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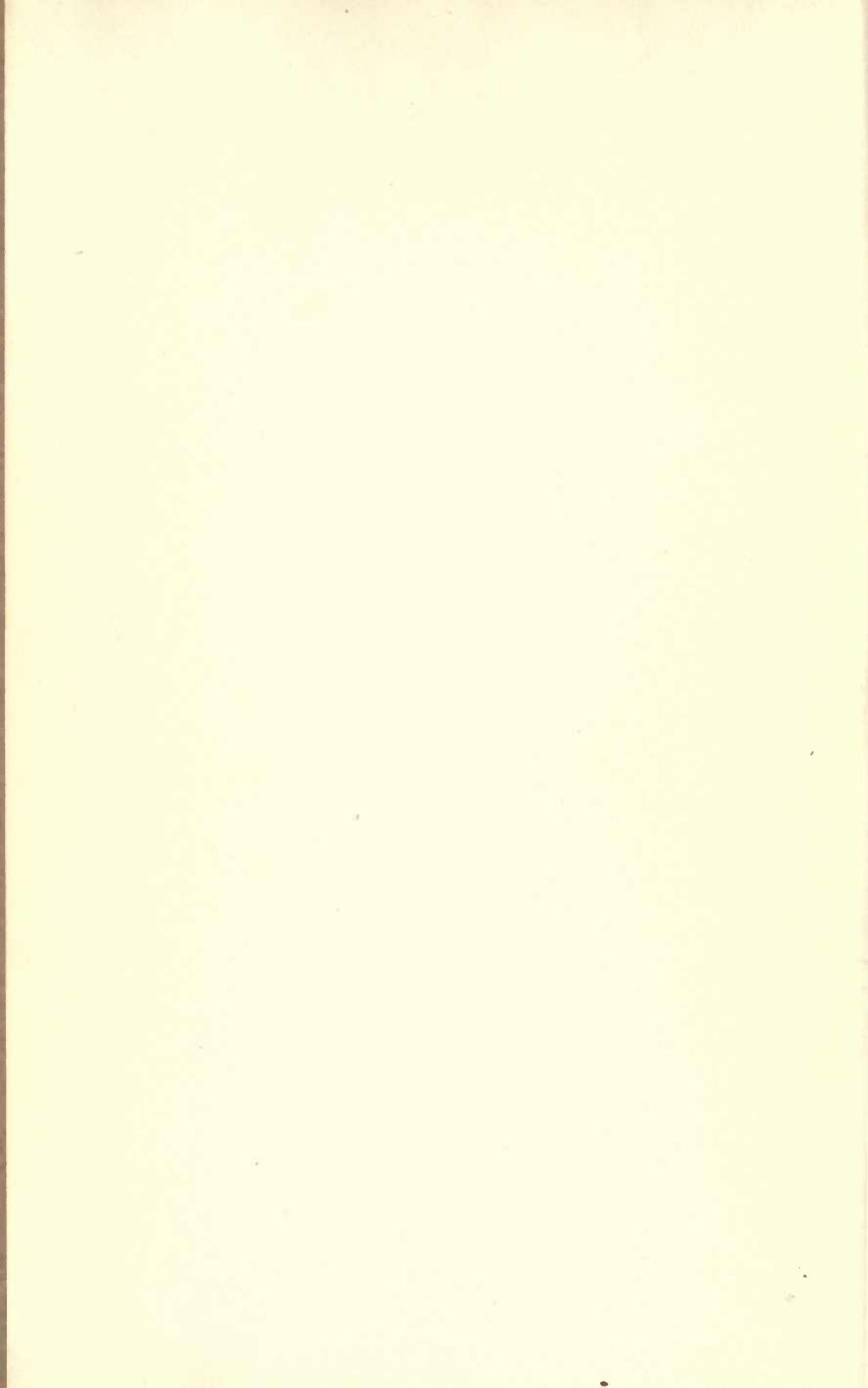
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In Memory of
Carl Schurz

CARL SCHURZ



Carl Schurz Memorial com.

ADDRESSES IN MEMORY
OF
CARL SCHURZ

CARNEGIE HALL NEW YORK
NOVEMBER 21
1906

NEW YORK COMMITTEE OF THE
CARL SCHURZ MEMORIAL

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HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

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AMERICAN

CARL SCHURZ died in New York City May 14, 1906, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. On June 8, a meeting of citizens of New York was held at the Chamber of Commerce, to take measures to honor his memory. A committee was formed to coöperate with similar committees in other parts of the country in establishing a permanent public memorial to Mr. Schurz, and to hold in New York a fitting memorial meeting. This meeting was held at Carnegie Hall on the evening of Wednesday, November 21, 1906, the Honorable Joseph H. Choate, Chairman of the New York Committee, presiding.

The speakers were the Honorable Grover Cleveland, former President of the United States; Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University; Professor Eugene Kühnemann, of the University of Breslau; the Honorable Charles J. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy; Mr. Richard Watson Gilder, Editor of the Century Magazine; Professor Hermann A. Schumacher, of the University of Bonn; and Dr. Booker T. Washington, of Tuskegee Institute.

The music included choruses in German, sung by the Liederkrantz and Arion societies, and the march from Die Götterdämmerung and the prelude to Die Meistersinger, by the New York Symphony Orchestra, led by Frank Damrosch.

The full proceedings are printed in the pages following:

ADDRESS OF THE
HONORABLE JOSEPH H. CHOATE

THIS great and brilliant company has assembled for no funereal rites, for no obituary service. We are here to do honor to the memory of a great citizen, to exult in his exalted virtues, and to learn the lesson of patriotism from his long and honorable life. A noble friend of mine, dying, said that his life seemed like the flight of a bird through a church from window to window, and at best it is

“Short as the watch that ends the night before the rising sun.”

And our sketches of CARL SCHURZ to-night must be short indeed if we would do justice to this splendid program, and enjoy the music which he loved so much better than words, however weighty.

I heard Mr. Lincoln at the Cooper Institute in 1860 say: “Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it.” Search all the books in all our libraries, and you can find no better statement of Mr. Schurz’s rule of life than this. Truth, right, duty, freedom were the four corners of his chart of life, with which all his speech and conduct squared. And so it was from the beginning to the end. In the first freshness of youth he left the university and joined the Revolution of 1848, and fought to break oppression and maintain constitutional liberty. In that marvelous achievement of daring and devotion by which at the deadly peril of his own life he rescued his old teacher and comrade from the fortress in which he had been condemned for life to pick oakum for the Prussian Government, he furnished to the world a heroic romance, worthy to be immortalized by a new Schiller, a miracle long since celebrated, and always to be celebrated in German poetry and song. A refugee from hopeless tyranny, he came here into exile and made America his home. He was himself

the choicest example of that splendid host of Germans who have enriched and strengthened and fertilized our native stock, to produce that composite creature, the latest result of time, the blending of all the Caucasian races—the New American.

With intense devotion he applied himself to mastering the English language, that he might with free speech utter free thought to free men throughout the whole land of his adoption. The year before the arrival of Mr. Schurz I had heard Kossuth himself, who in a few months had learned the English language in an Austrian dungeon, deliver to a Harvard audience an address in our own tongue. But Mr. Schurz as a linguist surpassed even Kossuth, for he soon became one of our foremost orators, perhaps the most cogent and convincing debater of his time; and if his hearers shut their eyes and trusted only to their ears they might well believe that he had never spoken any language but our own.

