

FABIO FIALLO

**“The Crime of Wilson
in Santo Domingo”**



1940

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FABIO FIALLO

“THE CRIME OF WILSON IN
SANTO DOMINGO”

NOTE: This book, in the Spanish edition, was entitled “La Comisión Nacionalista en Washington” (“The Nationalist Commission in Washington”), but on being published now in English, it is given its original title: “The Crime of Wilson in Santo Domingo”, although its contents form only one of the ten chapters of which that book is composed.

Probably, “The Crime of Wilson in Santo Domingo” will not be published for some time; perhaps never. This is not an opportune moment for directing attacks against the United States, but, on the contrary, one of mutual comprehension and close alliance. For this reason, the easy reparation of the wrongs perpetrated in the past on Santo Domingo is incumbent on the present administration of the United States, both in spirit of justice as well as of public morality.

Dig

BN
972-9305
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L. 2

I dedicate this book, which reveals an almost unknown page of our heroic struggle against American Intervention to my dear companions of the Nationalist Commission in Washington:

RAFAEL C. TOLENTINO,
TULIO M. CESTERO, and
MANUEL M. MORILLO

and to Messrs.

RAFAEL BONELLY FONDEUR
FRANK BERMUDEZ
TOMAS MOREL
EDUARDO SANCHEZ CABRAL
JOAQUIN BALAGUER
LEONELO LOPEZ
TOMAS HERNANDEZ FRANCO
MARCOS CABRAL
JOSE CABRAL
PERICLES FRANCO
ANTONIO JORGE and
YORYI MOREL

FABIO FIALLO.



1880

FOREWORD TO THE ENGLISH
EDITION



These excerpts from my private diary in Washington were first published in Spanish in November 1939 — eighteen years after the original notations had been written down. At that moment, the second European war was still in its initial, desultory stage — with hostilities circumscribed to certain activities in the air and on the sea, the forces of democracy apparently holding the upper hand in a conflict which to all appearances was limited mainly to an economic struggle between the Allied blockade and German resistance.

Since then, however, the picture has changed so completely and so dramatically and with such ominous implications for the future of the whole Western Hemisphere that I feel obliged to give new emphasis to my profession of faith in Continental solidarity and to my unshaken devotion to the ideals of liberty which the peoples of all the American republics share in common. Indeed, the appalling catastrophe



which has engulfed the most brilliant democracies of the Old World has only strengthened my conviction in the necessity of providing without delay for the defense of this hemisphere by means of an effective all-american union which would marshal the resources that knit the action of every member of the greater American Commonwealth, so as to safeguard our independence and our spiritual heritage from the menace of those dark forces which have destroyed liberty in the European continent and have cast such awful shadows upon the future of mankind.

However, while proclaiming this great necessity, I must raise a voice of warning — a voice which I hope will find sufficient echo throughout the American, and especially in North America. It is evident that any scheme for continental defense will have to be undertaken under the leadership of the United States, which by reason of its size, power and industrial resources, is, within the nations of this hemisphere, the country that is best prepared to assume this grave responsibility. But it cannot be too strongly stressed that in the exercise of this leadership, the American Government and the American people at large must use the greatest care in order to make it



clear to the sister republics with whom they share the domain of the richest continent on the face of the earth that this leadership does not mean domination of any sort, but, on the contrary, it signifies willingness to recognize a high duty imposed by destiny, and to discharge it without the slightest selfish impulse. The success of any scheme for continental defense rests to a great extent on the voluntary cooperation of all the nations of the Continent, and in order to secure this cooperation, it must be the policy of the United States to respect at every step the dignity and the national interests of the Southern republics; and this policy must be shaped in such a way as to preclude a repetition of the ghastly error that was incurred in respect of the Dominican Republic in 1916, which error is reflected in the pages of this book. Indeed, no better justification could be found for totalitarian aggression and totalitarian practices than a possible repetition of the monstrous hypocrisy of Wilson's double-faced policy in 1916-1920, when he posed as the defender of self-determination and the rights of small nations in Europe and in Asia while he was employing the overpowering military might of the United States (without the authority of Congress) to invade the territories of the weak

nations of this hemisphere and to destroy their independence. I now feel that the publication of this small volume, which will act as an eloquent if somewhat unsavory memento of that nefarious policy, will add force to this warning, and will thereby contribute to a healthy orientation of North American policy in the very difficult emergency which has been created by the fall of Europe under Nazi domination.

If this Continent is to survive as a depository of the best ideals of humanity and as a rock of freedom surrounded and battered by the stormy tide of totalitarian domination, it must remain a free continent — in fact as well as in words. It must find a way to settle the enormous difficulties which now confront our peoples as a result of totalitarian victory in Europe through voluntary cooperation and not through any resort to force on the part of the United States, which would discredit their policy both within and without the Americas and would immediately arouse a sequel of fear, antagonism and resentment among the Latin-American peoples, thus playing into the hands of the common enemy. We are not in the year 1918, when, as the dominant partner of a tremendously powerful and victorious alliance, the United States could cow the Latin-American nations into a disgra-



ceful submission to its policies, while American marines occupied the soil and terrorized the peoples of several sister republics. Totalitarian victory in Continental Europe, or the possible termination of the present European war either by a Nazi-Facist victory or through a compromise that would leave Nazi Germany at the head of an all-powerful European confederation, would eventually draw Latin-America into the scales of the "balance of power" politics, thus ending the century-old isolation of the Western Hemisphere from the system that has been the ruling factor in the destinies of the old World. Now, more than ever, is American isolation desirable, because it means isolation from the brutal doctrines of totalitarianism, essentially incompatible in every domain with the ideals which are the common foundation of all the American nations — no matter their size nor the difficulties which some of them may have encountered in the painful struggle for the attainment of those high ideals; but anyone can visualize the glaring contradiction and the eventual failure of any attempt to safeguard this continent against imperialism, brutality and expected aggression if to accomplish this imperialistic and brutal methods are employed



and to ward off expected aggression, methods of "preventive aggression" are put in force.

If the United States would lead successfully this Continent against totalitarian infection and totalitarian aggression, they should be prepared to accept the fundamental principle that theirs must be, first and always, a spiritual leadership. They should look beyond the markets and the bargain-driving perspective of their business men to the larger issues that lie in the hearts of the peoples, and to their capacity to inspire them with a common ideal of freedom, a common standard of decent living and a common purpose of defense of those substantial values. They must respect the dignity of their weaker neighbors, if they would allay the natural fears of these weaker neighbors for their superior force. To strengthen this call to reason, idealism and clear thinking on the part of our Northern neighbors, I shall simply quote from a recent publication by an eminent American writer:

"Our own neutrality must be dependent to a degree on the actions of our neighbors... We hear much of the defense of the Western Hemisphere and it usually revolves around the guns and ships required to protect the nations which nature has

divided from the tribulations of Europe and Asia. Of far greater importance than guns and ships is the spirit which lies behind the pronouncements of the leaders of these nations. Hemisphere defense is more a problem of mutual cooperation than it is of the material weapons which each nation can supply for the common defense”.

Now then, should this small book fall into the hands of a North American reader, let him ponder the lesson contained in those last words: “not guns and ships, but the spirit of those nations they are supposed to protect...” May this phantom of a hateful past contribute to clear the way for a brave and beautiful future, just as a derelict floating on the sea sharply warns passing mariners against the errors which might dash the proudest ship against treacherous shoals.

Havana, July, 1940.

FOREWORD TO THE SPANISH
EDITION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SPANISH
SECTION



The pages of this small volume, which I am publishing under the title of "THE DOMINICAN NATIONALIST COMMISSION IN WASHINGTON" are taken from my book "THE CRIME OF WILSON IN SANTO DOMINGO".

That book, it may well be said, was not written with the idea of appealing to one's reason nor as a work of study, but it was evolved step by step, day by day, pain after pain, with unceasing fervor and audacious enterprise after the tremendous failure of the previous effort and in the face of the sinister hour which was approaching, fraught with danger and threats.

"THE CRIME OF WILSON IN SANTO DOMINGO" depicts facts compiled and set down in the heat and passion of one who lived through these events in all their intensity, it having fallen to my lot to play an extraordinary role which the Government of Occupation thrust on me, i. e. amongst all my comrades of the press,

I was the only one subjected to a Military Court which, in the accusation against me, was defined as follows:

“A MILITARY COMMISSION derives all its powers and authority from Martial Law and the official who enforces Martial Law is at the same time Supreme Legislator, Supreme Judge and Supreme Executor”. See “Listin Diario” of August 6th, 1929).

As I have said, “THE CRIME OF WILSON IN SANTO DOMINGO” is a book of the passions. A book of blood, hate and pain. When it is published in its entirety, the true sentiments of the Dominican people can be judged from its pages and also the manner in which the acts were perpetrated. And I swear that notwithstanding the flaming ink in which the pages are written, there is not a single line in which truth gives way to a lie or an error is knowingly maintained.

But, if truth is unemotional, the vibration of the pen which today judges those events is not so. The fury of the protest has been followed by the serenity which time imposes on things which have been. Thus it is today that I have decided to exclude from that book the most serene portion which sets forth the facts without the ardor of the combatant of yesterday being

reflected in the happenings which are today related.

Furthermore, these pages, were written in the atmosphere of Washington at the time of the interesting exchange of opinions with our loyal companions in the cause of liberation: Horace Knowles and William Pulliam, Bennet, Sherwell and Greuning, or during discussions with our elusive opponents of the Department of States: Hughes, Welles, Mayer..., and not in the Dominican Republic, treacherously occupied, abused and nailed to a bloody cross by Admiral Knapp and his henchmen, the Taylors, Nerkles and Fellands.

And since the occasion is propitious, I wish to inform the readers of my book that I have at no time accused the American people of the crime of the intervention which we suffered during eight long years. The sole perpetrator of this crime was President Woodrow Wilson, whose cynicism ran parallel with his iniquity when in Versailles he was proclaimed the Defender of the Rights of Weak Nations, while here in the Caribbean the waters were covered with cruisers crowded with marines and soldiers who came to our defenseless land to sack, burn and behead men, women and children.



Another American Chief of State merits our historic execration and our concentrated contempt. I refer to that insignificant Harding who in his campaign for the Presidency took our cause in hand as a banner of combat only to consent, when he was elected First Magistrate of the American nation, to the pretensions of his ministers to impose on us an American Protectorate as the only possible solution for the evacuation of our unhappy land.

The culpability of Wilson and the perfidy of the Harding Government are well established in this book, written day by day on the margin of the events and discussions of that hour, without adding or taking away one iota of historical veracity.

And because this is unquestionably evident, I venture to affirm that in no book published up to date on our struggles against American occupation has there been shown up so clearly and irrefutably the tenacious efforts, schemes and traps used by the Department of State in Washington to impose a protectorate on us as in these pages. This unheard of attempt was at last vanquished by the patriotism and titanic resistance of the Dominican Republic without doubt, but thanks are also due to the talent, the unswerving faith and the firmness of character

of our President de Jure, whose daily persistent struggles in Washington are here detailed and confirmed.

It is now time that the Dominican people, when speaking of their great patricians, render homage and affection to that champion of our bloody struggle against Yankee occupation — Dr. Francisco Henríquez y Carvajal.

