THE PASSPORT QUESTION

1911


2. J. E. Price, minister of Methodist Episcopal Church, New York City, in sermon, proposes keeping out Russian citizens from United States until Russia has been taught meaning of American citizenship.

5. Central Conference of American Rabbis at annual meeting, St. Paul, Minn., pass resolution advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

11. State Department informs the American Hebrew that objectionable words in a circular issued to American citizens, formerly Russian subjects, who apply for passports, will be discontinued.


13. Governor Woodrow Wilson, in letter to Herman Bernstein, condemns Russia, and states “there is no divergence among patriotic Americans on passport question.”

15. Representative Murray, Massachusetts, reads in House of Representatives resolution passed by Massachusetts Legislature protesting against any distinction being made by foreign Governments among American citizens travelling abroad, and introduces resolution calling attention of Secretary of State to action of Massachusetts Legislature.

17. Assemblyman A. J. Levy’s resolution advocating the passage of a resolution pending in Congress for abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia passed by New York Senate.

Aug. 9. The New York Times states that administration plans to induce recognition of passports by Russia through arbitration.

10. Georgia Legislature passes resolution requesting Congress to abrogate Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

Sept. 3. Annual Convention Independent Order Ahawas Israel passes resolutions advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

Oct. 8. Hon. Simon Wolf addresses sixth biennial meeting of National German American Alliance, which adopts resolution advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.
Oct. 10. National Citizens' Committee, New York, to compel Russia to cease discriminating against American passports held by Jews, elects officers: Andrew D. White, President, Wm. G. McAdoo, Chairman Executive Committee, Henry Green, General Director.

14. Theodore Roosevelt, in editorial in the Outlook, proposes as preliminary step to its denunciation that Treaty of 1832 with Russia be submitted to Hague Tribunal for interpretation.

22. Rep. William Sulzer, at a meeting in Pilgrims' Church, New York City, states that when Congress convenes in December he will introduce joint resolution for abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

23. Senator Penrose assures delegation of Philadelphia Jews, headed by Judge Mayer Sulzberger, that he will take up Passport Question with President Taft and Secretary Knox as soon as Congress convenes, and is of opinion that “final notice should be served on Russia that the United States will no longer tolerate discrimination against any class of our citizens.” Judge Sulzberger points out impossibility of referring Passport Question to the Hague Tribunal.

28. Senator Penrose, of Pennsylvania, in letter to Jewish Morning Journal, states that if Russia refuses to accede to our demands, he will advocate abrogation of Treaty with Russia. Advises Jewish organizations to pass resolutions and transmit them to Senators and Representatives.


30. Meeting of ministers of all denominations under auspices of Federation of Churches adopts resolutions protesting against persecution of Jews and non-Orthodox Christians by Russia and advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia. Among speakers are Bishop James Courtney, Rev. Dr. Joseph Strong, and Rev. Dr. Charles F. Ralston. Letters read favoring abrogation of Treaty from Andrew D. White, Bishop David H. Greer, Dr. Lyman Abbott, and Rev. Dr. Chas. H. Parkhurst.

Nov. 7. Samuel Dorf, Grand Master Order Brith Abraham, issues circular to all lodges to pass resolutions requesting Senators and Representatives to vote for abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.
Nov. 13. Judge Leon Sanders, Grand Master of Independent Order Brith Abraham and President of National Jewish Fraternal Congress, issues circular to Grand Masters and Lodges to pass resolutions requesting Senators and Representatives to vote for abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.


17. Delegation of New York Jews at instance of American Jewish Committee wait on Senators Root and O'Gorman and ask them to use their influence to bring about abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia. Senator O'Gorman pledges his support; Senator Root declines. Jacob H. Schiff states Russian representatives admitted to him that John Hays Hammond was chosen as promoter of American syndicate to exploit Russian resources because of influence with President Taft.

17. John Hays Hammond in reply to statement of Jacob H. Schiff states that he has not endeavored to influence President Taft in his attitude on Passport Question.

18. Cable from Russia to New York Sun states that Curtis Guild, Jr., American Ambassador, made protest against treatment of American Jews without result.