With an inherent instinct for freedom, he was at one with Lincoln, that “a house divided against itself must fall, and that this government could not permanently endure half slave and half free,” and so he took part in German in that great debate with Douglas, and made the vast hosts of his countrymen in the West familiar with the vital issue in that irrepressible conflict. In the convention of 1860 that nominated Lincoln, he insisted successfully, with Curtis, upon incorporating in the platform the cardinal principles of the Declaration of Independence. When the war broke out, and it became manifest that the Gordian knot of slavery could be cut only by the sword, he resigned the lazy post of Minister to Spain, and on many a bloody field—at Manassas, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Chattanooga—with dauntless skill and courage he fought for freedom here as he had fought for it at home.

As a senator I think he made the noblest record of his noble life. There his genius, his courage, his humanity, and his patriotism had full play. There politics, patronage, the chance of re-election were nothing to him. He was there not to serve his State only, but the whole country, in the true spirit of Burke's letter to the electors of Bristol. With exhaustless energy he

mastered every important question, and led in a great debate, and regarded the foundations of the Constitution as of vastly greater importance than any ephemeral question of the day, however burning. He always stood by these great landmarks, that the executive should keep within its constitutional limits, and not invade by one hair's breadth the functions of the legislature or judiciary, and that they should do the like by it, and above all that the Federal power should not encroach upon the State power, nor this upon that, but each keep within its own limits, that the delicate balance of our dual system, which has justly excited the wonder and admiration of the world, might not be disturbed. Oh, for such a senator now! What would not this great Empire State give for one such man—for two such men, if happily they could be found!

As a Cabinet Minister, too, his record is a noble one. Politics and politicians he turned "neck and heels" out of his department, and made tenure of office there depend only upon merit and fitness. Frauds and plunderers found in him their most dangerous foe. He was a real father to the Indian tribes and fought in defence of our vast forest domains that were then already falling victims to robbers. In short, it is sufficient to say of him that his administration of the department of the Interior is only equalled by that of his distinguished successor, Mr. Hitchcock, who now after six years of service is retiring, carrying with him imperishable laurels.

Compelled by the exigencies of our political system to abstain from holding public office during the last twenty years of his life, his independence, his courage, his spotless character, and boundless knowledge of affairs have been of vast service to his country. Taking up the reins of the Civil Service Reform from the dying hands of one who in this city and in such a company as this will ever be held in fond remembrance—George William Curtis—he carried it to its present advanced state, and has thereby done inestimable good. A fearless foe of every wrong, an independent champion of every wise reform, setting personal consequence always at defiance where public service was concerned, he has left to the young Americans of the present and the future an

example of honesty, courage, and patriotism; a richer legacy than if he had been able to transmit to them, or to each of them, the combined wealth of all the millionaires of the land. Truly, to recall again the words of Lincoln, he had faith that right makes might, and he dared to the end to do his duty as he understood it.

THE CHAIRMAN:

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have now the rare felicity of presenting to you the foremost citizen of our Republic:

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE GROVER CLEVELAND

WHATEVER death may be to the dead, to the living it always means a loss. The enforcement of its inexorable decrees reaches humanity in every corner of the globe; and the hearts of all who live bear in painful scars the sad record of its visitations. The widow and the fatherless are always with us; and we see on every hand the dearest ties of love and friendship wrenched and broken by the insatiate foe of mortality. But we know this is our common fate, and that Divine mercy will heal and comfort these personal afflictions. And those who devoutly study the ways of God with man will gain a conception of the Infinite wisdom which has ordained that the wounds and losses inevitably and universally inflicted by death upon our individual lives, shall be the clarifying and purifying solvents which balance and strengthen the complex elements of human nature, by chastening with "the sabler tints of woe" the activities and delights of our existence.

These reflections are merely a suggestive background for the sentiments that befit this occasion. There are lives that occupy a larger area than that of individual association, and there are men who not only embrace within their affections all who need help, but whose course of life points out the way to honor and usefulness, and illustrates the grandeur of a career devoted for the public good. In our Republic the death of such a man is a direct loss to good citizenship and a hurt to our nationality—a loss more irreparable than kinship can suffer, and a hurt more grievous than personal sorrow can inflict.

It is the apprehension of this truth that has drawn together here to-night the intimate friends of Carl Schurz, who have brought tender recollections of his affectionate traits, and also many others who knew him less intimately but loved him none

the less for what he was and what he did within the sphere of patriotic endeavor. And we are all here to do honor to his memory, and in this way to likewise honor ourselves and manifest our appreciation of pure and unselfish love of country.

It would by no means be entirely out of keeping with the occasion to extol the courage of battlefields where patriotism exacts the giving up of human lives for country's sake. But this physical courage is so much a part of our national character that its recognition is universal and its stimulation is not among our country's needs. What our nation needs—and sorely needs—is more of the patriotism that is born of moral courage—the courage that attacks abuses, and struggles for civic reforms single handed, without counting opposing numbers or measuring opposing forces. It is this kind of courage, and the great public service that has been rendered under its inspiration, that we memorialize to-night; and an undisturbed contemplation of its heroism and saving attributes are most in sympathy with the spirit that should pervade this assemblage.

I believe that the man whose memory we honor never knew moral fear, and never felt the sickening weakness of moral cowardice. With him it was only to see what he believed to be injustice or error, to hurl himself upon its defences with the impetuosity of a zealot and the endurance of a martyr. He did not shun politics; but in his conception, political activity was valuable and honorable only as it led the way to the performance of civic duty and had for its end and purpose the advancement of principles and the enforcement of practices that best promoted the public good. He had no toleration for the over-nice foppery that drives many who claim patriotic impulses away from politics through fear of contaminating defilement. He entered politics because he saw his duty there; and he found immunity from defilement in cleansing and purifying his political surroundings.

In recognition of the affirmation that ours is a government by party, he did not disparage political organization, or hold himself aloof from party affiliation. He assumed party relationship as an arrangement for united effort in the accomplishment of purposes which his judgment approved; but he never conceded to

party allegiance the infallible guidance of political thought, nor the unquestioned dictatorship of political conduct. He believed there was a higher law for both, and the din of party could not deafen his ears to the still small voice of conscience. Thus it happened that when party commands were most imperious and when punishment for party disobedience was most loudly threatened, he defiantly proclaimed under the sanction of conscience, untrammelled political thought and unfettered political action; and thus in the propaganda of political individualism he became a leader, and taught by precept and example the meaning and intent of independent voting.

Many are willing to defer to party control and guidance, and many are willing for the sake of party to subordinate their personal judgment and belief. Some are so prejudiced by the bigotry of sheer partisanship that they find it impossible to condone insubordination to party discipline. These conditions should not be too readily condemned. They may be largely attributable to temperament and environment. But no intelligently patriotic citizen can be blind to the fact, very recently more conclusively established than ever, that the political independence declared and illustrated by Carl Schurz has become a defence and safeguard of the people against the evils that result from the unchallenged growth of irresponsible party management.

Political organizations will always be a factor in the equipment and conduct of our government, and as long as parties exist there will be party leaders. But every thoughtful man who loves his country ought to realize in this time of political awakening that the public welfare demands that parties should be in purpose and mission something better than mere machines to serve selfishness and the ends of low and perverted partisanship; nor should any fail to detect the humiliation and disgrace that attaches to those who follow party leadership after it has grown to partisan dictatorship and become a thing of proprietary control, prostituted to the uses of base bargaining and treacherous schemes. No one can know so little of partisan human nature as to suppose that an honest voter thus threatened with

betrayal or disgrace in his party relationship can save his honor and political integrity by any less radical remedy than loud protest or open desertion.

