahn's greatest concern, next to his love of America was for the people of the fourth district of California and the city of San Francisco. As Kahn always wanted his country to prosper and to be first the leader, and the greatest among the nations, so too, he desired no less for his constituency who faithfully returned him to office twelve times. He always desired that San Francisco be known as center of commerce and culture and that it should be a leader among the great cities of this nation. During legislative debates, he always loved to point out that his San Franciscans contributed more in proportion than any other group to military service. Again, Kahn desired that his

district be an influential one and he did all he could in Congress towards that end. 165

Kahn was very civic minded and belonged to many organizations. Part of this motivation stems from his early speeches where he outlined the need of the Jews to participate in roles of leadership. Kahn was a Mason, a member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Eagles and a life member of the Actor's Order of Friendship. He belonged to two pretigious clubs. One was the Union League Club of San Francisco and the other was the Greenroom Club of New York. He also belonged to the Redmen and was a member of the Moose, of the Woodmen of the World, and of the National Union.

Kahn always contributed to Jewish charities, but his Jewishness was more often ascribed to him by others than by his own references. This researcher believes that his concerns expressed for his people resulted as a reaction to the backlash he feared would arise had the Jew been exemplified by notorious individuals rather than by men similar to himself. Had the question not been raised concerning dual allegiance for the Jew and its relation to the Balfour Declaration, he would not have sent a cable to President Wilson fighting the proposed establishment of a Jewish Home-

165. Kahn's being endorsed by both parties in his later years in Congress reinforces the notion of his city-wide support. His efforts on the national scene were commended at a special banquet in 1917 at which he was presented with a silver service from the city.

land. The fears of Kahn were evidently a result of either anti-semitic undertones or actions based on premises which prompted him to deny full citizenship to the Orientals.

Julius Kahn loved his country above all else, and his life was one of service to the land which gave him liberty. Kahn expressed his love and gratitude by spending a third of his life in public service. President Coolidge addressed a letter to Florence Prag Kahn in which he succinctly described Kahn's efforts:

It was his fortune to possess the talents and the opportunity to do an incomparable work in connection with our country's participation in World War. His place among public men of his time is assured. 166

Kahn would want to be remembered as a man who loved his country and who possessed self-sacrificing devotion in all his endeavors as a public servant.

166. The New York Times, December 19, 1924.

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