

OF 3186
Political Refugees
Jan - May 1938

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS

MARCH 24, 1938
No. 142

This Government has become so impressed with the urgency of the problem of political refugees that it has inquired of a number of Governments in Europe and in this hemisphere whether they would be willing to cooperate in setting up a special committee for the purpose of facilitating the emigration from Austria and presumably from Germany of political refugees. Our idea is that whereas such representatives would be designated by the Governments concerned, any financing of the emergency emigration referred to would be undertaken by private organizations within the respective countries. Furthermore, it should be understood that no country would be expected or asked to receive a greater number of immigrants than is permitted by its existing legislation. In making this proposal the Government of the United States has emphasized that it in no sense intends to discourage or interfere with such work as is already being done on the refugee problem by any existing international agency. It has been prompted to make its proposal because of the urgency of the problem with which the world is faced and the necessity of speedy cooperative effort under governmental supervision if widespread human suffering is to be averted.

March 29, 1938

BSR/

Respectfully referred to the State Department by memorandum.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President.

WIRES: Re: Asylum for refugees from Europe.

Charles A. Buckley, Member of Congress, New York, N.Y. 3/26
 Gotham Tobacco Co., New York, N.Y. 3/26
 Morris Finkelstein, Brooklyn, N.Y. 3/26
 Wisnitsky Bros., 403 W. 42 St., N.Y.C. 3/26
 Wholesale Tobacco Distributors of New York, Inc., New York, NY
 Rabinowitz Bros., NYC 3/26
 Joseph Gluckman, 545 Getos Ave., Brooklyn, NY 3/26
 Midwood Tobacco Co., Brooklyn, NY 3/26
 Skler Bros. NYC 3/26
 Boro Park Tobacco Co., Inc., Brooklyn, NY 3/26
 Samuel Skolnick, NYC 3/26
 J. Rosenberg & sons, 84 1/2 Lewis St., NYC 3/26
 Charles Kramer, 730 Hunts Point Ave., NYC 3/26
 B. Wasserman Co., NYC (wire from Atlanta Ga.) 3/26
 Murry Ohl, Brooklyn, NY 3/26
 Watkins Candy & Tobacco Co., Brooklyn, NY 3/26
 Sam Rosenshein, South Fallsburgh, NY 3/26
 Service Candy Co., Brooklyn, NY 3/26
 Louis J. Cole Skolinsky Inc., 3783 3 Ave., NYC 3/26
 Staff of Max Engel & Son, Alex Engel, 130 Osborn St., Brooklyn, NY 3/26
 Saul Ludwig, 1273 First Ave., NYC 3/26
 Alfred Bergman, Savoy Plaza NYC 3/25
 Chas. Zunser & Family, NYC 3/25
 Mr. & Mrs. Jake Berke, Fremont, Nebr. 3/25
 Bernard G. Richards, NYC 3/25
 Temple Israel, Harry Pepper, Pres., Daytona Beach, Fla. 3/25
 Philip Wang, 35 E. 62 Terr. Kansas City, Mo. 3/25
 Fred MacCrone, 304 E. 45 St., NYC 3/25
 Comras Drug Co. Inc., Manuel Comras and others, NYC 3/25

ak- Commander Frederick Griffith, Supt. New Jersey Nautical & Maritime
 Academy, Belmar, N.J. 3/23 (See Con. Frederick Griffith) sent to
 Treasury.

ak- Horace Condee, Condee Coal Co., Gallipolis, O. 3/21 widow, Mrs. Goldie
 Long, left with 4 children. Asks for aid to support them and work
 forself on WPA. Original to S.S.Bd. copy to WPA.

March 29, 1938.

ESR/

Respectfully referred to the State Department by memorandum.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President.

WIRES:

RE: Urging lifting embargo against Spain.

Clyde R. Miller, Margaret Forsyth, Teachers College, Columbia University,
New York, N. Y. 3/28
H. Goldman, President, New York, N.Y. 3/28
Trente Populare Anti-Fascista Gallego, 84 Bruen St., Newark, N.J. 3/28
International Workers Order No. 3006, Curtisville, Pa. Sec. J. Tokas,
Wire sent from Tarentum, Pa. 3/28
International Workers Order Br. No. 4302 I. W. O. John Sirkoeh,
Pittsburgh, Pa. 3/28
Brandorf Chairman, 2145 Boston Rd. New York, N.Y. 3/27
Ukrainian Workmen Assn. Br. 210 McKees Rock, Pa. Anthony Yary, Sec.
Pittsburgh, Pa. 3/28
I.W.O., Br. 1502 McKees Rock, Pa. Jewell Dyke, Sec., Pittsburgh, Pa. 3/28
50 members Steve Katovis Br. Internat'l. Labor Defense, NYC 3/28
Kitchel Southard, N.Y.C. 3/28
Samuel Milton, N. Y. C. 3/28
Mr. and Mrs. Paul Rozin, New York, N.Y. 3/28
Beatrice Cooke and others, Los Angeles, Calif. : /28
Adele Taube, 419 E. 57 St., NYC 3/28
Norma McNatt, Oklahoma City, Okla. 3/28
Harriet Baron, 12 E. 30 St., NYC. 3/28
Sam Gingold, Sec., NYC members of Workmen's Circle Br. 637 - 3/28
Italian IOW branch, 2541 Giuseppe Mazzini; 423 5 Ave., Brooklyn, NY 3/28
Diego Mendez Pres., Club Hiram, NYC 3/28
Bellas Family, Flint, Mich. 3/28
Linton B. Swift, Chairman, Conference Profession Social Workers, NYC 3/28
* * * * *

Re: Asylum for refugees from Europe.

Louis Offner, New York, N.Y. 3/28
Emanuel Hertz, 141 Broadway, N.Y.C. 3/26
M. Wolfson & Son, 661 Blake Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 3/26
Jack Weinberg, 2002 Surf Ave., Brooklyn, NY 3/26
Audubon Tobacco Co. 55 Audubon Ave., NYC 3/26
S. Hoenig, Miami Beach, Fla. 3/26

Similk Beach Development Company

INCORPORATED

SIMILK BEACH BRAND OYSTERS

SOLD FRESH—WHOLESALE AND RETAIL

Similk Beach, R. F. D. 2, Anacortes, Washington

March 30th 1938.

3186

ack'd
4/1/38

CERTIFICATE, WASH. 176.

BEDS AND OPENING HOUSES AT SIMILK BEACH.

PACKED FOR SALE IN PINTS AND HALF PINTS, QUARTS, HALF-GALLONS OR GALLONS

PINTS IN WAXED CARTONS WITH INSTRUCTIONS TO DEALERS AND COOKING RECIPES

A JAPANESE REPLANTED VARIETY.

SIZES, AA-10 OR UNDER TO PINT, A-11 TO 13, B-14 TO 17, C-18 OR OVER.

FOR A FANCY TRADE WE RECOMMEND OUR "GROWN IN SIMILK BAY" OYSTER, BECAUSE OF SANDY SOIL (WE HARVEST BY TRUCK) AND WELL MIXED FRESH AND SALT WATER.

THIS OYSTER IS ALWAYS FAT AND SWEET, AND IS ALWAYS TENDER, EVEN IF BOILED WELL DONE OR FRIED BROWN, IT FRIES WITHOUT DIPPING, OR WITH LIGHT DIPPING IN FLOUR OR CRACKER CRUMBS.

IT HAS NO NOTICEABLE WATER CONTENT, AND DOES NOT SHRINK NOTICEABLY EITHER BEFORE OR AFTER COOKING.

IT HAS AN EXCELLENT FLAVOR AND COLOR, AND IS OF PROPER SHAPE, BECAUSE OF THE BEDDING CLOSE TO VERY COLD WATER. THE OYSTER IS SALEABLE THE YEAR ROUND.

PRICES ON APPLICATION.

President Roosevelt,
The White House,
Dear Sir:

I run a golf course and small store and cafe besides oysters as you see. A group of customers and visitors Sunday were talking against your plan of bringing in the oppressed from Europe. For once I defended your intended actions.

They contended the act would have to let in other oppressed and they didn't want them. There are no other oppressed in Europe except the Jews. The Chinese aren't, neither are the Russians or any of the rest of them. But the Jews absolutely are and they have no way of escaping.

Both sides of my people fought in the revolution, I am not a Jew lover, I know them well. I am also not a Jew hater. I can hear the wail of their babies as well as themselves, as well as if they were suffering close by, we can help them, lets do it.

Why not give a radio address to the people on this, explain that this is for Jew alone as he is oppressed. No one who thinks really cares if from one to half to a Million Jews come in here if they stop to think, even if they haven't a dime.

Our nation was conceived in liberty and we said that the oppressed could come here and have religious and liberty to let us and set the machinery in motion to do it. I am sure that Hitler sees as he does, but as he does he does, so there is no other way except as we would do with a savage man or women who had children, first take away the children. In this case they seem to want to rid themselves of the Jew, help them out.

By the way I am told that this particular bay raises the best oysters in the west. I would be pleased to send you a gallon on ice prepaid - they will come in excellent condition. This is not an advertisement I now sell all I can raise on the land available.

Again please help these poor Jews out if you possibly can.

Truly yours,
A. J. Cannon.

x
p.p. 7.
9-1
p.p. 7.
9-0

THE Jewish Chronicle

Ninety-Seventh Year **JFCR** Established 1847

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND THE REFUGEES

THE call which was issued at the end of last week on behalf of the Government of the United States, by Mr. CORDELL HULL, for international action to deal with the ever-growing masses of political refugees, was a noble step in line with the highest traditions of a great and enlightened democracy. It came like a bleed ray of light in the darkening gloom of a world sinking, as many thoughtful people fear, into the night of barbarism. The proposal issued under President ROOSEVELT's authority to a number of nations for an international committee to deal with the refugee problem is one which no Government can disregard without incurring the obloquy of the civilized world.

This American challenge has set the seal of fact upon the contention which has been strenuously urged ever since the plague of Hitlerism descended upon mankind, that the refugee problem—and this to-day embraces many aspects of the Jewish problem—is no matter for unco-ordinated effort, not even for unilateral treatment by individual Governments, but a world problem in the fullest sense of the term. And it is in this light that President ROOSEVELT and Mr. HULL plainly view it. Mr. HULL's statement was necessarily guarded. It was but the launching of a great idea. And if it is to bear fruit its sponsors and all men of good will who lend their efforts to its furthering must be prepared to fight against those potent enemies of public advancement, procrastination and obstruction. Procrastination, arising often from natural inertia and sometimes from malevolence, must be vigorously countered; for the plight of the refugees is indeed pressing. In Austria 200,000 Jews alone—and the numbers of those who will be similarly afflicted under the categories of the Nuremberg laws, together with the many others whose political views fail to comply with Nazi

tyranny, have been computed as well over a million—have been bluntly told to clear out. Already they have been reduced to penury. A calamity of unparalleled magnitude is thus threatening to overwhelm more than a million souls. Not a day is to be wasted if the worst results of this tragedy are to be mitigated. It is to be hoped that the process of obstruction, so easily resorted to by the Governments' representatives, often from well-meant intentions of securing the best position for their particular countries, will also be withstood. Somehow, let us pray, President ROOSEVELT and the humane Governments who respond to his suggestion will inspire the members of the proposed Committee and their respective practical and effective work for the refugees but with an ardent will to do so.

The refugee problem, all are well aware, is extremely difficult and intricate. No doubt the use by Mr. HULL of the expression "political refugees" was chosen because of its broad connotation. But care must be taken that the Committee be not misused by those countries who shortsightedly hanker after a process of exporting their Jewish population so as to ease economic difficulties. The temptation for any Government attracted by such a line of thought to "manufacture" political refugees by the simple means of imposing cruel anti-Semitic legislation must be firmly removed.

The United States Government have brought the spirit of far-sighted statesmanship and lofty idealism to bear upon this mighty and conscience-challenging question. To resolve this world problem, recognised as such, every corner of the globe which offers possibility for settlement must be carefully considered. In this process it will be found that the voluntary humanitarian organisations, both Jewish and non-Jewish, which have been exerting heroic efforts to find homes for the homeless, have accumulated a vast amount of information on this subject and have already much experience—for the most part, alas, pointing to few territories which in actual fact (and not merely "on the map") can accommodate refugees. Considerable attention has been paid recently to possibilities in Australia, and a tragic reflection of this is to be found in the news that in four days in Vienna last week more than 6,000 applications for visas to that country were submitted. Yet even in Australia, the most hopeful for this purpose of all the "empty" countries, with a population of the kindest and most liberal-minded folk, there are a host of very serious difficulties in the way of large-scale Jewish immigration.

There is however one land where the long-range difficulties are far less than those to be encountered and anticipated in other countries—and to that country the British Government holds the key, Palestine, undivided and supplied with adequate capital could, it is reliably estimated, absorb in the course of the next twenty years five million Jews without displacing from Palestine a single Arab—indeed while conferring upon its Arab citizens a vast increase of real wealth and well-being. Financially, in any case, as Mr. HULL has intimated, the Jews of the world will have to foot the bill in the rescue work of their persecuted brethren. Is it not better that their money should be spent upon a permanently enduring undertaking, in building up a Jewish National Home which will be the glory no less than the safeguard of their children and their children's children, than that they should pour their wealth into the bottomless well of unending palliatives? In view of the urgency of the situation and the inevitable delay before immigration on an adequate scale into the whole of Palestine can reach its full momentum, would it not be possible for the proposed international Committee to devise some means for the conditional and temporary admission of refugees to various countries? Such refugees would be bound, before entry, by an undertaking to migrate to Palestine as soon as conditions for their reception in that country were established. By this means the wind would be taken out of the sails of any mischief-makers who might seek to exploit the presence of foreign Jews in a country so as to raise the scare of being swamped with aliens. Much of the reluctance of Governments in admitting refugees would thus be removed.

America has taken the big, the noble, and the far-seeing view of the refugee problem. Is it too much to hope that the British Government will rise to equal heights and remind the world once more that the wisdom and righteousness which made this country mighty can make it mightier yet? By discarding the crazy Partition scheme together with all similar short-sighted, little-minded policies which have nibbled into the grandeur of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, without altering the *status quo* created by those instruments, but merely by implementing them with enthusiasm and with a real determination to throw open as wide as economically possible the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration, the British Government

could at one stroke reduce a running sore of European discontent, cement still more strongly the moral union of this country with the United States, establish a bulwark of peace and security in the Middle East, and lay the foundations for a Mediterranean fellowship which would go far to remove the grave anxieties at present centred in that area.

A great opportunity presents itself to Britain and the British Empire; let us hope the British Government will meet it gratefully.

NOTES OF THE WEEK

JEWRY'S PREMIER FUND

If ever there were a time when Jews should hold tenaciously to principles of long-range policy and refuse to allow the glacial blows of misfortune to shake them in their purpose, it is the present. Bowed with calamities to our brethren in one country after another; called upon for help to stave off, in many cases, sheer starvation; besought to give to this urgent cause and that—more than ever it is imperative for the individual Jew to keep resolutely before his eyes the paramount claims of these long-range undertakings which alone may offer something better and more enduring, something productive of a dignified and eventually secure future for the Jewish people. Such an undertaking is brought to especial notice this week by the opening of the Jewish National Fund Campaign in this country, which will be inaugurated by a dinner at the Dorchester Hotel on Tuesday next. Whoever it befall Jewry, while there is a penny to be wrung not so much from the Jewish heart as from Jewish common sense, money must be forthcoming for Jewry's Premier Fund, the J.N.F., the instrument which buys for the whole people of Israel land in the Land of Israel.

The present appeal of the Jewish National Fund has run into a stormy sea in the way of raising money. Anglo-Jewry, already heavily engaged in caring for the refugees from Germany, is faced with a fresh task in providing for those fresh victims of Hitler in Austria whose names the German tyrant has stolen just as he has stolen the liberty of the Austrian people themselves. But heavy though the burdens be, the claim of the Jewish National Fund we cannot, we dare not, disregard. As Mr. Unwin, veteran Zionist leader and President of the Fund, pointed out recently in this paper, had the Jewish people been as clever as they are reputed, double or triple the amount of land would to-day be held by that people's National Fund in Palestine—there would be more in Palestine beyond the powers even of the Colonial Office to misrepresent as an argument for restricting Jewish immigration; a vast amount of Jewish suffering among Hitler's victims would thus be tempered; and the wicked plan to restrict the Zionist movement to a partitioned corner of Eretz Yisrael would never have come like a cloud still more to darken the Jewish future.

Let us, therefore, learn from our follies of the past and refuse to permit ourselves for a day longer to neglect this paramount call upon our enlightened interest. It should be a point of prudence, no less than of duty, to secure the success of this year's campaign, and first of all to support vigorously the inaugurating dinner on Tuesday. A number of distinguished Members of Parliament it is anticipated will be present, and so doubt some of them will have interesting views to express on the subject of the future of Palestine no less than upon the present appalling position of the Jews in Germany and Austria. The dinner should prove, if anticipations are realized, a social and historic event, and it will be a foolish complaint from those who miss the opportunity of being present that they had succumbed to the besetting sin of our people, and woken up—too late.

WORKING ON THE SHABBATH

The paper read by Mr. William Frankel before the Council of the Orthodox Jewish Youth Societies last Sunday (reported on another page) revealed a collection of facts concerning the difficulty of Sabbath observance for young people which will call for the most serious thought. To judge by what the speaker said—and there is abundant indication that his contentions are well founded—Jewish youth to-day is for the most part faced with the alternatives of sacrificing Sabbath observance or accepting blind-alley jobs. With such a choice presented, what wonder that the Sabbath, theynch-pin of Judaism, as it has been called, should in so many cases be disregarded. What wonder that the cry of the drift from Judaism should go up and so little effective action to counter the drift should have been evoked.