These things are easily said; and they are easily accepted, as long as they only flatter a self-complacent idleness of political virtue. It is not the mere slothful acceptance of righteous political ideas, but the call to action for their enforcement and application that tests the endurance and moral courage of men. He who sees the emergency and moves to the front where blows are given and taken must expect that but few of the thousands who speak bravely will be at his side.

Mr. Schurz had the keenest possible apprehension of this and of all else that he would meet in the path he had entered upon. He was able to meet with calm defiance the denunciation and ostracism of partisanship; and he was able to meet with undisguised contempt the abuse and threats of party sordidness and self-seeking. But he was obliged to suffer acutely and in silent resignation from the misconception of his efforts and even his motives by friends he loved, and from the distrustful misgivings of those whose judgment he greatly valued. And still he held his way—brave beyond the reach of moral fear, and confident beyond the reach of discouragement.

Those of us who boast that we are Americans by heredity should not forget that he who thus wrought for the betterment of our nation's political ideas and practice was of foreign birth. And let us remember, too, with admiring appreciation, that while he never allowed his loving memory of his fatherland to fade, he at the same time earned imperishable honor in his newer citizenship, and added lustre to the patriotism of his nature by unre-served devotion and fidelity to his American allegiance. If his noble example and service suggest a home-thrusting contrast, they should especially incite to better duty and more political solicitude those claiming by birthright an advanced place in our citizenship. And all of us should take to heart the broad and impressive lesson taught to every American citizen by the life and career of Carl Schurz. It is the lesson of moral courage, of intelligent and conscientious patriotism, of independent political

thought, of unselfish political affiliation, and of constant political vigilance.

THE CHAIRMAN:

As you know, ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Schurz was an adopted son of Harvard, an institution which conferred upon him its highest honor, and to which he sent both his sons to be educated, where he was the President of the Germanic Museum Society, and whose classic shades he loved to visit. I can assure you that the respect and esteem was more than fully reciprocated, and I have the very great pleasure of presenting to you President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University:

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT CHARLES W. ELIOT

CARL SCHURZ'S temperament was buoyant, ardent, and hopeful. He was an enthusiast; but his enthusiastic faith carried him straight into fitting deeds. He was a philosopher; but he seized every opportunity to apply his philosophy in action. This noble temperament characterized his whole life, from youth to age. His formal or systematic education was short, but effective. He was only seventeen years old when he entered the University of Bonn to study philosophy and history—two subjects which, according to present educational views, require a good deal of mental maturity. At twenty he was an adjutant in a considerable body of revolutionary troops. At twenty-one he had rescued his friend and teacher Kinkel from the prison of Spandau and brought him safely to England—an achievement which required courage, ingenuity, patience, and good judgment. He was already possessed of two means of winning an independent livelihood—good proof of his capacity and of the effectiveness of his education. One was giving music lessons, and the other was writing letters from abroad for German newspapers. While he was earning \$36 a month as a newspaper correspondent in Paris he learned to write and speak French with ease and delicacy, thus giving a striking illustration of his remarkable powers in language. At twenty-three he came with his wife of eighteen to the United States, seeking freedom in a land where political freedom had been a natural growth. Switzerland had been his first refuge, England his second, and republican France—soon to become imperial France—his third; America was henceforth his country, and what led him thither was the passion for liberty. Neither he nor his wife could understand spoken English when

they landed in New York. He immediately began to read newspapers and novels, historical and political essays, and Blackstone's Commentaries, using the dictionary incessantly, but making little use of an English grammar. He also followed a method strikingly like that which Benjamin Franklin devised for acquiring a thorough knowledge of a language—even of the mother tongue. He translated many of the Letters of Junius into German and back again into English, and compared this retranslation with the English original. He wrote diligently in English, always reading over and revising what he had written. In less than six months he could talk easily in English and write a good letter. This achievement was the more remarkable because he and his wife associated chiefly with recently immigrated Germans. He was also studying industriously the political history and institutions of the country and its social conditions. His contemporary observations on American conditions of life show remarkable insight and sagacity. He saw clearly that political freedom means freedom to be feeble, foolish, and sinful in public affairs, as well as freedom to be strong, wise, and good. He saw that the object of political freedom is to develop character in millions of free men through the suffering which follows mistakes and crimes, and through the satisfaction and improvement which follows on public wisdom and righteousness. He saw clearly the productiveness of freedom through the spontaneous coöperation of private citizens. He saw how freedom to do something awakens the desire and develops the capacity to do it. In short, this sanguine young foreigner, who had no experience whatever of democracy at work, saw clearly that a republic is not an ideal state, but a state in which good contends with evil, and the people themselves, and not a few masters of the people do the fighting, and so get instruction both from defeats through folly and vice and from victories through good sense and virtue. He saw that the actual political, industrial, and social conditions in a republic might, like the actual issue of a single individual's struggles, often be far below ideal conditions, and yet freedom to do wrong or to do right would remain the best possible atmosphere, indeed

the only atmosphere, for national as for individual growth in virtue. He also perceived that democratic government could be various and elastic, and that it had indefinite recuperative power after disaster. The whole of his subsequent career as a public man was based on these convictions of his youth. Thirty-five years later appeared his "Life of Henry Clay," his largest piece of literary work. It is much more than a life of Clay, being also a powerful delineation in rapid outlines of the political history of fifty pregnant years. Its style is simple, clear, and fluent, its judgment of men and public acts temperate and impartial, and its moral teaching always both lofty and attractive. No biography of an American public man has been written with greater discernment, candor, and fairness. That it was written by a German who came to this country at twenty-three years of age, after practical experience of the crude and visionary revolutionism of Europe in 1848, and then entered on the study of the English language and of American political principles, is an intellectual and moral marvel. It demonstrates the consistency and continuity of Carl Schurz's own principles of political action from youth to age.

Schurz at once attached himself to the liberal or progressive side in American politics, and in the first instance to the anti-slavery cause. What gave him power to serve greatly the cause of freedom was his gift of genuine oratory, both in English and in German. His command of English for purposes of public speech was extraordinary. I have listened to many scholars and lecturers of foreign birth speaking in English after years of familiar use of the English tongue, but I have never heard one who approached Carl Schurz in the accuracy, variety, and idiomatic quality of his English speech. In his essays and speeches one may find occasionally a word which a native would hardly use in the sense in which he uses it, but the most attentive critic will fail to find ungrammatical phrases or misused idioms. Now and then a sentence will recall by its length the German style; but its order, inflection, and rhythm will be English. His oratory was never florid or rhetorical as distinguished from logical. On the contrary, it was compact, simple, and eminently moderate

in form and rational in substance. He could be severe, but he was never vituperative; bold, but never reckless; he was always firm, with a strength based on full inquiry and knowledge. On every subject which he treated before the public he took the utmost pains to be well informed, to acquaint himself with his adversaries' opinions and feelings, and to be prepared alike for direct advocacy and for rebuttal.