THE DOMINICAN NATIONALIST
COMMISSION IN WASHINGTON
1920 - 1921

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
COMMISSION ON THE WASHINGTON
1953-1954

When in 1918 the Teutonic colossus fell, vanquished at last under the blows of the most formidable coalition of all times, the Dominican people, sequestered as they were from universal intercourse by their omnipotent rulers, breathed a deep sigh of relief and hope. It was not that any sensible Dominican could build any illusions on the righteousness of the beautiful principles which the victorious governments had written on their banners to satisfy the aspirations and maintain the fervor of the peoples who had been thrown as a holocaust into the terrible fire of the conflict. Too well could the sincerity of the principle of "free determination, which President Wilson had proclaimed with evangelistic unction, be measured by those who had seen soldiers of that lofty pretender cowardly assassinate a nation and seal that crime with torrents of innocent blood. But all had deduced that upon the termination of that tremendous conflagration the world would at last emerge from the regime of lies, of forced silence and of slaugh-

ter which had imprisoned for more than five years, as an immense cloudy funnel, all the light and all the dignity of civilized life; and that once the bloody account of the victor and the vanquished had been settled, the glances of the world would be turned in astonishment to that forgotten corner of the Caribbean Sea where the forces of a great power had perpetrated, behind the back of the world and of its own people the most iniquitous act of international piracy of modern times. It was vaguely felt in the midst of the bitterness and anguish of that hateful slavery that when silence reigned over the battle fields of ruined Europe, the silence which weighed on the unhappy captive whom the Yankee segeants held under their knees to prevent his cries reaching the conscience of the world, would be broken.

However, although it was easy —perhaps too easy— to organize at that time a grandiose manifestation of indiscreet rejoicing for the victory of the allies, which was also the victory of our executioners, it was yet impossible for any one who did not wish to uselessly risk his life to initiate within the national territory any public activity for the purpose of conveying our protest and the livid light of our tragedy to free peoples from whom we were isolated by the



most vile and brutal censorship ever used by a conceited and bloody despot. All the glances and all the pallid hopes of the country were turned in consequence towards the patriots who, residing on free soil, could with more or less success, champion our cause, and especially towards that noble and austere citizen who still carried on his shoulders the sacred investiture of the Republic, after having salvaged from the shipwreck the only splendor which the furious waves of force can never succeed in wresting from a worthy ruler: the national honor.

It was thus that Dr. Henríquez and the friends of the Dominican cause in Cuba took up the task of raising funds to pay the trip of our President to Versailles, a task in which his son Max Henríquez Ureña, his nephew Fernando Abel Henríquez and the brilliant newspaper man, Eduardo Abril Amores, distinguished themselves. They traveled over the eastern region of the sister isle, founding pro-Dominican committees and rekindling wherever possible the torch of Cuban-Dominican fraternity which, in the liberating hands of Martí and Máximo Gómez, had migrated long ago on a frail skiff over the turbulent waves of Paso de los Vientos to kindle in another momentous hour for the destinies of

the Antilles the redeeming flame of the Cuban revolution.

Later Max left for Havana, and there, aided by Manuel María Morillo, who, in spite of the invaders, continued to be recognized as the diplomatic representative of our country before the Cuban Government, formed another committee under the presidency of the eminent philosopher Enrique José José Varona. And as a fruit of these activities, which were placed later under the patronage of the illustrious patrician, Don Emilio Bacardí, some \$20,000.00 were rapidly obtained with which Dr. Henríquez, carrying the most fervent good wishes of the Cuban people, began his thorny journey to Versailles.

Those who saw him depart hoped that the presence of that venerable patrician, who, in addition to having been elected by his people to the supreme office, had also played a brilliant role in various international assemblies and was linked by friendship to many illustrious persons, would be able to impress the representatives of the people who had gathered there to call German imperialism to strict accounting for its old as well as its recent misdemeanors and would at least be successful in bringing the Dominican case into discussion. The distance,

the lack of knowledge and the sordid atmosphere of diplomatic conventicles and the candid illusions of justice which the advent of the League of Nations had awakened, deceived those who had placed their confidence in the might of right and in the potency of the word of a just man.

The world soon saw, however, that that assembly of nations — convened by the victors under the most solemn and resounding invocations of idealism to found a new international order based on reason and justice — was nothing more than a second Vienna Congress, and the League of Nations another Holy Alliance designed to guarantee the great powers the peaceful enjoyment of their conquest with the trembling acquiescence wrung from the small nations through their own weakness or lack of courage. Each of the omnipotent victors over the brutal but frank Teutonic imperialism presented himself in Versailles flourishing the sword of his own imperialism, although — like Wilson, the scabbard was bedecked with sugary declarations of principles. And thus it was that the protectorates which had derived “free determination” received the suggestive designation of “mandates”. The re-establishment of oppressed nationalities served as a pretext to justify the most excessive territorial acquisitions, and the

League of Nations accepted in its constitution a humiliating reservation whereby all matters relating to the American continent were placed without the scope of its jurisdiction, thus abandoning these republics to the arbitrary sovereignty of the United States. History will never be able to explain how the hands of the diplomats of who signed this monstrous renunciation of national dignity did not wither and fall in shame. Only two countries — Mexico and the Argentine — were resolute enough to maintain their statuts as real nations, refusing to associate themselves in that false international agreement in which our peoples could not enter except cowering under the gallows of submission and slavery, and from which we could expect no protection, morality, justice nor right.

In such an atmosphere of force, deceit and rapine, with the spirit of the world still torn and troubled by the shock of the immense drama whose epilogue was being brought to a close at Versailles; with all attention focussed on the struggle which had arisen between the victorious nations in settling the vast problems of misery and confusion that had accumulated during four years of destruction, how could the voice of Dr. Henríquez be heard? His voice — the weak voice of that far-off victim in the Caribbean —

was lost in the vortex of colossal interests, like the biblical voice of the prophets who clamored for justice in the desert. He requested an audience with the conceided Yankee Emperor — his equal in the hierachy of diplomacy, his inferior, certainly, in the hierachy of souls — and it was refused. After much effort, he obtained an interview with the Chief of the Latin-American Division of the Department of State whom Wilson had the foresight to take with him to Europe to direct the gestures of his tropical puppets, but he merely voiced the unappealable decision that American affairs must be taken up in America.

What could be done in the face of such gross injustice? Attack the harsh and haughty enemy with the arm of scandal, the only arm which in those circumstances was within the reach of our representative? For one brief moment Dr. Henríquez was tempted to use it. And at that critical moment he received offers which a temperament less serene than his, wrought by the most justified indignation, would have immediately accepted. One offer came from French radical elements who saw in the Treaty of Versailles a monument of social iniquity and in Wilson the hypocritical servant of Yankee capitalism. Others — perhaps more vehement,

although less disinterested — came from elements connected with the Italian Government, whose imperialism the false apostle of “free determination of peoples” in Europe wished to check in the Adriatic, while he put the most insolent “Noli me tangere” on the spoils of his own imperialism in the Caribbean. Dr. Henríquez hesitated some days between the impulse to denounce to the world, with the powerful aid of such prominent allies, the crime of Santo Domingo and the repugnant deceit of the dictator-professor, but the consideration of the disadvantages and the calamities which such procedure would cause his shackled and helpless people finally decided him to reject the temptation.

Today, when above all it is possible to judge the details of that exceptional situation without passion and to presume what would have occurred to us by the experience of that which happened to those who appealed to that resource, we can do no less than justify and applaud his wise caution. Commissions of Koreans and Egyptians — who like the Dominicans had, had been crushed by the forces of foreign military powers — on seeing the just claims of their respective peoples disregarded by the famous Council of Five, began the task of launching a cam-

paing of scandal in the hope of moving world opinion against Japan and England and thus oblige them to loosen their holds on their booty, or at least modify the despotic regimes which had been imposed on them. These incidents passed without any other result than that of increasing the coercive measures with which the victors attempted to force these subjugated peoples into silent submission in the far and near East. On the other hand, Italy — which had no political interests in America and only wanted to utilize us as a circumstantial instrument in their Mediterranean policy — would certainly have abandoned us as soon as the Fiume question was solved, leaving us at the mercy of an all-powerful and irritated conqueror, who, after this incident, would always have looked with suspicion on our people and we would have incurred the eternal ill-will of the North American nation.

A new factor also arose to counsel Dr. Henríquez prudence and restraint. In his efforts to get fraternal aid from the Latin-American diplomats gathered in París, he had met — with some honorable and sterile exceptions — only indifference or fear. But the Chief Executive of one of the greatest and richest nations of South America, the President of Brasil, doc-



tor Pessoa, was in Paris and as soon as the Dominican problem was explained to him, he appeared to embrace our cause with the liveliest interest, promising Dr. Henríquez in the most emphatic and solemn manner to take up our just claims as soon as he arrived in Washington and advising him to observe in the meantime the strictest caution, in order to facilitate his efforts in favor of our cause. In the face of such a valuable offer of mediation, our representative could not hesitate to sacrifice, as he did, the very doubtful advantages that may have been obtained by using the arm of scandal, the echoes of which would have been hardly heard in that atmosphere charged with the clamors of a world in decay and bankruptcy.

It is a great pleasure for me to render today a tribute of sincere applause to the equanimity and wise conduct of the eminent representative of our cause in Europe, although in the intensity of my pain in those days I had censured and had even secretly cursed that cautious and wise attitude which I then classed as pusilanimous.

In the opinion of those persons who are familiar with the character of Dr. Pessoa — good, but thoughtless and weak, — his offer was made in good faith, but it is true that to the great astonishment of Dr. Henríquez and of all those



who knew of his noble and rosy promise, it was never fulfilled. The President of Brazil did not mention the Dominican case to Wilson when he made his official visit to Washington. This regrettable desertion was even more unexplainable when it is considered that no nation of America was at that time better prepared than Brazil to make a friendly gesture toward our rescue, inasmuch as their traditional identification with North American diplomacy — confirmed in the most evident manner during the long crisis of the World War — gave Dr. Pessoa the assurance of being heard, not only without prejudice, but even with marked deference.

Thus, abandoned by those who by ties of blood and destiny were under an obligation to aid us — with the generous but fruitless exception of the efforts of the Uruguayan chancellery, made on the initiative of their minister in Havana, Dr. Rafael J. Fosalba, to whom our country owes a debt of gratitude — and every hope of achieving our liberation by international action lost, it was at last decided that our President, pursuing his bitter wandering, should knock at the hard doors of the Department of State in Washington in demand of justice and humanity for an enslaved and bleeding people. These doors remained for a long time inexorably deaf

to the claims of the twitching and pitiful hand that knocked at them.

In the year 1919, while in the unhappy fields of the East and of the South and of Cibao, Merkle, Taylor and Buckalow applied the most horrible tortures to a defenseless people, while the alcoholic caprices of the soldiers and officers of the Army of Occupation filled our cities with infamy and anguish, Wilson made a trip through the United States proclaiming the good tidings of Versailles and trying to make his distrustful and obstinate people swallow the incubus of the League of Nations. Sure of the effectiveness of the censorship which had been imposed and the terror established by the marines, he appeared to forget the country which he had kidnapped by personal authority without the knowledge of Congress; and every effort to remind him of the destiny of the million and a half souls held in slavery in the far-off tropics had the sole effect of violently irritating his nerves, without doubt due to the voice of his conscience accusing him of hypocrisy. Thus it was that for the third time he refused to receive Dr. Henríquez. This refusal came through his Secretary of State Lansing.

Dr. Henríquez was accompanied in this stage of his mission by his brother Don Federico, his



son Max Henríquez Ureña, Tulio M. Cestero and later by Pedro Henríquez Ureña, who was at that time a professor of the University of Minnesota. While our President de jure with anguished but never defected soul contacted the embassies and legations of Latin-America and certain personalities of the official world of North America, asking aid for the demands of our people, the other members of the Commission were entrusted with divulging, through the means provided them by the friendship and the sympathy of some generous North Americans, the characteristics of the outrage of which we were the victims.

