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American Jewish Personalities

## Officer Otto Raphael: A Jewish Friend of Theodore Roosevelt

*Nancy Schoenburg*

Jewish immigrants who came from Eastern Europe to America in the late nineteenth century generally had a long struggle through poverty and acclimation in order to become a part of the new society. Occasionally, fate would draw an immigrant together with a person of stature and renown and bring him closer to events of the day outside of his own ghettolike environment. Such was the case of Otto Raphael, who met and became a friend of a man who would later be president of the United States—Theodore Roosevelt.

The Raphaels came to the United States in the 1870's from Russia. The father, Raphael Raphael, had been a butcher in Russia. In America he supported his family as a peddler until about 1890, when he opened a meat market at 35 Allen Street on the Lower East Side of New York. In February 1891 his wife, Anna, died at the age of forty-seven after she fell into the cellar of her daughter's apartment on Henry Street. She left a two-year-old daughter, Nellie, an eleven-year-old son, Harry, and four grown children. Their son Otto worked with his father in the meat market.

In 1895 a large tenement building on the corner of Hester and Allen Streets went up in flames in the middle of the night. Otto Raphael and his father were awakened by the smoke and went to see if they could help. It was impossible to enter the building through either of its two entrances, as flames were pouring from both. Otto and his father finally got in by way of the adjacent building. Otto reentered the burning building several times, and everyone on that side of the tenement house was saved; over a dozen people burned to death on the other side.<sup>1</sup>

*Teddy Roosevelt Recruits a "Maccabee"*

In that same year, Theodore Roosevelt was appointed to the New York City Police Board and was elected its president. He energetically set



*Officer Otto Raphael (1871-1937).*

(Courtesy, Ms. Harry Raphael, Brooklyn, N.Y.)

out to reform the police department—to do away with the dishonesty and corruption then prevailing. Under the existing system, appointments were given to those with the right connections; promotions were bought from one's superiors. Roosevelt, who had already shown his courage as a reformer when he was in the New York State Legislature, changed the selection system at once; he would only approve selections that were based upon qualifications scored on the physical and mental ability tests.

Occasionally the commissioner would pick out someone and suggest that he go take the qualifying exams. One evening when he went to speak at the Bowery Branch of the YMCA, or Young Men's Institute, as it was known, he was introduced to Otto Raphael and told how the young Jew had recently by an exhibition of marked pluck and bodily prowess, saved some women and children from a burning building.<sup>2</sup> Roosevelt asked the young man, "a powerful fellow, with good-humored, intelligent face," about his education and told him to take the exams.<sup>3</sup> Raphael is said to have received the highest score for a physical examination in the force. He ranked tenth in the mental exam among 85 accepted candidates out of a total of 380 applicants.<sup>4</sup> He fit the description of the type of candidate that Roosevelt liked, namely, a man of "strong physique and resolute temper, sober, self-respecting, self-reliant, with a strong will to improve himself."<sup>5</sup>

The figure of the Jewish policeman within the immigrant Jewish community at that time was a symbol as well as an occupation. It was a symbol of America, of equal rights—a concept that was very new for Russian immigrants. In a story from *A Lithuanian Village*, a letter is read aloud which was sent back to the town by a young couple who had gone to live in America:

"—I hope to God that I'll be able to send for all of you, and bring you across. And my brothers-in-law tell me that in New York there are a good many Jewish policemen too."

"That's so," cries Mottel. "I heard that a long time ago—that Jews over there have equal rights!"

"Really?" asks one, "And they have Jewish policemen there, too?"<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, the Jewish policeman represented a different kind of Jew

from the shtetl prototype, the frail and pallid scholar. In the late 1800's, as large waves of immigrant groups began to arrive on American shores, nativist and antforeigner attitudes arose within American society. Theodore Roosevelt, whose family had been in the country since the 1640's and was established in the well-to-do sector of the society, strongly opposed nativism and discrimination of any kind. He particularly admired the Jewish immigrants for their intelligence and appointed a number of Jews to public positions. At the same time, he felt that most Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe were physically weak and should strive to increase their physical strength—they should try to be more like “the Maccabee or fighting Jewish types.”<sup>7</sup>

Theodore Roosevelt had received similar advice from his own father. As a little boy he was weak and in fragile health due to a severe case of asthma. When he was eleven years old, his father told him, “Theodore, you have the mind but you have not the body, and without the help of the body the mind cannot go as far as it should. You must *make* your body.”<sup>8</sup> And the boy answered with determination, “I’ll make my body.” He worked out in the gymnasium which his father built for him in their house at 28 East 20th Street, New York City. He also learned boxing. He became a strong proponent of sports and the strenuous outdoor life, and favored this in others.