At twenty-seven years of age he was already making political speeches in German—speeches which contributed to carrying Wisconsin for Fremont. He was not thirty years old when he made his first political speech in English. He contributed to the first election of Lincoln by many speeches in German and in English—a service which brought him at thirty-two years of age the appointment as Minister to Spain. After his three years' service in the army during the civil war he returned for a time to the calling of his youth—writing for the daily press, both in German and English, an occupation in which his gifts had full play. A new theatre for his oratorical powers was opened to him when he took his seat in the Senate of the United States in March, 1869, as Senator from Missouri. Here he proved his readiness as a debater as well as his power as an orator. Debate often brings out a fine quality which the oratorical monologue does not develop—namely, fairness combined with aggressiveness. The most persuasive debater is always the fairest debater, because the listener who is not already a partisan is only too apt to be unreasonably repelled from the side which manifests unfairness, and to be sympathetically attracted toward the other side. The ordinary defects of American speaking—bombast, excess in simile and metaphor, exaggeration, and playing to the gallery—Carl Schurz invariably shunned. His oratory was always high-minded and dignified, although it ranged through all human moods, and could be either forcible or gentle, plain and calm, or dramatic and passionate.

Schurz was always a leader of the people, because he was an independent thinker and a student, and because he himself faithfully followed ideals which had not yet become the ideals of the masses. In how true a sense he was a pioneer we shall

realize if we recall the dates of some of his great speeches. In a speech on civil service reform, delivered in the Senate in January, 1871, he laid down in the clearest and most impressive manner all the fundamental principles and objects of the reform—principles which have not yet been fully incorporated in public law—and to the close of his life he was a devoted servant of this great reform. Three years later he made two memorable speeches in the Senate on banking and against inflation of the currency, his admirable teaching being inspired not so much by his belief in the material or industrial advantages of a sound currency as by his conviction that an unsound currency caused both public and private dishonesty. The country has not yet put in practice the whole of Schurz's doctrine on honest banking and honest money. When he was Secretary of the Interior for four years he proved that he was a pioneer not only in the theory of reform, but in the practice also. The solidity of Carl Schurz's information, his independence, and his quality as a leader of thought are well illustrated by his early dealings with the subject of forestry. When he was Secretary of the Interior it was part of his business to make himself acquainted with the American forests and with the rapacious commercial organizations which were rapidly destroying them. He came into actual conflict with some of these organizations, and during his tenure of the Secretaryship he set on foot the resistance to this wanton destruction which has since gathered force and is beginning to be effective. In an admirable address delivered before the American Forestry Association in October, 1889, Carl Schurz expounded clearly and completely the true doctrine of forest protection and preservation, anticipating public opinion by many years, at a time when an advocate of such views had nothing to expect but ridicule and abuse.

The nature of the other public causes in which he labored testifies to the same virtue in him of leadership based on idealism. In his later years he became an ardent advocate of arbitration in international disputes, and hence an expounder of the atrocities of war, of its demoralizing subsequent effects, and of its frequent futility in settling disputes. In his latest years he lent the whole

force of his reputation and his eloquence to the feeble minority which opposed the extension of the sovereignty of the United States over conquered peoples. Again he was true to his ideals and to the ideals of Washington and Lincoln. Like Washington he urged his adopted country to "observe good faith and justice toward all nations." Like Lincoln he believed that "our defence is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands."

Carl Schurz was a thinker, a writer, an orator, and a doer—all four; and he loved liberty. St. James describes him perfectly in his General Epistle: "Whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty and continueth therein, he being not a forgetful hearer but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed in his deed." This freeman, truly blessed in his deeds throughout a long and busy life, is the greatest American citizen of German birth.

The Liederkranz Chorus, which had volunteered its services, then sang, under the direction of Mr. Arthur Claasen, its leader, Engelsberg's *Meine Muttersprache*.

THE CHAIRMAN:

This occasion does not belong to New York, or to America, alone; Germany is entitled to, and claims, her fair share in it, and in token of that, I have the great honor of presenting to you Professor Eugene Kühnemann, of the University of Breslau, now happily a visiting professor at Harvard, who will address you in his own and Carl Schurz's native tongue:

ADDRESS OF
PROFESSOR EUGENE KÜHNEMANN

Mein erstes Wort an dieser Stelle muß ein Wort des Dankes sein, eines Dankes, der, wie ich glaube, von allen deutschen Stammesgenossen gefühlt wird. Diese Feier veranstalteten Amerikaner einem ihrer größten Bürger. Carl Schurz hat seinen Stolz darein gesetzt, nichts anderes als ein treuer und wahrer amerikanischer Bürger zu sein. Aber aus dem deutschen Vaterlande stammte doch die Kraft, die er im Dienste Amerikas entfaltet hat. Darum liegt so viel seine Würdigung darin, daß zu seiner Ehre an dieser Stelle ein Deutscher in seiner deutschen Muttersprache zu Ihnen reden darf. Das deutsche Lied zum Preis der Muttersprache ist zuvor erklingen, auch dies in feinstem Verständnis seiner Seele, die in der Musik lebte und die deutsche Sprache als die Sprache des Liedes geliebt hat. Zugleich kommt darin die ganze Geschichte des Mannes zum Ausdruck, der zwei Welten angehörte und ein Meister zweier Sprachen war. Dies war seine Größe und sein Schicksal, sein Glück und vielleicht ein wenig auch sein Schmerz, sein Heldenlied und vielleicht seine Tragödie. Was er Amerika bedeutete, geziemt nicht dem Fremden zu verkünden; der Deutsche aber darf sprechen über den deutschen Mann in Carl Schurz.

Er ist geboren am deutschen Strome des Rheins. Unvergessene Heimathserinnerungen klingen in einer seiner schönsten deutschen Reden wieder: „mit wehmüthiger Lust denken wir an die grünen Wasser des heimathlichen Rheins; in denen sich die altersgrauen, sagenumwobenen Burgen spiegeln; wo die edle Traube glüht; wo der Mensch froh ist, auch ohne zu wissen warum; wo das deutsche Lied doppelt poetisch klingt; wo vom Niederwald das Bild der sieghaften Germania so trotzig über die Grenze blickt; an das schöne liebe Land, von dem jeder Fuß breit uns theuer ist.“ Er war ein Kind des Volkes und

hat das gestalten- und farbenreiche Bild des deutschen Volkes jener Zeit in die kindliche Seele begierig aufgenommen. Noch lebten die Helbenüberlieferungen des Befreiungskrieges. Und an den Gesprächen kluger Männer am Herdfeuer entwickelte sich der erste phantasievolle Antheil an der großen Welt. Aus dem Munde des Vaters hörte er zum ersten Male von Washington als dem edelsten Helden der Geschichte. Er ging durch die deutsche Schulerziehung mit ihrer Gründlichkeit und ihrer vielseitigen Anregung selbstständiger Bestrebungen. Er wurde als einer der Feurigsten ergriffen von den goldenen Hoffnungen des Völkerfrühlings und lebte „dem großen Erweckungsjahre“, wie er es genannt hat, freudig entgegen. So wurde die ganze Seele des fleißigen jungen Studenten erfüllt von dem Gedanken an sein Volk und seine Freiheit. Es war, als wollte der Glaube Friedrich Schillers hinüber wirken ins politische Leben. Aber Schurz erwieß auch den Ernst, die Aufopferung, den Muth. Es war kein Glaube der Worte, sondern der Thaten. Er hat die Waffen ergriffen und in der revolutionären Armee gekämpft für die Volksfreiheit, wie er sie verstand. Wie ein Heldenlied lesen sich jene Kapitel seines Lebens mit der wunderbaren Flucht aus der Festung Rastatt. In Jahren der Ernüchterung mußte er das entsagende Leben des Flüchtlings führen. Aber die Opfertreue für den Freund galt ihm mehr als das eigene Leben. Durch die Befreiung Rinkels aus dem Zuchthaus erwarb er europäischen Ruhm, den Ruhm, den die menschlich guten, aufopfernden Thaten geben, und mußte doch schwer genug sich weiter mühen um seine Existenz. Wie ist dies Jünglingsleben reich an dem schönsten Reichthum der Jugend: der Hingabe des ganzen Lebens an eine begeisterte Idee. Die Noth des Vaterlandes hat ihm sein Jugendleben zu einem hinreichenden Gedichte gemacht.