The efforts of this distinguished group of friends — among whom the Hon'ble Horace Knowles, former minister of the United States in Santo Domingo and the editorial staff of "The Nation", headed by A. Greuning, deserve mention — began to move North American public opinion and violent censure was directed against President Wilson by the Republican party organs. As a result of this labor which culminated in the first motion of investigation of the Dominican case presented to Congress by Representative Robinson and also, perhaps, as a consequence of the friendly representations of the Uruguayan Chancellery, Dr. Henríquez was

at last invited to the Department of State to set forth his complaints and the aspirations of our enslaved people.

Such was the indifference with which our destiny had been left to the arbitrary judgment of the gallooned pro-consuls of the Navy Department that, as Dr Henríquez was able to verify, the officials of the Department of State were absolutely ignorant of the nature of the regime to which we had been subjected and were visibly amazed on hearing from his lips the details of the irresponsibility, the brutality and annoyance of that government of sergeants. As eloquent proof of the lightness with which life, tranquility and dignity of a million and a half souls was delivered to the caprices of military governors, it was stated in Washington that when a certain admiral was detailed from active service to fill the post of Governor of Santo Domingo, he repeatedly asked for written instructions covering the objectives which the Department had in view in order to orientate his course of action in the government of a country concerning which he had only the vaguest knowledge. Tired of waiting, he at last requested an interview with Secretary Daniels and again personally asked for instructions. Secretary Daniel's reply was a monument of carelessness and cyni-

cism, heretofore unknown in contemporary history: "Instruction! Don't bother about instructions! Just sit on the lid; that's all we want". What instructions other than these would the hard drunken Felland, known here as Colonel Cloven Hoof, due to the brutality of his kicks, take with him to Nicaragua?

Even though the revelations of Dr Henríquez manifestly impressed the officials of the State Department, they had no authority to decide anything in a government of which the Cabinet members themselves had been reduced to discolored paste-board figures, without right to any initiative through the conceit of infallibility attributed to Wilson and his aulic counselor, the omnipotent Colonel House. This was also the prodigious era of the "dance of the millions". Shady and powerful influences related to banking and sugar interests were extracting a river of gold from Santo Domingo and without doubt these interests dreamed of extending their fields of action in our country more and more in order to collect this fabulous tribute during many years. These interests pulled all the strings in the official circles of Washington to prevent any modification of the Occupation regime. However, at the end of several weeks of weary battle, Dr Henríquez succeeded in inducing the



American Government to take the first step on the road toward concessions which served to test the resistance of the Dominican national conscience against every attempt to disintegrate their sovereignty, opening for the first time, through a modification of the censorship, the vibrant escape valve of the muzzled sentiment of protest which boiled in every heart.

The second half of the year 1920 and the first quarter of 1921 were the most arduous and emotional periods of our struggle against Yankee occupation. A resolute phalanx of orators and journalists, filled with war-like ardor, had launched with irresistible impetus through the narrow road, sown with mortal threats, which the modifications of the censorship had opened up for us, unexpectedly violent attacks against the intrigue of the Military Government toward a protectorate or annexation and encouraged the people against any compromising manoeuver which might affect the independence and sovereignty of the Dominican Nation.

In my book, "THE CRIME OF WILSON IN SANTO DOMINGO", I shall have occasion to refer to the punishments incurred by the most audacious and fearless members of that phalanx, among whom it is sufficient to mention here the eminent figure of Monseñor de Mena, one



of the most indignant and vehement orators against the crimes of American occupation and who undoubtedly was not sent to jail in those days only by reason of his high ecclesiastical dignity.

The imprisonment and, above all, the trial of the journalists was the most resounding victory of Dominican patriotism against the iniquitous tyranny of the Military Government. The right to impose the death sentence, which was one of the powers of the Military Commission created exclusively to try me for my article "Oidme Todos" and whose powers, which were well explained in the final portion of their bill of appointment, as follows: "The limit of the jurisdiction of the Commission in the matter of punishment which it may adjudge is death", caused much astonishment and general indignation. Also, this act provided for the fatidical presence of the priest who should give me religious comfort.

As was natural and unavoidable, that stupid ostentation of iniquity provoked the strongest reaction which had been heard against the Government of the United States up to that time. Starting from Havana by Dr. Modesto Morales Díaz, President of the Press Association, in less than a week it extended like a giant

wave of fire over the entire continent, causing admonitions and protest in the press which daily became more and more violent, warning Wilson that the "Case of Santo Domingo" was already the "Case of America", and that it was drawing criticism from the entire continent against him and his sergeants who had been converted into the executioners of an unarmed people.

And not only the newspapers of our race—including some in Spain, Italy and France—but also many eminent writers of the United States directed prompt pleas to the White House to put an end to that barbarous and bloody occupation, so contrary to the ideals of the noble American people (See Annex No. 1).

Wilson had no alternative but to issue an order releasing all the newsmen who were held for trial and to end definitely the regime of oppression and terror which had weighed for over five years on the unhappy Dominican Republic, the barbarous rulings of which regime had reached the point of ordering all schools closed — for reasons of economy! (See Annex N° 2).

The dike broken, the national conscience spread in a series of manifestations which carried the echoes of our decided opposition and irreconcilable claims throughout the world.

which claims were not to be satisfied or terminated except by the recognition of our rights and the termination of the Occupation.

That reaction of vibrant sympathy which had been awakened all over the American Continent and even in the United States by the *Vía Crucis* of the Dominican journalists and the evidence of the unyielding patriotic sentiment which our people, now free of all repression, which was made manifest for the first time with such magnificent unity of action, profoundly impressed the American Government, inducing them to lend more careful attention to the claims which our President *de jure* had broadcasted.

For some time — ever since the year 1919 — Dr. Henríquez had suggested to the Department of State, as a preliminary step to prepare for the withdrawal of the troops and the advent of the Republic, that censorship and the state of siege be lifted and a Consultative Commission be created and entrusted with the task of making such modifications in our ancient political and administrative regime as the people had incessantly demanded throughout the years which preceded Occupation, the lack of which had led to the bloody convulsions which the country suffered from 1912 to 1916.

The members of the Consultative Commission soon found that their position was false and untenable. On one hand, the American Government, which really had only desired to artfully take advantage of this Commission to use their office and the high prestige which they enjoyed to lull to sleep the suspicions and resistance of the national soul, rejected all substantial pledges regarding the definite aims of the Occupation; and, on the other hand, the people now refused placing in them (the Commission) their old faith and confidence. This commission soon became the object of the most severe reproach from the National Union, a long-established association presided over by the eminent patrician Don Emiliano Tejero, whose statutes known as "Credo Nacional Dominicano", written by Licentiate Enrique Henríquez, had been converted in the Sacred Bible of the Altar of the Country. (See Annex N° 4) and also from the famous congress of the press over which I presided and which had been especially founded to combat the hateful Wilson Plan and all conciliatory tendencies. One of the resolutions of this Congress, clearly directed against the members of the Consultative Board, after citing Art. 10, paragraph 4 of our Constitution, which prescribed the loss of citizenship

for acceptance in Dominican territory of employment by any foreign government without the authorization of the proper Chamber, terminated as follows:

“To consider as a traitor to the country any Dominican who accepts under the present circumstances any mission, employment or office, especially created to give support to or to cooperate with any intention of intrigue or political evolution which may tend to retard the immediate restoration of the Dominican Republic to its former condition of a completely free, independent and sovereign state”.

The Consultative Board eventually had to resign a few months later without fulfilling any of the purposes for which it was created.

While these events which resounded deeply over the hushed waves of the Caribbean, were taking place in this country, our President de jure was ordered to return to Washington in the hope that the eloquent lesson which had been taught had not been lost on the officials of the Government nor on Wilson himself. The Nationalist Juntas, which like seed-beds had sprung up all over the country, sent him the product of the Patriotic Week — \$115,000.00. This sum, economically administered, permitted the



activities of the Nationalist Commission for one year more, extending it from the United States to Chile and the Argentine in a series of efforts which, if not crowned with definite success, decisively cultivated the ground and prepared the restoration of the country which was secured much later.

The Commission which he headed was at that time composed of Don Federico Henríquez y Carvajal, Max Henríquez Ureña, Tulio M. Cestero, Rafael César Tolentino, Manuel Ma. Morillo and René Fiallo, who acted as interpreter and Secretary. The advisor was the former American Minister, Horace H. Knowles, to whom I must pay the highest tribute in more than one page of this book for the valuable services which at all times and even at great sacrifice of his professional interests he nobly rendered the Dominican cause.

Also, at various times the Commission was aided by: Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Manuel F. Cestero and Manuel Flores Cabrera, the firm and irreproachable Venezuelan patriot whom we had seen sacrifice his printing shop in Santo Domingo, his future, the tranquility of his family and even risked his life to defend our rights.



Unfortunately, it was not possible to persuade other prominent Dominicans, especially outstanding by reason of their political or nationalistic action, their noble profession or their ecclesiastical investiture to come to Washington, although Dr. Henríquez repeatedly invited them.

It is undeniable that their support — beside adding talent and prestige — would have had the invaluable advantage of impressing on the Government of the United States the fact that all sectors of national life figured in our representation and, above all, that the Dominican people presented a united and compact front against the Occupation, determined to demand the restoration of their unrestricted independence and reject the impositions which had been delineated in the famous and vexatious Memorandum N° 14.

The Commission met in New York at the end of October 1920. There a vigorous propaganda was begun, Mr. Knowles being in charge of the campaign through the medium of the press and in North American political circles. An office was established under Manuel F. Cestero and Flores Cabrera to carry our claims to all publications, entities and representative men in America.



Mr. Knowles, with the prestige which he enjoyed in Republican circles, injected our case into the presidential campaign under way at that time in the United States, inspiring the Republican candidate, Mr. Harding, to make his celebrated diatribe against Wilson's deceitful policy in the Caribbean and rousing the orators and journalists of his party to make a series of attacks on the same theme, in addition to what he himself said and published in various newspapers. The labor of the Latin-American propaganda office intensified the agitation in favor of Santo Domingo in all the countries of our race and cooperated to the success of the mission which a part of the Commission was going to undertake in South America.

In view of the necessity of more actively moving continental opinion — our only ally in the difficult controversy — and to try to provoke action of the Latin-American Governments, Don Federico Henríquez y Carvajal, Max Henríquez Ureña and Tulio M. Cestero were entrusted with the delicate task of traveling over South America as official envoys of the deposed President, contacting their South American colleagues and trying to awaken at the same time, with proper tact and discretion, the conscience of our brothers to the martyrdom of our people.



The voyage of this Commission coincided with that of the cruiser "FLORIDA" in which the North American Secretary of State, Bainbridge Colby, went to Río de Janeiro, Montevideo and Buenos Aires, returning diplomatic courtesies; and it can be stated that the presence of our delegates was like a subtle but ominous shadow which accompanied the Yankee envoy in Latin-American capitals, detracting from all the protests of good faith and continental fraternity which he made in the name of his government and surrounding them with justified suspicion and merited repulsion — in spite of the brilliance of the official festivals which in compliance with diplomatic requirements were offered by the Governments of Brazil, Uruguay and the Argentine. Such uneasiness was awakened in Colby by the atmosphere of aversion which dogged his footsteps that verifying the axiom that "he who defends himself without being attacked, feels himself guilty", he gave a comunique to the press in Montevideo in which he caluminously and cowardly attacked the reputation of the small Antillian state, dispirited and muzzled by the force of 110 million men, presenting the Dominican case in so false and fantastic an aspect as to detract from the document the seriousness which every public



statement made in a neutral country by a member of a foreign government should have. Drs. Henríquez Carvajal and Henríquez Ureña replied to this "boutade" with a dignified, severe and measured statement of facts which—it goes without saying—destroyed the legend of "chronic banditry" and "moral and material insolvency" which as such the impudent Wilson envoy had attempted to paint us in the eyes of our South American brothers.