A tribute is paid by the same speaker to the work of the Sabbath Observance Bureau which seeks to introduce young Jews and Jewesses to jobs where they may be free from work on Saturdays; and the word of appreciation which he uttered of Rabbi Harris Cohen in this undertaking was fully merited. Less pleasant is to read his mention of certain Jewish employers who endeavour to off-set the workless Saturdays by imposing on their employes in the matter of hours and wages. Let us hope such contemptible examples of meanness and hypocrisy are rare. The suggestion that certain Jewish communal institutions are guilty of working their employes for over-long hours was another disturbing reference in Mr. Frankel's paper. Hon. Officers of Communal bodies might do well to give closer attention to this matter—

probably the fruits of misdirected zeal or pure thoughtlessness on the part of one or two offenders.

Coming to constructive plans to meet the problem, Mr. Frankel mentioned two which would appear to call for very serious attention. First, he suggested the establishment of a central vocational guidance organisation which could give young Jews advice and information concerning their future occupations. Valuable investigation work along these lines has been conducted by the Fund itself; and the usefulness of vocational guidance, as that investigation showed, would lie not only in securing greater opportunities for Sabbath observance, but in avoiding an undesirable overcrowding by Jews of certain trades and professions. Secondly, Mr. Frankel urged an extension of the work of the Sabbath Observance Bureau and the setting up of a number of branch offices. Along these two lines there would seem to be excellent scope for useful and productive work. It should always be remembered that any movement which results in the saving of Jews for Judaism and the securing of a more satisfactory position of Jewish workers of every kind in the economy of the country is a first-class safeguard against the dangers of political extremism of every kind—both within and outside the Community.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY BARMITZVAH

TO-DAY is the Barmitzvah birthday of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. Thirteen years ago, when the late Lord Balfour formally declared open the Jewish University, there could have been few, even among the most optimistic of Zionists, who would have dared to anticipate that within thirteen short years that great triumph of Jewish idealism would have reached its present state of advancement. It is indeed a triumph of the highest form of nationalism which seeks always to give to the other peoples of the world, both in learning and culture and in research—to contribute to the family of nations and not to impose upon them. In its now numerous departments, leading scientists and scholars are engaged in their work for humanity; while an ever-growing body of students are preparing themselves to apply knowledge and experience there gained to the problems of mankind.

But apart from the universal value of the University, as Professor Torczyner points out in another column of this issue, the immediate importance of its work for the development of Palestine itself cannot be over-estimated. He mentions just a couple of instances in which without the great institution's work even material progress would have been virtually impossible—the extracting of the mineral salts from the Dead Sea and the healing down of that dreaded scourge, malaria. In 20 years, with the advent of vicious anti-Semitism in Central Europe, need for a University for Jewish students, driven from their native lands or barred from the academic institutions there, has become acute; while opportunities for the continuance of priceless research work by Jewish scientists and scholars, whose activities have been cut short by the new barbarism in Europe, may be fairly regarded as a necessity for civilisation itself. The Barmitzvah of the Hebrew University therefore will afford an occasion for Jewish rejoicing in a world where there are all too few.

During this week, the "Friends of the Hebrew University" in this country are arranging special propaganda to mark the University's "majority." It should result in a still larger number of Jews learning of the work of the institution and gaining a new pride and confidence in the personal youth and cultural vigour of Israel. It should call vividly to the minds of non-Jews the mission of benefit and enlightenment which Zionism is bringing to the Holy Land. And, above all, it should help to place in its true perspective the mean mischievousness of those dark forces which, by methods varying in subtlety from departmental anti-Semitism to hired terrorism, are seeking to whittle down the magnificent act of statesmanship—the Balfour Declaration, with its corollary, the Mandate—which has made possible this particular miracle in the land of miracles.

SCOTS MARRIAGE LAW BILL

LAST week the text was published of a Parliamentary Bill to amend the marriage law in Scotland. As the law stands at present Jewish couples wishing to get married in Scotland have either been obliged to publish banns in a Parish Church (Church of Scotland) or to give notice to the Registrar in accordance with the Marriage Notice (Scotland) Act of 1926. The objection to the first alternative is obvious. The second is complicated by the fact that it can only be pursued if both parties are domiciled in Scotland. Elsewhere in this issue we publish a short article on the new Bill written by Mr. L. H. Daiches, M.A., LL.B., son of the distinguished Minister of the Edinburgh Congregation, in which he points out that Clause 6 of the Bill as at present drafted—the most significant clause from the Jewish point of view—is obscure in meaning. If it means that English Registrar certificates will be recognised in Scotland, then it will go far to meet former objections. But this obscurity should be removed and the urgency of dealing with it, as Mr. Daiches points out, is the greater because any further opportunity for Scots Marriage Law reform is not likely to arise for a long time. The clarification of the clause in the sense outlined above would not appear to be an undertaking which involves necessary controversy. It is to be hoped that the Law and Parliamentary Committee of the Deputies will give the wording of this clause immediate attention and take the required steps to secure satisfactory amendment.

April 2, 1938

3186

ESR

Respectfully referred to the State Department by memorandum.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President.

WIRES:

- Re: urging lifting of embargo against Spain.
United Workers of Neckwear Trade, Irving Plaza, New York, N.Y. 3/31
Elizabeth Cousins, New York, NY 3/31
Sec'y. Milton Seidman, 722 Prospect Ave., Bronx, N.Y. NYC 5/1 Branch #52,
International Workers Order.
Rubin Brainn, "IAR" Br. Jamaica, L.I. NY 89-29 Merrick Road, NYC 4/1
Fine Arts Guild, 144-37, 87 Ave. Jamaica, L.I., NY 4/1
Bella Amsterdam, Philadelphia, Pa. 4/1
Peace Forum Club, Malraux, 66 Clinton St., New York, NY 4/1
150 Members of the Abraham Lincoln Lodge, Brooklyn, NY 4/1
- Re: Asylum for European refugees.
Murray Weinstein, Chairman, Irving Furman, Sec., American Labor Party,
2nd Assembly District Bronx, NYC 4/1
American Labor Party Upper 5th AD 1216 So. Blvd., New York, NY 4/1
Ellenville Social & Cultural Forum, Lucille Concors, Sec'y., Ellenville,
N.Y. 4/1
Rose Schneiderman, Pres., Women's Trade Union League, NYC 5/31
Dr. P. Ijssel de Schepper, Grand Sire, Amsterdam, Grand Lodge Independent
order of Odd Fellows in the Netherlands -
- The Bronx Women's League for Peace & Democracy, New York, NY 4/1.
Urge support O'Connell peace pact and repeal of the neutrality bill.
STATE
- D. M. Supperstein, Dallas, Texas. 4/1. Opposed to shipping helium gas
to Germany. SENT TO INTERIOR DEPT.
- Small Home & Land Owners Federation, 1317 Public Sq. Bldg., Cleveland, O.
Urge support of O'Connell peace act - HJ Res. 527. STATE.
- Mario Scheiteingart, Pres., Bnai Brith Argentine, Baires, Argentine 4/1
re political refugees. STATE Dept. for consideration & Acknowledgment.
- Col. Wm. H. Evans, Los Angeles, Calif. (wire sent from Atlanta, Ga. 3/30)
The Kramer Bill now pending in Congress asking authorization for
negotiations with Mexico for the purchase of lower California
should be given consideration. STATE for consideration & acknowl-
edgment.

EMANUEL KLINE
REALTOR - INSURANCE - NOTARY PUBLIC

606 MANHATTAN BUILDING
S. E. COR. 4TH AND WALNUT STS.
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

April 2nd,
1938.

3186 F

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
White House,
Washington, D. C.

Attention: James Roosevelt, Sec'y.

Dear Excellency:

I took the prerogative as an American citizen to be a bit caustic and critical in the letter I sent you last week, and still am opposed to the neutrality being applied against the Spanish Loyalists and not against the Fascist countries, Italy and Germany.

However, I want to take this opportunity and pleasure to commend you very highly upon your very sensible and honorable, spirited action in inviting the refugees from the dictatorial countries to take refuge under the Stars and Stripes.

With best good wishes to you,

Sincerely yours,

Emmanuel Kline
EMANUEL KLINE

EK:RF

P.S. I wish you would manage to get rid of Uncle Dan Bonar. He is a disgrace to your Cabinet. Most of our citizens like and admire you, but things like this and the above mentioned brings proper criticism, as much as I hate to criticize you.

E. K.
E. K.

March 31, 1938.

3186

ESR

Respectfully referred to the State Department by memorandum.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President.

WIRES: Re: urging lifting of embargo against Spain.

Dr. and Mrs. J. C. Strauch, and 27 friends, New York, N.Y. 3/30
F. W. Peters, San Bernardino, Calif. 3/30
M. H. DuBois, 528 West Brompton, Chicago, Ill. 3/30
Louis Bartlett, Mary Schneider, Core Harding, Katherine Johnson,
Margaret Couper, John Jury, Berkeley, Calif. 3/30

Re: asylum for refugees from Europe.

J. F. Kirby, Brooklyn, N. Y. 3/30
Morris Hacker, Chairman, American Labor Party, New York, NY 3/30
Stoic Club, 92 Street YMHA of New York, NYC 3/30
Samuel Hershkowitz, Mgr., Cap Makers Local 2, 104 E. 9 St., NYC 3/30
Max Zaritsky, Pres., 245 Fifth Ave., NYC 3/30 United Hatters Cap &
Millinery Workers Internat'l. Union,
Sol Low, Pres., Norman V. Gilmovsky, Exec. Sec'y., United Galician Jews
of America, 175 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 3/30
Dr. Irving Schuman, Pres., Benjamin Plotkin, Rabbi, Congregation Emanuel
of Nersey City, Jersey City, N.J. 3/30
Progressive Women's Council Branch 8, New York, N.Y. 3/30
Progressive Women's Council, Br. 66, Brooklyn, N.Y. 3/30
Rabbi A. M. Fenigstein, Congregation Mischam Tephilo, Santa Monica, Calif.
Wynnefield Post No. 148 Jewish War Veterans of U. S. 5925 Upland Way,
Philadelphia, Pa. 3/30
H. Namett, Pres., Phillip Gross, Sec'y., Boston, Mass., 3/30
Arthur Osman, Pres., United Wholesale Employees of New York CIO, NYC
3/30. Urge passage of O'Connell peace bill.
A Group of Women From 19th and 6th ADS, Brooklyn, NY 3/30 Favors passage
of O'Connell peace bill.
Dr. E. D. Woodhouse, Pasadena, Calif. 3/30 Mexico needs our friendship and
help give the world a worthy example. Convince Europe American
ideals are more than idle talk.
Walton Stone, Loris, S. C. 3/30 "Now is the opportune time to invade
and absorb Mexico to keep Japan from getting a footing on this
continent".

April 1, 1938. 3186

ESR/

Respectfully referred to the State Department by memorandum.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President

WIRES:

Re: asylum for European refugees.

Judge Henry Ellenbogen, Pittsburgh, Pa., 3/28
Mary Frances Korn, Omaha, Nebr. 3/28
The Nathan Jean Lorber Family Circle, Brooklyn, N.Y. 3/29
Greater New York Bakers Joint Council, A. Einstruth, Sec'y., 1540
Charlotte St., Bronx, N.Y. 3/31
Nathaniel A. Davis, Planetaryan President, 124 W. Sixth St., Los Angeles,
Calif. 3/31
Ruzhiner Progressive Verhein, M. Goldberg, F. Siegel, Detroit, Mich. 3/31
B. G. Paylor, Dallas, Texas. 3/31
Ladies Auxiliary of the Bakers Union Local 167, Sadie Kraemer, Pres.
Newark, N.J. 3/31

Re: urges lifting of embargo against Spain.

E. L. Talbert, Cincinnati, Ohio. 3/31
Catharina Serrurier, San Francisco, Calif. 3/31
George Abbott, and others, New York, N.Y. 3/31
Leo Lamotte, Pres., Plymouth Local No. 51 UAWA, W. Ansama, Vice Pres.,
M. S. Duletsky, Fin. Sec'y., 3/31 Detroit, Mich.
Douglas Brown, 353 W. 27 St., NYC 3/21
Morris Bauman, 2139 74 St., Brooklyn, NY 3/31
Gemma Riccardi, 22 W. 76 St., New York, NY 3/31
Hilda Diamond, Chicago, Ill. 3/31
Sadie C. Bromberg, Los Angeles, Calif. 3/31
Frank Valls, New York, N.Y. 3/31
G. W. Goler, Beaufort, S. C. 3/31

LETTERS SENT TO SECRET SERVICE.

John P. Agnew, 1181 E. 19 St., Brooklyn, N.Y. 3/30
J. W. Anders, Thune, Nebr. 3/30
Wm. M. Paden, Monte Vista, Colo. 3/27
Anonymous, Chicago, Ill. postmark 3/27
Mildred Baker, 186 Farrow's St., Putnam, Conn. PM 3/29
Anonymous, Binghamton, NY 3/30
Anonymous, Tulsa, Okla. 3/29 PM
Anonymous, Wheeling, W. Va., 3/29 PM



STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
ALBANY

HERBERT H. LEHMAN
GOVERNOR

March 31, 1938.

PERSONAL

The President,
The Little White House,
Warm Springs, Georgia.

My dear Franklin:

Just a line to tell you how splendid, I think, is the position which you and Secretary Hull have taken with regard to the admission to other countries of refugees from the dictatorship-ridden countries abroad. I have no doubt that your attitude will be of great practical value. It certainly has given new inspiration and hope to many hundreds of thousands of people.

I hope that you are getting a little rest at Warm Springs.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours very sincerely,

Herbert H. Lehman

318

April 4, 1938.

Dear Herbert:-

I am, indeed, grateful to you for your letter of commendation relating to the refugees. I hope that we can help many of them, and I only wish we could do more.

Very sincerely yours,

His Excellency
Herbert H. Lehman,
Governor of New York,
Executive Chamber,
Albany, N. Y.

x1395

April 4, 1936.

2186

ESR/

Respectfully referred to the State Department for attention by memorandum.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President.

WIRES:

Re: refuge for oppressed Europeans.
The Carpenters Union Local No. 1513 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America, Jacob Kaller, Sec., 5207 Larchmont Detroit, Michl 4/3
Sam Sivin, Rec. Sec. 3009 Belle Plaine Ave., Chicago, Ill. 4/3
Williamsburg Community Society, Inc., Pres. Barney Bhaerman, S. Aaron See, 1178 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, NY 4/3
Inwood Jewish Centre, 68 Nagle Ave., NYC 4/3
I. Awrtofsky, Brooklyn, NY 4/3A
American Labor Party, 4th Assembly District Bronx, County, NYC 4/3
Michael Osterland, Brooklyn, NY 4/2 Rec. Sec., The Kingsboro Political Club, Inc., 385 Jay St., Brooklyn, NY

Re: Urging lifting of embargo against Spain.
T. C. Schneirla, New York University, Sec., Psychologists Committee for Aid Spanish Democracy, Flushing, NY 4/3
People's Educational Forum, NYC 4/3
Chairman or Sec. Alexander Domagalski, Members of the Polish Chamber of Labor, Providence, R. I. 4/3
H.E. S. Zied, Sec., Cleveland, Ohio. 4/3 Kinsman Branch of the American League for Peace & Democracy.
Francis Sancho, Hartford, Conn. 4/3
Harry Jempel and Frank R. Fuller, 57 Taylor St., San Francisco, Calif. 4/3
New Britain Branch of Medical Bureau North American Committee & Spanish Democracy, Hartford, Conn. 4/3
Marie Jaans, San Francisco, Calif. 4/3
Ada Stareck, Waterbury, Conn., 4/2

Arlington Branch American League for Peace & Democracy, Cleveland, Ohio. 4/3
Urge full support of O'Connellpeace pact HJ 527.

Russian Lemko, International Workers Organization Committee, New York, NY 4/2. Protest against Germany and Italy sending troops to Spain.

Ma

April 5, 1938.

ESR/

Respectfully referred by memorandum to State Department.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President.

WIRES:

- Re: Asylum for Refugees from Europe.
- Dr. Samuel Bloom, Chairman, Public Affairs Committee, Lower 5 A.D. Bronx County, American Labor Party, New York, N.Y. 4/4
- Coney Island Branch of the American Labor Party, R. I. Brauner, Chairman, Public Relations Committee, 7 Webers Walk, Brooklyn, N.Y. 4/4
- Albert Sprague Coolidge, Sec'y. meeting, 34 Coolidge Ave., Cambridge, Mass., Conference April 3rd of Labor Union and other delegates, Protests cessation purchase Mexican silver as unjustifiable attempt coerce Mexican Govt. dispute with American oil Co. which refuse to pay Mexican workers decent wages and obey Mexican laws. State.
- Elias Stone, Chairman, American Labor Party, First Assembly District, New York, NY 4/4
- L. Tenenbaum, Pres., Achdus Free Loan Ass'n., Winnipeg, Man. 4/4
- Re: urging lifting embargo against Spain.
- Mrs. F. L. Grenson, New York, NY 4/4
- Anne Wagnis, The Lithuanian Committee to aid Spanish Democracy, Brooklyn, NY 4/4
- Dr. John Taylor, Steuben Birdsley, New York, NY 4/4
- Ettenson Family, 1951 Ellis Ave., New York, N.Y. 4/4
- Ladies Auxiliary of C.I.O., of Stamford, Louise Beadoin, President, Stamford, Conn., 4/4. Urge passage of O'Connell peace bill. STATE
- Ralph A. O'Neill, New York, N.Y. 4/4. Protest the Administration policy to the effect that properties of foreign oil companies in Mexico which have been confiscated may be paid for by promises of sums equivalent only to the amount of capital investment less depreciation. STATE for consideration & acknowledgment.

