

OF 76 Church Matters

76c Jewish

Box 8 Jan-June 1942

An Editorial

DENOUNCING CHARLES COUGHLIN

We have no issue with any spiritual leader in his pulpit. We are fighting a total war to defend man's right to seek God as his conscience dictates. The facts on the next page indict no faith, no church, no priest. The facts on the next page indict a man whose name is Charles E. Coughlin, who was born in Canada, lives in Detroit in the State of Michigan, and is the evil genius of a paper by the name of *Social Justice*. That that man has taken vows, has preached and is still preaching as a priest, has no part in the indictment, nor does it concern us. When *Father Coughlin* steps down from his pulpit, leaves his church and goes to sit at his editorial conferences, he ceases to be *Father Coughlin* and he becomes—we blush to say it—one of us journalists.

It is as an American journalist that the facts on the next page indict Charles E. Coughlin. It is as an American publicist that the people of America have a case against Charles Coughlin—for spreading sedition in our armed forces and on our production lines. As a publicist, Charles Coughlin is a slanderous, foul-mouthed, dirty-minded liar.

Do these adjectives seem strong to you? They are not strong enough accurately to describe Charles Coughlin and his works. Few decent people saw the recent headline in *Social Justice*: "Leon Henderson Causes Rubber Shortage by the Manufacture of Contraceptives." That statement was slanderous. It was dirty-minded. It was a lie.

There was nothing unique about the headline in *Social Justice*. Those who have strong stomachs, or a taste for such things, could prepare inventories of such outrageous statements which would take you hours just to read.

Charles Coughlin is malicious, contemptible and wholly irresponsible. In turning the innocent against their Government, in filling their poor bewildered heads with lies, half truths, perversions of the truth—in inciting the unstable to hatred and violence—he fails in the most elementary obligations of one human being to another.

There is much evidence that Charles Coughlin is a very sick man mentally. At another hour in our history some people might have been sorry for him. There are people whose compassion is so great that they are sorer for ax murderers than for the victims they have hacked. When you think of what Charles Coughlin has done to the unhappy people who have responded to his words—read the evidence on the next page—you will envy the victims of the murderer. They are dead. The poor, tortured men and women whom Coughlin has misled are still alive. Many of them, the psychopathic borderline cases, may live the rest of their lives tormented by the horrid nightmares that he has given them—nightmares of a world in which there is neither truth nor kindness, justice nor mercy.

Nevertheless, at another hour in history one might still have had some compassion for the man, thinking with horror what it must have been like to suffer as he must have suffered—in his descent from human being to the level of depravity to which *Social Justice* is witness. One might once have had a little pity for such a horrid creature. But not now.

Not now when men die by the hundreds of thousands. Not now when men slave in concentration camps, half-starved, three-quarters beaten—not by the hundreds of thousands but by the millions. Not now when the light has gone out in so much of the world. Not now when the death and darkness to which he would betray his fellow men are the order of so much of the world. Death and darkness? They are at our gates. Men go down in the holds of our ships within sight of land. The people of America are rising in one mighty host to go forth and fight death and darkness.

Your brother and your son are going forth to risk their lives to destroy the threat of what this man Coughlin openly advocates. Do you want your son to fight next to a soldier whose mind Charles Coughlin has poisoned? Will you be happy in the knowledge that the bullet your brother puts in his rifle—the bullet which will mean his life or one of the enemy's—was made in the factory by a man or a woman with the doctrines of *Social Justice* in his or her heart? Read how they talk—the men and women whom Charles Coughlin has corrupted. Would you worry about whether the bullets on which your brother's life depends were well made? Might you wonder if it had enough powder in it?

There is no time for sympathy for sick Charles Coughlin now. He has run amuck too long. The hour is close when it may be Charles Coughlin's world or yours. Your ethics or his. Your morals or his. Your truth or his. In all the lands that the Fascists rule, the truth, the morals and the ethics are his. Charles Coughlin, the yellow journalist, and his rag *Social Justice* are not academic issues now. They are not sectarian issues now. Men sell *Social Justice* in the streets of New York—in Boston and in Chicago and in the great arsenal of Detroit. On the opposite page there is the proof of two things:

¶ That Coughlin's vicious lies affect the minds and ideas of the men and women who buy his paper.

¶ That these men and women work, or have relatives who work, on our pro-



Charles E. Coughlin

- • • Who has openly advocated resort to violence.
- • • Who has openly attacked democracy as a form of government.
- • • Who is openly carrying out the techniques of Nazi psychological war—using ammunition made in Germany.
- • • AND WHO is now actively influencing the men and women on whom our lives depend—in the armed forces of the United States and on the production lines which make our weapons.

duction line—and are about to join, or have relatives who are already members of, our armed forces.

It was not hard to gather this evidence. It took a few reporters but a few hours apiece. It was not necessary to do any undercover work. PM did not have to plant a man in *Father Coughlin's* ranks—as we had to put a man aboard the *Normandie* to find out how lax were the precautions against sabotage. PM's reporters simply stood next to the men who were selling *Social Justice* and fell into conversation with purchasers. The evidence you see here—like the line I quoted from *Social Justice* above—is only a sample. Here is direct evidence of the impact of Charles E. Coughlin on the American war effort. If we had needed more evidence, it would not have been hard to get. It would not be hard for the Attorney General of this country, either.

PM makes no recommendations as to what steps should be taken to protect the American people from Charles Coughlin and *Social Justice*. The Government has the facilities to collect the evidence and the power to act. All a newspaper can do is to give the facts to the public—and to call for action. On the basis of facts, PM denounces Charles Coughlin as a live and immediate threat to our National security—and calls for action.

Read what is written on these pages and think about Coughlin and *Social Justice* not as an old and shopworn issue, not as an intellectual debate on the privileges of civil liberty. Think of them for what they are on the record: instruments which promote the success of this country's enemies—of your enemies. These enemies are not trying to beat you in a game of chess or a business deal. They are bent on killing you, on locking you up, on robbing and exploiting you and taking away from you the resources of your country and the future of your child. No just for a day but forever.