Unfortunately, although public opinion in all the countries visited by our delegates — Brazil, Uruguay, the Argentine, Paraguay, Chile, and Perú — accepted our representatives without reserve and echoed the demands which they brought, they were unable to obtain the decided, frank and active aid from the various governments which would have been useful toward our liberation for reasons more easily understood than applauded.

Our delegates in their journey through South America left behind them a large current of sympathy which could not pass unnoticed by the representatives of the White House in these sister nations nor could it be disregarded in the decisions of the Department of State.

Meanwhile, Dr. Henríquez, at the head of the rest of the Commission, continued the labor

entrusted to him in the United States. Before returning to Washington, he was received in New York by former Secretary of the Treasury William MacAdoo, Wilson's son-in-law and a prominent figure of the bar and of North American intellectual circles. As soon as he heard the facts from the deposed President, MacAdoo offered to use the influence he had at the White House in favor of a just liquidation of the American Intervention. On that date (November 1920) the Department of State began to draw up the Plan of Evacuation which was given out a month later and of which I shall speak further on. Dr. Henríquez, being advised of this, went to Washington with the idea of warning the North American officials of the futility of any attempted evacuation linked with an impairment of national sovereignty and of the irrevocable determination of the Dominican people to reject any plan which included the imposition of the onerous conditions of the famous Memorandum of 1915.

Our President was received this time without difficulties and with a show of deference by officials of the Department, assisted by the Director of the Pan-American Union, Dr. Rowe, who acted as an amiable mediator but who, of course, did what he could to induce Dr. Henríquez to



give his approval to the Plan drawn up by the Department.

In effect, the Wilson Plan was presented to Dr. Henríquez in its entirety in the first interview, his heated but reasonable opposition failing to modify the opinion of the Yankee officials one iota or to vary one line of the text. Mortified by the criticism of Dr. Henríquez and his resistance to the attempt to have him approve the Plan in the eyes of Dominican public opinion, the officials violently accused him of inconsistency, stating that the exact ideas expressed by him in his Memorandum of 1919 to the Department of State were embodied in the documents. Dr. Henríquez rejected this unjust accusation since in the said Memorandum he had done nothing but indicate the advisability of certain reforms in the Dominican Laws and Constitution which would ensure the stability of the institutions as a guarantee that the Republic would follow the path of order and prosperity upon resuming its independent life, and the convenience of appointing a Consultative Commission to prepare the plan of these reforms; but without allowing the Military Government any intervention in the legal process of the elections and the constitution of the national government as provided by the Plan. Also, he pointed out

another grave defect which clothed a mortal threat to the country: the vagueness which surrounded the *circumstances* of the constitution and the date of evacuation. The later course of events showed that the American Government—animated by the desire to make us accept the Protectorate—had reserved the revelation of their intentions for a later time in the hope that once the partisan passions had subsided and the appetite for power awakened by the electoral battle, the factions would consent to it when this was the only obstacle which blocked access to public office. Lastly, if this perfidy should be discovered and all join in a common front of resistance, the country would have a congress elected by edict of the military governor and an executive council made up of members of this congress. Such an anomolous situation would be fraught with dangers to the nation, both materially and juridically, and might serve to make the Intervention enduring, giving it a semblance of consent on the part of the Dominican people.

All these reasons moved Dr. Henríquez to absolutely condemn that project before the officials of the Departament of State, terminating his remarks with this solemn and prophetic warning: "That plan will be infallibly rejected

by the Dominican people", and in guarantee of his convictions he rejected the position offered him on the Consultative Board.

The firm patriotism of the Dominicans completely supported the emphatic words of their President.

The Plan having been rejected, the country again awaited the new efforts of Dr. Henríquez at the head of the Commission. The Commission was augmented by Cestero who returned to Washington upon the termination of the propaganda tour in South American, while his comrades, Drs. Federico Henríquez y Carvajal and Max Henríquez Ureña remained in Cuba in active propaganda work. It was then that I also became a member of the Nationalist Commission.

We all awaited with anxiety the advent of Harding who, during his electoral campaign, had morally obligated himself by the most explicit declarations to rectify the arbitrary conduct of his predecessor in Santo Domingo and Haití. He had hardly been installed in the presidency (March 1921) when Dr. Henríquez addressed a brief and vibrant communication to him, asking justice for our people in the name of the conscience of the North American people.

A little later, he resumed his conversations with the Department of State. The Chief of the

Latin-American Division was now Mr. Sumner Welles, an official endowed with rare sagacity and subtle skill, who was to play an important role in the final settlement of the Dominican case.

Giving the most unequivocal lie to the suspicions of some who saw in the difficult task he was carrying out in Washington nothing but maneuvers of a vulgar aspirant to power, Dr. Henríquez began his efforts before the new administration with a note in which he reiterated in a most emphatic and solemn manner his determination not to try to secure nor to accept the presidency of the Republic, when it was restored, and proposed a Governing Council of five members to be chosen by the directors of the Nationalist Juntas — the only organization representing the popular will which existed at that time in the country — to direct the process of reforms and call the people to elections. (See Annex N° 5). But this project was not accepted by the Department of State which, without doubt, had already prepared — with the same lack of consultation with which Wilson had proceeded four months before — the basis of the instrument of evacuation which was to carry the name of the “Harding Plan”.



Meanwhile, in contrast to his predecessors Lansing, and Colby, the new Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, received doctor Henríquez without opposition. Foreseeing that the time accorded for the interview would not give Mr. Hughes time to familiarize himself with the essential points of the Dominican problem, and taking into consideration the difficulties in the way of a quick understanding when the discussion was held through an interpreter, Dr. Henríquez prepared and took with him a memorandum in which he stated in a clear and precise manner all the data and episodes and the development of events tending to show the iniquity of the Intervention, the deceitfulness of the pretext invoked in intervening and its manifest illegality from the point of view of International Law as well as of North American constitutional law. Also, he showed in this document the humiliating and enslaving character of the Wilson Plan and the irrevocable determination of the Dominican people to reject all forms of evacuation which embodied an impairment of sovereignty.

Mr. Hughes received Dr. Henríquez with the habitual courtesy of diplomatic circles, took from his hands the memorandum which he presented and listened attentively to the story of

the efforts previously made to induce the North American Government to put an end to the Occupation. His attitude during this interview was one of deference and impenetrable reserve. He did not venture an opinion, a comment or a single question which would reveal on his part interest in knowing the Dominican point of view. It may well be surmised — taking into consideration the contrast of his attitude on this occasion to the verbosity and animation he displayed in his second interview with Dr. Henríquez in trying to convince him of the advisability of accepting and endorsing the Harding Plan — that already at that time he had drawn up the general lines of this Plan and was disposed to impose it without listening to arguments or reason because, committing the same error as Wilson, he thought to find in Santo Domingo the same criminal weakness that had caused the leaders of other less well informed victims of the Caribbean to accept protectorates which legally subjected their respective countries to the will of the United States. The interview terminated by Hughes offering assurance of further conversations at a date which he would fix in the near future.

Two weeks later, in fact, he again invited Dr. Henríquez to his office. Dr. Henríquez was



accompanied on this occasion, as on the first, by Mr. Horace Knowles, the North American counselor of the Commission, and René Fiallo, who, as we have said acted as interpreter and secretary. Hardly had the usual courtesies been exchanged when Mr. Hughes stated with an agreeable expression that his government had decided to put an end to the Occupation of Santo Domingo, and he began at once to state the main points of the plan with great vigor. As he talked in an uninterrupted manner which brushed aside all attempt at argument, Dr. Henríquez became more and more stupified, inasmuch as the plan for evacuation which he outlined was nothing more than the odious Memorandum of 1915. This was to impose a protectorate with its instruments of coercion represented by control of the armed forces and of the public treasury by North American officials.

When Mr. Hughes had finished his exposition, in which he mixed arguments and pleas in favor of his monstrous plan, Dr. Henríquez made him see that the Plan which he had just outlined contained the inadmissible conditions which Wilson had desired to impose on us and against which the Dominican people had been fighting and protesting for five years.

Harding's Secretary then began the puerile task of attempting to disguise the enslaving project as a necessary and friendly assistance and, to lend it an inoffensive character, even suggested that the Republic complement its subjection by asking Washington for a counselor of public powers "who would render to our country services similar to those which General Crowder had performed in Cuba".

Disconcerted by the policy outlined by Hughes, which openly repudiated the promises emphatically made by Harding during the electoral campaign, Dr. Henríquez asked: "Mr. Secretary, on what right does the Government of the United States base its determination to impose such conditions on the Dominican Republic? To which Hughes replied: "Precisely because the present situation is irregular and the United States wishes to safeguard the responsibilities assumed in Santo Domingo".

The interview almost terminated with these words in an atmosphere of coldness and even hostility. And in spite of the fact that Hughes then offered to give Dr. Henríquez the opportunity of verbally stating his objections to the project which he had heard, the truth is that Hughes did not wish to receive him again. Doctor Henríquez was invited to communicate with

the Chief of the Latin-American Division, Mr. Sumner Welles, with whom our representative, accompanied by Tulio M. Cestero, had long and laborious discussions, trying to make him see the iniquity of the conditions outlined in the Hughes Plan. Welles, worried by the voice of reason and justice — or illuminated by his mental penetration which made him see clearly, before his stubborn chief did, that the ignominious instrument of tutelage would not be accepted by the Dominican people — appeared to be ceding gradually to the arguments of our representative to the point where he made them conceive — the illusion that the threat had been removed and the Department had been persuaded to suppress the objectionable characters of the project.

Therefore, the members of the Commission were pained and crushed when, with a few brief hours of anticipation, he advised them of the final text of the proclamation which was to be published on June 14th and was baptized in Santo Domingo with the name of the Harding Plan. (See Annex N° 6). Hughes' stubbornness — maintained surely by his ignorance concerning the characteristics of the Dominican people and their leaders — was clearly reaffirmed in the Plan of Evacuation which he offered

our country and which completely retained the hard and unacceptable conditions of which he had originally advised Mr. Henríquez in his interview.

The reaction against this torpid, badly made plan in the capital of the Republic is well known. Only a few times, perhaps never, has there been such a compact manifestation of national opinion in our history. This surged up against the absurd attempt to impose a protectorate on us in a movement as unanimous as it was high-minded, revealing by its maximum eloquence of indignation all the inflexibility of Dominican feeling against any attempt at international servitude.

I had just returned from Washington where, thanks to my last conversation with Mr. Welles, I had the very distinct impression that if the conditions imposed were not absolutely satisfactory, they were far different to the enslaving attempts which this new instrument of vassalage contained, forged — who would believe it — by the same men who several months previously, at the height of the electoral campaign, had made one of the gravest and most applauded accusations against the crime of Military Occupation in Santo Domingo by the party in power.

Faced with this new injury to our innocence, to our extolled prudence, to our long patience, to our iniquitous suffering of so many years, to our daily, bloody torture, my pain and desperation knew no bounds. I believed that the Dominican people had no alternative but that of war and death. And in the clutch of this unnamable desperation, I wrote and published a sheet, entitled "To the foreign residents of Santo Domingo", which was also signed by a handful of resolute and valiant young men. (See Annex N° 7).