Roosevelt recognized that some Jews had, in fact, built up their physical strength as a result of their work or of exercise—one example of the superior physical type being “the indoor Jew of fine bodily powers who had taken to boxing, wrestling and the like.”<sup>9</sup> He would say later about his term as police commissioner in New York that he had “experience after experience of the excellent service done—an excellent work needing nerve and hardihood, excellent work of what I might call the Maccabee type in the Police Department under me by police officers of Jewish extraction.”<sup>10</sup>

Raphael was a good specimen of the “Maccabee type.” At 5 feet 10 inches in height and weighing 165 pounds, he had a good bodily build; he was a boxer, and held some amateur boxing titles. One source records that Raphael was “at one time amateur champion lightweight boxer of America, and there is nothing about the prize ring or any other form of sport that he does not know.”<sup>11</sup> Elsewhere it is recorded that he had been heavyweight champion of the police department and had “taken part in exhibition matches with the leading

fighters of the time including John L. Sullivan.”<sup>12</sup> Raphael was a boxing instructor and sparring partner of Roosevelt while the latter was police commissioner.<sup>13</sup>

*A Jewish Cop on the Beat*

Otto Raphael was injured several times in the line of duty. In 1898 he had a hard fight arresting a celebrated criminal, Demetro Sarentaros, who had stabbed a man in a street cafe and run out after someone else who had offended him. Sarentaros carried a long dirk marked with fourteen notches—one for each man he had killed. Raphael saw the chase and ran after Sarentaros. After he caught him there was a scuffle as he struggled to take away the dirk, and then it took twelve men to get the criminal to the police station.<sup>14</sup>

On another occasion, in April 1899, Raphael was shot in the thigh while taking in a prisoner. The muscular damage caused him pain from muscle contractions for many years thereafter.

In 1901 Officer Raphael was dragged by a runaway horse he had grabbed to prevent it from rushing into a group of schoolchildren. The *New York Times* described the incident in an article entitled “Policeman a Life Saver,” as follows:

Just as crowds of children were coming out of Grammar School No. 1, at Catherine & Henry Streets, a runaway horse attached to a wagon dashed down Henry Street.

Policeman Otto Raphael [*sic*] of the Oak Street Station, who was stationed outside the school, saw that the crowd of children who were then crossing the street, were in imminent danger of being killed, rushed into the gutter, and before the maddened animal had reached the corner he seized the bridle. He pulled with all his strength, but the horse kept on, dragging the officer with him.

The animal was finally brought to a sudden halt within a few feet of a crowd of little girls who had become so panic-stricken that they failed to move from the gutter.

Policeman Raphael, who had been dragged more than a hundred feet, still clung to the bridle, and would not let go until the children were taken to safety. Although severely injured, Raphael

stuck to his post, refusing medical attendance until he was relieved at 6 o'clock last night. It was found that he had sustained severe abrasions about the left side and leg.<sup>15</sup>

Otto Raphael never married. He lived with his widowed sister Sarah, who kept a strictly kosher home for the family—their father, brother Harry, and Otto. Together they raised their little sister Nellie and Sarah's son, Harry, who also became a New York City policeman. In 1898 Raphael Raphael went out west to live with his daughter Estelle and her husband, Barney Gesas,<sup>16</sup> in Wyoming, so that—as a family story has it—he could see that they had kosher meat in such a remote place. Raphael Raphael returned to New York City in 1900 and passed away in February 1901.