Think of Charles Coughlin in those terms—and when you have made up your mind check your opinion on page 9 of this paper, tear the page out and mail it to the Attorney General. As a citizen of a country fighting for its life you owe that opinion to your Government—and to yourself.—RALPH INGERSOLL.

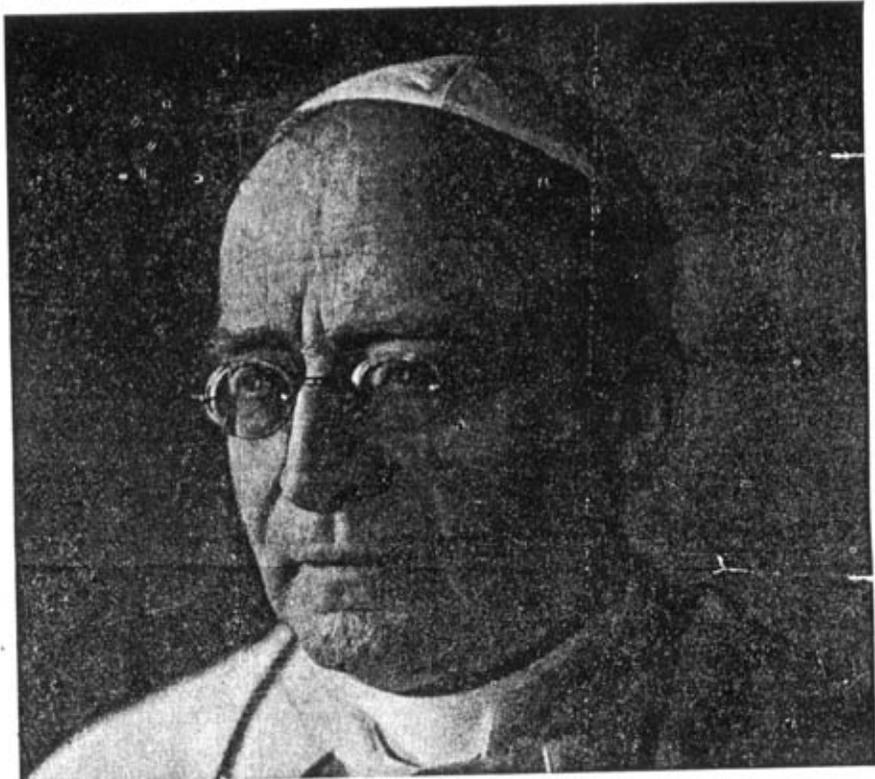
and Again Denounced With All the Hatreds and the Evils of Nazism



Archbishop Spellman of New York outlined a philosophy for all Americans, regardless of creed, when he said: "I am for all of our freedoms and our freedom."



Mgr. Sheen found in Hitler's "Holy War" against Communism a war to destroy Christianity all over the world.



The late Pope Pius XI, advanced in years and wisdom, strengthened the moral vigor of the world and the courage of German Catholics when he denounced the Nazi theory of Racism as contrary to the teachings of Christ and accused the Nazis of sowing "discord and hatred."

elli, happens, as no more than a coincidence, to be a very prominent Catholic.

But ask anyone to name a German Catholic.

They will not answer Franz von Papen.

They will answer with the name of Cardinal von Faulhaber—the courageous cardinal who on News Year's Eve, 1938, told his congregation:

"No matter how much our church is being persecuted, no matter how often my sermons will be censored like a prisoner's letter by State authority, no matter how many of your German brothers turn away from Godliness to Paganism, keep the faith of your fathers and of the Holy Father."

For when we think of German Catholics we think of all the good Catholic priests who have submitted to being driven out of their churches and exiled to concentration camps and beheaded rather than compromise their faith.

We think of German Catholics—millions of good and sincere Catholics—who ray to God every night to deliver them and their faith from Hitler's persecutions.

And when we think of American Catholics we do not think of a Coughlin or a Curran. We think of the great Catholic leaders such as we have quoted here and the priest we greet as we pass his church around the corner.

We think of Catholics who are good and kind and loyal to their religion as well as to their country, who preach the brotherhood of man and faith, hope and charity.

Pope Pius XI Denounced Racism:

The late Pope Pius XI denounced the Nazi racial theories.

In May, 1938, he instructed the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities to inform all teachers in Catholic institutions to "reject validly and learnedly the absurd doctrines" of racism.

Pope Pius XI scored as an "absurd doctrine" the theory that the "vigor and blood purity of the race are to be preserved and cherished by every means possible. . . ."

He scored as an "absurd doctrine" the theory that "from the blood in which the character of the race is identified flow all the qualities of man. . . ."

He scored as an "absurd doctrine" the theory that "the first source and highest rule of the entire juridical order is the instinct of race. . . ."

He scored as an "absurd doctrine" the theory that "individual men exist only for the State and on account of the State. . . ."

That's How We Feel About Members of the Catholic Faith

Turn the Page to See What We Think About . . .

Objects to
Jews in govt.
& private
industry.

76-c

We need a ~~trust~~ ~~investigation~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~level~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~War~~ ~~Department~~ ~~to~~ ~~investigate~~ ~~the~~ ~~City~~ ~~public~~ ~~relief~~ - as it's another F. E. Street-gang.
So checkers, and see where all
of the relief aid goes to.

Cinti, Ohio.

March, 27-1942.

Honorable President of the United States,
Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.
White House,
Washington, D. C.

no enclosure

Honorable President: -

I happened to spy and item and
I am enclosing it and read it
and I object to any Jews ideas as
to our Country now - as we don't trust
them at all, and let's not be ostriches
like France was sold out by the
Blums, Sinous, Hoases, Lavals and
Bonnets and England sure about took
the same kind of a trip and changed
just in time.

Since Jew Murray Seavergood of the
supposed to be Good Government League
stated to be a Jew dictator to our
Governor of Ohio - as to our Major
Army officer Mr. Harry Patterson - has
suspect cooked the Jews hash in
Cinti, Ohio. and if the Jews abuse
case workers still keep the in-
human mistreatment of the still

yet hundreds of unemployed people old and young and old people not able to work and too young for old age pensions you will see a riot clean out, and this City public relief better be investigated good, and get rid of few employees as the public will not stand for them any longer.