3186

April 6, 1938.

ESR/

Respectfully referred to the State Department by memorandum.

WIRES:

Re: urging lifting of embargo against Spain.
 Robert Shelley, Forest Hills, N. Y. 4/5
 Nanette and George Lods, Brooklyn, N.Y. 4/5
 Mrs and Mrs. Louis Hockgelevent, 4008 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 4/5
 Carmen Ramieres, Pres., 3,000 Women in Tampa organized in Women's Auxiliary
 Committee to Aid Spain, Tampa, Fla. 4/5
 Thirty-one Long Island Voters, Long Island, N. Y. 4/5
 Gertrude Dietrich, Harrisburg, Pa., 4/5

Re: asylum for European refugees.
 Rabbi Charles P. Pipersberg, 411 Avenue F, Brooklyn, N.Y. 4/5
 Golden Rule Social Club, Inc., Morton J. Edelstein, Sec'y., 1725 Andrews
 Ave., Bronx, N.Y.C., 4/5
 Ted Zittel, Executive Sec'y., Ben Leider Memorial Fund, N. Y. C. 4/5
 Urge Pres. to save the lives of Americans captured by Franco
 and secure their release.
 Kaimowitz Family, Brooklyn, N.Y. 4/5

* * * * *

Respectfully referred for consideration and acknowledgment
by memorandum. M. H. M.

WIRES:

George Thiery, 2929 Gunther Ave., New York, N. Y. 4/5 Veteran threatened
with dismissal from WPA - asks if he may write direct all
sources appeal closed there. W. P. A.

Lawyers Security League, Jacob Scholom, Exec. Sec'y., New York, N.Y. 4/5
Informed that the WPA intends to inaugurate a \$1,000 per
year man program which would result in a sharp decrease of
an already very low wage scale. Feel such a program is
grossly unjust and unwarrantable and urge its rejection.
Sent to W. P. A.

George Knott, Pres., United Mine Workers of AMA Local 12023, Philadelphia,
Pa., 4/5. National Research project studying problem vital to
labor movement urge continuation and extension of these
studies. Sent to W. P. A.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4/6

Mr. Summerlin:

x 20

Fiorella H.

"Mr. How, Mayor, LaGuardia's
Secretary, phoned me in connection with
some committees they are trying to

organize to look after Austrians. The
Mayor is not inclined to become asso-
ciated because he was told by Rabbi *Stephen S.*

Wise that the President was contemplat-
ing calling a conference in regard to
this matter.

"Can you tell me anything
about it -whether there is such a
conference in contemplation?"

ask Hull

3186

April 7, 1938

esr/

Respectfully referred to the State Department by memorandum.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President.

WIRES:

Re: Asylum for refugees from Europe.
South Philadelphia Women's Educational Club, Anna Shulman, Sec., Phila.,
Pa., 4/6
Warsaw Young Men's Society, Louis L. Silverberg, Pres., 5019 Venice Bl~~g.~~,
Los Angeles, Calif. 4/6
Chairman Samuel Spivak; Sec. Samuel Solomon, American Labor Party, 23rd
A.D.Kings County, New York, NY 4/6

Re: urging lifting of embargo against Spain.
Helen and John Stuart, New York, N.Y. 4/6
Charlotte Martin, New York, NY 4/6
R. K. Arger, San Francisco, Calif. 4/6
Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Seltzer, 1275 Fulton Ave., Bronx, NYC 4/6
International Workers Order, Denver Dist., S. Zoglo, Pres., Members of Br.
3075 Russian Section, IWO., Denver, Colo., A. Kotoff, Pres.,
Denver, Colo. 4/6
Alfred Bergman, Savoy Plaza, NYC 4/6
Grace Hutchins, Edith Jones and Anna Rochester, NYC 4/6
Eva Bronner, 4115 46 St., Long Island City, NY 4/6
Santa Barbara Political Discussion Group, Santa Barbara, Calif. 4/6

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3186

4/5

x
Waldrop of Herald Tribune 'phoned:

x
"Martin Marden, the refugee
from Germany, who wrote this prayer
of thanks is here seeing Washington.
He is 13 yrs old. Has been up to the
House and Senate and all around and I
wondered if it would be possible to
arrange for him to meet the President."

K

Pat

April 7, 1938

MEMORANDUM FOR HONORABLE SUMNER WELLES:

The President now suggests that this letter to Brentano be redrafted for my signature.

Frankly, I believe it would be very much better if you would be good enough to have it prepared for your signature, saying, of course, that it was referred to you by the White House.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President

MHM/RB/mms

2/26/38. Lowell Brentano, 33 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Wants to know if President can do anything to mitigate the suffering of Jews throughout the world. Suggests a plan whereby legislation would be passed permitting Jewish refugees from all countries a five year provisional citizenship here.

Returning also:

3/26/38. Copy of Mr. Welles letter to Mr. McIntyre
Suggested letter to Mr. Brentano with 2 copies
2 copies of State Department press release No. 142, March 24, 1938.

See 1395

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4/5/38

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. McINTYRE:

Before we change this letter to Mr. Brentano, which the State Department submitted for the President's signature, and which the President said could be written up for your signature, will you be good enough to look it over and see whether you want to sign it.

I imagine you will want the Secretary of State or Sumner Welles to reply instead of you. At any rate, it involves considerable typing and I would like to have your approval before it is typed.

R. B.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3-31-38

Memorandum for Mr. Ingling:

Will you ask State Dept. .
to return Brentano's letter, as
per attached. and let me have whole
file back. Thanks.

Roberta B.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



In reply refer to
Eu 800.4016/56

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 26, 1938

*This is to be
sent over
Mac's
signature.*

My dear Mr. McIntyre:

With reference to the President's memorandum of March 2, 1938, requesting the preparation of a reply for his signature to the letter of February 26, 1938 from Mr. Lowell Brentano, I enclose the draft of the reply which has been prepared for the President's approval.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosures:

1. From Mr. Lowell Brentano to President Roosevelt, February 26, 1938.
2. Draft of reply to Mr. Brentano.

The Honorable

Marvin H. McIntyre,

Secretary to the President,

The White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE STATE DEPARTMENT

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY
FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F. D. R.

Letter from Lowell Brentano, 33 Fifth Avenue, New York City, 2/26/38 to the President. Wants to know if President can do anything to mitigate the suffering of Jews throughout the world. Suggests a plan whereby legislation would be passed permitting Jewish refugees from all countries a five year provisional citizenship here.

3186

Warm Springs, Ga.,
March 30, 1938.

Dear Irving:-

I am grateful to you for that nice letter, and I think that our action in regard to political refugees will have far reaching consequences even though, unfortunately, we cannot take care of more than a small proportion of them. It is my hope that the narrow isolationists will not use this move of ours for purely partisan objectives -- but no one can tell in these days when one reads of the efforts based on partisanship to prevent an orderly improvement in the businesslike operation of the Government.

With my sincere regards,

Faithfully yours,

Honorable Irving Lehman, Associate Judge,
Court of Appeals,
36 West 44th Street,
New York, N. Y.

x PPF 436

IRVING LEHMAN

ASSOCIATE JUDGE
COURT OF APPEALS
36 WEST 44TH ST.
NEW YORK

March 28th, 1938

My dear Mr. President:-

In the autumn of 1933, I told you a story brought to me by a friend upon his return from a trip to Germany. In the synagogue at Nuremburg an aged Jew, seeking, in meditation and prayer, comfort and courage, said to my friend: "Does your great leader in America know what is happening here? All those who are oppressed, all those who are deprived of freedom, are praying that, in God's name, he will speak to the world for them."

You have done that, more than once, during these troubled years. Conscious both of the responsibilities of your position and of your great official and personal influence, you have, when occasion offered, voiced for America the ideals and traditions which have made America great; and many Americans have felt proud and grateful that they had such a spokesman.

I feel that last week you have done much not only to rouse the conscience of humanity but to restore sanity to a world gone mad. I have in the past said to you that I am an "incurable optimist", that I cannot believe that force can for long dethrone right and liberty, but for a time my optimism was shaken. You have restored it. As an American and as a Jew I want to say "Thank you!"

With deep and affectionate respect, I am

Sincerely,



The Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
Warm Springs, Georgia.

MORRIS SIMON
LAWRENCE KOENIGSBERGER
EUGENE YOUNG

L. R. STRASSBURGER
W. E. CUMBERLAND
JULIAN H. REIS
LEOPOLD V. FREUGBERG
MARY YOUNG
LEROY S. BENSHEIN
LEWIS JACOBS

LAW OFFICES OF
SIMON, KOENIGSBERGER & YOUNG
SUITE 340 WOODWARD BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

*ackd
4/10/38*

April 7, 1938.

3186

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

ORIGINAL RETIRED FOR PRESERVATION

My dear Mr. President:

First let me apologize for not having written to you sooner thanking you most heartily for the stand which you have taken recently with regard to persons who are being persecuted in foreign lands and attempting to open the doors of nations to them. Naturally, as a Jew, I am deeply grateful but I am confident that, because of your great humanitarian spirit which has been evidenced in so many instances, you did not look upon this as a religious issue and would have taken the same position regardless of the race or creed involved.

I took the liberty of writing to Mrs. Eleanor Patterson ^x with regard to an article which appeared in local newspapers yesterday which, I am sure, has or will be directed to your attention. However, I am enclosing a copy of the article as well as a copy of my letter to Mrs. Patterson. In my humble opinion no one could possibly have accomplished the work which you undertook without having made some errors. As compared to the good you have done and the results thereof, some of which may not develop for some years, the mistakes of judgment which you have made have been few.

I am thankful that in the dark years which we have gone through we have had the privilege of your leadership and I am hopeful that, if I can, in my small way, be of any service, you will not hesitate to commend me most freely.

Very respectfully yours,

Morris Simon
MORRIS SIMON

MS/egf

PHONE DISTRICT 5180

MORRIS SIMON
LAWRENCE KOENIGSBERGER
EUGENE YOUNG

L. R. STRASSBURGER
W. E. CUMBERLAND
JULIAN H. REIS
LEOPOLD V. FREUDBERG
MAURY YOUNG
LEROY S. BENDHEIM

LAW OFFICES OF
SIMON, KOENIGSBERGER & YOUNG
SUITE 340 WOODWARD BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

COPY

HONORABLE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

TO _____
THIS COPY FOR YOUR INFORMATION April 7, 1938.

Mrs. Eleanor Patterson,
c/o Washington Herald-Times,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Patterson:

May I commend you most highly on your editorial which appeared in the issue of the Washington Herald yesterday morning and also in last night's Times, entitled: "What you could say, President Roosevelt".

My understanding of the article is that it is intended to be constructive rather than critical.

Personally I feel that our President has done and is doing marvelous work and that naturally, in accomplishing the same, he has made some errors.

Articles, such as yours, of a constructive nature are certain to bring better results than the type of criticism that has been constantly aimed at him by those who are unwilling to weigh in the balance and give credit to him and his administration for the good he has done for our country as an entirety.

With my kindest regards, believe me to be

Most cordially yours,

MORRIS SIMON.

MS/egf

ORIGINAL RETURNED FOR PRESERVATION TO

What You Could Say, President Roosevelt

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

They tell me that on several recent occasions, when some visitor has been nagging you about what you should say to put business back on its feet in this country, you have retorted:

"All right. You go ahead. Write out exactly what you think I could say that would banish fear. I'll dare you."

Mr. President—if you had dared me, this would be my answer:

You said once, with eternal truth, that the only thing to fear is fear itself. Fear is depressing industry. With due respect, you should concede the obvious: This fear is fear of you.

It is fear of shifting policies; of a hostile attitude toward legitimate business; of insistence on discredited tax methods and other laws which prevent the earning and retaining of fair and honest profits.

It is fear that, if you work out a constructive plan, you won't stay put. It is fear that, if a plan of yours is proved bad, you will stick to it stubbornly because you are unwilling to admit that, like all the rest of us, you make mistakes.

Mr. President, you can eliminate this basic cause of the depression very simply. You command an instant audience of the whole Nation. Through a message to Congress or some other vehicle, you should address yourself at once and convincingly to remove the fear that keeps applicants for loans away from banks full of money, and prevents us from turning into profits the greatest store of natural resources and industrial ingenuity in the world.

You should inform the American people that, proud—as you should be proud—of the great moral and social advances which have been made under your leadership, you are willing now to consolidate these and attempt no more until your Cabinet, your congressional leaders and you agree that the Nation can foot the bill.

You should announce that your only effort will be to raise the national income, without devaluation or other artifices, to that 90 or 100 billions annually which you set as the goal. You should explain that, in order to do this, you and your administrative circle will refrain from favoritism toward any economic groups, disturbing speeches, sudden and new proposals to Congress, and attacks on groups and individuals who happen to disagree with or criticize you. You should set a high example by clearing your mind of private hates.

You should make it clear that we shan't fight any more over who is to share the annual income of 90 or 100 billions, and to what degree, until you have given all of us a chance to raise it to that figure. This we can do.

You should let administrative silence "like a poultice come to heal the blows of sound," and permit industry to go to work in an atmosphere of peace and security.

If you will do this, Mr. President, explicitly, generously, candidly; make no effort to keep Congress in session longer than is absolutely necessary, and reduce your blacklist to real, intentional enemies of the common welfare, you will be astounded to witness the curative effect of this single thing.

Other details are important, of course. The details of your new plan to underwrite loans to all kinds of business. The details of your aid to the railroads. The details of the enduring armistice you should sign with the utilities so that they can refinance, and stimulate the heavy industries.

But the chief thing is to eliminate fear and thus restore confidence. You alone can do that. But you must do it thoroughly, forsaking hate and vanity, and resuming that patience with which you so nobly and courageously conquered an illness that would have broken the spirit of most of us.

You have been a great leader and a great man. You can be again.

ELEANOR PATTERSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE

April 8, 1938.

PROFESSOR JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN, x

8 SUTTON SQUARE,
NEW YORK, (NEW YORK).

I am requesting a small number of persons to meet with me in order to undertake a preliminary consideration of the most effective manner in which private individuals and organizations within the United States can cooperate with this Government in the work to be undertaken by the International Committee which will shortly be created to facilitate the emigration of political refugees from Austria and Germany. I shall be glad if you can find it possible to be present at this meeting which will be held at the Executive Office of the White House on Wednesday, April 13, at eleven a.m.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

(The President's name)

U SW:IJ

ORIGINAL RETIRED FOR PRESERVATION

211-1

THE WHITE HOUSE

April 8, 1938.

HENRY MORGENTHAU,
1133 FIFTH AVENUE,
NEW YORK (NEW YORK).

I am requesting a small number of persons to meet with me in order to undertake a preliminary consideration of the most effective manner in which private individuals and organizations within the United States can cooperate with this Government in the work to be undertaken by the International Committee which will shortly be created to facilitate the emigration of political refugees from Austria and Germany. I shall be glad if you can find it possible to be present at this meeting which will be held at the Executive Office of the White House on Wednesday, April 13, at eleven a.m.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
~~(The President's name)~~

U SW:IJ

accepts 4/8/38

ORIGINAL RETIRED FOR PRESERVATION

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

TELEGRAM SENT

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PARTAIR
PLAIN

Collect
Charge Department
OR
Charge to
\$

Department of State

Washington,

99 GOVT.

THE WHITE HOUSE

April 8, 1938.

THE MOST REVEREND JOSEPH F. RUMMEL,
ARCHBISHOP OF NEW ORLEANS,
CHAIRMAN, CATHOLIC-EPISCOPAL COMMITTEE
FOR GERMAN REFUGEES,
2809 SOUTH CARROLLTON AVENUE,
NEW ORLEANS, (LOUISIANA).

17/100
MR
4/9/38

I am requesting a small number of persons to meet with me in order to undertake a preliminary consideration of the most effective manner in which private individuals and organizations within the United States can cooperate with this Government in the work to be undertaken by the International Committee which will shortly be created to facilitate the emigration of political refugees from Austria and Germany. I shall be glad if you can find it possible to be present at this meeting which will be held at the Executive Office of the White House on Wednesday, April 13, at eleven a.m.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

(The President's name)

U SW:IJ

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

3186

TELEGRAM SENT

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PARTIAL
PLAIN

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect
Charge Department
OR

Department of State

Charge to
\$

Washington,

99 GOVT

THE WHITE HOUSE

April 8, 1938.

JAMES G. McDONALD,

NEW YORK TIMES,

TIMES SQUARE,

NEW YORK, (NEW YORK).

*16/14 Me
O
459P*

I am requesting a small number of persons to meet with me in order to undertake a preliminary consideration of the most effective manner in which private individuals and organizations within the United States can cooperate with this Government in the work to be undertaken by the International Committee which will shortly be created to facilitate the emigration of political refugees from Austria and Germany. I shall be glad if you can find it possible to be present at this meeting which will be held at the Executive Office of the White House on Wednesday, April 13, at eleven a.m.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

(~~The President's name~~)

U SW:IJ

~~RECEIVED~~ 3186

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect
Charge Department
OR
Charge to
\$

TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

TO BE TRANSMITTED
CONFIDENTIAL CODE
NONCONFIDENTIAL CODE
PARTIAL
PLAIN

Washington,

99 GOVT

THE WHITE HOUSE

April 8, 1938.

PROFESSOR JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN,
8 SUTTON SQUARE,
NEW YORK (NEW YORK).

Handwritten notes: "11W4 MC @" and "457P" written vertically.

I am requesting a small number of persons to meet with me in order to undertake a preliminary consideration of the most effective manner in which private individuals and organizations within the United States can cooperate with this Government in the work to be undertaken by the International Committee which will shortly be created to facilitate the emigration of political refugees from Austria and Germany. I shall be glad if you can find it possible to be present at this meeting which will be held at the Executive Office of the White House on Wednesday, April 13, at eleven a.m.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

~~(The President's name)~~

U SW:IJ

Handwritten circled number: 3186

Enciphered by

Sent by operator M., 19.....