18. State Department, Washington, denies that John Hays Hammond tried to influence President Taft or any official of State Department on Passport Question.


19. Herman Bernstein, in address at Mikvah Israel Synagogue, Philadelphia, Pa., declares that John Hays Hammond's project of irrigating Russian Turkestan for producing cotton there, caused astonishment to a prominent Russian statesman because it meant rivalling American cotton industry.


20. Members of Progressive Order of the West, St. Louis, Mo., petition Governor Hadley to write President Taft to take action on Passport Question.
Nov. 20. Governor Hadley, Missouri, writes to President Taft, advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 or its full observance by Russia.


21. Cablegram to New York Times from St. Petersburg, that Ambassador Guild's representations with respect to Passport Question have been ignored. Russian Acting Secretary of State sends usual reply, that all passport questions were under control of Department of Interior.

21. Mass meeting, Jackson, Miss., addressed by Governor Noel, Bishops Candler and Bratton, and Congressmen Witherspoon and Collier, passes resolutions for the abrogation of the Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

22. Jacob H. Schiff, New York City, charges that true reason for United States not insisting on recognition of its treaty rights with Russia regarding passports is that such a policy was thought to be hurtful to certain influential American business interests.

22. Independent Order B'nai B'rith joint committee meeting recommends that subcommittees be appointed in every section of country to call upon newspaper editors and urge abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

23. Order Brith Abraham, Salt Lake City, Utah, adopts resolutions advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.


24. San Francisco Section, Council of Jewish Women, passes resolution advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

24. Independent Order Ahawas Israel issues circular to all lodges to adopt resolutions requesting Congressmen and Senators to vote for abrogation of Russian Treaty.

25. Cablegram to New York Sun from St. Petersburg states that Russian Foreign Ministry expects to block action by Congress to instruct administration to take action on Treaty; that Russian Department of Interior has ignored American protest altogether.

25. American Federation of Labor at annual convention adopts resolution urging Congress to abrogate Treaty with Russia.
27. Mass meeting, Newark, N. J., to protest against Russian interpretation of Treaty, presided over by ex-Governor Franklin Murphy.
27. American Jewish Committee publishes report of interview with Ambassador Rockhill by Herman Bernstein substantiating charges of Jacob H. Schiff, that administration ignored demand for abrogation of Russian Treaty, as inimical to American financial interests.
29. Senator John Walter Smith, Maryland, promises delegation of Baltimore Jews, headed by Jacob H. Hollander, that he will vote for the abrogation of the Treaty of 1832 with Russia.
29. Federation of Jewish Farmers of America adopts resolutions advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

Dec. (beginning). B'nai B'rith Lodge, Salt Lake City, Utah, appoints committee to draft communication to Senators Smoot and Sutherland requesting them to advocate abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

1. Russians, Lithuanians, and Poles, Scranton, Pa., hold mass meeting, and adopt resolution advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

1. Delegation Jewish citizens, Newark, N. J., wait on Senator Frank O. Briggs to ask his assistance for abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

2. Legislature of California adopts resolution advocating the abrogation of the Treaty of 1832 with Russia.


2. Pride of Chester Lodge, Order Brith Abraham, Chester Lodge, Independent Order Ahawas Israel, and Congregation of Israel, Chester, Pa., adopt resolutions advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

2. California Legislature adopts resolutions introduced by Senator Edward I. Wolfe, calling upon Congress to demand of Russia that all American citizens be recognized and protected, irrespective of race or religion, while within Russian territory, or, in default of such protection, that present Treaty with Russia be abrogated.

3. Albany Section, Council Jewish Women, adopts protest against treatment of American and Jewish people in Russia.

3. Boston Young Men's Hebrew Association passes resolution recommending that members petition their United States Senators and Representatives to advocate abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

3. Washington despatch states Russia absolutely refuses to comply with demands of United States to grant to American Jews right conferred by Treaty of 1832 freely to enter and travel within her domains. Notifies United States that she will accept abrogation of Treaty of 1832 rather than accord this privilege.