The Governor was notified and he does nothing and the City Manager C. O. Sherrill and relief director seems to be afraid of the Jews or the Jews has got something on them, and they don't dare say anything to them, and they don't do anything only sleep on the jobs. The unemployed people are naked for clothing, slippers etc and they don't get anything from the City Public Relief and the unemployed people has made an appeal to the City Mission and they are asking for clothing to keep our unemployed people from going naked. Mr. Sherrill and relief director has

The newspaper items and know,
and still do nothing.

The Jewess case workess tells they
hate Germans, Catholics and Irish
Lillies and we don't understand why.
They want to be case workers
as Relief director. O. H. Caswell is
a German and blows off about it.
Are you going to let us unem-
ployed people starve and freeze
for crazy race fanatics and they
want our soldiers to fight for
them, and don't even want to
honor us our country in time of
war -

You will find your German refugee
Jews are the real trouble makers
and getting the American born
Jews to do as was did in Germa-
ny and by the looks of our City
Public relief they just have been
undemining or peoples morale and
health as to starve and freeze game.
The Jew race without an army
and want to dictate to us real
born Americans by getting their

bread and butter off our money and
now bite the hands that I was
forced to give them jobs.

Our seal, the Americans ask
for a horse sense fair and honest
deal in war times. as this is
a plenty for all in the U.S.A.

We all are sick of this few
dictate rag - starve, freeze and go
mashed death like is going on
and we all want a change very
quick.

We sure don't like to see any race
tramp, freeze, starve any race but
get the seal trouble makers and
don't be ostriches like France was
lost, and our soldiers and European
soldiers are murdred for such
people as The Blums, Simons, Hooses,
Lavals and Bonnets.

We sure need horse sense people
now to save our land of freedom
and get the racketeers ^{out} soon.

Thanks for all favors, I remain

Yours respected fully
Mrs. Grace G. Gibbs,
I hold a copy.

This few Murray
Season good - cleaned up
hundreds of dollars graft
off from Cinti. O. and
he and other few
tried to smear Governor
Brickers honesty in the
Examiner I sent to you.
Next trick may be on
you if it isn't settled
down quick. and now
is the time to put them
into their places and
stop their dirty sneaking
around trickery. We have
been ostriches and suckers
long enough. This may help
you a little as a war defense
item.

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Honorable President of The United States,
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
White House,
Washington, D. C.
U. S. A.
(Personal)

From
Mrs. Q. Q. Gibbs,
126 E. Mc Michen Ave.,
Cinti.,
Ohio.

EDGECOMBE 4-9040

CHARLES KRAMER, MGR.

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HAMILTON PLACE HOTEL

THIRTY HAMILTON PLACE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

January 31, 1942.

AKV
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BK
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President F.D. Roosevelt,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to submit to you copy of my study of a forgotten project to settle Jews in Santo Domingo broached in 1882 by General Gregorio Luperon, a distinguished political leader of that republic.

Trusting that this essay may have your consideration, I am, with expressions of high respect

Yours most faithfully,

M. Wischnitzer

Dr. Mark Wischnitzer.

Encl.

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THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SETTLEMENT OF JEWISH REFUGEES IN SANTO DOMINGO

By MARK WISCHNITZER

The present Dominican government's co-operation in connection with the establishment of the Sosua colony settled by refugees from the Third Reich has been justly hailed as a humanitarian policy. Of the various Latin-American states represented at the Evian Conference in July, 1938 Santo Domingo alone has taken constructive steps in fulfillment of the spirit in which the president of the United States convened that inter-governmental gathering. In welcoming the victims of oppression the Dominican government has unwittingly brought to fruition a project broached by a distinguished citizen of the island in 1882. Although the earlier plan was treated in a very serious manner, both in Jewish and Dominican circles, it brought no practical results and the project lapsed into virtually complete oblivion. In the course of the writer's recent sojourn in Ciudad Trujillo the director of the National Archives of the republic called his attention to this forgotten plan and very kindly placed at his disposal the material relating to it, including some unpublished documents. However, before undertaking to reconstruct the record of the earlier project it is appropriate to summarize the negotiations which led to the launching of the Sosua colony. While there is no thought of claiming any direct connection between these episodes in the history of Jewish immigration a comparison of the two procedures may prove suggestive.

The Genesis of the Sosua Colony

Santo Domingo was represented at Evian by two delegates, one of whom, Virgilio Trujillo Molina, speaking at the session of July 9, 1938, made the following declaration:

The Dominican Government which for many years past has been encouraging and promoting the development of agriculture by appropriate measures and which gives ample immigration facilities to agriculturists who

wish to settle in the country as colonists, would be prepared to make its contribution by granting specially advantageous concessions to Austrian and German exiles, agriculturists with an unimpeachable record who satisfy the conditions laid down by the Dominican legislation on immigration.¹

He added that his government would, moreover, favor the immigration of members of the professional classes. As one newspaper correspondent noted, the attitude of the Dominican delegation was "rare in this conference,"² despite the purpose for which it had been convened.

When the Intergovernmental Committee organized at Evian began its work in London (August 4, 1938) it received a proposal from the Dominican government indicating that in due course as many as a hundred thousand settlers might be admitted. This was referred for investigation by the agencies devoted to the settlement of refugees and the task was undertaken by the Refugee Economic Corporation of New York in collaboration with President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees. Several experts, specialists in crops, soils and forestry, chosen by President Isaiah Bowman of the Johns Hopkins University, carried out the study and submitted a favorable report in the spring of 1939.³

The responsibility for financing the settlement scheme was assumed by the Agro Joint (American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation)⁴ and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee who reached an agreement on September 22, 1939. A series of meetings was then held with representatives of the American state department and with the officers of the President's Advisory Committee. Mr. Roosevelt displayed great interest in the project which he publicly endorsed and the Agro-Joint trustees decided to appropriate \$200,000 to cover the initial costs. In the meantime contact had been established with the Dominican minister in Washington, Andres Pastoriza, and with Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, who was then in the United States. At a meeting held in Washington, on October 19, 1939, a letter from Minister Pastoriza to

¹ See the proceedings communicated to the League of Nations, July 15, 1938, and printed as C.224, M.143, 1938, XII; cf. Simpson, Sir John Hope, *The Refugee Problem; Report of a Survey* (London 1939) p. 225.