Das deutsche Volk hieß damals noch das Volk der Dichter und Denker. Schurz aber erscheint uns als ein echter Dichterjüngling, der in seinem Leben, in seinen Thaten dichtet. Und über die rauhen Stöße der Wirklichkeit hinweg trägt ihn die Gunst der Muse, die seine Seele erlesen hat. Seiner Heldenthat dankte er die Liebe des Weibes, das ihm sein Leben schenkte. In die neue Heimath seiner Wahl, nach Amerika brachte er die deutsche Gläubigkeit. Ihm war es das goldene Land der bürgerlichen Freiheit. Seine deutsche Bil-

dung ermöglichte ihm das schnelle Eingehen in die fremde Welt der englischen Sprache. Die bewegliche germanische Schöpferkraft ließ ihn ein neues Leben finden in den Gedanken großer öffentlicher Wirksamkeit für das amerikanische Volk. Reiblos erkennen wir Deutsche, wie erst das neue Vaterland ihm die großen Möglichkeiten bot für die volle Entfaltung seiner ungewöhnlichen Kräfte. Er wurde einer der ersten unter den Führern seines Volkes.

Seine ganze politische Wirksamkeit in Amerika war getragen von seinem deutschen Idealismus. Amerika sollte sein, so wie er es glaubte und liebte, das Land der Rechtschaffenheit und Geseßlichkeit, die bürgerliche Republik der allgemeinen und wahren Freiheit, wie Lincoln es in seinem Lieblingsworte ausgedrückt: „die Regierung des Volkes, durch das Volk, für das Volk.“ Mochte man ihn einen Träumer schelten, er rief zurück: „Ideale sind gleich den Sternen. Du wirfst sie nicht mit der Hand berühren, aber gleich dem Seefahrer auf den Wüsten der Wasser wählst du sie als Führer, folgst ihnen und erreichst deine Bestimmung.“ Dieser Idealismus erzeugte seinen Muth, der, wie er sagte, das erste Erforderniß für die Führerschaft in einer großen Sache ist. Er erhielt ihm die Unabhängigkeit, die das Recht allein zum Leitstern nahm und höher achtete als die Forderungen der Partei. Denn nach ihm war es stets der unabhängige Geist, der Alles überwindende Sinn für Pflicht, der den Weg brach für jeden großen Fortschritt der amerikanischen Geschichte. „Wehe der Republik, wenn sie vergebens Umschau hielte nach Männern, die die Wahrheit suchen ohne Vorurtheile, die Wahrheit sagen ohne Furcht, wie sie sie verstehen, mag die Welt sie hören wollen oder nicht.“ So war sein ganzes öffentliches Leben ein einziger Dienst der sittlichen Idee, in der er Amerika's Größe und Zukunft sah, ein Dienst, der nicht erlahmte, auch wenn es durch Schmerzen, Einsamkeit und Enttäuschung ging. So von seinem Eintreten für Lincoln, seiner Arbeit für die Sklavenbefreiung, seinen Mühen um den Wiederaufbau des Südens an bis zu dem Kampf gegen die Mängel der Verwaltung und gegen Bestrebungen in die Ferne, von denen er schlimme Wirkungen für die bürgerliche Republik befürchtete. Uns Deutsche rührt inmitten aller dieser Dinge die Sorge um die Wälder, aus der die innige Naturliebe des deutschen Mannes wie die Vorausssicht des wei-

sen Volkswirthe spricht. Er war sich selber treu und das hieß bei ihm, er war seinen Idealen treu. So wandten sich die Reden des großen Redners in zwei Sprachen, wie Schiller es von dem Volkserzieher verlangte, an das Beste der menschlichen Natur. Die Menschen bestimmen hieß für ihn: die Menschen heben. Und auch von ihm gilt, was er von seinem Freunde Sumner gesagt hat: „Hinter allem, was er sagte und that, stand die prächtige Männlichkeit, die man unfehlbar hindurch empfand.“

Zwischen Lincoln und Bismarck steht für uns dieser große Deutsch-Amerikaner als zwischen den größten Volks- und Staatsführern neuerer Zeiten und in der größten geschichtlichen Krisis beider Völker. Für Lincoln und mit ihm hat er gearbeitet, in Bismarck hat er die freilich wunderfame und unerwartete Erfüllung seiner Jünglingsträume erlebt. Aber sein altes bürgerlich liberales Herz schlug doch für Lincoln mehr, „den Mann, der nicht nur vom niedrigsten Ursprung war, sondern auch der einfachste und anspruchloseste der Bürger blieb und erhöht ward zu einer Machtstellung ohne Gleichen in der amerikanischen Geschichte, der, der sanfteste der Sterblichen, keine Kreatur leiden sehen konnte ohne Qualen der eigenen Brust, und der sich plötzlich berufen fand, den blutigsten Krieg zu führen, der die Regierungsgewalt lenkte, als erbarmungslose Stärke, das Gesetz des Tages war, und der dann Volksgeist und Volksherz gewann und leitete durch die zarten Sympathien seiner Natur, der vorsichtig-konservativ von Temperament und Gewohnheit die plöcklichste und alles fortschwemmende sociale Revolution unserer Zeit zu leiten bekam, der die einfache Sprache und ländliche Weise in der höchsten Stellung jener Epoche beibehielt und den Spott der guten Gesellschaft erregte, und der dann die Seele der Menschheit erzittern machte mit Aeußerungen von wundervoller Schönheit und Größe, der, in seinem Herzen der beste Freund des besiegten Südens, ermordet wurde, weil ein wahnsinniger Fanatiker ihn für seinen grausamsten Feind nahm, der in seiner Macht über alles Maaß verspottet und verhöhnt wurde von gegnerischer Leidenschaft und aufgeregtem Parteigeist und um dessen Grab Freund und Feind sich sammelten, ihn zu preisen, was sie seitdem niemals aufgehört haben zu thun, als einen der größten Amerikaner und den besten der Menschen.“ In Bismarck's Thaten hat Schurz vielleicht mehr mit der Phän-