Fortunately, the popular manifestations of June 19th, 1921 against that Plan displayed such energy and firmness in the determination not to accept it, cost what it might, nor any other imposition that would reduce us to vassallage, that Governor Robinson himself, upon viewing the situation from the angle of an expert mariner who had braved many a storm, had to promise the people congregated in front of the balconies of his residence that he would faithfully interpret their patriotic sentiments to the Washington Government.

And from that hour the ominous Harding Plan, against which Dr. Henríquez had interpreted Dominican indignation in his Memor-

andum of July 14th, was considered as rejected. (See Annex N° 8).

Now in order to better enlighten my fellow citizens in regard to that stubborn and painful struggle, which day by day and hour by hour the Nationalist Commission had waged against its omnipotent enemy, the imperialism of Washington, I wish to transcribe here some notes from my diary during the short time I had the honor of forming part of that Commission. May I state in passing that my days in the jail at Homenaje under the cruel Yankee bayonets—notwithstanding the fetid water I had to drink, the wormy meat I had to eat, my continual association with dirty, evil smelling and depraved men among whom I was placed—were days of fiesta and contentment in comparison to those days through which I lived in Washington under the mortal anguish of a cruel disillusion at every instant and brutal deception each minute.

Only a shipwrecked person, derisive toy of a destroying storm, whose over-excited mind sees in each sun a new mirage which the sun itself causes to cruelly disappear, while the infuriated waves wrench with each blow a board



from his dilapidated boat, knows torture similar to that which day by day for more than a year the eminent patrician who was heart and head of the Nationalist Commission in Washington had to suffer, and to whose unfailing efforts and untarnished virtue, more than to any other factors, is due the restoration of the Dominican Republic in the group of free nations of the American continent.

Here are my notes:

March 30th, 1921:

I arrived in Washington at 3.50 P. M. Doctor Henríquez met me at the station and took me to Hotel Portland where César Tolentino and Manuel Ma. Morillo were stopping.

April 4th:

Dr. Henríquez and I visited Mr. Knowles. We met Mr. Pulliam who is also nobly working for the liberation of Santo Domingo. Knowles had obtained a brief interview with Mr. Fletcher, Sub-Secretary of State. After discussing with Knowles what should be said in the interview, the Doctor and I left. We returned at noon. Mr. Knowles gave us Fletcher's impressions. He thought that the American Government should maintain their forces of occupation in Santo Domingo for the present. Dr. Henrí-



quez was silent for an instant. Later, with his natural spirit of superiority, he expressed to us his belief that the American Government did not wish to arrive at an understanding concerning evacuation which would carry with it in any way the replacing of the Government deposed in 1916, since this would destroy the pretexts of the intervention; and, therefore, the preliminary step in any arrangement would have to be his resignation of the presidency. We discussed this point and Dr. Henríquez asked Knowles to go back that same afternoon and submit to Fletcher a new proposal upon the basis of his resignation, substituting his office by a provisional government to be composed of the members of the Consultative Council with legislative functions and another Board with executive functions to direct the electoral process, whose members would be derived from the Nationalist Juntas. At 6.00 P. M. Knowles brought the news that Fletcher appeared to have received the proposal in good grace and that it would have to be submitted the following day in writing.

April 5th:

Last night we made up the new proposal which Mr. Knowles today took to the Department of State. On general lines, it was as follows:



- 1.—Dr. Henríquez's resignation of the Presidency of the Republic.
- 2.—The Provincial Nationalist Juntas to name three delegates from each Province.
- 3.—The 36 delegates of 12 Provinces to appoint by election 5 members to constitute the Governing Council.
- 4.—The Governing Council, within a period of not less than 6 months nor more than one year after the constitutional reforms, to call elections of the Dominican people.
- 5.—The Consultative Board to continue with legislative powers, as constituted.
- 6.—No chief of a party or candidate for the presidency to be a member of the Governing Council.

April 6th:

Mr. Knowles visited us early today to tell us that Welles was attempting to establish "guarantees" for the future in respect of the practical wisdom of the Dominicans and for American interests in Santo Domingo. We clearly noted under these demands the same pretensions of Wilson and the Wall Street interests. Dr. Henríquez rejected them, maintaining that the United States had no right to make such demands and that the Dominican people would never accept a status similar to Cuba or to any

other country under obligation of gratitude or of "vested rights" to the United States.

April 8th:

Mr. Knowles told Dr. Henríquez to write a private letter to President Harding stating the just aspirations of the Dominican people. That night Mr. Knowles delivered to Dr. Henríquez a draft of the letter which he believed should be written to the President.

April 9th:

The draft made by Knowles was read and found satisfactory. Rene Fiallo was entrusted with the task of writing the document and of presenting it in English and Spanish.

April 10th:

. Telegram to Santo Domingo: "Insisting show I do not pursue personal reinstatement have presented State Department new formula creating Governing Council by election present Nationalist Juntas Consultative continuing with technical function. Henríquez".

April 11th:

Both texts of the memorandum drawn up by Rene for presentation to Harding were read. Knowles and Pulliam made some modification in the English version.

In the afternoon Dr. Henríquez and I attended the inauguration of the telephones system between the United States and Cuba, through California. There we saw Harding and the greater part of his government officials.

Today, at the opening of Congress, President Harding outlined his European policy.

Accompanied by Knowles and Bennet, Director of the "Washington Post", Dr. Henríquez carried his memorandum on the Dominican situation to the White House and Harding's Secretary obligated himself to deliver it to the President personally.

Upon leaving, an avalanche of newspaper men surrounded him and took note of the document.

April 13h:

Dr. Henríquez accompanied by Knowles and René Fiallo were received today at 11.30 by Secretary Hughes who listened to them in a benevolent attitude and promised to take up the Dominican matter immediately and study it with justice and sympathy. Dr. Henríquez left a detailed memorandum of the matter, its different phases and explanations of the Convention of 1907 and the payments of this debt.



Both items of news — the letter written yesterday to President Harding and today's interview with Hugs — were transmitted to the "Listin".

April 15h:

Knowles visited President Harding who said he had talked with Hughes on the Santo Domingo matter and expressed his willingness to arrive at a solution thereof within a short time in a manner that would be just to all.

Telegram from Knowles to Licentiate Fco. J.

Peynado:

"Peynado, Santo Domingo.

Had an interview with President Harding today. Quick and favorable solution if he is not informed there is division among Dominicans on evacuation question. Dr. Henríquez received very cordially by Secretary Hughes yesterday. Expect he will be received promptly at White House".

April 16h:

Mr. Pulliam visited us early today to advise us in Bennet's name, who is the director of the "Washington Post" and a great friend of Harding, that Secretary Hughes had assured him the Wilson Plan would be withdrawn from the negotiations.



In the afternoon a letter was received from Bennet stating that Hughes had assured him that the Wilson Plan would be cancelled and in its place there would be a new plan based on the declarations made by Harding during his electoral campaign. I advised "Listin" in this manner: "Wilson plan out. Government will maintain policy proclaimed Harding electoral campaign".

April 19th:

Being officially invited to the ceremony of unveiling the statue of Bolivar in Central Park, New York, Dr. Henríquez and I attended in the hope of finding among the numerous persons congregated there new connections which might efficiently serve the cause we represent. Lunch at Waldorf Astoria. Unveiling. Empty speech of Harding. Dance at the Ambassador.

April 20th:

On the train returning from Washington today I made my most important connection. Dr. Santos Dominici, Venezuelan Minister to Washington, presented me to the Rev. Creeche, Director of the Georgetown University and Chief of the powerful Jesuits in the United States. The latter title, above all, reveals the high personality of Rev. Creeche. He invited



me to visit him which I accepted with pleasure, fixing the 25th for the date of this visit.

April 22nd:

Magnificent ball at the Pan-American Bureau. Met Mr. Welles and presented myself under the pretext of thanking him for the important part which he took in the final course of my trial and liberation. He invited me to visit him at the Department of State, the date of which, I myself fixed.

April 23rd:

Solicited an interview with Mr. S. Welles, the date of which was fixed for Monday the 26th inst.

Rene and I visited the Rev. Creeche. He received me with a real show of sympathy. We talked of the Dominican cause which appeared to interest him greatly. He said to me: "God will reward such suffering people who have such faith in the saintly designs of the Lord". Finally, he promised to put us in contact with Senator Walls, his very good friend.

April 25th:

Visited Mr. Welles. Explained the situation of Santo Domingo and the hopes we had in the promise of President Harding. Suddenly, he asked me: "What would be your procedure if



you were the American Government"? To comply with the mandates of justice, returning the liberty of the people," I replied. "In what manner"? "Restoring the Government of 1916". My questioner was silent, a little put out. Later the conversation was cautiously resumed on both sides. In short, the only improvements which Mr. Welles offers are: 1.—The Military Governor will not be now — as in the Wilson Plan — arbiter of the laws and constitutional reforms which are to be made, nor will he have a voice or vote in the formation of the laws. 2.—He will help in the constitutional reforms as adviser, as General Crowder did in Cuba. 3.—This process to be terminated within six months, after which, evacuation will start. In regard to the loan of \$2,500,000 offered, I discovered in the reticence of my questioner that this was a matter definitely resolved.

Dr. Henríquez today sent a telegram to Mr. Hughes protesting against the loan, also telegraphing Santo Domingo.

May 3rd:

Visited Mr. Mayers in the Department of State in which nothing developed.

Of course, it can be observed that all these people take care not to say anything definite.

Their promises are vague, indefinite, fugitive. They do not themselves know how far they are going or what they have decided to do. In my opinion, they will act according to circumstances, always trying to retain as much as they can of our independence and sovereignty. In res-ume, they will try to leave "the Friar's nail" well fastened in Santo Domingo.

May 6th:

Dr. Henríquez's interview with Mr. Welles.

The Doctor returned in a very hopeful state of mind from this interview. He thinks Welles is now well aware of the Dominican point of view and that his clear perception of the case will efficiently aid in an understanding with the Washington Government for the prompt evacuation of our territory. While the Doctor expressed this belief with enthusiasm and optimism, which is unusual in him, he detected on my lips a doubtful and perhaps an ironic smile and he was visibly annoyed at me. It is the first time I have seen him irritated by a clash of opinions, since he always listens with the greatest equanimity and even benevolence not only to ideas contrary to his, but even to those expressed in a rude manner. Noticing my smile, this did nothing more than put a little acid on the hidden sores of his own doubts.



May 20th:

The interview of Dr. Henríquez with Mr. Hughes which had been fixed for today was postponed to the 23rd. However, I shall have mine with Senator Walls in accordance with advice from the Rev. Creeche. Rene will accompany me as interpretor. The Senator did not attempt to veil his astonishment and disgust on being made aware of some of the details of the crimes of the Intervention in Santo Domingo. While Rene talked, he took notes in a small book, asking many questions and making note of the answers. He promised efficient aid in the Senate against the ill-advised procedure of which my country had been the victim. He believed the Senate should take cognizance of this matter which had been carried out behind their backs. I pointed out the convenience of a commission of the Senate visiting the Dominican country, Senator Walls again made a note in his book. I thanked him for his kind attention and for his promises of aid. Then we parted.