² *New York Times* (July 10, 1938); cf. also "People without a Country," in *Survey Graphic* (November, 1940) 20; *American Hebrew* (July 15, 1938).

³ See the pamphlet entitled *Concerning Refugee Settlement in the Dominican Republic. A Meeting at the Town Hall Club, New York City, February 15, 1940*. The suggestion regarding a maximum number of 100,000 immigrants was made not at Evian but in London; *New International Yearbook, 1940* (New York 1941) p. 190.

⁴ Known for its work in the Ukraine and in the Crimea.

Mr. James N. Rosenberg⁵ was read and the declaration made by Trujillo to the effect that every aid would be lent to the settlement scheme was received enthusiastically. Following this meeting the Dominican Republic Settlement Association was formed, Mr. Rosenberg becoming president, and Dr. Joseph Rosen vice-president; two hundred shares of the corporation were acquired by Agro-Joint at \$1,000 each. In a letter of December 12, 1939 to Mr. Rosenberg, President Roosevelt declared that the Santo Domingo project may be considered "a turning point" in the relief work on behalf of refugees.

In December, 1940 Dr. Rosen accompanied by an agronomist went to Santo Domingo to select a tract of land. His choice fell on a section situated on the Atlantic in the district of Sosua, in the northern province of Puerto Plata.⁶ This was offered by its owner, Generalissimo Trujillo, to the Settlement Association in a letter dated January 20, 1940 which read in part:

This property of about 26,685 acres, contains twenty-four dwellings, a reservoir and other installations for the accommodation of the settlers. The property has 4,950 acres of cultivated pasture and a large extent of virgin forest, with an abundance of valuable timber, which represents for me an actual investment of not less than \$100,000.

The association prevailed on Generalissimo Trujillo to accept their stock in return for his land. Rather than present the settlers with land as a gift the association preferred to have them undertake to repay the investments made in their behalf over a period of time. Meanwhile the Dominican government and the association were working on an agreement which was signed January 30, 1940, in Ciudad Trujillo in the presence of the chief officials of the government and of the representatives of the other governments comprised in the Intergovernmental Committee.

This agreement guaranteed the new settlers and their descendants both religious freedom and full equality of civil, legal, economic and all other rights "inherent to human beings," while the republic undertook to facilitate their emigration. The power to select the settlers was vested in the association. A first contingent of 500 families, both Jewish and

⁵ *Contemporary Jewish Record*, vol. ii (1939) 49-51.

⁶ In 1918 this estate was reported as being converted into a sugar plantation; Schoenrich, Otto, *Santo Domingo, a Country with a Future* (Santo Domingo 1918) p. 157. According to another writer bananas were grown there prior to the cyclone of 1916; St. Elmo, Walter M., *Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic in the West Indies)* (Santo Domingo 1926) p. 4.

non-Jewish, was to be brought in, this to be followed by arrangements for later groups, ultimately numbering 100,000 as a maximum. The association is empowered to intervene in behalf of the settlers pending their naturalization. Concrete stipulations are also included as to the republic's co-operation in building activities, provision for agricultural employment, selection of suitable tracts of land and securing options for future acquisitions.⁷

The Dominican Congress ratified the agreement in special sessions on February 20 and 21, 1940. The same session adopted a law exempting from the payment of customs and duties all individuals and juridical persons authorized to promote immigration. Finally the chamber of deputies passed a resolution felicitating Generalissimo Trujillo on the conclusion of the agreement, which "constitutes the most efficient expedient to obtain an intensive augmentation of the population and the national resources and at the same time offers a refuge to the numerous families who cannot realize in other countries the destinies of their life."⁸ The preparatory work for the reception of the settlers was promptly started and in May, 1940 the first group of 37 arrived in Santo Domingo. By the end of the following year their number exceeded four hundred.⁹

The Luperon Project of 1882

Almost sixty years had elapsed between the arrival of Jewish refugees in Santo Domingo and the year in which such a plan had been born. The man who was responsible for first conceiving the project of settling Jews in Santo Domingo,¹⁰ General Gregorio Luperon (1839-97), had had an

⁷For the official text in Spanish see *Gaceta Oficial* (February 24, 1940); *Revista de Agricultura*, vol. xxxi (1940) 55-61; full translation in *Contemporary Jewish Record*, vol. iii (1940) 195-99.

⁸Protests were, however, voiced by a number of Dominican exiles in the United States and elsewhere; *New International Yearbook*, 1940, p. 190.

⁹See the pamphlets issued by the Settlement Association, the most recent (no. 4), issued after its meeting in New York, September 24, 1941, bearing the title *Sosua, Haven for Refugees in the Dominican Republic*. See also James N. Rosenberg's *Report to the Dominican Republic on the Activities of the Association* (dated January 30, 1941) (Ciudad Trujillo 1941); *idem*, "The Story of Sosua," in *American Hebrew* (November 1, 1940). See further, Wischnitzer, M., "The Sosua Settlement," in *Ort Economic Bulletin*, vol. ii, no. 3 (1941) 2-4; Rosen, Joseph A., "New Neighbors in Sosua," in *Survey Graphic* (September, 1941).