tasie des Dichters das berauschte Heldengedicht gesehen. „Das war ein Schauspiel, wie der einst so verspottete deutsche Michel plötzlich aus dem Schlafe erwachte; wie er die gewaltigen Glieder reckte; wie er seinen Schild schüttelte, daß er klang wie alle Donner des Firmaments; wie das Stampfen seines Fußes den Boden Europas erzittern machte; wie er mit mächtigem Schwertschlag den übermüthigen Feind vor sich in den Staub warf; wie er mit Posaunenstimme ausrief: „das ganze Deutschland soll es sein“; und wie die Menschheit staunend aufblickte an der riesigen Heldengestalt.“ Ob in dem Verhältniß zu Bismarck vielleicht die Trennung liegt zwischen der jungen Generation Deutschlands und ihm, und ob es eine Trennung genau der gleichen Art ist, die ihn von den jüngeren Bestrebungen Amerikas scheid, wollen wir nur ehrfürchtig fragen. Uns scheint das ganze Lebensgefühl des Deutschen verändert, seit wir im Reiche leben als einer Großmacht und gleichberechtigt neben die herrschenden Nationen der Erde getreten sind. Vielleicht erneuert sich dadurch auch das Verhältniß der Bürger deutschen Stammes zu ihrem amerikanischen Wahlvaterlande. Doch bleibt Carl Schurz der große Ausdruck der Lebensgemeinschaft zwischen Amerika und Deutschland, er, der ein Klassiker in den Sprachen beider Länder war. Wie keiner war er zum Hüter und Vorsprecher aller Zeugnisse dieser Lebensgemeinschaft berufen. Das germanische Museum in Cambridge zählt ihn mit stolzestem Recht als den ersten seiner Präsidenten und gedenkt mit Freude seiner Begrüßungsworte bei der Einweihung. In seinem großen Sinne rief er die Deutschen Amerikas auf, dies Werk zu hegen und zu entwickeln. Unvermindert blieb die deutsche Innigkeit seines Gefühls. Als deutscher Dichter hat er sein Leben beschlossen. Denn die Erinnerungen seiner Jugend, die englisch zu schreiben ihm unmöglich war, gehören zu den schönsten Prosadichtungen in deutscher Sprache.

An dem Grabe von Carl Schurz reichen die beiden Völker in der gleichen Trauer sich die Hand, oder sie legen beide die Hände an denselben Kranz. Nicht ohne Wehmuth sieht die Mutterheimath uraltes Germanenschicksal in ihm wiederholt, — daß in einem ihrer besten Söhne ein Stück ihrer Geschichte in einer fremden Welt sich abgespielt hat. Denn der Geschichte beider Völker gehört er an. Sie

dankt ihm, daß er wie wenige die Pflicht des Deutschen in der Fremde erfüllte, das Beste deutschen Wesens eingehen zu lassen in die neue Menschheit, die, scheint es, auf dieser Erde aus den alten Nationen sich bilden soll. In der gemeinsamen Arbeit für diese Idee sind die beiden Völker ohne Gegensatz und Streit verbunden. Dank dem großen Toten für seine Treue! Mancher Deutsch-Amerikaner wird in seinem Namen das Gelübde erneuern, wie er das Beste in deutscher Treue hinzugeben, wenn auch wenige mit ihm wetteifern können an Reichthum der geistigen Gaben. Ist uns doch, als wären die deutschen Stammesgenossen der Zukunft mehr noch schuldig, als sie der Vergangenheit geleistet haben, da das erneute Vaterland allem deutschen Wesen ein neues Kraftgefühl gab, und es dem Heutigen um so viel mehr zur Pflicht wird, überall auf der Erde sich einzusetzen mit seiner verjüngten, ganzen deutschen Seele. Möge das große Vorbild von Karl Schurz mit solchem Stachel wirken. Dann wird an ihm wahr werden, was er von Sumner gesagt hat: „Obwohl sein Körper in der Erde liegt, lebt er fort in den gesicherten Rechten aller, in der Bruderschaft des geeinten Volkes, in der geeinten Republik, und wird leben für immer.“ Und wie er nichts geliebt hat gleich seinem neuen Vaterlande, begleitet ihn dann bis ins Grab, was er als das höchste Glück gepriesen: „Es giebt kein schöneres und vollständigeres Glück in der Welt, als das Bewußtsein, zu dem Glücke Derer, die man lieb hat, beigetragen zu haben, ohne einen anderen Lohn zu verlangen als dies Bewußtsein.“

THE CHAIRMAN:

I have now the great pleasure of presenting to you the Honorable Charles J. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy, long closely allied with Mr. Schurz in the noble work of Civil Service Reform:

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

A MONUMENT to Carl Schurz exists to-day, it exists, nay more, it lives, lives in the amended laws of his adopted country, lives in the enlightened thoughts and beliefs of Americans taught by him and those banded with him to know and cleave to the right in choosing public servants for the people's work. Thirty years ago, when he was called into the counsels of President Hayes, so much of such work as fell to civil servants was in large part entrusted to men and women chosen, not because they were fit to serve the public, but because they were fit to serve politicians, and generally because they were fit for nothing else. Our public offices were then too often asylums for incompetency and ill repute, recruited in great measure, from the failures and outcasts of creditable callings, those too weak, indolent, and vicious to hold their own in any worthy field of competition. Everywhere our politics, National, State, and Municipal, were debauched by the wide and unrebuked prevalence of a peculiarly mean and baleful form of bribery, the use of public employment to influence votes and reward party service; huge corruption funds were constantly accumulated by openly taxing the salaries of public servants for partisan use; and, as the most faithful service to the people could assure no one continued employment when partisan greed clamored for his place, so the most scandalous misconduct might be readily condoned if the culprit had "pull," or stood well with the dominant "machine."

It is no abuse of emphatic language to say that the general acceptance of the "spoils" theory of politics by American public opinion, in other words, our acquiescence in the doctrine that public offices are not posts of trust, but mere means of private gain, in very truth, "spoils;" and therefore that any sensible

man is "in politics only for what he can get out of them," in those days constituted a great national disgrace and a great national danger. That disgrace has been largely redeemed, that danger has been in great part averted through a resolute and patient struggle, continued now for many years, amidst many disappointments, apostacies and failures, by a small number of men, who, in season and out of season, have cried out against the shame and iniquity of such doctrines and such practices, until they have gained the people's ear and awakened the people's conscience. To speak of these men is to think of Carl Schurz.

He taught by example that a great Department of the Federal Government could be successfully administered on the principles of Civil Service Reform before there was a Civil League or Association to demand such a law. Restored to private life, he gave his aid to form the New York Association and the National League, and, from their organization to his death, contributed so zealously of his time, his talents, and his labor in their work that their history is his history, their merit his merit, their success his success. In well-nigh everything which has made for righteousness in the progress of this great reform, in our remedial laws, in our corrected customs, whether of administration or politics, in the growth of a strong and healthy public opinion, in the quickening of the Nation's sense of right, one who searches will find the influence, direct or indirect, evident or slightly veiled, of his earnest, persistent, and eloquent advocacy, will see the stamp of his work.

He is dead, and the work is not yet done; but enough of it is done to make sure the doing of what remains to do, and what he did for it will live after him to aid those who for years, doubtless for more than one generation of men, must yet tread the path he trod ere they reach the goal to which he pointed. In every combat for honest government and pure politics, in every effort to give our country faithful servants, and, with and through such servants, rulers worthy of her greatness, his spirit will guide, his memory will inspire the men who strive for the right. Those he taught and led will pass on his teaching to such as they in turn must lead in the like struggle for the same ends; and when there

shall be in America no man in any public employment for any other reason than because the man or men who put him there believed him of all who might be chosen best fitted to do well the work he would there have to do, when that time comes, there will have been rounded to full completion the most lasting and most fitting of monuments to the virtues and the services of Carl Schurz.

THE CHAIRMAN:

We shall now have the pleasure of listening to a poem by Mr. Richard Watson Gilder.