May 23rd:

Interview of Dr. Henríquez with Mr. Hughes. Hughes expressed the willingness of the American Government to withdraw from Santo Domingo on the following bases:



- 1.—Election of a regular Government by the people.
- 2.—Approval of all act of the Military Government.
- 3.—Loan of \$2,500,000.
- 4.—Acceptance of a treaty which regulates the *right of intervention* for the fulfilment of the Agreement of 1907 which established a National Guard *commanded* by American officers appointed by the President of the United States.

Dr. Henríquez indignantly pointed out that these demands were absolutely identical with the Wilson Formula in Note 14 of November 19th, 1915, and again in 1916, and that they had been rejected by two consecutive governments and by the Dominican people who would never accept them now nor at any other time.

May 30th:

Went today with Knowles to visit Mr. Rowe, Director of the Pan-American Bureau. Mr. Rowe, like Mr. Welles, speaks perfect Spanish. After the usual introduction, Knowles left. Mr. Rowe spoke of my imprisonment and the headaches which this had cost the Military Government. The Military Government have never understood that their mission was peace



and aid to the Dominicans in putting their affairs in order. I let him talk until I saw that he, like all others who have anything to do with Santo Domingo, said nothing definite. Some of my answers were rapidly noted in a book with feigned indifference. Thrice during the course of our conversation he told me of the repugnance of the American Government to enter into a pact or treaty with any chief or party. They sought a man of sufficient moral authority, a clear-sighted patriot with whom they could make an agreement to deliver the reins of power and proceed with the withdrawal of the troops. A new man he repeated with emphasis, which, without doubt, was meant to convey to me that this man could never be Dr. Henríquez.

Why? Perhaps because he was the President deposed by the American forces in 1916, as Dr. Henríquez thought. Or better still, on account of the firm attitude which he had adopted in his interview of the 23rd, indignantly rejecting as unacceptable the clause providing the "right of intervention" to force compliance with the Convention of 1907 which Mr. Hughes had attempted to impose as one of the special conditions of the Evacuation Treaty.

Returning to the "Portland", a question obsessed me. Who will be the man? Here



perhaps is the whole secret of the frightful sphinx...!

June 2nd:

Held my last conference with Mr. Welles under the pretext of bidding him good-bye to return to Santo Domingo. From this conference, as in the two previous ones, as in my conversation with Mr. Rowe, I got the first impression, which was now a conviction, that the Department of State in truth sought a man, a man with whom they could make an agreement for the prompt withdrawal of troops from Santo Domingo, but this man could not be Dr. Henríquez, nor I, but some one whom they thought would be willing to grant the right of intervention which they eagerly sought. It is a bridge over which they wish to remove their troops from Santo Domingo; but a bridge whose supporting end on our coast belongs to them by right of intervention. Who will be this man? Really, I do not see him, in spite of the dangerous impatience of some of our politicians to secure power.

June 3rd:

My conversation with Dr. Henríquez on my departure was sad. The situation is summed up by the expression of Rowe: "We seek a man. Who will be this man"?...

No, no. Born on Dominican soil! I swear such a man does not exist.

At any rate, Dr. Henríquez has the satisfaction of having carried out a colossal undertaking; that of having broken down the doors of the Department of State in Washington, to make the voice of the Dominican people resound within its walls, claiming their rights in dignified language, worthy of such a noble cause. And this voice will reverberate at last throughout the entire American Continent.

POST-SCRIPTUM

BY FEDERICO HENRIQUEZ Y CARVAJAL

These pages which are no less vibrant than they are just, taken from a manuscript which will soon be published, were read to me by the author. I listened to their contents with the attention and interest worthy of the Dominican nationalist cause to which it refers.

After these pages had been read and after a moment of silent reflection, a friendly discussion ensued concerning one or two points referring to certain incomplete data. These points were clarified in the course of our conversation without difficulty and the amiable author, my old friend and newspaper companion, has suggested that I make certain complementary expositions as an epilogue of this interesting work.

I have acceded to his request, without excuse or delay, because I believe I am fulfilling a duty and also because by so doing I contribute to the



clarification of the efforts of the Dominican Nationalist Commission and of the various commissions and delegations which acted in the different countries of America and Europe.

I will at once set forth in the following pages the facts and information which were clarified in our aforementioned conversation.

a) On December 8th, 1916, only nine days after the unusual proclamation of Captain Knapp, President Henríquez Carvajal, accompanied by the Secretary of the Presidency, Dr. Max Henríquez Ureña, embarked for the United States. He intended to make a last effort in Washington to obtain from President Wilson a rectification of the error and violence committed against the sovereignty of the Dominican people.

As had been agreed, I embarked, in turn, at the end of the said month of December for Cuba. The plan outlined was to begin from Cuba, if circumstances permitted and nothing was obtained in Washington, an intense Indo-Spanish campaign to force the United States to rectify its stupid attitude regarding the unarmed Dominican people.

Nothing could be done in Washington. Declarations of President Henríquez to the press pointed out the injustice committed and reinforced



the official protest already transmitted to the Department of State and to the White House by Minister Lic. Armando Pérez Perdomo.

b) Havana was the the next assignation. There, Manuel M. Morillo, Charge d'Affaires of the Republic, together with numerous Dominicans residing in that city, had already carried out acts of protest against the North American outrage. The moment was propitious. From January 21st to 31st, 1917 the American Institute of International Law was to meet in the Cuban capital. I, who had recently arrived at Santiago de Cuba, went to Havana as a member of the Dominican Law Society with the idea of interesting the assembly in the Dominican case. President Henríquez, accompanied, as always, by the Secretary of the Presidency, also arrived in that city. In a meeting held with Dr. Manuel Sanguily and Dr. Rafael J. Fosalba, also members of the said Congress, it was agreed to take initiative steps towards a declaration of principles in favor of the restoration of the Dominican Republic now occupied by American troops. This historical document. written by two friends of the Dominican nationalist cause — inspired by the declaration of the said Institute in favor



of the independence of American peoples in 1916 — was discussed in the preliminary meeting, not from a political, but from a juridical standpoint, in view of the character of the Institute of Law. In that Assembly, however, the grave injustice inflicted by an American nation on another small and unarmed American nation was shown. All the delegates to that Congress, even Dr. John Brown Scott, American citizen and President of the Institute, expressed their sympathies with our cause and promised to broadcast the Dominican aspirations in their respective countries. In closing the session, on the petition of the illustrious internationalist, Dr. A. Sánchez de Bustamante, I had the honor of making a statement in which I clearly set forth our aspirations and the learned Assembly renewed its adherence to our aims with a burst of applause.

The sessions of this Congress having terminated, several official and social functions were given in honor of the delegates, to all of which President Henríquez was an invited guest of honor; but reception were also given exclusively in honor of the traveling Dominicans who had already begun the campaign for the independence of Santo Domingo in foreign countries.

Interviews were then held with nearly all the accredited diplomats in Havana, especially with

those from Latin-America, who were amply informed of all the details of the North American intervention up to November 29th, 1916, for the information of their respective chancelleries.

But the United States was preparing to enter the World War and we were forced to pause in our tasks which we had already begun. The truce lasted until November 11th, 1918, when the armistice put an end to the bloody struggles on the fields of battle and gave the impression that all injustices were at an end.

c) On November 11th, 1918, in the midst of the enthusiasm with Cuba also greeted the end of the war, in which our sister nation had taken part, a group of young men, three Dominicans and eight Cubans, some of them born in our country, constituted the Society of the Eleven to further the cause of Dominican liberty. They were: Max Henríquez Ureña, Fernando Abel Henríquez, Alcibiades Franco, Alfredo del Prado, Tomás Puyans, Teobaldo Rosell Silveira, Dr. Francisco Mercer, Eduardo Abril Amores, Daniel Serra Navas, Carlos de la Torre and Antonio Fadhel.

d) On December 30th, 1918, on the suggestion of Fernando Abel Henríquez and Max Henríquez Ureña, the first Pro-Santo Domingo Com-

mittee, which was accepted with enthusiasm by the "Club of the Eleven", was instituted in the Veterans Center of the Province of Oriente, in which Committee there figured the most prominent names of Santiago de Cuba. The Board of Directors was composed of: President: Don Emilio Bacardí Moreau; Vice - Presidents: Dr. Ambrosio Grillo Portuondo, Colonel Rafael Manduley del Río, Lic. Eudaldo Tamayo Pavón, Dr. Manuel Calás Oduardo, Lic. Prisciliano Espinosa Julivier, Secretary: Dr. Luis F. Salazar y Salazar; Assistant Secretary: Dr. Teobaldo Rosell Silveira; Treasurer: Dr. Tomás F. Puyans; Assistant Treasurer: Dr. Alcibiades Franco Jiménez; Members: Colonel Alfredo Lora Torres, D. Eduardo Abril Amores, Dr. Francisco Marcer, D. Daniel Serra, D. Carlos de la Torre, Dr. Juan Montero Zambrano, D. Armando Leyva, D. Antonio Fadhel Awad, D. Rafael Argilagos, Dr. Ramón Espino Paulino, D. Pedro Pablo Valiente, Dr. Ricardo Eguilior, D. Joaquín Navarro Riera, D. Agustín Ravelo, Dr. Juan Ravelo Asencio, D. Daniel Fajardo, D. Alfredo del Prado, the Morales Carvajal Brothers, Dr. Carlos Ramírez Guerra, Dr. Max Henríquez Ureña and D. Fernando Abel Henríquez García.

On the same date, on the invitation of Dr. Max Henríquez Ureña, the "Pro-Santo Domingo

Committee" was formed in Havana. A select group of prominent Cubans formed part of this Committee. To give an idea of the importance of this event, it is sufficient to mention the following names: Enrique José Varona, Manuel Sanguily, Antonio Sánchez de Bustamante, Enrique Núñez, Fernando Sánchez de Fuentes, Manuel Márquez Sterling, Eusebio Hernández, Juan Gualberto Gómez, Orestes Ferrara, Enrique Loynaz del Castillo, Emilio Roig de Leus-henring.

The Committee of Santiago de Cuba started their campaign through active committees, worthy of the greatest praise. Subcommittees were formed in almost all the important cities of Oriente and Dr. Ramón Espino was delegated to come to Santo Domingo to invite the "Brother of Martí" to go to Cuba to direct the Pro-Independence Dominican Campaign in the absence of President Henríquez. In the invitation I received, I was honored with that title.

At the end of March, 1919, President Henríquez embarked from the port of Havana for Europe with the intention of stating the Dominican case before the Peace Assembly in Versailles and at the end of May I arrived in Cuba in response to the invitation I had received from Cubans and Dominicans.

e) Fabio Fiallo has accurately detailed the efforts of our roving President in Paris, but I should justly state that the four compatriots: Andrejulio Aybar Delgado, Lucas T. Guibbs, Enrique Deschamps and Tulio Franco y Franco, aided him efficiently. Enrique Deschamps, from that time, on various occasions represented the Foreign Nationalist Commission both in Spain as well as in France and Switzerland, before the recently founded League of Nations.

The Foreign Nationalist Commission was actually founded in New York in August 1919. This name was adopted, because it was hoped that similar Juntas might be founded in the country to support the work begun in Cuba for Dominican independence. The Foreign Nationalist Commission was composed of: President Henríquez y Carvajal, Dr. Federico Henríquez y Carvajal, Dr. Tulio M. Cestero and Dr. Max Henríquez Ureña. The Commission always counted with the enthusiastic aid of Dr. Pedro Henríquez Ureña, then a Professor of the University of Minnesota. At the first meeting, Lic. Francisco J. Peynado was excused from forming part of the Commission, as he had to return immediately and without delay to his country.