¹⁰I have to express my gratitude to Professor Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi and to Señor Luis Alemar for their courtesy in placing material from the National Archives at Ciudad Trujillo and other Dominican sources at my disposal.

interesting career prior to 1882 and his proposal harmonized fully with his views regarding the republic's needs. Beginning life in a very poor home, he had risen in the world as both a self-educated and self-made man. Starting out as a peddler in his boyhood he became a successful merchant and during the 'sixties took an active part in the island's military and political struggles. After distinguishing himself in the war against Spain he founded the Blue party as a democratic movement and in 1865 participated in the restoration of the republic. The ensuing years were filled with internal struggles in which Luperon, as an advocate of political and social reforms, sided with the opposition to the tyranny of President Baez.¹¹ In a message addressed to the editors of the journal *La Paz*, appearing in Santiago de los Caballeros, which was published on September 8, 1875 under the caption, "Synthesis of the Political Thought of Luperon," he declared that the republic needed immigrants above all as well as freedom and justice. After naming religious tolerance as one of the inducements which must be offered to immigrants Luperon urged that immigration be fostered by "the concession of a maximum degree of rights, liberties and privileges."¹² As cabinet minister and as provisional president (1879-80) this liberal leader encouraged immigration from Cuba and Puerto Rico into the fertile island of Santo Domingo which had become depopulated in the course of decades of foreign oppression and internecine strife; in the same spirit he later endeavored, albeit with no success, to arrange for the settlement of Russian Jews in 1882.

Arriving in Paris toward the end of 1881 on a diplomatic mission, Luperon was soon on friendly terms with Léon Gambetta, Victor Hugo, François de Lesseps and other French liberals. From them as well as from the press he learned about the massacres in Russia and about the plight of the refugees who were looking for new homes. Before he left for Europe he had read reports by a Dominican writer living in Paris, Alfredo Herrera, "about the inhuman persecution of the Jews" which had deeply impressed him. In Paris Luperon went to see his old friend Herrera and told him that his writings had aroused his interest in these

¹¹ Demorizi, E. Rodríguez, *Luperon y Hostos* (Ciudad Trujillo 1939); see also *Apoteosis del General Gregorio Luperon* (Santo Domingo 1926); Logroño, Arturo, *Centenario de Luperon* (Ciudad Trujillo 1939); Gutiérrez, Virgilio Ferrer, *Luperon, Brida y Espuela* (Havana 1940).

¹² Reprinted in Gutiérrez, *op. cit.*, p. 205 ff.

unfortunates. "They deserve our consideration and sympathy for two reasons," said Luperon, "they are human beings, our brethren, and besides they are being persecuted. Well, we shall receive them in Santo Domingo with open arms."¹³

Early in 1882 he addressed a letter to the central committee of the Alliance Israélite Universelle which reads as follows:

I have heard of the persecutions of the Jews in several European states and I venture to inform you that there is a country, the Dominican Republic, a vast and fertile country which has every prospect for the future. There your co-religionists will be received with open arms. It is not merely hospitality which I take the liberty to offer in the name of my government and people but also a secure citizenship (nationality) and land for farming purposes, land, which immediately after possession has been taken, will become the property of the settlers. The present head of the government is a Catholic priest.¹⁴ However, his patriotism and liberalism place him above every kind of prejudice. It is in full agreement with him that I submit this suggestion to you. Having been myself chief of the government for some years, I know the character and the ideas of the people in Santo Domingo who will rejoice in the arrival in their midst of brethren prepared to share their fate with them.¹⁵

This letter was published not only in the monthly bulletin of the Alliance, but in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* and elsewhere as well, including the Russian-Jewish weekly, *Voskhod*, in St. Petersburg.¹⁶

The reply of the Alliance Israélite to this message of Luperon has thus far not been discovered.¹⁷ However, early in 1882 Herrera forwarded to *El Porvenir* the news that General Luperon had disclosed to him the conditions under which the Jews were to immigrate to Santo Domingo. The Alliance would cover their travelling expenses while the Dominican republic would guarantee absolute liberty of conscience and other rights in accordance with the Dominican constitution; moreover, the republic would grant cultivable land under a special law. The first two hundred families were to sail soon and it would depend on what they might report

¹³ See the Puerto Plata journal, *El Porvenir* (February 4, 1882).

¹⁴ Fernando de Meriño, who succeeded Luperon in September, 1880, was one of his supporters. He later became archbishop of Santo Domingo; cf. Schoenrich, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

¹⁵ *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle* (January, 1882); reprinted in *L'Univers Israélite*, vol. xxxvii (March 1, 1882) 376; cf. *American Hebrew* (March 24, 1882).

¹⁶ *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* (1882) 162; *Voskhod* (1882) no. 7, p. 167.

¹⁷ Unfortunately the *Archives Israélites* for 1882 is not available in the United States.

about climatic and other conditions whether other settlers would follow. At the same time General Luperon himself informed the editor that he had arranged with the Alliance to secure funds for the Russian Jews going to Santo Domingo and that two hundred families were being prepared for the voyage. (*El Porvenir*, February 25, 1882)

While approaching the Alliance, Luperon also established contact with Barons Gustave and Edmond de Rothschild, as may be gathered from a letter sent by Dr. Ramon Emeterion Betances,¹⁸ a revolutionary leader of Puerto Rico, then secretary to the Dominican legation in Paris, to the Rothschilds (February 22, 1882).¹⁹ Betances opened by saying that in accordance with the request of the Rothschilds to Luperon he was submitting a statement on Santo Domingo, on the agriculture and mineral wealth of the country, climatic and health conditions and the character of the population. Betances then stressed the importance of the offer made by the Dominican government: "The Republic aims at becoming an asylum for the persecuted Jews in other parts of the world. The Dominican people are brought up in the spirit of religious freedom. There is no difference between an Israelite, a Protestant and a Catholic. There exist in the republic all churches and the Catholic temple is respected in the same manner as the synagogue."

Betances made some practical proposals. Committees for the reception of the immigrants were to be organized in the five chief ports of the country, Santo Domingo (now Ciudad Trujillo), Puerto Plata, Monte Cristi, Samana and Azua. The committees would know to which districts the immigrants should be directed immediately after their arrival in order that they might find remunerative work. This is the same procedure, said Betances, which was followed with regard to the Cuban immigrants (1879-82).²⁰ The Jews would find in Santo Domingo agricultural and industrial possibilities and a mild and hospitable people, a real "fatherland." In a postscript Luperon confirmed the ideas expressed by Betances certifying

¹⁸ Demorizi, *op. cit.* p. 31. On Betances (1830-98) see *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana*.