Roosevelt knew all of the Raphael children. During his campaign trip to the West in the fall of 1900, he visited Estelle and Barney Gesas at their home in Kemmerer, Wyoming.<sup>17</sup> He wrote to Otto upon his return to the governor's office in Albany to tell him about seeing the family. One source states that he spent the night at the Gesas' home during that western tour.<sup>18</sup>

### *The Raphael-Roosevelt Correspondence*

Otto Raphael was a very good correspondent; he kept in touch with his extended family, which had spread out in all directions of America—to Georgia and Florida in the South, and to Idaho, Wyoming, and Washington in the West. Otto also had a fairly regular correspondence with Theodore Roosevelt, who was always a prolific letter-writer. Roosevelt left the Police Board in 1897 to become assistant secretary of the navy in Washington, D.C. The letters between Raphael and Roosevelt were generally of an incidental nature, indicating a continued friendly interest in each other's welfare. However, some of the subject matter did refer to incidents of historical note.

In 1898 Raphael wanted to join the Rough Riders and serve under Roosevelt's command in the cavalry regiment in Cuba. One major problem prevented Roosevelt from signing on the Jewish policeman, as he expressed in his usual straightforward manner in his letter of April 29, 1898: "My dear Officer Raphael: I should like to take you with me, but I am very much afraid I won't be able to. You see we only want men who ride well, and I don't think you have ever done any

riding.”<sup>19</sup> This letter remained a private joke between them for many years.

*The Kishinev Pogrom*

A letter in 1903 touched on another event of historical interest, this time in Jewish history. In the spring of 1903 severe pogroms broke out in the Russian city of Kishinev, encouraged by local authorities. About 40 Jews were murdered, over 500 injured; homes and shops were looted, and some 2,000 Jewish families were left homeless. Worldwide sympathy was aroused for the victims; however, no official action was taken by any country.

On June 5, 1903, Otto Raphael wrote to President Roosevelt as follows:

President Theodore Roosevelt.

Dear Friend,

I feel I owe it to my people to join with them in asking you to do what you can in regard to the trouble and cowardly murders of the innocent Jews in Kishineff.

I feel proud and happy to be able as a Jew to ask the President of the United States as my personal friend to intercede for my people in so great a cause and also of the opportunity of making good to them, especially those around the east side to which I always insisted you are a true friend to the Jews.<sup>20</sup>

About a week later he received an answer through Secretary of State John Hay.<sup>21</sup>

On the 15th of June a leadership group from B'nai B'rith, including Simon Wolf and Leo N. Levi, called at the State Department with a petition that they wished the government of the United States to deliver to the government of Russia, protesting the pogroms in Kishinev. Secretary of State Hay met with the delegation and spoke to them and then took them to the White House, where the president accepted the petition and addressed the committee himself. President Roosevelt expressed the outrage of the entire American public at the Kishinev massacre and went on to cite personal examples of the good experiences he had had with Jews in the United States. He recounted several incidents that had occurred while he was police commissioner, including the following:

Now let me give you another little example dealing with a Russian Jew, an experience I had while handling the police department, and that could have occurred I think nowhere else in the United States.

There was a certain man I appointed under the following conditions: I was attracted to him by being told on a visit to the Bowery branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, that they had a young fellow there, a Jew, who had performed a feat of great note in saving people from a burning building, and that they thought he was just the type for a policeman. I had him called up and told him to take the examination and see if he could get through. He did, and he passed.

He has not only been an excellent policeman, but he at once, out of his salary, proceeded to educate his younger brothers and sisters, and he got either two or three of his old kinsfolk over from Russia through the money he had saved, and provided homes for them.<sup>22</sup>

After the president's meeting with the B'nai B'rith leaders, Nixola Greeley-Smith, granddaughter of Horace Greeley, went to interview the Jewish policeman mentioned in the speech, for the *New York Evening World*. Only reluctantly did Otto Raphael admit that he was the one. He was particularly concerned that she not elaborate on the president's statement about how he had supported and helped his family. While she did not expand on this greatly, she did say that after his appointment to the force, he had, out of his salary of \$1,000 per year, supported his aging father, who had failed in business, his young sister Nellie, his brother Harry, as well as his widowed sister Sarah and her son, Harry. Furthermore, he contributed largely to funds needed to bring three relatives from "darkest Russia to New York."<sup>23</sup> She went on to describe his service on the police force and his continued friendship with President Roosevelt. She wrote: "From the first Mr. Roosevelt took a strong personal interest in the young man who, struggling against such odds, kept his family in comfort and has never in his life owed a dollar to any man."<sup>24</sup>

As for the Kishinev pogroms, Raphael told Miss Smith: "I am sure if there is one way in a million for the President to help us, he will do it, for he is a good friend of the Jews."<sup>25</sup> President Roosevelt, in fact, tried

to have the petition presented to the czar of Russia, although he refused it. Nevertheless, President Roosevelt was the only major head of state to take action against the massacres.