The Commission moved to Washington, so as to be near the seat of the Government and the



Legations of the American countries accredited before the United States Department of State. The work of the Commission was active and continuous. In a few months it contacted various organs of the press concerning the Dominican cause and managed to enter into relations with the Department of State. In this first step, a series of reports relative to the unjust military occupation of Santo Domingo were issued in both languages, which clearly stated the Dominican cause. At the end of the year, the members of the Commission returned to Cuba. But not all — Cestero remained in Washington as its delegate.

f) In August 1920, the Foreign Nationalist Commission was reorganized. The purpose was to give to various compatriots, socially and politically representative, an opportunity to act as members. All were officially invited, but all excused giving various reasons therefor. This reorganization coincided with the exemplary civic attitude assumed in various parts of the intervened country and culminated in the unforgettable Patriotic Week. The Patriotic Week collected the funds with which to continue the work. These funds were remitted respectively by the Juntas established in the cities and



villages of all the provinces. The women distinguished themselves in their patriotic fervor.

In Santiago de Cuba, — the antecedents of this city have given it this precedence — the Foreign Nationalist Junta was reorganized in the following manner: President: Dr. Francisco Henríquez y Garvajal; Vice-President, Dr. Federico Henríquez y Carvajal; Treasurer: Don Emilio Bacardí; Secretary: Mr. Rafael César Tolentino; General Auditor: Mr. Fernando Abel Henríquez García. Members: Dr. Tulio M. Cestero, Dr. Max Henríquez Ureña and Mr. Manuel M. Morillo.

g) At the end of October, the Junta held a meeting in Havana with the idea of adopting plans for the second step in the campaign, both in the United States as well as in Latin-American countries. The idea of the Nationalist mission to the Latin-American nations was not only ours; the South American diplomats accredited in Cuba fervidly encouraged it.

In my book "NACIONALISMO", the labor of this delegation — composed of Tulio M. Cestero, Max Henríquez Ureña and myself — in Brazil, Uruguay, the Argentine, Paraguay, Chile and Perú during a period of over five months is well explained. Mr. Víctor M. de Castro was appointed special delegate for Ve-

nezuela. Mr. Enrique Deschamps continued to act in the same capacity in Spain, France, Belgium and before the League of Nations. Mr. Enriquillo Henríquez García remained in Havana as the personal agent of President Henríquez.

I should make honorable mention of the delicate and confidential mission entrusted to an illustrious and noble friend of the Nationalist cause: Dr. Manuel Márquez Sterling. His efforts were exclusively with President Obregón and the Mexican Chancellery and while performing these duties, he was made the recipient of a brilliant act of homage from the people and Government of México on account of the gallant attitude which this distinguished Cuban diplomat assumed in an unfortunate hour for México.

h) In New York, in November 1920, the following persons were appointed members of the Commission: Mr. René Fiallo Lluberes as Secretary, to act in delicate matters together with Mr. César Tolentino; Mr. Manuel F. Cestero and Mr. Manuel Flores Cabrera, who, together with Mr. Manuel M. Morillo, were to form the Propaganda Commission, and Mr. Horace Knowles, who was to act as North American counselor.

From March and up to the early part of June 1921, Mr. Fabio Fiallo was a member of the Foreign Nationalist Commission. His brilliant patriotic record, although only in part, is related by him with much truth and justice in the vibrant pages of this book.

November 29th, 1939.



ANNEXES

ANNEX No. 1

Havana, August 6th, 1920.

TO THE PRESS ASSOCIATIONS OF AMERICA

The Military Government of the United States now intervening in the Dominican Republic, has issued severe repressive measures against Dominicans accused of insulting the Government of Occupation through the press, one of whom, the patriot and poet FABIO FIALLO is now being subjected to the military jurisdiction authorized to impose the death penalty.

The Cuban Press Association, shocked by this incident, has addressed President Wilson informing him directly of this grave matter and asking him that he take action in accordance with his high democratic spirit. At the same time, the Association has resolved to request, inspired by sentiments of humanity and fraternity, the valuable cooperation of the press in



(here the name of the country) with which the newspaper men in Cuba are bound by identical ideals and aspirations (s) Modesto Morales Díaz, President of the Cuban Association.

August 9th, 1920.

The Mexican press, as a single body and to demonstrate solidarity, sent a protest to President Wilson yesterday, asking justice for the great Dominican poet FABIO FIALLO and his journalistic companions now in jail pending trial by a military court, which has authority to impose the death penalty.

The severe punishment of the poet and patriot Fiallo, one of the outstanding writers of America, has caused a wave of indignation throughout the continent which has resulted in fiery protests against President Wilson (s) El Heraldo de la Raza, México.

The intellectual centers and also the students of the School of Law have addressed President Wilson demanding protection and justice for the poet Fabio Fiallo, accused of seditious propaganda with the intent to incite rebellion against the American authorities in Santo Domingo.

Fabio Fiallo is considered in South America as one of the greatest writers of the Spanish

language and as a great patriot who has attempted to take advantage of a favorable moment for the restoration of the liberties of his country, the Dominican Republic.

President Wilson has stated that he will study the case of the poet in detail (s).

(La Revue Diplomatique). Paris.

To Dr. Rowe, written from San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Several days ago, just before leaving Caracas, I was disagreeably surprised by the news from Santo Domingo that the great Dominican poet, Fabio Fiallo, had been imprisoned by order of the Military Government and obliged to pass through the streets of Santo Domingo in the uniform of the vilest convict. A wave of indignation and hate swept all over Venezuela and I think that the same sentiments have been aroused throughout all other Latin-American countries where the poet Fabio Fiallo is justly admired and loved.

William Sherwell.

The Fabio Fiallo affair has been the Edith Cavell case of America. Although as far as the North Americans were concerned, the "Patriotic Poet" was nothing more than a showy title

in the columns of their newspapers, this case in 1920 made the name of the Yankee odious and repugnant in two Latin hemispheres.

Although more widely known as a poet and man of letters, Fabio Fiallo has also known public life, having occupied the posts of Secretary of State and the Governor of a Province. He is one of those men of such select spiritual distinction as is rarely encountered, and one to whom this said distinction is a great hindrance in life. A simple glance at his photograph, wearing the striped convict uniform, which circulated throughout Latin America, did more in favor of the Dominican cause and against the military Government than a million well chosen words.

Melvin M. Knight.

(The American in Santo Domingo).

The imprisonment of Fabio Fiallo did more for the Dominican cause than any other incident.

The Nation. New York.

ANNEX NO. 2

Santo Domingo, May 10th, 1921.

President Henríquez,
Portland Hotel, Washington.

Military Government has totally suppressed public instruction as an economic measure. We

ask that you convey to the Department the strong protest of the National Students League.

Viriato A. Fiallo,

President.

Viriato A. Fiallo, President,
Students League,
Santo Domingo.

Protest presented. Department doubts complete suppression. Confirm this information.

Dr. Henríquez.

ANNEX NO. 3

PROCLAMATION OF THE WILSON PLAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF SANTO DOMINGO

WHEREAS: The friendly aim of the United States in employing, in accordance with the rights derived from the Convention of 1907, military forces within the Dominican Republic for the reestablishment of public order and for the protection of life and property, have been substantially obtained; and

WHEREAS: It has always been the desire and intention of the Government of the United States to withdraw their aid as quickly as this could be done consistently with said intention and as quickly as improved conditions in Santo

Domingo, to which the United States has striven to contribute, promise stability.

WHEREFORE: now, I, Thomas Snowden Rear Admiral of the United States Navy, Military Governor of the Dominican Republic, acting under the authority and by virtue of instructions from the Government of the United States, declare and announce to those concerned that the Government of the United States believes the time has arrived so that the said Government, with due feeling of its responsibility with respect to the people of the Dominican Republic, may begin the rapid withdrawal from the responsibilities assumed in relation to Dominican affairs.

IT IS THEREFORE ANNOUNCED that a commission of representatives Dominican citizens will be appointed, the names of whom will be published in the near future, to which commission I intend to attach a technical advisor. This Commission will be entrusted with the preparation of amendments to the Constitution and a general revision of the laws of the Republic, including the drawing up of a new electoral law. Such amendments to the Constitution and to said Laws or such reforms of the existing laws, as may be recommended by the Commission, with the approval of the Military Govern-

ment of Occupation, will be submitted to the Constituent Assembly and to the National Congress of the Dominican Republic respectively.

Thomas Snowden,

Rear Admiral of the United States Navy,
Military Governor of Santo Domingo.

Palace of the Government, Santo Domingo, D.R.
December 23rd, 1920.

PROTEST OF THE NATIONAL DOMINICAN UNION AGAINST THE WILSON PLAN

WHEREAS: The National Dominican Union was founded to preserve the Dominican people from the danger of being prostituted.

WHEREAS: Its primordial and irrefragable objective is the restoration of the Dominican Republic to its former status of an absolutely free and sovereign state.

WHEREAS: On May 16th, 1916, the United States of America disembarked military forces in the Dominican Republic, intervening against all the principles of the Rights of Peoples.

WHEREAS: On November 29th, 1916, the United States of America violently ousted the Constitutional Government of the Dominican

Republic, and proclaimed that the nation was occupied by military forces of the United States and would be governed by the said forces.

WHEREAS: In order to give an appearance of honesty to this reprehensible outrage of the rights of independence of the Dominican Republic, the United States of America invoked in its Proclamation of 1916 a supposed violation on the part of the said Republic of the obligations stipulated in the Dominican-American Convention of February 7th, 1907.

WHEREAS: The United States of America, after having disarmed the Dominican Republic, has maintained the Dominican people in subjection during four years by the force of bayonets, although the Dominican Republic have at no time renounced their sovereignty nor tacitly nor expressly accepted foreign interference in their domestic affairs, never failing to continually protest, rejecting and repudiating this intervention by all the means at their command.

WHEREAS: On December 23rd, 1920, the United States of America issued another proclamation in which they once more invoke the supposed rights acquired by the Convention of 1907 and express the desire to withdraw their aid, which was imposed and not requested by

the Dominican Republic, through the appointment of a Commission of representative Dominican citizens to amend the Constitution of the Dominican Republic, revise the laws and draw up an electoral law under the supervision of the Military Government of Occupation, which proposals would be finally submitted to a Constituent Assembly and the National Congress respectively.

WHEREAS: The United States of America had absolutely no right to occupy the Dominican Republic with military forces and much less to issue or reform laws, amend the Constitution or call elections, nor to force elections under the armed rule of foreigners.

WHEREAS: The Dominican people, in spite of the American Military Occupation, continue to be a sovereign nation and do not nor can not recognize any political power within the national territory, except that which they themselves confer in accordance with their own laws.

WHEREAS: The Dominican people through the Provincial Juntas of the National Union and the Nationalist Juntas have expressed their public desire to effect the restoration of the Dominican Republic with all its inalienable rights of absolute sovereignty and without any

diminution of authority within its physical frontiers.

WHEREAS: Whereas the proposals of the United States of America expressed in the Proclamation of December 23rd, 1920, to amend the Constitution and revise the laws of the Dominican Republic subject to approval of the American military forces, which have subdued the Republic by force of arms, constitute an order given by one who has no right to do so — to force the Dominican people to relinquish their fundamental institutions which today serve as a shield and defense against the imperialistic aims of the Government of the United States of America.

WHEREAS: The Dominican people, whose virility and dignity are unquestionably demonstrated by History, do not need nor will accept tutors, nor feel themselves disposed to tolerate without protest any foreign, arbitrary and despotic voice within their domestic walls.