¹⁹ *El Eco de la Opinion* (May 4, 1882); translated from the Paris review, *La Civilisation*. See also *L'Univers Israélite*, vol. xxxvii (April 1, 1882) 428-31; *Moniteur des Consulates* (March 11, 1882); in brief in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* (1882) 250, and the *Warsaw Israelita* (1882) 124.

²⁰ The Cuban and Puerto Rican immigrants settled mostly in Puerto Plata; cf. Welles, Sumner, *Naboth's Vineyard. The Dominican Republic, 1844-1924* (New York 1928) vol. i, p. 442.

that they were in conformity with his instructions.

Jewish circles in Paris were interested in getting the reaction of Jews already residing in Santo Domingo and the correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* in reporting the content of Dr. Betances' letter made the point that it was important to ask the local Jews about their experiences in the country. Dr. Betances thereupon hastened to inform the editor of the *Archives Israélites* that the following Jewish personalities were familiar with the situation in Santo Domingo: Baron E. de Almeda, Dominican minister in Paris; A. Pay, minister in the Netherlands; Léonce Bloch, consul-general of the republic in France; Jacob Pereira, merchant and consul-general of the republic in St. Thomas (Virgin Islands); Charles Coen, Dominican consul in Haiti; Charles and E. Pereira, merchants in Paris; Jacob de Lemos, merchant in Santo Domingo; D. Coen, merchant in Santo Domingo; the brothers Maduro and M. Sibaver, businessmen in Puerto Plata.²¹ This surprising list was reproduced in other Jewish papers and created a mild sensation.²²

When the news of Luperon's project reached a group of newly arrived Russian Jews in New York, their spokesman, L. Landesberg, not knowing that the general was still in Paris, addressed a letter on April 18, 1882, to him to Santo Domingo. In his letter Landesberg states that his countrymen read the letter sent by Betances to the Rothschilds and Luperon's message to the Alliance Israélite Universelle. The description of Santo Domingo by Dr. Betances and the flattering offer made by Luperon had excited them to such a degree that they had decided to migrate to the island. They wished to make sure, however, whether the two letters which had appeared in the *Univers Israélite* (March 1 and April 1) were genuine. Then Landesberg put the following questions:

- (1) what are the prices of land and the conditions of purchase?
- (2) does the law guarantee the exercise of the Jewish religion?
- (3) will the Jews be considered equal to the Catholics and enjoy the same rights?

Should the reply to these principal questions be satisfactory [Landesberg

²¹ The Almeda family may be traced to Almeida, Portugal. The Coens arrived during the third decade of the century. The name Pereira is found on tombstones in the Ciudad Trujillo cemetery. The present writer expects to discuss the local Jewish community in the nineteenth century in a forthcoming study.

²² *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* (April 14, 1882); *Voskhod* (1882) 459, remarked that the Jews formed quite a considerable contingent of the Dominican diplomatic personnel.

continues] we shall hasten to accept an offer for which we have not enough words of thanks. You may be assured, General, that we shall know how to justify the confidence you have reposed in a people which has been calumniated. We shall become good citizens, loyal subjects of your country and we shall do everything possible to contribute toward its prosperity.

It is in the name of about 60 individuals that I venture to address this letter to you. They are mostly young men, sturdy and intelligent people, who do not shrink from any hard labor and who are eager to prove to the world that the Jew in spite of his defamation is able to succeed in the cultivation of the land being active, sober and diligent.

Those who know our history will certainly not cast stones upon us. We believe we have shown that the Jew is not only fit for commerce but that under a tolerant government he can produce scientists, artists, statesmen and laborers. With regard to the last category it is just in Russia which is defaming us that Jewish artisans are swarming about there.

General, it is with anguish that I await news from you and if the government intends to direct the Russian emigration to Santo Domingo, I am prepared to bring along a great part of my countrymen who are at present here as well as thousands of Jews who are kept in Brody and have not yet decided where to emigrate.

In conclusion Landesberg asked General Luperon to provide him with the necessary documentation and a power of attorney to act officially.²³ The letter was forwarded to Paris where it received prompt attention. With regard to the first question Luperon replied on July 25 that three ways would be open for the settlers: (1) the cultivation of government land would *ipso facto* secure the title to the plot; (2) there was also a possibility of the leasing of land called *comuneros*, that is, belonging in common to several persons; the lease could be arranged for an indefinite term; (3) land could also be acquired from the landowners. Concerning the second question Luperon remarked that the constitution guaranteed the rights of every faith and that all churches were equally respected. As for the remaining question Luperon declared:

The Jews have full protection and possess every right. They will enjoy all privileges granted to foreigners who desire to keep their original nationality. If, however, they will accept Dominican citizenship they will be treated on an equal footing with the citizens of Santo Domingo. The Domin-

²³ *Univers Israélite*, vol. xxxvii, no. 23-24 (August 16, 1882) 711-15. Landesberg's address is given as American Hebrew Aid Society, 15 State St., New York.

ican Republic employs numerous Jewish representatives abroad including ministers plenipotentiary and consuls. The present governor of the province of Azua is an Israelite by the name of Señor Generoso Marchena who will probably become a member of the next Cabinet.²⁴

To this Luperon added in a most emphatic manner:

Well, if you wish to accept the offer made to you cordially by the government and people of Santo Domingo you will be received in the republic like brethren. I have no doubt that owing to your habits of order, labor and economy you will greatly contribute to the prosperity of a country ready to receive you with the sincerest hospitality. You will certainly not find in the world a more proper field of endeavor to prove to the advanced nations that the Jewish people is capable and worthy of contributing to the great work of civilization so ardently pursued by the most intelligent men and the best of all races and religions.

Luperon authorized Landesberg to show his letter to the consul-general of the Dominican republic in New York who would provide all information and lend full assistance in the realization of the scheme while he himself once he had returned to his country would be happy to render active help.²⁵

What was the reaction of the Dominican public to the project? Unfortunately no file of the newspapers of this date has been preserved and one must be content with the few surviving copies of *El Eco de la Opinion*.