The day after the article appeared in the *Evening World* Raphael sent a letter to the president, saying:

I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for thinking and speaking of me to the delegation of Jews from B'nai B'rith in so great a cause to my people at present, as the Kishinev Massacre. Since your meeting with the Hebrew Delegates I have spoken to a number of people and everyone unites with me in saying your little talk to the delegates, made public as it was, has already accomplished the object desired and future events will prove it, and I can only hear praise for you in standing up for me as you did.

P.S. I'm receiving any amount of telegrams and letters of congratulations upon the story in yesterday's *Evening World*.<sup>26</sup>

It is not surprising that in September of that year Raphael was initiated into the Liberty Lodge of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith and on the same night agreed to become active on a committee for its charity ball.

#### *Otto Raphael's Continuing Friendship with Roosevelt*

Besides their general correspondence, Raphael made a practice of visiting Roosevelt at least once a year while he lived outside of New York City. He went to Albany when his friend was governor of New York, and he continued to make the visits after Roosevelt became president in 1901—beginning with December of that year.

When he went to visit on December 29, 1902, a White House guard stopped him and told him that visitors were not admitted during holiday week. Even the president's secretary, Mr. Cortelyou, and the doorkeeper, Captain Loeffler, both of whom already knew Raphael from his previous visit, said they doubted he could see the president, since guests were not being admitted. Nevertheless, Captain Loeffler—the presidential doorkeeper since Lincoln's time—took Officer Raphael's card in to the president. In a few minutes Roosevelt appeared and rushed over to shake hands with the New York City police-

man. He then introduced Raphael to his long-time friend Senator Lodge and told the whole story of the fire and their first meeting and their mutual friends. Then they went aside for a short chat.<sup>27</sup>

In 1905 Otto Raphael made two trips to Washington, a special one in March and a visit in December. In March he was part of a delegation from New York to the presidential inauguration. Theodore Roosevelt had become president in 1901 after the assassination of William McKinley and was reelected in 1904. March 4, 1905, was an exciting day for the Jewish policeman. He had the honor of escorting his friend to take the oath of office as president of the United States. He was surely moved by the words of Theodore Roosevelt, who said in his Inaugural Address:

My fellow-citizens, no people on earth have more cause to be thankful than ours, and this is said reverently . . . with gratitude to the Giver of Good who has blessed us with the conditions which have enabled us to achieve so large a measure of well-being and of happiness.<sup>28</sup>

Roosevelt is fondly remembered in the Jewish community for naming Jews to important governmental posts while he was in office. Oscar Straus, appointed secretary of commerce by Roosevelt, was the first Jew to be a member of the United States Cabinet. Jewish voters tended to vote Republican in the early years of the 1900's, and they voted enthusiastically for Theodore Roosevelt. Otto Raphael was one of his most enthusiastic supporters.

Although Raphael had been unable to go to Cuba as a Rough Rider, he wanted to see the places associated with the Spanish-American War. In 1906 he made a private visit to Cuba, and on his way he stopped in Washington to visit President Roosevelt, who gave him a letter of introduction to Frank Steinhart, American consul general in Havana.

Once in Cuba Raphael met Steinhart, who hosted him well and introduced him to many other dignitaries, including Governor Maagoon of Cuba and Judge Felipe Diaz. The judge arranged for a tour of the local jail, and there Raphael spoke to several prisoners through an interpreter. One prisoner he met was a Black man named Wilson Dickson. Originally from Albany, New York, Dickson had come to Cuba with the American troops in 1898. One day he returned home from

work to find a stranger—also an American—in his house. They got into a fight and Dickson shot the fellow, for which he got four years in prison.