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 8, 1938.

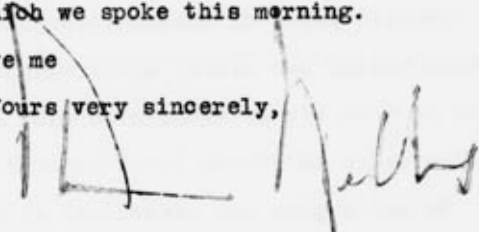
Personal

Dear Steve:

I am sending you herewith for
the President's signature the tele-
grams of which we spoke this morning.

Believe me

Yours very sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'H. H. H. H.', written over the typed name 'H. H. H. H.'.

Enclosures:
8 telegrams.

X 20

The Honorable

Stephen Early,

Secretary to the President,

The White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE

April 8, 1938.

RAYMOND FOSDICK,
ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION,
49 WEST 49th STREET,
NEW YORK (NEW YORK).

I am requesting a small number of persons to meet with me in order to undertake a preliminary consideration of the most effective manner in which private individuals and organizations within the United States can cooperate with this Government in the work to be undertaken by the International Committee which will shortly be created to facilitate the emigration of political refugees from Austria and Germany. I shall be glad if you can find it possible to be present at this meeting which will be held at the Executive Office of the White House on Wednesday, April 13, at eleven a.m.



(The President's name)

U SW:IJ

accept = 4/9/38

THE WHITE HOUSE

April 8, 1938.

Mr. LOUIS KENEDY, PRESIDENT,
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN,
12 BARCLAY STREET,
NEW YORK (NEW YORK).

I am requesting a small number of persons to meet with me in order to undertake a preliminary consideration of the most effective manner in which private individuals and organizations within the United States can cooperate with this Government in the work to be undertaken by the International Committee which will shortly be created to facilitate the emigration of political refugees from Austria and Germany. I shall be glad if you can find it possible to be present at this meeting which will be held at the Executive Office of the White House on Wednesday, April 13, at eleven a.m.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

(The President's name)

U SW:LJ

Accepted, 4/10/38

THE WHITE HOUSE

April 8, 1938.

REVEREND SAMUEL CAVERT,
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA,
297 FOURTH AVENUE,
NEW YORK (NEW YORK).

I am requesting a small number of persons to meet with me in order to undertake a preliminary consideration of the most effective manner in which private individuals and organizations within the United States can cooperate with this Government in the work to be undertaken by the International Committee which will shortly be created to facilitate the emigration of political refugees from Austria and Germany. I shall be glad if you can find it possible to be present at this meeting which will be held at the Executive Office of the White House on Wednesday, April 13, at eleven a.m.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

~~(The President's name)~~

U SW:IJ

Accepted 4/11/38

THE WHITE HOUSE

April 3, 1938.

THE MOST REVEREND JOSEPH F. RUMMEL,
ARCHBISHOP OF NEW ORLEANS,
CHAIRMAN, CATHOLIC-EPISCOPAL COMMITTEE
FOR GERMAN REFUGEES,
2809 SOUTH CARROLLTON AVENUE,
NEW ORLEANS, (LOUISIANA).

I am requesting a small number of persons to meet with me in order to undertake a preliminary consideration of the most effective manner in which private individuals and organizations within the United States can cooperate with this Government in the work to be undertaken by the International Committee which will shortly be created to facilitate the emigration of political refugees from Austria and Germany. I shall be glad if you can find it possible to be present at this meeting which will be held at the Executive Office of the White House on Wednesday, April 13, at eleven a.m.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

~~(The President's name)~~

U SW:IJ

*Feb. 4/1938
Asking Rt. Rev. Monsignor Ready
of the N.C.W.C. office to represent him.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

April 8, 1938.

JAMES G. McDONALD,

NEW YORK TIMES,

TIMES SQUARE,

NEW YORK, (NEW YORK).

I am requesting a small number of persons to meet with me in order to undertake a preliminary consideration of the most effective manner in which private individuals and organizations within the United States can cooperate with this Government in the work to be undertaken by the International Committee which will shortly be created to facilitate the emigration of political refugees from Austria and Germany. I shall be glad if you can find it possible to be present at this meeting which will be held at the Executive Office of the White House on Wednesday, April 13, at eleven a.m.



(The President's name)

U SW:IJ

Accepts 4/9/38

THE WHITE HOUSE

April 8, 1938.

PROFESSOR JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN,
8 SUTTON SQUARE, N.Y.,
NEW YORK, (NEW YORK).

I am requesting a small number of persons to meet with me in order to undertake a preliminary consideration of the most effective manner in which private individuals and organizations within the United States can cooperate with this Government in the work to be undertaken by the International Committee which will shortly be created to facilitate the emigration of political refugees from Austria and Germany. I shall be glad if you can find it possible to be present at this meeting which will be held at the Executive Office of the White House on Wednesday, April 13, at eleven a.m.



(The President's name)

U SW:IJ

Accepts 4/9/38

THE WHITE HOUSE

April 8, 1938.

HENRY MORGENTHAU, ^{xpp7 374}
1133 FIFTH AVENUE,
NEW YORK (NEW YORK).

I am requesting a small number of persons to meet with me in order to undertake a preliminary consideration of the most effective manner in which private individuals and organizations within the United States can cooperate with this Government in the work to be undertaken by the International Committee which will shortly be created to facilitate the emigration of political refugees from Austria and Germany. I shall be glad if you can find it possible to be present at this meeting which will be held at the Executive Office of the White House on Wednesday, April 13, at eleven a.m.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
(The President's name)

U SW:IJ

TELEGRAM

3186

GWUA⁴ 31 N.L.

The White House
Washington

TE
ak 4/12/38
MHW

Springfield Ill April 8 1938

The President:

Your excellency may I submit the name of an outstanding liberal
protestant Sam Tucker Editor of the Decatur Illinois Herald for
your consideration as a member of the political refugee committee.

Sam Kurtz.
x

no file

April 12, 1938

Dear Mr. Kurtz:

Please accept the President's thanks for your telegram of April eighth, recommending Mr. Sam Tucker, Editor of the Decatur Illinois Herald, for membership on the committee to consider means for the relief of political refugees. Your action in making this recommendation is deeply appreciated and the recommendation will be given very careful consideration if the President decides to enlarge the committee.

Very sincerely yours,

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

Mr. Sam Kurtz,
Springfield,
Illinois.

wdh-mw

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TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

3186

22WU. RA. 18- 1:12 p.m.

RK. New York, N. Y., April 9, 1938

THE PRESIDENT.

Glad to accept invitation for meeting to consider political
refugee question on Wednesday, April thirteenth, at eleven a. m.

Raymond B. Fosdick.

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

44WUAB 20 N.L.

New York N.Y. April 8 1938

The President:

Thanks for your invitation to meeting on April 13th. Am greatly
pleased to participate in the conference. Best regards.

Henry Morgenthau.

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

31WU.RA. 19- 2:10 p.m. D. L.

Mo. New York, N. Y., April 9, 1938

THE PRESIDENT.

Glad to accept your invitation to meeting Executive Office
Wednesday morning April thirteenth at eleven o'clock on
Refugee Question.

James G. McDonald.

TELEGRAM

3186

The White House
Washington

file
ST.E
for your
information

28WU.RA. 45-D. L. 1:22 p.m.

B. New Orleans, Louisiana, April 9, 1938

THE PRESIDENT.

Grateful for invitation to attend conference on refugee problem but finding it impossible to attend personally, I am requesting Right Reverend Monsignor Ready ^{Michael J} of the N. C. W. C. office to represent me and our Catholic Committee for refugees. Trusting that this arrangement is acceptable,

ArchBishop Rummel.

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

33WU. RA. 3:15 p.m.

New York, N. Y., April 9, 1938

THE PRESIDENT.

I shall be happy to attend the meeting at the Executive Office Wednesday April 13 and congratulate you on your initiative.

Joseph P. Chamberlian,
Columbia University.

TELEGRAM

The White House Washington

16WU. RA. 17 11:25 a.m.

New Rochelle, N. Y.? April 10, 1938

THE PRESIDENT.

I shall be pleased to attend the meeting which will be held
Wednesday morning at eleven.

Louis Kenedy, President of the
National Council of Catholic Men.

TELEGRAM

17WUD10

The White House Washington

NRH New York NY 1012am April 11 1938

The President

The White House

Will gladly attend conference on refugees Wednesday morning April
thirteenth.

Samuel McCrea Cavert

1028amd

TELEGRAM

The White House

Washington

26 P.O.R.A. 15- 1:22 p.m.

F.K. New York, N. Y., April 12, 1938

THE PRESIDENT.

Accept with pleasure your kind invitation to attend Wednesday morning's conference Executive Office White House.

Stephen S. Wise.

x 1173292

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL
OF THE
CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

OFFICE OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY
297 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK


April 11, 1938

My dear Mr. President:

This will confirm in writing the telegram which I have sent you accepting the invitation to be a member of the group with whom you are to confer on Wednesday morning, April 13, concerning the refugee problem.

In behalf of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America I desire to express grateful appreciation of the leadership which you are taking in connection with this serious humanitarian problem.

Respectfully yours,


Samuel McCrea Cavert
General Secretary

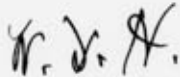
Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States
White House
Washington, D.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 11, 1938

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KANNEE:

In accordance with the request of Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans, who is unable to attend the conference on refugee problems, he will be represented at the conference by The Right Rev. Msgr. Michael J. Ready of Washington, General Secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.



W. D. H.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 11, 1938.

Memorandum for the President:

Apparently Secretary Ickes spoke to you today, transmitting a request from Felix Frankfurter that Rabbi Wise be included among those invited to Wednesday's conference.

APR 17 1938

The list of those to whom invitations were sent (by telegram) was supplied by the State Department and approved by you in conference with Sumner Welles.

In checking on the Wise suggestion with Sumner, I am told:

"We discussed Rabbi Wise and decided that he should not be invited. He now heads one very bitter faction of Jews, and if he is invited it will be necessary to invite four or five other Jews - - giving the conference a preponderance of Jews."

As the list now stands the Jews of the United States are represented as a whole by persons not identified with any faction. Sumner Welles thinks it best to keep the conference limited to the small group and not to introduce any of the factional elements.

Please advise.

Wise:
S.T.E.

x20

Same telegram sent to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise 4/11/38
accepts

the President

File

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

3186

April 11, 1938.

*attached
Please see*

Dear Steve:

I enclose as a separate memorandum the points which I believe the President will wish to take up with the group which he has summoned to meet with him at the White House at 11:00 a.m., Wednesday, April 13, to consider the ways and means of cooperation between private individuals and organizations in this country and the international committee which is to be set up to facilitate the emigration of political refugees from Germany and Austria. The President, I think, will wish to have this before him when he has the meeting.

x198-A
x166-A

//
//

May I suggest that there be present at the meeting in representation of this Department the Secretary of State, myself and Mr. Messersmith. The Secretary of State has asked me to suggest to the President that he should have present at the meeting as well the Secretary of Labor or such representative of her Department as she may wish to designate.

OK

Believe me

Yours very sincerely,

Handwritten signature
Come of Dan
x20

Enc.

The Honorable
Stephen Early,
Secretary to the President,
The White House.

ORIGINAL RETIRED FOR PRESERVATION

10-117

1. That it is the view of this Government that the problem of aiding political refugees is one which cannot be solved by any one country but that it is a problem the solution of which requires the cooperation of all interested Governments.
2. In view of the generally disturbed economic conditions in so many countries which usually have and which would like to continue to welcome immigrants in large numbers, the problem is a difficult one and which from the practical point of view must be considered within the framework of existing immigration laws and practice of the States which will be participating in the Committee.
3. That the United States is not contemplating any change in its immigration laws or any major change in its immigration practice as under the present quotas established by law it has as liberal an immigration policy as any country today. Specifically, the present German quota is 25,957 and the Austrian 1,413. In view of the de facto incorporation of Austria into the territory of the German Reich, it would appear, under our immigration laws, that the German and Austrian quotas can be merged into one.
4. It is the hope of our Government that, through the activities of the International Committee which it is planned to set up, studies may be made to determine what immediate and what long range action may be taken on behalf of political refugees. It is recognized that the problem is one the long range aspect of which has only been accentuated by recent developments which have greatly increased emigration pressure.
5. Various organizations in the United States and in other countries have been giving careful and continuous study to the problem of aiding the emigration and settling of political refugees. The results of these studies and the experience gained by these organizations would have to serve as the basis of the study of the new International Committee.

-2-

6. The next step would appropriately be the naming by this Government of its representative or representatives on the new Committee and to notify other Governments of this step, suggesting at the same time the advisability of their naming their representatives as soon as practicable.
7. A place of meeting may be suggested and a preliminary date for the first meeting of the new Committee, which date should be in as near a future as practicable.
8. It had originally been considered that the meeting of the Committee be held in Switzerland. We now have a telegram indicating that although the Swiss Government has apparently decided to participate, it may request that the first meeting not be held in Switzerland and would probably suggest Belgium. The place for the meeting of the Committee may have to be decided after consultation with at least some of the Governments concerned. It has been suggested, with some reason, that, if the meeting is held in Switzerland, it should be in some city other than Geneva.
9. Immediately after the designation of the representative or representatives of this Government, he or they should enter into consultation with the various private organizations in this country which have been interested in immigration problems.
10. So far as this Government is concerned, there is no provision for Government aid to immigration and prospective immigrants. In view of the exchange control laws and other measures which have been put into effect and of the conditions which exist in some of the countries which are the sources of emigration, it must be recognized that many of the emigrants will need financial assistance. The cooperation of private organizations and individuals will have to be depended upon in this respect in this country and perhaps in most countries which will participate in the new International Committee.
11. Before proceeding to the first meeting of the new International Committee, the American representative or representatives should consult with the Department of State (after due collaboration with the Department of Labor) in order that appro-

-3-

private instructions for their guidance during the meetings of the Committee may be given them.

12. The American representative or representatives on the International Committee would in no way make any commitments for this Government during the meetings of the Committee but would in every case secure the instructions of this Government through the Department of State. In no event would commitments be taken outside of the framework of our present immigration laws and practice.

MEMORANDUM on relief of political, religious or racial refugees from
oppression in other countries. #

not necessary
whenever
introduction of
immigrants
cases
but general
principles
historical

With the high purpose of this relief every American will agree. For
period of Centuries, this country was a haven of refuge for the oppressed of
all nations. But there are now certain new and realistic considerations which
must not be forgotten.

During most of that period of refuge, land was cheap or free. We were
in an era of pioneering or development. There was ample opportunity for all
these unfortunates, once they had arrived, to make their own way. They added to
the forces building the country and were a burden on none. Such is no longer
the case. Our own people are in such serious economic difficulties that, roughly,
every two producers and earners have to carry on their backs a third individual
who is neither earning nor producing.

Furthermore, we are already carrying an unknown, but very large burden
of alien non-citizens. Many hundreds of thousands of them are illegally in
the country. Many more are here within the law but do not or cannot assume the
obligations of citizenship. To the extent that there are opportunities for self-
sustaining employment, we owe them first to our citizens. Considering our vast
number of unemployed citizens, it seems quite clear that any new alien refugees
admitted are either very far from opportunity for self support, or that they will

ORIGINAL RETIRED FOR PRESERVATION

find employment only at the expense of our own long-suffering citizens. In other words, our people must look in the face the fact that any such admission of refugee aliens will be an added burden on our people and our already strained economy for a long time to come.

If we are willing to face this reality we must consider how this burden is to be carried. There has been some suggestion that it be by private charities. Passing the truth that these, already strained to the limit, are insufficient for their existing moral obligations, it must be plain that they will prove utterly inadequate to any real solution of this problem.

It is not clear to what extent this foreign distress will run, but certainly, if the principle is adopted, there can be no discrimination in favor of any particular political, religious or racial group at the expense of others in the same category of oppression or distress.

There will perhaps be refugees from the Teutonic dictator countries, persecuted loyalists from Spain and Ethiopians from Abyssinia and, in the same class, morally if not legally, victims of the Japanese incursions into China. Relief of these masses of unfortunates will be at great financial cost. If it is undertaken at all, it ought to be done on some plan which distributes that cost equably over our whole people. It is right to assess liability for our own national burdens on the principle of ability to pay but it carries that principle too far to apply it for the benefit of foreigners. Certainly it

would be undemocratic and unfair to select for admission only those who can be aided by wealthy friends, or even wealthy racial or religious groups, and to deny entrance to others in equal circumstances of distress but who have not the same resources here.

That would be to favor in this country either wealth as such or particular racial or religious groups as such. Either is inconsistent with our principles and the latter tends to build up groups on alien patterns when our whole purpose is to Americanize all immigrant groups.

These considerations seem to me to develop three principles which should guide us:

1. Ample provision, aside from charity, to meet the cost of anything we propose.
2. Equable spread of the burden of that cost on all our people.
3. A rule of equality in the treatment of all classes of refugees from every country and of every racial and religious group.

There is another consideration that ought not to be overlooked. Too often, in the past, people dissatisfied with conditions or political systems in their own countries, or in rebellion against those political systems in favor of some other political ideas, have sought refuge here. They have been hospitably received and sheltered in our country and then, instead of showing gratitude to the haven to which they had thus fled, have immediately begun to

attack its institutions ^{in this} in the interest of the system which they favored in

Europe. ^{and selection} ^{for} They have used the refuge of this country to attack the ~~European~~

^{to the} system to which they were opposed or even to influence action by this country

in favor of or against some foreign political faction. In the present dangerous

and unsettled condition of the world, I think no considerations of sympathy

with such unfortunates, should persuade us to receive them without some kind

of safeguard against this tendency.