²⁴ General Eugenio Generoso de Marchena played a conspicuous part in Dominican politics. His family had immigrated from Curaçao in the first half of the century. He was one of the leading politicians in the province of Azua and became governor of the province. Under the presidency of Heureaux he became minister of finance on September 1, 1882. Heureaux boasted of him as the first economist of Santo Domingo; cf. Luperon, Gregorio, *Notas autobiograficas y apuntes historicos* (Ciudad Trujillo 1939) 2nd ed., vol. iii, p. 146; cf. Welles, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 469, who describes his mission to Europe in 1887 to secure a financial loan without which the administration of Heureaux could not have endured. Marchena negotiated a loan with the Amsterdam firm Westendorp and upon his return was praised by the president. He later became head of the Dominican State Bank. His popularity grew in time and he ran for president in opposition to Heureaux, in 1892, but was defeated. The dictator, Heureaux, ordered the imprisonment of Marchena in the fortress of Santo Domingo where he languished over a year. He was shot by the agents of Heureaux in Azua, December 22, 1893.

²⁵ Luperon's reply appeared also in the Santo Domingo *Telegrama* (August 31, 1882); cf. *Voskhod* (1882) 963. Some months later *El Telegrama* (November 23, 1882) carried a version of an unsigned article by a "Spanish American" who cynically warned Luperon against "converting the Dominican island into a new land of Canaan." The article is said to have appeared originally in a Leipzig periodical named in translation *La Revista Germanica*, no. 11; it is not, however, contained in the *Deutsche Revue* or *Deutsche Rundschau*.

In these one finds two articles written by Eugenio Hostos,²⁶ an outstanding Latin-American sociologist and educator who settled in Santo Domingo on the invitation of Luperon. In one of these, headed "Immigration and Colonization," Hostos declared that the letter of Dr. Betances published in the press of Paris, Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo raises a great issue for the Dominican republic, which is underpopulated. Therefore, General Luperon's project deserves the most serious consideration. However, he continued, the question is whether the country is capable of absorbing the proposed immigration and whether the Dominican community is ready for it. The number arriving may be so large as to make it difficult to settle them in any one of the cities or even in a single province. The immigrants will have to be distributed among the various cities and provinces which are less densely populated. The primary task will, therefore, be the elaboration of a program for the distribution of the immigrants. Families should by no means be separated and work must be prepared for them. They will toil on the land which must be put at their disposal; whether they will get their own land or work for others is a problem to be considered. These immigrants will come from cold countries and one must find ways and means to instruct them how to adjust themselves to the change to a more dangerous climate. It is of the utmost importance to establish a colonization bank where the immigrants should deposit their savings. Hostos then submits a program for the reception of the immigrants whereby the Argentine pattern should be followed. The article is marked by deep sympathy for the expected immigrants. Having tasted the experiences of a political emigré, Hostos pictures the pains which such a man has to endure: "It is not only the bread of the political emigré which is bitter, but also that of the wanderer driven out by economic causes." The article concludes with praise for the Jews, the sacredness of their family bonds, their intelligence and frugality.²⁷

The articles by Hostos appeared in May, 1882, and shortly afterwards the *Archives Israélites* reported on the basis of a correspondence from Santo Domingo to the Paris *Moniteur des Consulates* (June 10) that the news of the proposal made by Luperon to the Rothschilds had been received in Santo Domingo with enthusiasm and even with public rejoicing.

²⁶ Emilio Rodríguez, Demorizi, *Camino de Hostos* (Ciudad Trujillo 1939).

²⁷ *El Eco de la Opinión* (1882) no. 152 ff.; reprinted in Hostos, *Obras Completas* (Havana 1939) vol. x, p. 367 ff. It is interesting to note that in his letter to the association, January 20, 1940, Trujillo likewise urged the creation of an agricultural bank.

Meetings had been held and resolutions passed to establish committees for the reception of the "exiles" and for providing them with work. The correspondent added that the Jews would find on the Dominican shore an asylum and opportunity to work: "Without a doubt they will prosper there as quickly as in the United States. We would like to call the attention of the committee in Paris to this." The *Archives Israélites* pointed out that it would be helpful to get word from the Jews residing in Santo Domingo to confirm "this seductive news." "We believe," wrote the editor of the *Archives*, "that it is correct and we shall soon return to this question. Nothing would be worth more than the testimonies sent directly from that country by the co-religionists of those whose influx is being announced; we should be happy to publish them."²⁸ These testimonies, however, were not forthcoming with the exception of one obtained by Betances. This testimony as to the desirability of Santo Domingo for Jewish immigrants was furnished by Jacob de Lemos, head of a mercantile firm in the capital, who was living in London since 1878. In response to Betances' letter the Jewish merchant wrote, July 26, 1882: "We have been received by all groups in Dominican society with generous hospitality and we have established relations which we cherish greatly." De Lemos added that he intended to return to Santo Domingo both because of its favorable climate and because he considered it his fatherland. This letter was given to the *Archives Israélites* which published it "as an eloquent testimony of the generous sentiments of this remote republic for everybody bearing the name Jew."^{28a}

Luperon continued to persevere in his task; whether in Paris or in other European capitals he discussed the problem of immigration with the representatives of the Dominican government as well as with various experts and agents. On May 20, 1882 he wrote to the secretary of state in Santo Domingo from London: "E. Abaut is lending us his help in the propaganda for immigration." On June 12 he wrote from Copenhagen: "Here as in Germany I have discussed the question of immigration with the representatives of our republic. . . . I most ardently recommended to

²⁸ See the Spanish translation of the article in Luperon, *Notas Autobiográficas y Apuntes Históricas*, vol. iii, p. 137-38; the French original is at present inaccessible. It may be noted that the country's population was then about one third of the present total (416,000 Catholics in 1888; 1,479,417 in 1935); *Anuario Estadístico de la República Dominicana del año 1938* (Ciudad Trujillo 1940) p. 79.