Officer Raphael, always justice-minded and concerned about fair treatment, was convinced that Dickson was a good man and should not be in prison for defending his own home. He sought out the consul general to report on his meeting with the prisoner, but finding the consul general out, related the story to Vice Consul Springer. Later that day, Raphael was surprised at being stopped on the street by Wilson Dickson, who said that he had received a pardon and been released from prison.<sup>29</sup>

### *The 1912 Presidential Campaign*

The memory of Otto Raphael's 1898 request to join the Rough Riders ceased to be a private joke between him and Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. In that year Roosevelt was campaigning for reelection to the presidency as the candidate of the Bull Moose Party, running against Democrat Woodrow Wilson and the Republic incumbent, President Taft. In the fall Roosevelt made a whistle-stop tour of the western states. One of his stops was in Blackfoot, Idaho. Nellie Raphael, who at that time was living with her sister Estelle Gesas in Idaho Falls, joined the enthusiastic crowd of 10,000 people at the Blackfoot Fairground to greet the former president, and this proved to be the impetus for Roosevelt to pull the incident from his reservoir of good stories to please a western audience.

According to the account in the local newspaper, the candidate's train arrived a half-hour late, making it necessary for him to shorten his speech. Nevertheless, when told, during his talk, that Miss Raphael was there and wanted to speak to him, Roosevelt immediately departed from his prepared text to tell the crowd how he had come to appoint Otto Raphael to the police force and how Raphael had been one of the best men on the force. He added that the young policeman had wanted to join the Rough Riders in 1898 and go with them to fight in Cuba. "It was his intention to appoint him when he found that Raphael [*sic*] did not know one end of a horse from the other and while no doubt he had all the qualifications of a fighter, feared that he would not fit on that occasion."<sup>30</sup> The western audience laughed and cheered,

thoroughly enjoying the anecdote. The news article added that "Miss Raphael is well known here, being a sister of Mrs. Barney Gesas."<sup>31</sup>

After Roosevelt left public office and was again living at home in Oyster Bay, Long Island, Raphael enjoyed a more informal relationship with his former boss. There were more frequent visits and a more personal correspondence, keeping up on news of old friends. Sometimes just a cryptic note was all that had to be exchanged, such as "Dear Otto: Good for you! Your fellow American."<sup>32</sup>

### *Otto Raphael in T.R.'s Autobiography*

In the first week of February 1918, Theodore Roosevelt was seriously ill after an operation related to the malignant Brazilian fever that he had contracted several years before on a trip to the jungles of South America. Despite his critical condition, Roosevelt continued to work on his *Autobiography*, which was published in 1919. Otto Raphael received the following letter on February 18, 1918, from the author's secretary:

If you will call at the hospital in about a week, Colonel Roosevelt would like to see you. The Colonel wants to know if it is not true that after being appointed Policeman you educated one brother as a physician and brought over one or two relatives from Russia, as well as to help your sister get an education.<sup>33</sup>

He received another invitation the next week as well.<sup>34</sup>

In the *Autobiography* Roosevelt recounted the story of how he had met Otto Raphael and appointed him to the police force; he told about the Raphaels as an immigrant family, excluding the part about Otto educating a brother as a physician since this was not true. He said that "not only in social standing but in pay a policeman's position meant everything for Otto Raphael."<sup>35</sup> He wrote further that Otto

and all his family, wherever they may dwell, have been close friends of mine ever since. Otto Raphael was a genuine East Sider. He and I were both straight New York, to use the vernacular of our native city. To show our community of feeling and our grasp of the facts of life, I may mention that we were almost the only men in the Police Department who picked Fitzsimmons as a winner against Corbett.<sup>36</sup>

*Otto Raphael's Contribution to Roosevelt House*

It was a great loss for Otto Raphael when Theodore Roosevelt passed away on January 6, 1919, for Roosevelt had been one of the most important figures in his life. However, it did not end his contact with the Roosevelt family. He continued to visit the Roosevelt children and was invited to social gatherings of Alice Roosevelt, the former president's daughter. He also became a devoted supporter of the Roosevelt House, the birthplace of Theodore Roosevelt, 28 East 20th Street, New York. In January of 1924, he received the following letter from Mrs. Charles Bryan:

Long ago when the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association was in its infancy, one of our first gifts was from you. You gave us \$114.33—your first increase in salary for the year, and we were told that the sum should be set aside for the purchase of some specific thing in ROOSEVELT HOUSE.

You will be pleased to know that with it we have bought the dining-room table which had once belonged to Theodore Roosevelt's grandfather, and that your gift now occupies the center of the dining-room in ROOSEVELT HOUSE.<sup>37</sup>

A photograph of Raphael is on display at the Roosevelt House—now called Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace National Historical Site.