Dec. 4. Board of Supervisors, San Francisco, Calif., adopt resolution advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.
4. Members of Isaiah Temple, Chicago, Ill., adopt resolution advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.
4. Rep. John N. Garner (Tex.), introduces resolution (H. Res. 316) providing for the abrogation of the Treaty of 1832 with Russia, as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the Treaty of eighteen hundred and thirty-two between the United States and Russia should be abrogated because of the discrimination by Russia between American citizens in the administration of the Treaty.

4. Rep. Wm. Sulzer (N. Y.) introduces resolution (H. J. Res. 166) providing for the termination of the Treaty of 1832 with Russia, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the people of the United States assert as a fundamental principle that the rights of its citizens shall not be impaired at home or abroad because of race or religion; that the Government of the United States concludes its Treaties for the equal protection of all classes of its citizens, without regard to race or religion; that the Government of the United States will not be a party to any Treaty which discriminates, or which by one of the parties thereto is so construed as to discriminate, between American citizens on the ground of race or religion; that the Government of Russia has violated the Treaty between the United States and Russia, concluded at St. Petersburg December eighteenth, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, refusing to honor American passports duly issued to American citizens, on account of race and religion; that in the judgment of the Congress the said Treaty, for the reasons aforesaid, ought to be terminated at the earliest possible time; that for the aforesaid reasons the said Treaty is hereby declared to be terminated and of no further force and effect from the expiration of one year after the date of notification to the Government of Russia of the terms of this resolution, and that to this end the President is hereby charged with the duty of communicating such notice to the Government of Russia.
Dec. 5. Senator Charles A. Culberson (Tex.) introduces resolution providing for termination of Treaty of 1832 with Russia. (Text same as Sulzer Resolution.)

5. Rep. Henry M. Goldfogle (N. Y.) introduces resolution (H. J. Res. 167) providing for the termination of the Treaty of 1832 with Russia, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it is, and ever has been, a fundamental principle of this Government that the rights of its citizens shall not be impaired at home or abroad on account of race or religion; that the Government of the United States concludes its Treaties for the equal protection of all classes of its citizens, without regard to race or religion; that the Government of the United States will not be a party to any Treaty which discriminates, or which by one of the parties thereto is so construed as to discriminate between American citizens on the ground of race or religion; that the Government of Russia has violated the Treaty between the United States and Russia, concluded at St. Petersburg December eighteenth, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, by refusing to honor American passports duly issued to American citizens, on account of race or religion; that in the judgment of the Congress of the United States the said Treaty, because of the aforesaid violation by Russia, ought to be terminated at the earliest possible time; that the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, directed to give notice to the Government of Russia that the United States elects to abrogate and terminate the said Treaty and bring it to an end, and thereupon at the expiration of one year from the date of such notification to the Government of Russia the said Treaty shall be terminated and be at an end and of no further force and effect.

5. Rep. David J. Foster (Vt.) introduces resolution (H. J. Res. 168) providing for the appointment of a Commission of three Senators, three Representatives, and three citizens "to inquire into the question of the discrimination by the Government of Russia against American passports when presented by American citizens of the Jewish faith."

6. Mass meeting, Carnegie Hall, New York City, under auspices of National Citizens Committee, presided over by William G. McAdoo, Chairman Executive Committee, addressed by Hon. Andrew D. White, Senator James A. O'Gorman (N. Y.), William Randolph Hearst, Bishop David H. Greer, Governor Woodrow Wilson (N. J.), Speaker Champ Clark, Jacob G. Schurman (President

Dec. 6. Ohavei Zion Society, New Orleans, La., passes resolution advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

6. President Taft confers with Adolf Kraus and Simon Wolf of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith and with Representative Sulzer on Passport Question.

7. Delegation of Jewish citizens, Providence, R. I., headed by Harry Cutler, wait on Congressmen Utter and O'Shaunessy, and urge them to support movement for abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

7. Hebrew Veterans of War with Spain, New York City, at annual dinner, adopt resolutions advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

7. President Taft, in message to Congress, on Passport Question, states he can report progress and expects to be in position to report further after holiday recess.


8. Board of Directors, First Hebrew Congregation, Oakland, Calif., passes resolution advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

8. Representatives of societies, Boston, Mass., present resolution to Vice-President Sherman urging him to favor abrogation of Treaty with Russia.