^{28a} See *El Telegrama* (October 27, 1882).

them that cause as very vital for our fatherland and I insisted upon the necessity of doing everything possible for organizing the current of immigration."²⁹

The Dominican consul in Marseilles, Guérin de Cayla, drew up a memorandum on June 21, 1882, which he submitted to the legation in Paris. He suggested that a "Philanthropic Immigration Society" be founded in Santo Domingo with branches in the cities of the republic and representatives in Europe. Du Cayla posed a few very important questions which went even further than those submitted by Landesberg, asking, "Will the Republic grant land concessions? Will funds be placed by the government at the disposal of the immigrants enabling them to become independent farmers or will the immigrant have to look for daily work with landowners? Will he have a regular income throughout the whole year? How much will he be paid?" Du Cayla referred to Peru where a similar society was founded in 1879 and the government had granted 5 million pesos and stretches of land in the central areas of the projected settlements. He summed up his memorandum by saying, "The establishment of the Philanthropic Society for Emigration which has occupied the mind of Imbert Segundo is indispensable."³⁰ The Dominican legation in Paris forwarded this memorandum on June 27, 1882 (no. 80) to the secretary for foreign affairs and raised the question whether land would be given to the immigrants or whether the landowners would employ them and, if so, what pay would they receive.³¹

This communication crossed with a letter from the secretary for foreign affairs to Luperon, dated July 3, 1882, expressing great appreciation for the general's activities.³² On August 3, 1882, Secretary C. N. de Moya addressed a message to Luperon in reply to the communication of June 27, which included the memorandum of the consul at Marseilles and in which he wrote, "Desiring to give you a definite answer concerning the important question of immigration I hope to convene for that purpose the Agricultural Society of this city, to which I shall submit this question to be considered and carefully studied, namely, how to protect the immigrants

²⁹ Gutiérrez, *op. cit.*, p. 183, who is, however, mistaken in stating (p. 127) that Luperon met the Rothschilds in Copenhagen in June, 1882.

³⁰ Secretary of state for foreign affairs under Heureaux from 1882 to 1884 and a friend of Luperon's.

³¹ Oficio de la Secretaria de Estado de Relaciones Exteriores, año 1882, Archivo General de la Nacion, Ciudad Trujillo.

³² Oficio n. 1123, del 3 de julio, 1882, al Gral Gregorio Luperon, Paris.

in their agricultural work, to fix the pay for daily work, to determine the organization of the work and the farms which the immigrant is to take; the final results of these discussions I will then communicate to you, etc."³³ From a further note of the secretary of state, dated September, 1882, to the legation in Paris, we learn that a commission of landowners was still studying the possibilities of immigration;³⁴ this seems to be the last recorded official statement on the subject. In the meantime a new president came to power, General Ulysses Heureaux, a friend of Luperon and a supporter of his plan, as we learn from an obituary on Charles Netter (one of the leaders of the Alliance Israélite Universelle). After Netter died on October 2, 1882, in Jaffa, the *Archives Israélites* mourned his loss "because his project of the transportation of a part of the emigré Russian Jews to Santo Domingo, according to the project of General Luperon, would break down." The journal expressed its hope that somebody else would proceed with the continuation of this plan in view of the fact "that the new president of the Dominican republic, General Heureaux, an intimate friend of General Luperon, displays great sympathy for this project."³⁵ The *Archives Israélites* returned to the matter later in the following statement: "The sudden death of M. Ch. Netter interrupted a project which was on the point of realization. M. Netter promised General Luperon to set on the road to Santo Domingo a current of Jewish immigration." Wondering whether the project would lapse the writer seemed to take an optimistic view. Repeating the information that the new president of the republic was an intimate friend of Luperon he added that one of the new cabinet ministers, General G. Marchena, was an "Israelite."³⁶

When did Netter meet General Luperon and how far did their collaboration in the proposed settlement scheme go? What became of the transport of two hundred families prepared for the voyage to Santo Domingo of which Luperon had informed the editor of *El Porvenir* at the beginning of 1882? Why is there no mention of this group in Luperon's reply to Landesberg? These questions must remain unanswered until the archives of the Alliance may be consulted. No clue as to the reasons for the dropping of Luperon's project is available.

³³ Oficio N. 1181, del 2 de Agosto, al Gral Gregorio Luperon, Paris.

³⁴ Ejercicio del Sr. Ministro del Relaciones Exteriores, Segundo Imbert, Mes de Sbre, 1882. Ministerio de Rel. Ext. t. 27, n. 148, p. 76. Al Min. Plenipotenciario de la Rep. Dominicana en Paris. (Imbert was appointed minister for foreign affairs on September 1, 1882.)

³⁵ This issue of the *Archives Israélites* being inaccessible the writer has drawn on the contents as reproduced in the *Ruski Evrei* (1882) no. 42, p. 1591. The eulogy on Netter in the *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle* (1882), 2nd series, no. 5, p. 7-8, is silent regarding the Luperon project.

³⁶ Cited in *El Telegrama* (December 16, 1882).

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 Excerpt from the JOURNAL OF CHARLES PINCKNEY of S. C. of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1789 regarding the statement of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN at that convention concerning the Jewish Immigration. the Original of the copy is in the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, Pa.

There is great danger for the United States of America; this danger is the JEW. Gentlemen, in every land in which the Jews have settled they have depressed the moral level and lowered the degree of commercial honesty. They have remained apart and unassimilated; they have created a state within a state and when they are oppressed they attempt to strangle the country financially, as in the case of Portugal and Spain.

For more than 17 hundred years they lamented their sorrowful fate; namely, that they were driven out of their motherland, but gentlemen, if the civilized world today should give them back Palestine and their property, they would present reasons for not returning there. WHY? Because they are vampires; they cannot live among themselves, they must live among Christians and others that do not belong to their race.

If they are not excluded from the United States by the Constitution, within less than 100 years they will stream into this country in great numbers, they will rule and destroy us and change our form of government for which Americans shed out blood and sacrificed life and property and personal freedom. If the Jews are not excluded, within 200 years our children will be working in the fields to feed the Jews while they remain in their country houses gleefully rubbing their hands.

I warn you gentlemen, if you do not exclude the Jew forever your children and your children's children will curse you in your grave. Their ideas are not those of Americans, even after they have lived among us for generations. The leopard cannot change its spots. The Jews are a danger to this land and should not be allowed to enter. If they do they will imperil our institution and they should be excluded by the Constitution.