Mr. Gilder then read the following poem:

CARL SCHURZ

IN youth he braved a monarch's ire
To set the people's poet free;
Then gave his life, his fame, his fire
To the long praise of liberty.

His life, his fame, his all he gave
That not on earth should live one slave;
True freedom of the soul he sought
And in that battle well he fought.

He fought, and yet he loved not war,
But looked and labored for the day
When the loud cannon silent are
And holy peace alone hath sway.

Ah, what a life! From youth to age
Keeping the faith, in noble rage.
Ah, what a life! From knightly youth
Servant and champion of the truth.

Not once, in all his length of days
That falchion flashed for paltry ends;
So wise, so pure, his words and ways,
Even those he conquered rose his friends.

For went no rancor with the blow;
The wrong, and not the man, his foe.
He smote not meanly, not in wrath;
That truth might speed he cleaved a path.

The lure of place he well could scorn
Who knew a mightier joy and fate;—
The passion of the hope forlorn,
The luxury of being great;—

The deep content of souls serene
Who gain or lose with equal mien;
Defeat his spirit not subdued,
Nor victory marred his noble mood.

The Chorus of the Arion Society, which had also volunteered its services, then sang, under the leadership of Mr. Julius Lorenz, its conductor, Max Zenger's Gebet.

THE CHAIRMAN:

I now have the honor to present to you Professor Hermann Schumacher, of the University of Bonn, where Carl Schurz was educated, now, happily, by exchange for a semester, a Professor in Columbia University:

ADDRESS OF PROFESSOR HERMANN A. SCHUMACHER

AMERICA, in whose beloved soil rests all that is earthly of Carl Schurz, is foremost in honoring him to-night. But as in his heart the love of his native land never ceased to rival his devotion to the American people, so the country, in which Carl Schurz was born and educated, also claims him as one of its greatest sons.

As a member of the University of Commerce in the city of Cologne, where Schurz attended school, and as a Professor of the University of Bonn, where as a gifted and spirited student of twenty years he gave to his life its decisive turn,—from the native soil of Carl Schurz, where we so heartily hoped to welcome him this summer at the unveiling of Kinkel's statue, I bring greetings of sympathy and good will. I am grateful to have the opportunity of paying on behalf of all Germany this tribute of love and admiration to the man whom we commemorate to-night.

This memorial is of a unique character. It is the only instance of which I know where two nations join in celebrating one whose official position did not place him among the powerful of the land, and who cannot be regarded as merely a scientist or a man of letters, brilliant and profound as his writings are.

What is it that two great nations admire and honor in this personality? What explains the extraordinary influence, the great success of Carl Schurz? It may be summed up in the phrase: German idealism.

This idealism of Schurz was, in the first place, an ethical quality. Never did personal interests exercise an influence upon his public acts. He formed his decisions with utter disregard of consequences. He showed in all his actions a heroic courage, a courage inherited from his noble mother. Even in his childhood

that is conspicuous. You remember in his memoirs, when, as a school-boy, he had to write a composition on the Battle of Leipzig, how he expressed his indignation at the political situation, although he knew that he would thereby incur the serious displeasure of his teachers. As the boy, so the man. Although he had eagerly assisted in the election of Grant, he did not hesitate a moment to oppose with all his might those measures of the administration which he believed would be injurious to the American people. And perhaps the most remarkable instance of this unselfish courage is, when he advocated with unceasing energy the re-establishment of the suffrage in the South, although he clearly saw that he was thereby helping to create a democratic majority in Missouri and that he would in consequence lose his seat in the Senate of the United States.

This same trait of chivalry is found everywhere: a vigorous fight for what he regarded as just and good, a fight with the splendid ardor of his enthusiastic spirit, with all the captivating force of his remarkable personality. As a result, many misapprehensions and enmities were unavoidable, and it was as a poor man that there died the ablest and most influential of all those of foreign birth and foreign education who have made their home on this side of the Atlantic.

But when we admire in Schurz the incarnation of what we call German idealism we regard not only the moral impulse which prompted him to decide all public questions without reference to his personal interests, but also the intellectual faculty of looking at all problems of practical life from the loftiest points of view. This Carl Schurz did in a most unusual manner. He believed, as he often emphasized, in the logic of things, in an over-ruling fatality, which stands above the power of majorities and of governments. "It is the close connection between cause and effect, between principle and fact," he explained—"a connection which cannot be severed and a clear knowledge of which is the only safe foundation of political wisdom." He was convinced that "what is nonsense in theory, will never make sense in practice." But from this he did not conclude that men could not intervene. On the contrary, he considered it the duty of

every upright man to lend himself with all his force to what he believed to be just and right. To the question, What is meant by the spirit of the age? he answered: "It is action, action, and action again." Action, spirited action in behalf of the general welfare, action for the benefit not only of the American people, but of all mankind, was the text of his long, eventful, and strenuous life. Schurz never tired of battling for his convictions, against what he regarded as a hindrance to progress. Thus he became at an early age a revolutionist, struggling for the removal of political obstacles which, once accomplished, would open for the people, as he himself expressed it, new fields of inquiry, knowledge, and improvement, as a foundation on which to erect a solid structure of a broader and higher development. A fighter also he remained in this country, whose soil appeared to him so ideal a field for developing in absolute freedom all that is noble, progressive, and just in human nature.

The characteristic peculiarity of Carl Schurz consists in the great variety of objects for which he was struggling and the great diversity of weapons which he handled so skilfully. Thus did he fight for political freedom, for a constitutional government in Germany, with the most daring revolutionary methods; thus he fought, still far more successfully, in this country, in his capacity as general, diplomat, and politician, for his high ideals of democracy, and especially for the freedom of the negro; thus he fought as your Secretary of the Interior, and ever since that time for Civil Service Reform and the merit system; thus he fought for the protection of the Indian, whom he so ardently desired to lift to the level of American citizenship, and for the preservation of the forests, which he loved with all the sentiment of his German soul. Wherever dangers seemed to arise in the marvelously rapid development of American life, he came boldly before the public to warn and to admonish, even in the face of an overwhelming opposition, not only of the people, but also of his friends. And he was always listened to. Although in official position but a few years, and never in constant connection with either of the large parties, he was for half a century a powerful factor in the life of the American nation, untiringly and success-

fully helping to strengthen the ethical forces in the great process of shaping public opinion. That was his unique position in the history of this country.

Let us consider once more what an extraordinary attraction, what irresistible influence upon the opinions of his fellow-countrymen has been exercised by this man throughout his life. Historical proofs are not lacking. When he delivered his maiden speech, as a student in Bonn, the rector of the University asked him his age. "Nineteen years," was the reply. "A pity," said the rector, "then you are too young to be elected to our new parliament." The same impression was Spielhagen's, our well-known novelist, who studied with Schurz at Bonn, and who wrote in his memoirs: "Schurz was the greatest oratorical genius I have ever met."

An especially interesting illustration of his great captivating influence was once told to me by the curator of my university, Dr. von Rottenburg. It appears that Dr. von Rottenburg, when private secretary to Bismarck, was ordered, when a visitor remained too long, to send to the Chancellor a red portfolio indicating some urgent business, and, if this proved ineffectual, to repeat it, and, if still ineffectual, to announce the arrival of a special messenger from the Emperor. Schurz once paid a visit to Bismarck, and the red portfolio was, in accordance with the custom, sent in the first time, and after fifteen minutes the second time, but the official upon returning said to Rottenburg: "Don't trouble yourself any more, even the direct messenger from the Emperor will have no effect, the Chancellor has just ordered hock and cigars and the two gentlemen are enjoying themselves immensely."