In more normal times and, in the ordinary inflow and outgo of immigration

and emigration, attempts to interfere with such natural and understandable

partisanship come too close to interference with free speech and action to be

considered. But on the present proposal, which is a distinctly abnormal

relaxation of laws we have long regarded as necessary to protect our own resources

and our own people and to avoid entanglements with the factional struggle in all

nations, I think we should take especial care to see that we are neither creating

nor assisting any pressure blocs for any other system than the American system.

There is a possible alternative avoiding most of these difficulties. It is a plan to assist these emigrations to assenting countries whose problem is too little rather than too much immigration. There are still pioneering countries in process of development where the opportunities are of the same nature, if not as great, as those which our people developed on this continent.

TELEGRAM

16WUC 98 N.L. 6:09am

The White House
Washington

*file
papers
5 '56*

Glendale, California, April 12, 1938.

THE PRESIDENT.

Referring to announced White House conference April 13th to facilitate influx of 30,000 Jewish communists, we note that the chosen conference members are notorious radicals., Your policy is tantamount to a betrayal of American workers. Moreover we will realize your action is coincident with the unavoidable and imminent announcement of national bankruptcy due to manipulation of American wealth by your treasurer, Morgenthau. The American people have just demonstrated that you cannot abolish the comptroller's office and they have the spirit and power to block this pernicious Jewish immigration organized by the American Jewish Committee and Zionists organization.

Militant Christian Patriots.

X

TELEGRAM

18/UC 114 N.L. 10 ex 6:22am

The White House
Washington

STE R
to 3186

TR New York, N.Y., April 12, 1938.

THE PRESIDENT.

The conference that is to convene under your leadership and guidance to plan and organize aid to the victims of Nazi and Fascist oppression will mark an epochal milestone in the history of our great democracy. To millions of distressed and persecuted peoples everywhere the conference will serve as a beacon of hope and faith in their path of darkness and despair. The American Society for Race Tolerance whose aim is to aid and defend victims of racial and religious persecution everywhere pledges you and your conferees unqualified support in your noble task and wishes you complete success in the achievement of your aims.

Bernard D. N. Grebanier, Executive Secretary
American Society for Race Tolerance,
1165 Broadway, New York City.

April 18, 1956.

My dear Mr. Crebanier:

Please accept the President's thanks for your telegram of April tenth. He was delighted to hear from you and greatly appreciates the loyal spirit which prompted your message.

Very sincerely yours,

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

Mr. Bernard D. W. Crebanier,
American Society for Race Tolerance,
1165 Broadway,
New York City.

dj

3186

April 12, 1938

ESR

Respectfully referred to the State Department by memorandum.

M. H. McINTYRE

WIRES:

Re: urging lifting of embargo against Spain.
 Murray Patlove, New York, N.Y. 4/11
 Josephine A. Viebahn, Lucy Hamm, James Zimmerman, Watertown, Wisc. 4/11
 G. L. Collins, Madison, Wisc. 4/11
 W. R. Mitchell, Ogden, Utah. 4/11
 International Workers Order Br. 2633, 136-38 6 St., Sec. Gino Toniutti,
 Pittsburgh, Pa., 4/11
 Elizabeth Webster, Evanston, Ill. 4/11
 Br. 106, IWO, S. Rubenstein, Sec., 1850 81 St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 4/11
 Joseph Owen, 2752 S. Ridgeway Ave., Chairman, Jugo-Slav American Citizens,
 Chicago, Ill. 4/11
 J. M. and H. Reese, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 4/11
 Harriet Guignon, and others, Philadelphia, Pa. 4/11
 Leslie Arnold, Chairman, Winchendon, Mass. 4/11
 Mrs. B. Cooke, Los Angeles, Calif., 4/11
 Albert Frederick Kroll, Jersey City, N.J. 4/11
 Mrs. Jonathan C. Day and others, Richmond, Va., 4/11
 Rose S. Goodkind, 230 East Delaware Pl., Chicago, Ill. 4/11
 Helen Wood, Washington, D. C., 4/11
 Ruth Hutchinson, New York, N.Y. 4/11
 Zeff, Boston, Mass. 4/11
 Dorothy Rubens, 295 Convent Ave., NYC 4/11
 Anna Kaplan, Social Workers Committee to aid Spanish Democracy, Philadelphia,
 Pa., 4/11

Re: asylum for refugees from Europe.
 Creation Committee for Refugees, Rev. Dobroslav Soric, 200 E. Ohio St.,
 Pittsburgh, Pa., 4/11
 Hymen Trachtenberg, Pres., Akila Eger Lodge, 1344 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn,
 N. Y., 4/11
 Rabbi J. A. Idelson, Chairman, Rabbi A. I. Fainelson, Secretary, The
 Rabbinical Board of Greater New York, New York, NY 4/11.

* * * * *

ak- Hon. James E. Hunter, Jr., Clerk, House of Representatives, Columbia, S.C.
 4/6 Concurrent Resolution adopted by the Legislature of the
 State of South Carolina. Re "Memorializing the Congress and the
 President of the U.S. to institute a program of civilian pre-
 paredness in the event of a national emergency or crisis. WAR

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

B


April 12, 1938.

Memorandum re appointments April 13 1938

At 10:30 April 13th, Barney
Baruch is coming in back way, going
to meet the President in the Cabinet
Room for 10 minutes before joining
Refugee Conference.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

- 10.50 - (Bernard Baruch - Cabinet Room)
- 11.00 - Conference on Relief for
Political Refugees (Papers)

Sec. Hull, Sec. Perkins,
Under Secretary Welles
Asst. Sec. Messersmith,
Immigration Commr Houghteling
and 9 others.
- 12.00 - Gov. Holt of W. Va.
- 12.15 - S. L. Smith (George Peabody
College for Teachers) with
Raymond V. Long of Virginia
(President of National
Council on School Building
Problems)
- 12.30 - 
- 12.45 -
- 1.00 - Edward J. Flynn (Lunch)

Rec'd 4/14

TELEGRAM

3186

The White House
Washington

A.T.C. back

2POC 105 D.L. 5 ex 7:28am

Brooklyn, N.Y., April 13, 1938.

THE PRESIDENT.

God bless you, our great and beloved President and dear Secretary Hull for trying to come to the rescue of our oppressed people that are being persecuted because of their religious beliefs. We are praying that you and your great goodness and humanity-loving will be able to formulate immediate plans to save the suffering people from the Nazi brutality. I suggest to Rabbi Wise to form a fund and submitted eighteen dollars for the start which is the only life_saver and by your proclamation to the citizens of the United States we could raise a fund over ten billion dollars.

Max Held, ⁺
111 Manhattan Avenue,
Brooklyn, N.Y.

6
Conference, Wednesday, April 13, 1938 - Eleven A. M. 13

Raymond Fosdick,
Rockefeller Foundation,
49 West 49th St.,
New York, N. Y. H.C.G.

Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain,
8 Sutton St.,
New York, N. Y.

James G. McDonald,
New York Times,
Times Co.,
New York, N. Y.

Reverend Samuel Cavert,
Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America,
297 Fourth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

The Most Reverend Joseph F. Rummel,
Archbishop of New Orleans,
Chairman, Catholic-Episcopal Committee
For German Refugees,
2809 South Carrollton Avenue
New Orleans, La. Rudy

Mr. Louis Kenedy, President,
National Council of Catholic Men,
12 Barclay St.,
New York, N. Y.

Henry Morgenthau,
1133 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Bernard Baruch,
597 Madison Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Robt. Use

3106
file
April 18, 1938

My dear Mr. Hershfield:

Your letter of April fifteenth, with enclosure, has been forwarded to me by Mr. Charles Michelson. x 300

I shall be very glad to bring it to the attention of the President and am sure he will wish me to thank you for your courtesy in writing as you did.

Very sincerely yours,

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

Mr. Isidore Hershfield,
Counsel, Hebrew Sheltering and
Immigrant Aid Society of America,
1317 F Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

pls

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON

CHARLES MICHELSON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLICITY

April 16, 1938

Honorable Stephen T. Early
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Steve:

I am advised by some of my Jewish friends that this is a really important body, and Mr. Hershfield, who signs it, is a very important person. Of course, he wants his letter to reach the President, and I told him I would pass it on to you with the proper request.

Yours sincerely,

Chas Michelson
Chas. Michelson

Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America

Office of the
WASHINGTON BUREAU
Isidore Hershfield, Counsel
504-S American Building
1317 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Headquarters:
Hins Building
625-627 Lafayette Street
New York

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Morris Michrom
David Finski
Albert Rosenblatt
Joseph Schlossberg
Nathan Schoenfeld
E. Shevlin
Hos. Adolph Stern
Samuel A. Taley
B. C. Vladek
Benjamin J. Weinberg
Morris Weinberg

Local and Long Distance Phone, National 6120

April 15, 1938.

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

It is with great pleasure that I have the honor of transmitting to you the attached resolution adopted by the Board of Directors of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America (HIAS) at its recent meeting, and to repeat the assurances contained therein, that we will be very happy to put at the service of our Government or any international committee that may be created hereafter all of the facilities of our Society, both in the United States and in 32 countries abroad.

I am happy to add my own personal appreciation of the fine sentiments that motivated this action by you and Secretary of State Cordell Hull.

Yours very sincerely,

ISIDORE HERSHFIELD
Counsel

II: bks

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Ellis Island, N. Y. H.

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Lithuania
Denzig
Paris

Foreign:
Harbin, China
Berlin
Constantinople

Cuba
South America

Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America

Office of the
WASHINGTON BUREAU

Isidore Hershfield, Counsel
204-S American Building
1317 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Headquarters:
Hias Building
425-437 Lafayette Street
New York

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RESOLUTION
Adopted by the BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF
HEBREW SHELTERING AND IMMIGRANT AID
SOCIETY OF AMERICA (HIAS) at a meeting
held at its headquarters in the City
of New York on April 12, 1938:

"The statements of Secretary of State Cordell Hull and of President Roosevelt on the question of refugees, and calling for a conference of various nations, were discussed and the gratification of this Society was expressed at the humane motives of our country, the United States, and particularly of the worlds of Secretary Hull 'to revive the glorious American tradition of asylum for victims of oppression'

And it is resolved that the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America (HIAS) places at the disposal of the President of the United States, the Department of State and of the International Committee to be established as a result of the conference, all of the facilities of our organization and of its world-wide emigrant aid service which it is maintaining in 32 countries in various parts of the world in connection with the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) of Paris, and its working facilities in this country."

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Cuba
South America

Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America

Office of the
WASHINGTON BUREAU
Isidore Hershfield, Counsel
504-S American Building
1317 F STREET, N. W.
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425-427 Lafayette Street
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B. Shelvin
Hon. Adolph Stern
Samuel A. Telsey
B. C. Viadeck
Benjamin J. Weinberg
Morris Weinberg

April 15, 1938.

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Our Society is 53 years in existence and is the only Jewish organization devoted solely to the work of immigration and naturalization. Its headquarters are in the City of New York where we maintain a large shelter house, and its branch offices are in Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Ellis Island, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Seattle, and its legal bureau is in Washington where the writer is its Washington Representative and General Counsel. We have also our own branches and affiliated organizations abroad in 32 foreign countries, and our European work is known under the name of HICEM which is operated in connection with the wellknown Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) founded by the late Baron de Hirsch.

If we can be of any possible service in connection with this work and any committees that you may appoint in the matter, we shall be very happy to serve. The experience of our Society will be very useful in connection with the entire refugee problem. The Immigration and Naturalization Bureaus of the Department of Labor and the Visa and Passport Divisions of the Department of State are very familiar with the work of our Society as we come into constant and daily contact with these bureaus and departments.

The Commission for Refugees appointed by the League of Nations is also familiar with our work and was aided by our Society. Hon. James G. McDonald, formerly High Commissioner for the Committee on Refugees appointed by the League of Nations, has made the following statement:

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Harbin, China
Berlin
Constantinople

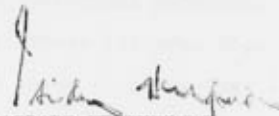
Cuba
South America

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt - #2

April 15, 1938.

"I share the view which was expressed at the recent meeting in London when it was indicated that the HICEM not only has done a notable work but offers one of the best means of pushing forward the large task of liquidating the refugee problem".

Respectfully yours,


ISIDORE HERSHFELD
Counsel

IH:bks

3186

Letters sent
and to Welles
4/19/38

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 18, 1938.

My dear Mr. President:

In accordance with the authorization you gave me in our talk on Friday, I am transmitting for your signature four letters addressed to Messrs. Baerwald, Speers, Harris, and Armstrong, requesting them to serve as members of the American committee for political refugees.

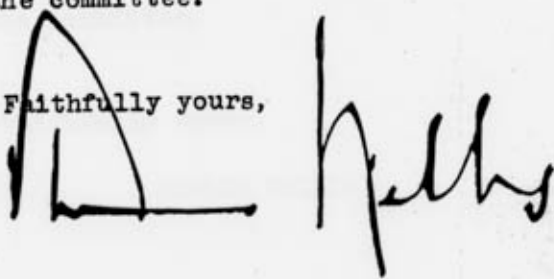
May I ask that the replies to these letters, when they are received, be transmitted to me in order that I may inform Dr. Cavert, as temporary secretary of the American committee, of the names of those who accept your designation.

I enclose for your information a copy of a letter which I have received from Dr. Fosdick, in which he explains the reasons why he has found it impossible to serve as a member of the committee.

x 198-a
x 166-a

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



The President,

The White House.

X20

April 18, 1938.

My dear Mr. President:

In accordance with the authorization you gave me in our talk on Friday, I am transmitting for your signature four letters addressed to Messrs. Baerwald, Speers, Harris, and Armstrong, requesting them to serve as members of the American committee for political refugees.

May I ask that the replies to these letters, when they are received, be transmitted to me in order that I may inform Dr. Cavert, as temporary secretary of the American committee, of the names of those who accept your designation.

I enclose for your information a copy of a letter which I have received from Dr. Fosdick, in which he explains the reasons why he has found it impossible to serve as a member of the committee.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

SUMNER WELLES

The President,

The White House.

C O P Y

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION
49 West 49th Street, New York

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 14, 1938

Dear Mr. Welles:

I hope you will have an opportunity to explain to the President and Secretary Hull how deeply I regret the necessity of withdrawing my name as a member of the committee on political refugees. It is a matter in which personally I am deeply interested, and it would have given me the greatest satisfaction to serve. The reasons against it, however, seemed compelling. Quite apart from the fact that officers of the Foundation are not allowed to associate themselves with organizations or committees soliciting funds, I am convinced that my presence on this committee would be more of a disservice than a help. As I explained to you, our experience has been that membership on a committee of anybody who represents a Rockefeller organization often has a disheartening effect on the success of any broadly conceived plan for raising money.

I do not have to say that I am genuinely interested in the President's proposal and I shall be glad to be of any possible assistance. But I am convinced that from every point of view it would be wise for me not to be officially identified with the committee.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

RAYMOND B. FOSDICK

Honorable Sumner Welles
Under Secretary of State
State Department
Washington, D. C.

x PPF 328

April 18, 1938.

My dear Mr. Harris:

The Government of the United States has invited a number of other governments to cooperate with it in the constitution of an International Committee charged with the responsibility of facilitating the emigration of political refugees from Germany and Austria. It has been my hope that this committee might be enabled to relieve in large measure the suffering and the distress of many thousands of persons emigrating from Germany and Austria and desirous of obtaining refuge in some other part of the world but who, if they were not assisted, would find themselves in most instances without funds and without documents of identity. I am glad to say that twenty-eight governments have already responded to the invitation extended by this Government and have indicated their cordial desire to cooperate in this endeavor.

As stated in this Government's invitation, we do not propose any change in our existing immigration law. Furthermore, the cost of the work of relief must be borne through contributions obtained from non-governmental sources.

In order that the people of the United States may be enabled most effectively to further the work to be undertaken by this International Committee, I am appointing an American committee to act as an intermediary between the International Committee and the many organizations within the United States which are dealing with this problem of political refugees. I feel that this American committee can be of invaluable assistance in coordinating the work that is being done within the United States in behalf of the refugees and in advising the official representative of the United States on the International Committee with regard to the work to be done by that international body. I have requested the following persons to accept appointment to this committee:

Basil Harris, Esquire,
1 Broadway,
New York, New York.

-2-

Paul Baerwald, x
New York City.

James M. Speers, x
New York City.

Hamilton Fish Armstrong, x
New York City.

Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain, x
Columbia University,
New York City.

James G. McDonald, x
New York Times,
New York City.

Reverend Samuel Cayert, x
Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America,
New York City.

The Most Reverend Joseph F. Rummel, x
Archbishop of New Orleans.

Louis Kenedy, x
President, National Council of Catholic Men,
New York City.

Henry Morgenthau, x
New York City. x PPA374

Rabbi Stephen Wise, x PPF3292
New York City.

Bernard Baruch, x PPF88
New York City.

I trust that you will find it possible to serve as a member
of this committee.

Sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

April 19, 1938.

My dear Mr. Armstrong:

The Government of the United States has invited a number of other governments to cooperate with it in the constitution of an International Committee charged with the responsibility of facilitating the migration of political refugees from Germany and Austria. It has been my hope that this committee might be enabled to relieve in large measure the suffering and the distress of many thousands of persons emigrating from Germany and Austria and desirous of obtaining refuge in some other part of the world but who, if they were not assisted, would find themselves in most instances without funds and without documents of identity. I am glad to say that twenty-eight governments have already responded to the invitation extended by this Government and have indicated their cordial desire to cooperate in this endeavor.

As stated in this Government's invitation, we do not propose any change in our existing immigration law. Furthermore, the rest of the work of relief must be borne through contributions obtained from non-governmental sources.