8. Executive Committee of Zionist Council, Cleveland, O., passes resolutions advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.

9. Delegation of Boston Jews calls upon Senators Lodge and Crane, and the Representatives of their State, at Washington, D. C., and secure from them promise to vote for abrogation of Treaty if diplomatic negotiations fail.


10. The Novoe Vremya, St. Petersburg, believes that Treaty of 1832 will be abrogated soon, for "no country can grant more extensive rights to foreigners than to its own subjects."
10. Mass meeting, St. Louis, Mo., protests against Russia's violation of Treaty of 1832.
10. Mass meeting, Pittsburg, Pa., protests against Russia's violation of Treaty of 1832.
12. House Committee on Foreign Affairs unanimously reports Sulzer resolution (H. J. Res. 166) without amendment.
12. Governor Shafroth, Denver, Colo., signs petition to President Taft praying for abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.
13. House of Representatives adopts, by vote of 301 to 1, the Sulzer resolution (H. J. Res. 166) providing for the termination of the Treaty of 1832 with Russia, Representatives Levy and Goldfogle (N. Y.) in the chair. Speeches favoring adoption of resolution made by Representatives Adair (Ind.), Allen (O.), Austin (Tenn.), Ayres (N. Y.), Buchanan (Ill.), Byrns (Tenn.), Calder (N. Y.), Candler (Miss.), Cary (Wis.), Clark (Fla.), Conry (N. Y.), Cooper (Wis.), Cox (O.), Curley (Mass.), Donohoe (Pa.), Dupré (La.), Dyer (Mo.), Edwards (Ga.), Farr (Pa.), Ferris (Okla.), Finley (S. C.), Flood (Va.), Francis (O.), Gallagher (Ill.), Gardner (Mass.), Goldfogle (N. Y.), Graham (Ill.), Gregg (Pa.), Gudger (N. C.), Hamill (N.
J.), Harrison (N. Y.), Hinds (Me.), Kahn (Calif.), Kendall (Ia.), Kindred (N. Y.), Konig (Md.), Legaré (S. C.), Levy (N. Y.), Linthicum (Md.), Lobeck (Neb.), Longworth (O.), McCall (Mass.), McCoy (N. J.), Mann (Ill.), Moore (Pa.), Morgan (Okl.), Murray (Mass.), Nye (Minn.), Olmsted (Pa.), Patten (N. Y.), Peters (Mass.), Raker (Calif.), Reilly (Conn.), Robinson (Ark.), Saunders (Va.), Sisson (Miss.), Small (N. C.), Stedman (N. C.), Stone (Ill.), Sulzer (N. Y.), Tilson (Conn.), Tuttle (N. J.), and Wilson (N. Y.).


13. Hearing before Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, on Culberson Resolution (S. J. Res. 60), for the termination of the Treaty with Russia of 1832. Statements by Louis Marshall, Mayer Sulzberger, and Oscar S. Straus favoring adoption of the resolution.

15. The President instructs Curtis Guild, Jr., Ambassador to Russia, to communicate notice of intention of the United States to terminate the Treaty of 1832 with Russia, because the Treaty is “no longer fully responsive, in various respects, to the needs of the political and material relations of the two countries.”

15. Christian Church Council, Pittsburg, Pa., adopts resolution urging State Department to secure fair treatment for all American citizens.


17. Mass meeting, Boston, Mass., adopts resolution advocating abrogation of Treaty of 1832 with Russia.


17. Governor Dix presides at mass meeting on Passport Question, Troy, N. Y.

17. Curtis Guild, Jr., Ambassador to Russia, communicates notice of intention of United States to terminate Treaty of 1832 with Russia, from January 1, 1913.