Nor is this personal influence of Carl Schurz apt to cease. As a model of self-denying idealism he will not only continue to live in the hearts of the great number of his friends and of the best of his American fellow-countrymen but in Germany also with the conflicting interests created by the astounding development of its industrial life, a man of Carl Schurz's type will become of more and more importance. For in the midst of the increasing conflicts of economic interests, solutions

in harmony with the general welfare can be found and enforced, not by routine politicians, but only by philosophical and wholly sincere men who are convinced that ultimately great ideas and not petty personal interests must govern the destinies of nations. And that is true of the political conflicts, not only within a nation but also between nations. Only broadminded and farsighted idealism can satisfactorily solve these important problems. And so we Germans shall cultivate the memory of the great man whom we mourn to-night as eagerly and as gratefully in our country as you will in yours. Thus Carl Schurz, even after his death, is destined to remain a mighty personal factor in shaping public opinion, in both of the countries to which his noble soul was patriotically devoted,—even after his death a powerful connecting link between the two great peoples that join in commemorating him to-night.

THE CHAIRMAN:

You all know what a friend Carl Schurz was to the Indian and the colored man, how devoted he was to Hampton and Tuskegee; and this memorial meeting would not be complete without the presence of Dr. Booker T. Washington, the President of the Tuskegee Institute and leader of his race, whom I have now the honor to present to you:

ADDRESS OF
DR. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

THE details of the life and deeds of the late Honorable Carl Schurz are so well known as to call for no recital here. The most and least that can be done at this time is to emphasize the lessons to be gleaned from his life and call attention to the service rendered by him to the Indian and Negro races. My first acquaintance with Carl Schurz was gained when I was a student at the Hampton Institute in Virginia. He came to Hampton when Secretary of the Interior under President Hayes, to inspect the work of General Armstrong in the education of the Indians and to note the progress of the Negro students. During that visit his striking personality, which combined deep moral earnestness with strength of intellect, left in my mind an impression which has always remained with me, and which was deepened as I came to know Mr. Schurz better in later years. The impression made upon a poor student of another race—not long out of slavery—by the words and presence of this great soul, is something which I cannot easily describe. As he spoke to the Negro and Indian students on the day of his visit to Hampton, there was a note of deep sincerity and sympathy, which, with his frankness and insight into the real condition and needs of the two races, made us at once feel that a great and extraordinary man was speaking to us. He had a heart overflowing with sympathy for the two most unfavored races in America, because he himself had known what it meant to be oppressed and to struggle towards freedom against great odds. It is easier, however, from many points of view, to sympathize with a people or a race that has had an unfortunate start in life than it is to be frank and at the same time just—to say the word and do the thing which will permanently help, regardless for the moment of whether

words or acts please or displease. As Mr. Schurz stood before the Hampton students, it was plain that he was a man who had been able to lift himself out of the poisoned atmosphere of racial as well as sectional prejudice. It was easy to see that here was a man who wanted to see absolute justice done to the Indian, the Negro, and to the Southern white man.

At the time when Mr. Schurz entered President Hayes's cabinet, it was a popular doctrine that "the only good Indian was the dead Indian." The belief had gained pretty general acceptance that the Indian was incapable of receiving a higher civilization. More than that, the Indian was being plundered of his lands, his rations, and was being used as the tool in a large degree to further the ends of unscrupulous schemers. It was easier to shoot an Indian than to civilize him. It has been easier to fight for freedom than work for the freedman. Easier to kick or down him than to lift him up. It was a period also when the Negro race was being plundered and deceived in reference to its vote. Not only this, when Mr. Schurz entered the Hayes cabinet, the Negro was being in a large degree used as the tool of demagogues, and at the same time many influences were at work to alienate the black and white races at the South, regardless of the permanent effect on either. Against all this Mr. Schurz threw the weight of his great name and forceful personality. Few men in private or public life did more than he to clear the atmosphere and put all sections of our country sanely and unselfishly at work for the highest welfare of the black and red races.

Mr. Schurz was among the first to see that if the Indian was to be permanently helped, he must be taught to become an independent and willing producer, rather than an irresponsible recipient of the bounty of the general government. Hence, he was among the first to encourage agricultural and other forms of industrial education for the Indians. He was among the first, both in his official capacity and as a private citizen, to aid General Armstrong at Hampton in his first attempt to give industrial training to the Indian in systematic way and on a large scale. I have said that he saw clearly into the needs and conditions of my race and its relations to the white race. Time permits

only three illustrations. One is found in his report to President Johnson in 1865. A second is an article printed in McClure's Magazine in 1903, under the title, "Can the South Solve the Race Problem?" A third instance of the sanity of his views was given some of us when a conference of the leaders of the Negro race was, a few months before his death, held in this building, to which our good friend, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, kindly brought him. None will forget how, for nearly an hour, he lifted us, as it were, into a new world, while there came from his lips such words of advice, caution, and encouragement as only he could speak.

But he has passed from earth. My race, the Indian race, American life as a whole are the poorer. There never was a time when such men were more needed than at present. My own belief is that one such character encourages and makes possible in time many other characters of like strength and helpfulness. I do not despair. One great life makes possible many great lives. We need at present, when the question of races is occupying the attention of the world as has seldom been done, as never before, it seems to me, men of clear, calm view, and with the courage of their convictions. I am not discouraged as to present conditions, nor as to the future. It is good to be permitted to live in an age when great, serious, and perplexing problems are to be solved. It is good to live in an age when unfortunate and backward races are to be helped, when great and fundamental questions are to be met and solved. For my part, I would find no interest in living in an age where there were no weak member of the human family to be helped, no wrongs to be righted. Men grow strong in proportion as they reach down to help others up. The farther down they reach in the assisting and encouraging of backward and unpopular races, the greater strength do they gather. All this is borne out in the character of the hero of this evening. Without oppression, without struggle, without the effort to grapple with great questions, such a great character could not have been produced. It required the white heat of trouble to forge such a man.

Because Carl Schurz lived, the Germans in America are stronger and greater. Because he lived, my race is the richer, more confident and encouraged. The Indian race and my race are proud that they had the privilege of claiming as their friend so great a man as Carl Schurz. The great are never ashamed to assist the unfortunate or the unfavored. The usefulness of a great man can no more be limited by race or color than by national boundaries. Because of the friendship of such a soul, every Negro can be the more proud of his race. For myself, I was never more proud of being a Negro than I am today. If I had the privilege of re-entering the world, and the Great Spirit should ask me to choose the color and the race with which to clothe my spirit and my purposes, I would answer, "Make me an American Negro."

Mr. Schurz never sought the popular side of any question, nor did he seek the popular race. One word embodied his whole philosophy of life—that word was Duty.

Because he lived, we shall live better, more nobly. His spirit is still moving among us, and will continue to strengthen, to guide, and to encourage us now and evermore.

AT the conclusion of the meeting, the Chairman announced the purpose of the Memorial Committee to provide, through popular subscriptions, for an appropriate permanent memorial to Mr. Schurz. From the funds secured the Committee will erect a monument in bronze—either a statue or otherwise, as may be determined when the artistic considerations have been weighed—and will provide, in such degree as the subscriptions permit, for the advancement, in Mr. Schurz's name, of some of the public work to which his life was given.

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