In order that the people of the United States may be enabled most effectively to further the work to be undertaken by this International Committee, I am appointing an American committee to act as an intermediary between the International Committee and the many organizations within the United States which are dealing with this problem of political refugees. I feel that this American committee can be of invaluable assistance in coordinating the work that is being done within the United States in behalf of the refugees and in advising the official representative of the United States on the International Committee with regard to the work to be done by that international body. I have requested the following persons to accept appointment to this committee:

Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Esquire,
Director, Council on Foreign Relations,
45 East Sixty-fifth Street,
New York, New York.

-2-

Paul Baerwald,
New York City.

James M. Speers,
New York City.

Basil Harris,
New York City.

Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain,
Columbia University,
New York City.

James G. McDonald,
New York Times,
New York City.

Reverend Samuel Cavert,
Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America,
New York City.

The Most Reverend Joseph F. Rummel,
Archbishop of New Orleans.

Louis Kenedy,
President, National Council of Catholic Men,
New York City.

Henry Morgenthau,
New York City.

Rabbi Stephen Wise,
New York City.

Bernard Baruch,
New York City.

I trust that you will find it possible to serve as a member
of this committee.

Sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

file

FOREIGN AFFAIRS



AN AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW

HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG
EDITOR

45 EAST SIXTY-FIFTH STREET
NEW YORK

CABLE ADDRESS: FORAFFAIRS, NEW YORK

April 22, 1938

Miss Marguerite LeHand
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss LeHand:

The President's letter to Mr. Armstrong, dated April 18, reached us the 20th. Mr. Armstrong has been absent from the office but will be back tomorrow or Monday, and I am sure that he will reply to the President immediately.

Yours sincerely,

Mary H. Stokes
Secretary

3186

April 23, 1938

Respectfully referred to the Under
Secretary of State.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President

hm

Letter from Basil Harris, Vice President, U.S. Lines Company,
1 Broadway, NYC, ~~4/22/38~~ to the President. In reply to Presi-
dent's letter of 4/18/38, inviting him to become a member of
the American committee to act as an intermediary between the
International Committee and the many organizations within the
U.S. which are dealing with the problem of political refugees,
advises that he that he is glad to serve as a member of the
Committee.

April 22, 1938

3186.

Respectfully referred to the Under
Secretary of State.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President

hm

Letters from the following accepting appt. to serve on the American Committee to act as an intermediary to the International Committee and the many organizations in the U.S. which are dealing with the problem of political refugees:

James M. Speers, James McCutcheon and Co., Fifth Ave., and Forty-ninth St., New York City, 4/20/38 to the President.

Paul Baerwald, 120 Broadway, NYC, 4/21/38 to the President.

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DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

HOTEL BILTMORE
NEW YORK CITY

JAMES A. FARLEY
CHAIRMAN

3186

advised
4/26/38

April 25, 1938

Honorable Marvin H. McIntyre
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Colonel:

I believe the President will be interested to see the enclosed article on the subject of our government's action in behalf of the refugees which has met with so much interest and gratification everywhere. This article is from The Jewish Chronicle of London, England. It is the leading newspaper of its kind in the world, and as you will note, was established in 1841.

I am, with best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Bernard G. Richards

Bernard G. Richards

BGR:MD

Enc.

X

SW
OK
FDR
4-26-36

3186

April 26, 1936.

My dear Mr. President:

In accordance with our conversation on the telephone this afternoon, I am sending you herewith for your signature a suggested letter addressed to Mr. Myron C. Taylor.

Since it is probable that Mr. Taylor's reply will be received during your absence, may I have your authorization, in the event that he accepts your designation, to have the Secretary announce his appointment as the American representative on the International Committee. If this can be done without awaiting your return, we will gain a few days for it will then be possible for us to approach all of the other governments which have agreed to cooperate with us and suggest a time and place for the first meeting of the International Committee.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

SUMNER WELLES

x20

The President,

The White House.

April 26, 1938.

My dear Mr. Taylor:

x 178-A
x 165-A

As you know, I have requested certain other governments to cooperate with this Government in the constitution of an International Committee for the purpose of facilitating the emigration of political refugees from Germany and Austria. I have hoped that prompt and effective action by this Committee might relieve the distressing situation which has arisen as a result of the persecution of so many thousands of individuals in those two countries. I am glad to say that all of the American republics and Great Britain, France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Holland, and Switzerland have cordially agreed to cooperate in this endeavor.

As I see the problem, the task of the International Committee would be primarily to meet the emergency which has arisen, through the coordination of efforts on the part of the several governments involved in this humanitarian endeavor, and through the expenditure of funds received from private sources within the respective nations represented on the Committee to expedite and facilitate the emigration of refugees to those countries willing to receive them within the provisions of their existing legislation. The further objective of the International Committee would be to undertake the formulation of long-range plans for the solution in years to come of the problem presented in those European countries where there exist excess populations.

I have designated an American committee to cooperate with the International Committee, and this American committee, I hope, will act as the intermediary between the International Committee and the many private organizations and individuals within the United States who are willing to extend effective assistance to these political refugees. I presume that many of the other countries represented on the International Committee will take similar action.

Myron C. Taylor, Esquire, x P 7423
71 Broadway, x sec.
New York, New York.

-2-

It has seemed to me that you could represent this Government admirably as the American member of the International Committee, and I hope very much that you will be willing to serve as the official representative of the United States on that body.

The representative of this Government will have the honorary rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and, in view of the fact that this Government has taken the initiative in suggesting the creation of the International Committee, it is probable that the other members of the Committee will select the United States representative as the Chairman of that body. I can further assure you that the Government will give you the technical assistants that you may find necessary.

I feel that your acceptance of this position would do much to ensure the successful achievement of the objectives which I had in mind when I suggested the creation of the International Committee and in the furtherance of which I believe public opinion in this country is deeply interested.

Believe me

Yours very sincerely,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

COPT

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3186

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16 East Seventieth Street,
New York, N. Y.,
April 30, 1938.

My dear Mr. President:

Acknowledging the receipt of your letter of April 26th and the matter discussed in our interview yesterday, being the appointment tendered me of honorary Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to represent our Government in cooperating with the International Committee created for the purpose of facilitating the emigration of political refugees from Germany and Austria, I have the honor to say that I conferred with Mr. Sumner Welles, Acting Secretary of State, after leaving you, and have this morning informed a number of my associates of your offer.

I am pleased to accept the appointment, and trust that I may acquit myself to your satisfaction.

With much appreciation of the honor which you have done me, I am, Sir,

Very respectfully yours,

/s/ Myron C. Taylor

To the President.

3186

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 27, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

F. D. R.

Baruch

*PP 764
+ #
x Sen*

Letter from Samuel I. Rosenman,
80 Centre St., NYC, 4/25/38 to the President.
States that if Mr. Baruch is not going to
serve on the Commission for Political
Refugees, suggests that the name of
Paul Baerwald of NYC be considered as a
substitute. #

x

3186

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 28, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

Will you be good enough
to handle this?

F. D. R.

Telegram from Bishop Hiram Abiff Boaz,
Methodist Episcopal Church, Texas, and others,
* for the Joint American Committee for Protection
of Minorities, 17 State St., NYC, 4/26/38 to
the President. The Joint Committee commends
President's proposal for a special international
committee facilitate emigration of refugees. ~~It~~
Offer support and place at President's disposal
full manpower and resources of the Joint Com-
mittee. Submits name of A. Alan Lane, Chairman
of the Committee, to serve in a liason or in
a purely personal capacity as member of the
American delegation to the special International
Committee.

April 28, 1938

Respectfully referred to the Under
Secretary of State.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President

hm

Letter from Hamilton Fish Armstrong, 45 East 67th St., NYC, 4/26/38 to the President. States he is not sure that the work which the committee to coordinate the work for German refugees in this country will probably have to do "lies in my bailiwick, which, after all is international relations rather than relief or philanthropy as such". Feels there must be other persons better qualified by experience for that work than he is. However, he will be honored to accept President's invitation to serve on the committee if the President ~~still~~ still wants him to after knowing that there are reservations in his own mind about his qualifications for the job.

April 28, 1938

3186

Respectfully referred to the Under
Secretary of State.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President

hm

Letter from Hamilton Fish Armstrong, 45 East 67th St.,
NYC, 4/26/38 to the President. States he is not sure that
the work which the committee to coordinate the work for German
refugees in this country will probably have to do "lies in my
bailiwick, which, after all is international relations rather
than relief or philanthropy as such". Feels there must be
other persons better qualified by experience for that work than
he is. However, he will be honored to accept President's invita-
tion to serve on the committee if the President ~~still~~ still wants
him to after knowing that there are reservations in his own
mind about his qualifications for the job.

75/2/38

3186

My dear Uncle Henry:

I am particularly sorry to know from your letter of April 21 that you find it necessary to resign from the American Committee for refugees. There is no one in this country who has had a wider range of practical experience in dealing with refugee problems than yourself and I had consequently hoped that through your service on the American Committee both the other members of the Committee and our representative on the International Committee might have had the benefit of your wise counsel and assistance. I hope, however, that we may count upon you for your continued advice and help even though you find it impossible to serve as an active member of the Committee.

Believe me

Affectionately yours,

The Honorable
Henry Morgenthau,
1133 Fifth Avenue,
New York, New York.

me

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

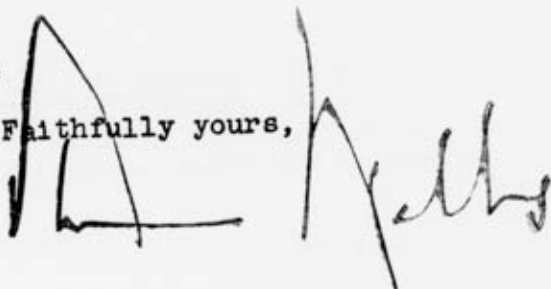
April 27, 1938.

My dear Mr. President:

In accordance with the request contained in your memorandum to me of April 23, I enclose herewith a suggested letter for you to send to Mr. Morgenthau.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'A. K. Kelly'. The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'A' and a long horizontal stroke.

Enc.

The President,
The White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 23, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE SECRETARY OF STATE

x20

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY
FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F. D. R.

Letter from Henry Morgenthau, 1133 Fifth Ave., NYC, 4/21/38 to the President. Tenders resignation as member of the Committee to Aid Oppressed Political Minorities in Foreign Lands.

DD-374

APR 22 12 06 PM '38
RECEIVED

HENRY MORGENTHAU
1133 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

April 21st, 1938

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

Ever since the meeting of the Committee to Aid Oppressed Political Minorities in Foreign Lands, to which you kindly appointed me, I have been struggling between the desire to serve and the fear that I could not do justice to the responsibility.

Now, judging by the letters and inquiries already received, I have concluded that the task is too exacting for me, and therefore regretfully resign from the Committee.

It would have been a great satisfaction to end my career with some such service to our Country and to you.

Affectionately yours,

Henry Morgenthau

*The original
is
personal*

HENRY MORGENTHAU
1133 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

Sr.

April 28, 1938

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Franklin:

Many thanks for your highly complimentary letter. I shall be very glad to meet with your Committee at any time, and give them the benefit of my experience.

We had the pleasure of having your mother spend last evening with us, and as usual enjoyed being with her.

Yours affectionately,

Musa Henry

AM

James (Foster) Fife
Prof. Wm. P. Chamberlain
James G. McDonald
Mrs. James Court
At. Mrs. Monique Reedy
in place of Mrs. (Res.) Beth T.
R. Emmet Archbishop of Ga.
Louis Kenedy
Henry Henry Estlin
Rud. Stephen G. Wise

who sent this to fill 7 in the Pence
 - location - the President's? - 2 B.

Files

I did. The President
 sent it to us for info. of
 Pres. I don't know where he
 got it. It was used in comm.
 w. refugee question. # K

the Social Sciences:

85/191-5

David and of Coriolanus it has been common for a prince or pretender, worsted in his home country, to find welcome and support, alone or with his adherents, at the court of some neighboring state. This situation still recurs (as recently as 1924 the present king of Albania was sheltered and assisted in making a bid for power in Yugoslavia) and will continue so long as states exist which are anxious to exploit the embarrassments of their neighbors. At the present time, when politics are based less on dynastic considerations and more on broad social tendencies, it has become common for a state to welcome the victims of a social regime dissimilar to its own. Thus the non-revolutionary countries of Europe sheltered the émigrés of the French Revolution, and states with liberal institutions, such as England and Switzerland, have often harbored refugees from the rule of autocracies. Mazzini, Karl Marx, Lenin and Trotsky stand out as famous examples of refugees of this type. Many countries make it a point of honor to grant an unrestricted right of political asylum, although this has often involved them in difficulties with the governments concerned. In fact many revolutions have been hatched on foreign soil. On the other hand, the part played by refugee movements in keeping alive the national spirit of a country oppressed by a foreign autocracy has often been very important; notable cases are those of the Magyar emigration after 1848 and the Polish exodus after 1863. Since 1919 Paris and Vienna have been the main centers for political refugees. Some of these settle down permanently abroad, but most of them hope and many are able to return eventually to their homes. Their numbers are generally few, and if their political importance has often been very great, the economic problem which they present is small, particularly when they are supported either by comrades at home or by sympathizers, private or official, in their place of refuge. As a rule they consist chiefly of the intellectual class, which requires little capital to establish itself.

The problems presented by large scale refugee movements vary widely. In earlier days, when the prevailing mode of life was still largely nomadic, it was quite common for whole national communities to become refugees. Refugee movements are indeed difficult to distinguish from simple migrations or wars of conquest, and such distinctions as can be made are often blurred by later events; but it may be fair to treat as refugee cases only those in which the

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REFUGEES. Any person who under the stress of *force majeure* has left his home and become dependent on the hospitality of others is a refugee. For the purposes of the present discussion, however, the designation may be restricted to persons who have left the territory of the state of which they are or were nationals and no longer enjoy the effective protection of that state.

Even this definition covers a wide variety of cases. There is the individual political refugee who is still legally able to return to his state but does not do so because return would expose him to disagreeable consequences. There are cases in which some of the inhabitants of a country, including at times the government, have fled across its frontiers before invading forces. In older days it was not uncommon for an entire national community to migrate, abandoning its former territory to an enemy.

The individual political refugee has been a familiar figure in history. Since the days of

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persons involved were more or less at the mercy of those receiving them.

It is impossible to do more than give examples of this type of movement. For some centuries the Roman Empire received innumerable national communities of refugees, mainly of Germanic or Turki origin. When few in numbers, they were usually drafted with the army; when numerous, they were given the status of *foederati*; that is, they were left under their own chiefs, given lands, generally on the frontier, and employed on frontier defense. In an age in which land was plentiful, population sparse, the standard of living low and its manner simple the economic problem involved by this process was not at all complex; a grant of vacant land and perhaps a supply of one harvest's seed corn commonly sufficed. Occasionally emergency relief was given; the failure to supply such relief when promised to an exceedingly powerful body of refugees, the Visigoths, and attempts by the local population and officials to profiteer at their expense led in 378 to one of the decisive battles of the world, that of Adrianople. Outbreaks of plague, cholera and similar epidemics were apparently frequent among the refugees, and those who had no military value were often enslaved. The ethnographical and political consequences of the large scale admission of these communities were very great, for when the central authority weakened they recovered their independence and formed national states in their new homes.

Similar movements went on throughout the Middle Ages, particularly in the countries bordering on the great and ever unquiet Eurasian steppe. A variety of tribes took refuge with the various Russian princes or the kings of Hungary. They were usually granted land for settlement and certain economic and social safeguards (e.g. self-government, exemption from taxation), in return for which they had to perform military service whenever required. The famous Cossack bands of south Russia originated with Turki hordes who had taken refuge from stronger nations in the steppe, being reenforced by Russian and Ukrainian runaway serfs and masterless men, who preferred dangerous liberty to tilling the land under a Polish or a Russian lord. In 1239 Hungary received 200,000 Cumans, the survivors of a great battle with the Mongols on the Volga, and later Hungary and Austria gave shelter to many Serbian and other fugitives from the advancing Osmanli Turks. In doing so they provided themselves with sorely needed military reinforcements; but the benefit

was not unmixed. The wild immigrants solved their own economic problem by plundering the local peasants; while, since man power was valuable, the loss of it was resented by the ruler from whom the refugees had fled. The Mongol khan used the pretext that the king of Hungary was sheltering his fugitive slaves (the Cumans) to invade and practically destroy Hungary. A similar complaint by the Turkish khan with regard to Justinian's relations with the fugitive Avars in 558 had led to the first diplomatic relations between Europe and central Asia.

The part played by refugee movements in spreading knowledge has often been important. The manuscripts brought to western Europe by fugitive Greek monks after the fall of Constantinople gave an immense impetus to the revival of learning and arts known as the Renaissance; and knowledge of other types was widely spread by the religious refugees who were so numerous in a somewhat later age when, as conditions of life became more settled, national migrations ceased to be frequent (although they occurred up to quite modern times in central Asia and Africa).

From the sixteenth century to the eighteenth the commonest type of refugee was the religious. It is hardly necessary to stress the part played by such refugees in many events of world importance, such as the formation of the United States. If some of the earlier American colonists were adventurers, many were true religious refugees, such as the Pilgrims of the *Mayflower* and the earlier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, which, founded as a Quaker colony, afterwards became a home of refuge for dissidents of many other faiths. Land was still plentiful, and many of these refugees had time to make their preparations and to take with them the supplies necessary for their establishment. The American colonists moreover retained the protection of their governments and were not altogether in a friendless condition.

Far worse of course was the case of victims of fanaticism, such as the Moors expelled from Castile in 1502 or the Moriscos driven out in 1609, who were given only three days to embark and allowed to carry only their personal property with them; the sale of their immovable property was expressly forbidden. No provision was made for their reception in Barbary, and most of the half million or more victims perished.