18. The President, in a message to the Senate (S. Doc. 161), communicates his action respecting the Russian Treaty of 1832, and requests approval thereof by the Senate.
Dec. 18. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations unanimously reports resolution as substitute for Sulzer resolution, as follows:

WHEREAS, The Treaty of commerce and navigation between the United States and Russia, concluded on the eighteenth day of December, eighteen hundred and thirty-two, provides in Article XII thereof that it "shall continue in force until the first day of January, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-nine, and if, one year before that day, one of the high contracting parties shall not have announced to the other, by an official notification, its intention to arrest the operation thereof, this Treaty shall remain obligatory one year beyond that day, and so on until the expiration of the year which shall commence after the date of a similar notification"; and

WHEREAS, On the seventeenth day of December, nineteen hundred and eleven, the President caused to be delivered to the Imperial Russian Government, by the American Ambassador at St. Petersburg, an official notification on behalf of the Government of the United States, announcing intention to terminate the operation of this Treaty upon the expiration of the year commencing on the first of January, nineteen hundred and twelve; and

WHEREAS, Said Treaty is no longer responsive in various respects to the political principles and commercial needs of the two countries; and

WHEREAS, The constructions placed thereon by the respective contracting parties differ upon matters of fundamental importance and interest to each; Therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the notice thus given by the President of the United States to the Government of the Empire of Russia to terminate said Treaty in accordance with the terms of the Treaty is hereby adopted and ratified.


19. Speeches in Senate in favor of adoption of resolution terminating Russian Treaty made by Senators Bacon (Ga.), Culberson (Tex.), Heyburn (Idaho), Hitchcock (Neb.), Lodge (Mass.), O'Gorman (N. Y.), Poindexter (Wash.), Rayner (Md.), Root (N. Y.), Shively (Ind.), Smith (Mich.), Stone (Mo.), and Williams (Miss.). Amendments offered by Senators Hitchcock (Neb.) and Newlands (Nev.) substantially restoring text of Sulzer
resolution defeated; resolution reported by Foreign Relations Committee adopted unanimously, 72 Senators voting.

Dec. 20. House of Representatives unanimously adopts Senate resolution. Debate participated in by Representatives Austin (Tenn.), Berger (Wis.), Foster (Vt.), Goldfogle (N. Y.), Harrison (N. Y.), Kent (Calif.), McCall (Mass.), Malby (N. Y.), Mann (Ill.), Moore (Pa.), Olmsted (Pa.), and Sulzer (N. Y.).


1912

Jan. 3. Cablegram to New York Sun states: Russian Government declines to respond favorably to President Taft's intimation, conveyed through Ambassador Curtis Guild, Jr., that he was willing to begin negotiations immediately for a new Russo-American Treaty, to replace that of 1832.

5. Resolution adopted by Federal Council of Church of Christ, Cincinnati, O., calling upon State Department to demand that Russia cease passport discrimination against American Jews and Roman Catholics.


Apr. 7. Herman Bernstein, in New York Sun, gives translation of extracts from secret report of Durnovo Passport Commission appointed by Czar in 1905. Report admits United States is justified in attitude against Russia's discrimination against American Jews, and recommends abolition of exceptional regulations against Jews, thus making foreign Jews subject only to the rules applicable to all foreigners.

June 22. Republican National Convention adopts following plank in its platform: "We approve the action taken by the President and Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation, and that will prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens, whether native born or alien, and regardless of race, religion, or previous political allegiance. The right of asylum is a precious possession of the people of the United States, and it is to be neither surrendered nor restricted."
July 3. Democratic National Convention adopts following plank in its platform: "We commend the patriotism of the Democratic members of the Senate and House of Representatives, which compelled the termination of the Russian Treaty of 1832, and we pledge ourselves anew to preserve the sacred rights of American citizenship at home and abroad. No treaty should receive the sanction of our Government which does not recognize that equality of all our citizens, irrespective of race or creed, and which does not expressly guarantee the fundamental right of expatriation. The constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world, and every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to, and must be given, the full protection of the United States Government, both for himself and his property."

Petitions praying for the abrogation of the Treaty of 1832 with Russia were presented in Congress on various dates by numerous lodges and branches of the Arbeiter Ring, Council of Jewish Women, Independent Order Ahawas Israel, Independent Order B'nai B'rith, Independent Order Brith Abraham, Independent Order Brith Sholom, Independent Order Free Sons of Judah, Order Brith Abraham, Order Sons of Zion, Order United Hebrews, Western Star Order, and by the following local organizations:


¹ The references to petitions given above are taken from the Congressional Record.