In 1922 Corrine Roosevelt Robinson in her book *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt* talked about her brother's term on the Police Board and about his relationship with the police force. He would go out into the field to check on his men personally. He expected a lot but was friendly to them, and in return, as she wrote:

The force were devoted to him, as were his Rough-Riders later, largely on account of the justice with which he treated them, and the friendly attitude which he always maintained toward them. Otto Raphael, a young Jew, and a young Irishman called Burke were two of the men whom he promoted because of unusual bravery and their loyalty and admiration followed him unswervingly.<sup>38</sup>

Otto Raphael was appointed to the police force on December 22, 1895, was promoted to sergeant on September 27, 1905, and to detec-

tive in 1910; by 1917 he had risen to detective-lieutenant, and he retired four years later (on July 3, 1921).<sup>39</sup> He passed away on September 1, 1937, and was buried in Washington Cemetery, Brooklyn, New York.

In October 1939, a special plaque was attached to his tombstone. On the occasion of affixing the memorial, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., wrote to the Raphael family in Brooklyn: "I am so happy to know that a monument is to be erected to Lieutenant Otto Raphael. He was a very fine man and a dear friend of my Father."<sup>40</sup> The plaque read as follows: "Lieutenant Otto Raphael. Who has done credit to the uniform he wore.—Theodore Roosevelt."

### Notes

1. Nixola Greeley-Smith, "The Policeman Whose Story of Success Was First Told by President Roosevelt," *New York Evening World*, Magazine Section, June 18, 1902.
2. Theodore Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography* (New York, 1919), p. 192.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Greeley-Smith, *New York Evening World*, June 18, 1902.
5. Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, p. 192.
6. Leon Kobrin, "The First Letter from America," *ALithuanian Village* (New York, 1927), p. 171.
7. Thomas G. Dyer, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race* (Louisiana State University Press, 1980), p. 125.
8. Corrine Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 1921), p. 50.
9. Dyer, *Roosevelt and the Idea of Race*, p. 125.
10. "President Hears the Case of the Jews," *New York Times*, June 16, 1903, p. 1.
11. Greeley-Smith, *New York Evening World*, June 18, 1902.
12. Obituary of Otto Raphael, *New York Times*, September 2, 1937.
13. *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Raphael, Otto," vol. 9, p. 73; and Raphael Obituary.
14. Greeley-Smith, *New York Evening World*, June 18, 1902.
15. *New York Times*, June 8, 1901, p. 2.
16. See also Nancy Schoenburg, "Harry Gesas: Jewish Merchant in a Wyoming Coal Town," *Western States Jewish History* 17, no. 1 (October 1984): 3-12.
17. Theodore Roosevelt to Otto Raphael, November 10, 1900.
18. Greeley-Smith, *New York Evening World*, June 18, 1902.
19. Theodore Roosevelt to Otto Raphael, April 29, 1898.
20. Otto Raphael to Theodore Roosevelt, June 5, 1903 (from diary of Otto Raphael).
21. Greeley-Smith, *New York Evening World*, June 18, 1902.
22. From full text of speech as printed in the *New York Times*, June 16, 1903, p. 1.
23. Greeley-Smith, *New York Evening World*, June 18, 1902.
24. *Ibid.*

25. Ibid.
26. Otto Raphael to Theodore Roosevelt (from diary of Raphael).
27. From diary of Otto Raphael.
28. Theodore Roosevelt, Inaugural Address, March 4, 1905, in *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1974).
29. From diary of Otto Raphael.
30. *Idaho Register* (Idaho Falls, Ida.), September 12, 1912, p. 1.
31. Ibid.
32. Theodore Roosevelt to Otto Raphael, November 8, 1918 (Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress).
33. Letter of February 18, 1918 (Roosevelt Papers).
34. Letter of February 27, 1918 (Roosevelt Papers).
35. Roosevelt, *Autobiography*, pp. 192–193.
36. Ibid.
37. Mrs. Charles A. Bryan, Secretary of Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association, to Otto Raphael, January 11, 1924.
38. Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt*, p. 159.
39. *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Raphael, Otto."
40. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., to Raphael family, October 4, 1939.

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