The story of the Protestants expelled from various Catholic countries during the Counter-

Reformation is much happier. They were usually welcome in Protestant countries, both out of religious solidarity and for their useful virtues; and while their expulsion nearly always impoverished the country which they left, their reception enriched that which they entered. English weaving, water engineering and finance owe much to the Dutch merchants, weavers and artisans who fled from the terrorist rule of the duke of Alva and to the later Huguenots; and Prussia had no more useful colonists for the waste spaces of the present Polish Corridor than the Austrian Protestants expelled from Salzburg.

A special and important place in the history of the movement is held by the Jews, who may be called a nation of refugees. In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance their experience was parallel to that of other religious refugees. In the fourteenth century masses of them fled from Germany before the crusaders and Flagellant friars but were received hospitably by the kings of Poland and Lithuania, who granted them substantial privileges and assigned them the role of a middle class. Since there had hitherto been virtually no middle class in eastern Europe, the influx caused no great dislocation of the economic life, particularly as the Jews were denied admission to existing guilds and industrial corporations. Likewise the professed Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 were well received in the Ottoman Empire, which saw the benefit of introducing an intelligent middle class. The individual loss and suffering attendant on these large scale migrations were, however, very great. The German Jews were fleeing for their lives; the Spanish Jews had received four months' notice but had no adequate means of disposing of their property or collecting debts due them.

In the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century a steady stream of Jewish refugees from actual or threatened persecution in Russia and Rumania poured westward into England and the United States. For the first time these refugees had to face the modern problem of fitting into a social organization already highly developed. As, however, the labor market was still in general expanding, the difficulties could be met by transitional assistance and relief. To this end the great Jewish associations were formed; the Alliance Israélite Universelle, for example, carried through remarkable work in assisting migration, organizing emergency relief, advancing settlers the means to establish themselves, maintaining schools and assisting poor scholars. The

Jewish Colonisation Association was concerned principally with agricultural settlement. It founded colonies as far apart as Russia and Brazil, Palestine and the United States. The later emigrants generally enjoyed the help of relatives who had preceded them. Thus the Jews led the way in organizing the essential of refugee settlement—provision in advance of the means to tide over the transitional period.

Refugee movements of the old type still occurred in the Balkans, particularly in Macedonia, where at least four nations—Turks, Bulgars, Serbs and Greeks—were contending for mastery, each taking every opportunity to destroy all members of the exceedingly mixed population which did not belong to its own nationality. Each bout of fighting or change of sovereignty thus gave rise to large refugee movements, the members of the defeated nationalities fleeing to their kinsfolk. It has been estimated that in Macedonia alone, in the short period from 1912 to 1925, seventeen migratory movements took place, hundreds of thousands of persons being affected. Bulgaria alone received some 250,000 immigrants from 1878 to 1912.

All Balkan countries were affected, and a rough and ready exchange of population took place, the incoming refugees driving out earlier inhabitants of a hostile nationality and settling on their lands. In 1913 the idea arose of organizing this exchange. Meanwhile various west European and American committees helped to relieve the distress. Charitable bodies, like the Quaker societies, began to organize emergency relief in all parts of the world for refugees who hoped to return to their homes when the crisis was past. The foundation of the International Red Cross Society was also of inestimable value.

The importance of modern organization was tested in the World War, when the governments and considerable fractions of the populations of Belgium, Serbia and Montenegro fled from their homes before the armies of the Central Powers. Two hundred thousand Belgian refugees entered France, and an equal number took refuge in England. The latter were received and cared for by the War Refugees Committee headed by Lord Hugh Cecil, financed by voluntary subscription with government assistance and facilities. After a transitional period the refugees were absorbed into the economic life of the country and after the war were repatriated. The Serbian government was established in Corfu and the refugees, after transportation in allied vessels to that city, were distributed throughout Europe,

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although largely in France, being supported by voluntary effort and by the allied governments. Although the mortality among the refugees was high, the organization for dealing with them was certainly more efficient than any which had preceded it.

After the war there was an influx in the opposite direction, from the succession states into the territory of the Central Powers. The governments concerned were usually prepared to receive and to grant nationality to refugees of their own race. The German Flüchtlingsfürsorge maintained concentration camps and placing offices. Hungary gave many Magyar refugees posts in its administrative services, thus gravely burdening the national budget. The fate of unwanted elements, however, was tragic. These were too often refused naturalization and were relegated to the ranks of the stateless.

A far more serious problem was created by the exodus from Russia. As a result of the Russian Revolution and subsequent civil wars millions of Russians had been uprooted, and of these about 1,500,000 members of the former ruling class or of counter-revolutionary armies were clearly unable to return to their native country. In 1919 and 1920 about 100,000 of these were in Manchuria, from 300,000 to 400,000 in France and Germany each and the remainder in eastern Europe. The sudden arrival of General Wrangel's counter-revolutionary army in Constantinople made that city a special center of congestion and extreme misery.

The allied governments, the charitable organizations and the east European states were spending large sums on relief; but this could not continue indefinitely, particularly as the last named were themselves very impoverished. It was urgently necessary to relieve the congested centers and place the refugees throughout the world where they could find work. For this purpose an international authority was indispensable, particularly since many refugees had no identity papers whatever and governments were often extremely suspicious of Russian refugees as possible Bolshevick agents.

In 1921 the International Red Cross and other great charitable societies requested the League of Nations to appoint a high commissioner to supervise the work in connection with the Russian refugees, define their legal position, organize their employment and repatriation and coordinate the efforts of the charitable organizations. In August, 1921, Fridtjof Nansen was appointed League high commissioner.

Besides the Russians Nansen subsequently took charge of the 200,000 to 250,000 Armenians who had survived the war and the massacres in Turkey and had fled into Greece, Bulgaria or the new French mandated territory of Syria, with some smaller groups of Assyrians, Assyro-Chaldeans and a few Turks who likewise had no natural protectors. The League has refused, however, to take over the "stateless persons" of central Europe or such political refugees as the Ruthenes and Montenegrins. These remain dependent on chance or charity.

The work was carried on first by Nansen, then, under his supervision, by the International Labor Office and after Nansen's death by the Nansen International Office for Refugees, an international bureau under the auspices of the League, which contributes toward its upkeep. The office is assisted by an Inter-Governmental Advisory Commission, on which the chief governments interested are represented, and an Advisory Committee of private organizations. The center is in Geneva, and many governments help the office to maintain local representatives.

The office acts as the agent for the distribution of certain relief funds; but its functions are not to supply relief, which if given at all is administered by governments or private societies. Its object is to enable the refugees to be absorbed in normal economic life. The most desirable solution is clearly repatriation. Nansen succeeded in negotiating the unmolested return of several thousand Russians. A plan to irrigate a tract around Erivan in the Soviet Republic of Armenia and settle there 50,000 Armenians fell through because governments would not supply money or accept the security for a loan offered by the Soviet government. Recently, however, the government of Erivan itself has undertaken the cost of the scheme, and 20,000 Armenian refugees are to be settled there. Some thousands are returning annually to Erivan. For those definitely unable to return, "Nansen passports" for Russians and Armenians respectively were introduced; these were accepted by many governments in lieu of ordinary passports. Subsequent intergovernmental arrangements have enabled the holders of these certificates to enjoy certain rights usually granted to foreigners by treaty. They are thus no longer entirely defenseless, although their rights still lag far behind their needs.

The Nansen passports have proved a great help in the work of settlement. The relief of the congested areas was carried through with con-

siderable success, the office acting as organizer and intermediary. It soon became clear that the work was one of detailed placing in a labor market which was overcrowded in most countries. France and Belgium, however, absorbed large numbers for several years, and some refugees were successfully placed in oversea countries. The office still deals with several thousand cases annually. The economic depression which began in 1929, however, hit the refugees severely. They were usually the first to be discharged from employment and were sometimes expelled from their countries without a home to receive them. In 1933 nearly 150,000 who were able to work were unemployed.

The office proposes to wind up its work by December 31, 1938. It has done invaluable service at a cost which has never exceeded a few thousand pounds annually; but it is clear that the only final solution lies in repatriation or nationalization, and the latter is growing increasingly difficult in modern times.

A special settlement scheme was carried through in Syria by the mandatory government with the help of the Nansen office for the Armenians, thousands of whom had spent years in malarial concentration camps, foci of misery and disease. New urban quarters and some village settlements were constructed, and the camps were to be closed at the end of 1933. In this way about 40,000 Armenians were definitely settled.

Somewhat different problems arose in connection with Greece and Bulgaria. In the autumn of 1922, after the crushing defeat of the Greek army by the Turks in Anatolia, over 1,000,000 destitute and panic stricken Greek refugees poured into Greece from Anatolia and Thrace. Greece was willing to receive them and to grant them nationality, but the task was far beyond its powers. Nansen was empowered to deal with the emergency and to distribute relief and medical aid. Afterward an exchange of population between Greece and Turkey was arranged. This raised the final number of immigrants to some 1,700,000 but left a reasonable amount of land available for their settlement. The League of Nations gave its authority for the raising of a loan of £12,300,000, which was administered by a Refugee Settlement Commission consisting of representatives of the League and of the Greek government. The work was handed over to the Greek government on December 31, 1930. It has been brilliantly successful. Over 50,000 agricultural houses and some 30,000 urban

houses have been built and about 170,000 agricultural families and 25,000 urban families established and maintained through their initial difficulties at an average cost of £14.0 per person. The appalling mortality of the first period has been checked, and the refugees have been turned into self-respecting and self-supporting members of the world community. The face of Macedonia has been reconstructed, drainage and irrigation have been carried through and a new source of wealth has been added to the world.

Similar work on a smaller scale was accomplished in Bulgaria, where out of the 220,000 refugees who had entered Bulgaria between 1913 and 1925 about 30,000 families, or 120,000 individuals, needed help. The task was begun in 1926 and almost completed by 1933. A loan of £2,400,000 and \$4,500,000 was raised under League auspices. The land was surveyed and allotted, houses were built and drainage and improvement works were carried out. Incidentally the general health and agricultural standards had been greatly improved, both in Bulgaria and in Greece.

It is clear that the refugee problem has been affected profoundly by modern conditions of life. In the increasing complexity of present day society a man is less easily able than ever before to dispense with the normal protection of his state; and the delicate relations of economic life are more easily dislocated, and with more disastrous effects, than the cruder conditions of the past. Greece and Bulgaria were still exceptional cases, since the recent movements of population had made land available for the immigrants, whom the new countries could regard as a source of strength and wealth. Even so there was much ill feeling between the immigrants and the other inhabitants; and while the help of the League enabled the settlement to be carried out with comparative ease, the process was basically uneconomic, since subsequently neither country was able to meet the full service of the settlement loans. The position of the refugee who has no mother country to receive him is miserable indeed. Modern organization of charity and relief and advanced medical knowledge may relieve the acuteness of the first crisis. But the ultimate absorption of the refugee who is unable ever to return to his home has become increasingly difficult. The question has been inordinately complicated by the excessively difficult economic conditions of the post-war period. On the other hand, it is only in times of difficulty and unrest that refugee movements on a large

Refugees — Regional Planning

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scale are likely to occur. Where repatriation has proved impossible, naturalization is the only final solution. The countries which are reluctant to facilitate this solution might well reflect on historical evidence, which indicates that while refugee movements have usually occasioned great suffering among the refugees themselves, they have often enriched the countries which have granted hospitality and have almost uniformly impoverished those from which they fled.

CARLILE A. MACARTNEY

The Right of Asylum: historical survey.

It is mainly in times of great economic and political stress that the ancient issue of the right of asylum receives, and should receive, a renewal of interest. It becomes of consequence not only to the refugee, but its preservation in a democratic country is of paramount interest to that democracy itself. That we are in the midst of a period of intense economic and political unrest cannot well be questioned. It is for that reason pertinent to clarify the historic role of the right of asylum and its importance to the concepts of democracy still prevailing.

Primitive Peoples

That the practice of asylum existed among the prehistoric nations is evident from the fact that it is found among all the primitive tribes known to civilization. Evidence of the prevalence of such an institution among the primitive nations is very ample. A. Hellwig, in *Das Asylrecht der Naturvolker*, Berlin, 1903, proves its existence in Australia and the South Seas, in Africa and in the Americas. Places of refuge are found among the Hindus on the Malabar Coast and among the Kafies of Hindukush (Scott Robertson, *Kafies of the Hindu-Kush*, 1896, p. 44).

Ancient Jurisprudence

With the dawn of civilization, in written history, the references to the right of asylum become more numerous. No attempt is made here at an exhaustive citation of authorities. The reference to some instances will remind the reader that the Christian State adopted this political institution from the ancients in an already well developed form. The sources of such adoption were not only created by custom and usage but were derived from literature and the Bible itself. The clearest exposition of the idea of asylum is found in the Old Testament. In Palestine six cities of refuge were provided for unintentional homicides, in order to prevent their being killed by relatives of the victim. It was clearly an endeavor to mitigate the rigors of the bloodfeud. It is interesting to note that these cities were to serve as an asylum both for natives and foreigners. This Biblical law was further elaborated in the Talmud (*Makkot*, ch. 2).

Greece

Asylum was extended not only for involuntary offenses, but for crimes of any kind; even fugitive slaves received this protection (Plutarch, *De Superstitione*, sec. 4). Certain sanctuaries, such as the temple of Apollo at Delphi, became famous throughout the Mediterranean world as a haven for the fugitive. But all temples had this privilege and exercised it constantly. The Greek States themselves went even further, and welcomed as inviolable guests such foreigners as had fled from the justice of their own country (E. Caillemer in *Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquites*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 509). For example, when in 404 B.C. an oligarchic revolution in Athens was followed by a reign of terror, the city of Thebes decreed: That every house and city in Boeotia should be open to such Athenians as needed succor; and that whosoever did not help a fugitive should be fined one talent (Plutarch, *Lysander*, sec. 27). When the Greeks under the Ptolemies obtained control over Egypt they developed the right of asylum to an even greater extent. Unlike most ancient law, the law of asylum there took no cognizance of nationality, race or religion.

Rome

According to Roman tradition, immediately after Romulus and Remus founded the city of Rome, "they made a sanctuary of refuge for all fugitives . . . there they received all who came, delivering none up" (Plutarch, *Romulus*, sec. 9; compare Livy, book 1, sec. 8 and Dio Cassius, book 47, sec. 19).

Middle Ages

With the rise of Protestantism and the Reformation, great changes came about in the structure of the civil State and in political concepts. The canon and ecclesiastical law became narrowed down in its application to the different classes of population. For centuries the Church claimed, and tried to preserve, the right of sanctuary and political asylum.

The Huguenots - The French Commune

When the Inquisition was established in Spain and Italy the more enlightened countries accorded the right of asylum to the fleeing Protestants and other dissenters. With the beginning of the Thirty Years War in the 17th century, countries such as Holland, Sweden, Norway, the newly discovered America, and even Russia, opened their gates to the refugees from Central Europe. America itself was partly settled by these refugees. And in France, after the bloody St. Bartholomew's night, the French king allowed the city of LaRochele to remain for years a city of refuge (ville de surete) for the Huguenots (Reinach, Orpheus, 1930, American edition, p. 363).

Colonial and American Principles

The colonists who emigrated to the United States, being themselves political and religious refugees, necessarily brought with them more than a mere observance of this tradition. It is true that quite early in American history there arose a conflict between property rights in slaves and the fundamental political concepts; and the colonies and states that were strongly slave-minded were not inclined to the right of political asylum in so far as it applied to servants and slaves. But the Biblical tradition which animated the Pilgrim Fathers caused them to write into the Body of Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony in New England, enacted by the General Court, in 1641, the following paragraphs: 2. Every person within this jurisdiction, whether inhabitant or foreigner, shall enjoy the same justice and law that is general for the plantation, which we constitute and execute one towards another, without partiality or delay. 89. If any people of other nations professing the true Christian religion shall flee to us from the tyranny or oppression of their persecutors, or from famine, wars, or the like necessary and compulsory cause, they shall be entertained and succored amongst us, according to that power and prudence God shall give us.

May 17, 1938

31.26

Memorandum For: Honorable Harry McBride
Department of State

Dear Mr. McBride:

The enclosed letter is respectfully referred to you for consideration. I would appreciate some word from you that I, in turn, may send to the President.

With my best wishes to you,

Very sincerely,

James Roosevelt
Secretary to the President

Enc. - Letter 5/10/38 from Dr. Zolly C. von Schwartz, Batavia, N. Y. offers his services to State Dept. without pay - travel for expenses of the travel - in aiding in placement of refugees.

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May 17, 1938

Dear Doctor Von Schwartz:

Thank you very much for your letter of May tenth. I shall be glad to bring it to the attention of the Department of State for consideration. Just as soon as I have any word from them, I will send it along to you.

With my best wishes to you,

Very sincerely,

James Roosevelt
Secretary to the President

Dr. Zolly C. Von Schwartz
Batavia
New York

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ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 20, 1938

In reply refer to
Eu 840.48 Refugees/249

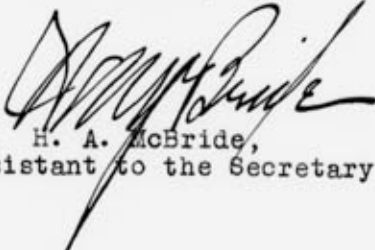
My dear Mr. Roosevelt:

The Department of State has received numerous communications from Dr. von Schwartz, forwarded through various channels, in which he offers his services in connection with the refugee problem.

The reply has been made to him that the Department does not contemplate increasing its regular personnel in dealing with this matter. The suggestion has been made to him, however, that he might wish to get in touch with the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees. The Committee has chosen Mr. James G. McDonald as its Chairman, and he may be reached temporarily in care of the Department of State.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure:
File returned.


H. A. McBride,
Assistant to the Secretary.

The Honorable
James Roosevelt,
Secretary to the President,
The White House.

Dr. Eddy C. von Schwartz

Memorandum

Batavia, New-York.

Honourable James Roosevelt,
Secretary to the President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Re Eur.840-40 State Dept.

10 May 1938.

Date

Honorable Sir:

Upon recommendation of my many friends I am writing you in the hope that you may be able and shall assist me in the below-stated matter.

I have recently returned from an extended tour of the many countries of Europe, and of Northern Africa. I have been actively engaged in the splendid work of the Nansen Fundation, in behalf of the oppressed minorities of the many "absolute" countries. In spite of the fact, that I am a Hoosier, I speak all the principal languages of the more or less civilized Europe. I am well familiarised with the ethnography of all countries, their laws (where there are such) and the trials and tribulations of those persecuted. (of these there are many)

Immediately upon my return I have written to Mr. Cordell Hull, whose personal introduction gave me great help in Europe; and have made known many of the outrages I have seen. I have submitted to Mr. Pierrpont Moffat, of the State Department a hurriedly written account on Roumania. ("I have seen Murders")

In my decision to devote my time to those unfortunates of intolerance I was greatly encouraged by fellow-passengers on the return trip,

Dr. Zolly C. von Schwartz

Memorandum

-2-

Re.....

Date.....

namely,
Bishops Duffy, and Mooney (Buffalo, Detroit, resp.) and Madame
Theodore Roosevelt, Sr.

I have, before the President has named Mr. Myron Taylor, offered
my services and the benefit of my experiences to the State Depart-
ment, in aiding in the successful placement of the many refugees of
Europe. I offered to serve without pay; merely for the expenses of
the travel, I am willing and able to foot the rest of the bill. I
am motivated by the cause, which, in my point of view needs plenty
of good intervention. I know, where the "meat" of the trouble is,
and its cure.

I beg to refer to the enclosed copy of the letter of my good
friend and all time sponsor, the Hon. Fred Van Nuys, of my home State.

I am also proud to recommend the names of the Hon. Messrs. Minton,
Shulte, McNutt; all of Indiana, for references.

In hopes that I shall hear from you real soon, and the reply will
be encouraging, I beg to remain, Sir, with kind regards, and good
wishes,

Respectfully Yours,

Zolly C. von Schwartz

Med. Univ.
Dr. Zolly C. von Schwartz
Medico-legalis

Rp.

Date May 4-th, 1938

UNUNED STATES SENATE
Committee on Foreign Relations

M Frederick Van Nuys,

Dr. Zolly C. von Schwartz
Batavia, New-York.

Dear Doctor Von Schwartz:
Thank you very much for your most interesting letter of the 29-th of April. In view of the recommendation contained therein I have recommended your appointment to Mr. Taylor and Mr. Moffat verbally via the State Department, because of your excellent background for this work.

I trust that our efforts will prove successful.

Cordially yours,
(signed)
Frederick Van Nuys.

/hb



Zolly C. von Schwartz, D. Sc., M. D., A. M.
—med. Univ.—
Consultant pour le Société des Nations
Genève, Suisse

Batavia, New-York.
10 May, 1938.

Refer: State Dept. 840-40 Eur. Aff.
Mr. Pierrepont Moffat,
Enclosure.

DR. ZOLLY C. VON SCHWARTZ
GARY, INDIANA

1328.

May 31, 1938

3166

Respectfully referred to Honorable
Harry A. McBride, Assistant to the Secretary
of State, for consideration and acknowledgment.

JAMES ROOSEVELT
Secretary to the President

X Card with enclosure from Mary Reed, Secretary to Dr. Zolly C.
Von Schwartz, Batavia, N. Y. again asking that the Dr. be
allowed to be of service in aiding the placement of refugees.

get

3186

May 18, 1938

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY WOODRING: x 25

I attach herewith letter addressed to the
President by Miss Sally R. Wolf, of New York City. x

With the return of this communication I
shall appreciate it if you will let me have a draft
of a suitable reply for my signature.

Thank you.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President

Enclosure Let from Miss Sally R. Wolf, 3400 Tryon Avenue,
Bronx, New York City., enclosing article entitled "Sterilization
for Refugees is Urged by Army Leader", taken from The Home News, a
local newspaper, covering Manhattan and Bronx. Asks that some rebuke
be given to an Army official who permits himself such highly
intolerant remarks, provided officer has been correctly quoted.

RB/bsp

x 25 Max

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON

MAY 25 1938

Honorable M. H. McIntyre,
Secretary to the President,
The White House.

Dear Mr. McIntyre:

With reference to your memorandum of May 18, 1938, I am enclosing a draft of a letter addressed to Miss Sally R. Wolf of 3400 Tryon Avenue, Bronx New York, N. Y. regarding her complaint relative to alleged statements of Major General George Van Horn Kossley, Commanding General, Fourth Corps Area. *

Sincerely yours,


Secretary of War.

Incls.

Ltr. Miss Wolf with 1 incl.
Draft of reply.

REPRODUCED FROM HOLDINGS AT THE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

8/28/38

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Instead of replying to this letter to you, may I have the Secretary of War reply, stating that "your letter to the President has been referred to me"?

WHE

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 27, 1938.

MEMO FOR MAC

Yes, have the Secretary
of War reply to this.

F. D. R.

June 2, 1938

PERSONAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF WAR:

I am returning herewith correspondence addressed to the President on May thirteenth by Miss Sally R. Wolf regarding her complaint relative to alleged statements of Major General George Van Horn Moseley. I am also enclosing the draft of reply which you were good enough to prepare for my signature to Miss Wolf's letter but which has not been used.

I am returning these papers at the President's direction with the request that a reply be sent to Miss Wolf over your signature.

Thank you.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President

RB/nma

5/13/38. Miss Sally R. Wolf, 3400 Tryon Avenue, Bronx, New York.
Encloses copy of an item appearing in local newspaper re statements of Major General George Van Horn Moseley, Commanding General, Fourth Corps Area.
Returning suggested reply.

January 16, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR: Colonel Orlando Ward,
Room 2026, Munitions Building,
War Department.

Dear Colonel Ward:

At General Watson's request
Colonel Bull sent the attached papers over
to him last May.

The need for them here is now
past, and they are returned herewith.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Lillian Dennison
Secretary to General Watson.

Incl - papers returned to War Dept as listed in memo of May 23, 1939,
signed by H.R. Bull, Lt. Col., Secretary, General Staff,
copy returned for our files.

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON, D. C.

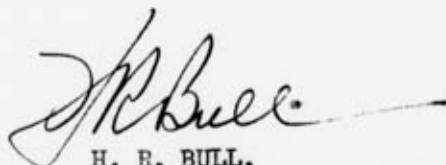
May 23, 1939.

MEMORANDUM FOR General E. M. Watson, Secretary to the President,
The White House.

In answer to telephonic request from Mrs. Dennison, I am inclosing herewith original War Department files as follows:

1. The letter of May 13, 1938, from Miss Sally R. Wolf, Bronx, New York, to the President, concerning General Moseley's statement on sterilization.
2. The inclosure to her letter - copy of an item from "The Home News", subject: "Sterilization for Refugees is urged by Army Leader".
3. Memorandum for Secretary Woodring from Mr. McIntyre, dated May 18, 1938, requesting draft of suitable reply.
4. Memorandum for the Secretary of War from Mr. McIntyre, dated June 2, 1938, returning the correspondence and requesting that reply be sent to Miss Wolf over the Secretary's signature.
5. Letter dated June 8, 1938, to Miss Sally R. Wolf, in answer to her letter of May 13, 1938, as signed by the Secretary of War.

Since these are original files it is requested that they be returned to The Adjutant General when they have served your purpose.



H. R. BULL,
Lieut. Colonel, General Staff,
Secretary, General Staff.

May 24, 1938

3186

Respectfully referred to the Secretary
of State.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President

avv

Letter from Mrs. Lena Gross, 922 Forty-second Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.,
5/19/38 to the President. RE: Asks aid to obtain entry into the U. S.
of her sister, Eva Greenberg, who is in Warsaw.

x

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May 24, 1938

3186

Respectfully referred to the Secretary
of State.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President

avv

Letter from Mrs. Savel Kwartin, 169 St. Marks Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.,
5/18/38 to the President. RE: On behalf of her brother, Dr. Isak Wachs,
who was forced to leave his child, Ilga, aged 6, in Vienna when fleeing *
the Nazi invasion. Asks aid to secure entry into the U.S. and reunite the
child with his parents.

Wachs

May 26, 1938

ESR/

Respectfully referred for consideration and acknowledgment by memorandum.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President.

WIRES:

318'6
Executive Committee Federal Sweets and Wafer Company, Employees Ass'n., Brooklyn, N.Y., 168 39th St., 5/25. Asks for protection made upon them by members of a Union, whose demands are that they join them. Labor Dept.

Dan H. Brown, Pres., Morris Mills Co., 105 W. Adams St., Chicago, Illinois. 5/25. Facts contained in wire (quoted) to Dr. Knight verifies Pres. claim of big business interference with economic progress this country. Cereal chemists can inform Pres. what it will mean to have Europe get the benefit of this American discovery before our country due to inertia of larger American milling interests. Suggests early govt. action. Sec. of Agriculture.

Respectfully referred to the State Department, by memorandum.
MEM

Krotina, Brooklyn, N.Y. 5/25. "Will mail letter to you what will settle European situation."

The Audience of over 200 Assembled at The Jewish Theological Seminary at Student Affair to aid oppressed Jewry, New York, NY 5/25. re political refugees. Urge Mr. Myron Taylor to request a lifting the limited immigration quota now in effect in Palestine.

R. Beverley Herbert, Columbia, So. Car. 5/25. Urges peace.

Respectfully referred by memorandum for consideration and acknowledgment. MEM

LETTERS:

Maude Parrish, Quenemo, Kans. 5/23 Postmaster John L. Rogers, is resigning. Writer is present Assistant Postmaster - asks to be appointed Acting Postmaster. PODept.

DURKEE, Reverend Doctor J. Stanley
Pastor, Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims
Brooklyn, New York
February 29, 1938 (?)

Wrote the President, commending him for his attitude toward political refugees, and requesting message in connection with essay contest being held by Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, concerning religion. Information re contest is enclosed. -- The President wrote Doctor Durkee March 31st that he is interested in their plans and that it is in keeping with the fine traditions of Henry Ward Beecher's old church, now united with the Church of the Pilgrims, that this idea to stimulate interest in religion in Greater New York has been undertaken. Says he has long felt that a revival of religion would lead the way to a happy solution of the most vexatious problems that confront this nation and the world today, and that what is needed more than anything else is the every day exemplification in real life of the plain teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. Says any movement which aims to stimulate a return to religion is most praiseworthy and he hopes their contest will be fruitful of a rich harvest for the Kingdom of God.

SEE - PPF 5278

3186

HULL, Hon. Cordell
Secretary of State
March 29, 1938

Mr. McIntyre referred to him for draft of reply, telegram sent to the President March 28th by Isaac Zuckerman, Brooklyn, N. Y., re difficulty experienced by his son-in-law, Wolf Ber Blady, in obtaining immigration visas for himself and family at our Consulate General at Warsaw, Poland. Mr. Zuckerman commented upon the President's statement regarding political refugees. -- In accordance with draft submitted by Under Secretary SUMNER WELLES April 2nd, Mr. McIntyre wrote Mr. Zuckerman April 4th that the State Department says that the Consul General was requested March 1, 1938 to submit report re present status of visa applications of Mr. and Mrs. Blady, and family, and the nature of any difficulty which may have arisen therein. Says report will be received in the near future, but that telegraphic reply will be made at Mr. Zuckerman's expense. Mr. McIntyre has asked State Department to advise him of the circumstances.

3186

SEE - 3194

rlv

ETTINGER, Alfred
Detroit, Michigan
4-4-38

3186

Wrote to Mr. Forster re the possibility of his interceding with the Dept. of State to have the American Consul in Vienna contact the Viennese authorities to the end that Ludwig Klausner, Director General of the Delka Shoe Company, Mrs. Fanny Hulles and her son, Emil Hulles, of the Ha-Ha Shoe Company, all of Vienna, and his relatives may be released from jail where they have been placed without cause by the German Nazi in Vienna, and be permitted to come to this country after approval of the guarantees by the American Consul. Said that Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Ettinger, his parents, are greatly concerned and anxious about this situation and the writer and his brother Fred wish to guarantee to the United States Government for the immigration visa in the usual manner prescribed by law, for these relatives. ----- Mr. Forster replied to Mr. Ettinger, April 7, 1938, giving information re the situation and suggestions made by State Dept. - the draft of this letter was supplied by Hon. R. Southgate, State Dept., April 7.

SEE ETTINGER

political refugees

SWOPE, Hon. Herbert Bayard
NYC., N. Y.,
April 5, 1938.

Writes the President re the President's stand on helping the oppressed to find refuge. Comments on the words which are engraved on the Statue of Liberty.-- The President wrote Mr. Swope, April 7th, saying the lines engraved on the Statue of Liberty were wonderful and he did wish more could be done for the oppressed.

SEE P.P.F. 331

3186

STATE, The Secretary of
April 9, 1938

Mr. Hassett referred to him, for draft of message, if same is deemed advisable, letter to the President April 7th from Rabbi Solomon Goldman, National Co-Chairman, United Palestine Appeal, New York, N. Y., requesting a Presidential message for the United Palestine Appeal conference which will meet in Chicago, Illinois, April 24th to consider the problem of assisting homeless Jewish refugees in Europe. — In accordance with draft submitted by Mr. George Summerlin, Chief of Protocol, April 19th, Mr. Early wrote Rabbi Goldman April 19th that although the great pressure of national and international affairs at this time has made it necessary for the President to adopt the practice of declining requests for messages, he desires Mr. Early to extend his best wishes to the conference.

SEE - PPF 601

3186

age

OSBORN, Chase S.
Poulan, Worth County, Ga.
4-13-38

Sent Mr. McIntyre a copy of a letter he has received from Stanley D. Newton of Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, 4-9-38, re Mr. Osborn's book "Madagascar". -- believes that might be a haven for the oppressed groups of Europe instead of America as "the President has hinted".

--Mr. McIntyre sent this correspondence to Sumner Welles with the statement "Thought you might get a kick out of this".

paid in refugy

SEN Newton, Stanley D.

3186

vah.

STERN, Hermann, Esq.,
District No. 1, The Free Sons of Israel,
New York, N.Y.
April 24, 1938

Writes the President in behalf of the members of District No. 1, The Free Sons of Israel, a patriotic organization of Americans of Jewish Faith, saluting him "as the most outstanding Humanitarian, a man possessed with the noblest instincts to help his fellowmen". States further, "By calling on all civilized nations to open their doors to Gentiles and Jews persecuted in Germany and Austria, to find a place of safety for them in lands of liberty, you have again proven to the world your noble personality". Says that the proceeds of their annual Moonlight Sail this year will be devoted to the support of this noble undertaking, and invites the President to grace this occasion with his presence, on June 15, 1938.

See Invitation - New York

3186

LABOR, The Secretary of
May 13, 1938

The President referred for draft of reply a letter of May 8 written to Miss Leland by Dr. Nathaniel A. Davis, Los Angeles, Cal., enclosing copy of letter he sent to the Sec. of Labor, in re admission to this country of Heinz Charasch, a refugee from Germany. Mr. Charasch is now on a British ship in the Los Angeles harbor and Mr. Davis asks that he be granted entrance into the U.S. -- Sec. Perkins replied on May 20, submitting draft, which the President sent on May 21 stating inquiry into this case reveals that to admit him for permanent residence in the U.S. would be contrary to the Immigration Act of 1924. Says, unfortunately, administrative officers have no discretion to waive the requirements of this law.

SEE - 3226

3186

BERGMAN, Alfred,
New York, N.Y.
May 13, 1938.

Letter to Mr. McIntyre, enclosing an article by Dorothy Thompson, regarding political refugees from Europe. Writer ask if President cannot help these unfortunates.

See Thompson, Dorothy

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3186

GOLDSTEIN, Dr. Israel
President, Jewish National Fund of America,
New York, N. Y.
May 20, 1938

Wrote Mr. James Roosevelt, that in appreciation of the President's attitude with reference to political refugees, the Jewish National Fund of America has decided to dedicate a section of the Golden Book to Franklin D. Roosevelt, and wants to present a replica of same to the President when completed. -- Mr. McIntyre wrote Dr. Goldstein June 7th that he will be glad to arrange for a presentation of the replica of the volume at a convenient time, and that the President asked him to express his appreciation.

SEE - PPF 601

3186

ERNST, Morris L.
New York, N.Y.,
May 27, 1938

Writes to James Roosevelt on three subjects: 1. Says he has done some scouting on Mead. (It is understood that Representative James M. Meade is the strongest Democratic candidate for the Governorship or the U.S. Senatorship in western New York.) Attaches a copy of "News of the Week" an American Labor Party publication of May 14th saying Rep. Mead praised Laborites for aid to New Deal and comments on Wages-Hours Bill. 2. Mentions the Jersey City situation. 3. Says he has written to Felix Frankfurter, attaches copy, dated April 28th. Says he has spoken to James McDonald and to Adolph Berle in re a way of impressing the American people with the American tradition of political asylum to the outcasts of Europe. Says he is sure he can deliver Bill Green and John Lewis on a real program. Says he does not represent anyone in the situation and asks if he can be helpful. -- On June 9, James Roosevelt replied thanking for his interesting note saying he is passing it along to the officials who are studying the problem. Says it would be nice to see him. Sends best wishes.

SEE - P.P.F. 2841

3186