WHEREAS: The day when the Dominican people will reap the fruits of their virile resistance and the United States of America will withdraw, convinced of their error, is near, because the Latin-American Republics, Europe and a considerable portion of the American



people have taken note of the international robbery perpetrated by the Government of that powerful nation in Dominican territory and against Dominican institutions; and the voice of these sister republics is rising against the nefarious crime, their hands knocking each instant with greater clamor at the doors of the temple of Supreme International Justice.

WHEREFORE: The National Dominican Union protest in the name of the Dominican people against the **PROCLAMATION** issued by the United States of America in the territory of the Dominican Republic, December 23rd, 1920, signed by Thomas Snowden, with the title of Military Governor of Santo Domingo, and energetically and positively rejects all declarations, announcements, orders and appointments contained in said proclamation; and, in turn, notifies the United States of America and the entire world that the Dominican people irrevocably maintain their supreme aspiration for the immediate restoration of the Dominican Republic, with all the inalienable attributes of its absolute sovereignty and without diminution of the dominions within its physical frontiers, and declares as void all acts carried out through force under the regime of the Military Govern-

ment in execution of the aims enumerated in the proclamation dated December 23rd, 1920.

E. Tejera,

President of the National Union.

December 24th, 1920.

ANNEX NO. 4
CREED OF THE DOMINICAN
NATIONAL UNION

FIRST: To found, under the name of the Dominican National Union, a patriotic Dominican organization with the primordial and irrevocable objective of restoring the Dominican Republic to its former status as an absolutely independent and sovereign state.

SECOND: To declare that they inscribe themselves in the great organization of patriots known as DOMINICAN NATIONAL UNION, as charter members thereof and to assume, therefore, all the duties that emanate from the status as such charter members of the Dominican National Union, irrevocably assuming the following patriotic pledge:

a) To advocate the immediate restoration of the Dominican Republic to its former condition of an absolutely free, independent and sovereign state; and

b) Not to agree by action, collaboration or vote, nor with their signature to obligate in any international pact any of the attributes of the national sovereignty, nor any of the dominions of the national territory.

All Dominicans of both sexes who declare their adherence to the aims of this organization shall be inscribed as members of the Dominican National Union.

Santo Domingo, this 8th day of February, 1920.

Emiliano Tejera, President; Lic. Enrique Henríquez, Vice-President; Dr. Américo Lugo, 2nd Vice-President; Andrés Pérez, Treasurer; Antonio Hoepelman, Secretary of Meetings; Emilio A. Billini, Secretary of Correspondence; Members: Fabio Fiallo, Lic. Armando Pérez Perdomo; Dr. M. A. Machado.

The National Union was founded in the early part of January, 1920. Its founders were René Fiallo, Manuel A. Grullón, Viriato A. Fiallo, and Juan Tomás Mejía. After these, the following names of greatest prestige are noted: Andrés Pérez, Félix M. Mejía, Antonio Hoepelman, Emilio Billini, Lucio Fiallo, Emilio Tejera, Enriquillo Henríquez, Juan Bta. Ruiz and Fabio Fiallo.

As a matter of principle, the patriotic association was called the Dominican National Union and had two principal objects: To work toward the reorganization of national independence and to maintain alive the spirit of the Dominican nation until that could be accomplished. Actually, all partizan ideas were discarded and open arms were extended to every Dominican, without distinction; and as a demonstration of this, the members of the Consultative Board were invited to join the Association. (See "Listín Diario", dated January 27, 1920).

In the subsequent session, at my petition, a Commission was appointed to visit Don Emiliano Tejera and ask him to accept the Presidency of the Association. The Commission was composed of Don Andrés Pérez, Juan Tomás Mejía and Fabio Fiallo. His valuable cooperation having been obtained, it was decided that in future the meetings — until then held at my residence at Mercedes Street, Corner of Duarte, — should be held at the home of the venerable old man who was crippled in both legs. And, as up to that time the National Union had no Board of Directors, it was decided to appoint one immediately, the persons mentioned at the end of the National Creed being appointed to form part of the said Board.



ANNEX No. 5

M E M O R A N D U M

PRESENTED BY DR. HENRIQUEZ, TO MR. S. WELLES

In the interview which I had with Mr. S. Welles, Chief of the Latin-American Division of the Department of State, the ideas expressed by the undersigned can be summed up as follows:

The Dominican people request:

a) The restoration of their total sovereignty together with their *political status prior to 1916*.

b) The immediate and total evacuation of the territory of the Dominican Republic by the American forces of occupation.

c) There is to be no interference of the present Military Government in any of these acts which the people should carry out freely and in an orderly manner, to reconstruct their national government.

d) Absolute guarantee of the American Government that the said Government will take such efficacious measures as may be necessary and convenient to the honor that government, so that the individual liberty of the Dominican people will be really protected during the electoral process inherent in the reorganization of their national government.

Notwithstanding the fact that, as it has been expressed and constantly maintained through the patriotic and Nationalist Juntas, the people demand the restoration of the Government that existed in 1916, the restoration of the *political status* prior to 1916 does not include the replacement by force of the public officials who at that time held office with the legitimate authorities in such government.

The undersigned has announced more than once that in order to facilitate the solution of the country's situation, he is ready to abandon all attempts to be reinstated in power. The political status prior to 1916 signifies that upon the withdrawal of the American Military Government from the Dominican Republic, the national government of the said Republic will reappear with its inherent constitutional organization and without international obligations other than those stipulated up to that date in treaties and, especially, those derived from the Convention of 1907.

The immediate evacuation of the American forces from Dominican territory is a logical consequence of the restoration of the sovereignty of the Dominican people.

Non-interference of the Military Government in the inherent operations, proceeding from or



subsequent to the formation of the new national government is another legal result and condition of the restoration of the sovereignty of the Dominican people. This sovereignty is to be put into action by the nation itself and it shall proceed to organize the government upon advice that the American Military Government has ceased to function and the evacuation of the occupation forces will begin. There is no electoral law in the republic, but it is not the right of the American Military Government to enact one or call the people to elections, because this is an attribute of sovereignty. The people should enact their own laws and call electoral assemblies to proceed with the political reorganization. It is the duty of the Military Government, responsible only for social order, to protect liberty, preventing that the said liberty be perturbed either by the authority or influence of the occupying forces and that the suffrage be not vitiated in any way.

Washington, May 9th, 1921.

ANNEX No. 6

PROCLAMATION OF THE HARDING PLAN

WHEREAS: The proclamation of the Military Governor of Santo Domingo, dated December 23rd, 1920, advised the Dominican people of the desire of the Government of the United States to begin the simple preparations to be the forerunner of rapid withdrawal from the responsibilities assumed in respect of Dominican affairs; and

WHEREAS: Prior to the withdrawal of the forces of the United States, it is necessary that a duly constituted government, capable of resuming the orderly functions of government, exist in the Dominican Republic.

WHEREFORE: I, Samuel S. Robinson, Rear-Admiral of the Navy of the United States, Military Governor of Santo Domingo, in use of the authority granted me by the Government of the United States and in compliance with the instructions of the said Government, hereby make known that the Government of the United States preposes to withdraw its military forces from the Dominican Republic in accordance with the provisions of this Proclamation. Prior to withdrawal, the Government of the United States desires to be assured that the indepen-

dence and indivisibility of the territory of the Dominican Republic will be duly protected, that order will be maintained and that life and property will be guaranteed; and the said government also desires to deliver the administration of the Dominican Republic to a responsible Dominican Government, duly constituted in accordance with the Constitution and laws in force. Therefore, the said Government of the United States solicits the cooperation of the Dominican people in the hope that if the said people adapt themselves to the terms of this Proclamation, the withdrawal of the American forces will be carried out in a period of eight days.

The Executive Power granted the President of the Republic by the Dominican Constitution shall be exercised by the Military Governor of Santo Domingo until the President of the Republic, duly elected and proclaimed, assumes his office and until the Dominican Congress signs the Agreement of Evacuation.

Within one month from the date of this Proclamation, the Military Governor shall call Primary Assemblies to meet within thirty days from the date of the Decree of Convocation in accordance with Articles 82 and 83 of the Constitution.

The Assemblies shall appoint electors in accordance with Article 84 of the Constitution. In order that these elections may be held without disorder and may express the free will of the Dominican people, the said elections shall be held under the vigilance of the authorities appointed by the Military Governor.

The Electoral College appointed in this manner by the Primary Assemblies shall proceed in accordance with Article 85 of the Constitution to elect the Senators and Deputies and the Substitutes of these latter, and to form the list of Judges of the Supreme Court and of the Courts of Appeal, Tribunals and Courts of First Instance, according to Article 85 of the Constitution. Then, in accordance with Article 83 of the said Constitution, the Military Governor, exercising the functions of the Executive Power, shall appoint certain Dominican citizens as representatives of the Republic to negotiate the Treaty of Evacuation. In order to guarantee the enjoyment of individual rights and to maintain the peace and prosperity of the Republic, the Treaty of Evacuation shall have the following provisions:

- 1.—Ratification of all acts of the Military Government.

- 2.—Validation of the final loan of TWO MILLIONS FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS (\$2,500,000.00) which is the minimum amount with which the public works now in executions can be terminated, which works can be carried out within the period fixed for the withdrawal of the military forces and are considered necessary to the success of the new government of the Republic and the welfare of the Dominican people.
- 3.—The authority of the General Receiver of Customs, appointed in accordance with the Convention of 1907, to intervene in regard to the loan in addition to his duties.
- 4.—Authority for the General Receiver of Customs to have, in addition to the powers inherent in his office, the collection and disbursement of the portions of the Internal Revenue of the Republic which may be necessary, providing that customs receipts should be insufficient for the service of the foreign debt of the Republic.
- 5.—The obligation of the Dominican Republic to maintain an efficient rural and city National Guard, composed of native Dominicans, to conserve peace, offer adequate

protection of life and property and to assure fulfilment of all obligations of the Republic. For this reason, it will also be agreed in the said Treaty that the President of the Dominican Republic shall immediately request of the President of the United States that a Military Mission be sent to the Dominican Republic to have charge of efficiently organizing the said National Guard, which shall be under the command of competent Dominican officers, and, during the time that is necessary to develop this National Guard into an efficient organization, it shall have American officers appointed by the President of the Dominican Republic after these have been named by the President of the United States. The expenses of the said mission shall be borne by the Dominican Republic and it shall be given proper and adequate authority by the Executive Power for the aforementioned purposes.

The Military Governor shall then call a special session of the Dominican Congress to ratify the Evacuation Treaty aforementioned. Afterwards the Military Governor shall call a meeting of the Electoral College to elect a President of the Dominican Republic in accordance with Article 85 of the Constitution and, at the same



time, officials other than Senators and Deputies elected during the first meeting of the Electoral College, shall take office. The President elect of the Dominican Republic shall take over the reins of power in accordance with Article 51 of the Constitution, as soon as the Evacuation Treaty is ratified. Providing that through the cooperation of the Dominican people, peace and good order is maintained, the Military Governor shall transfer all his authority to the duly elected President of the Republic, the Military Government shall cease to function and the American forces shall be withdrawn right away.

Since the assistance of the Consultative Commission appointed in accordance with the Proclamation of December 23rd, 1920 is no longer needed, the said Commission is hereby dissolved, the Government of the United States expressing to the patriotic citizens of the Dominican Republic who composed the said Commission its appreciation of the services rendered at the cost of personal sacrifices.

S. S. Robinson,

Rear-Admiral of the United States Navy,
Military Governor of Santo Domingo.

Santo Domingo, June 14th, 1921.



ANNEX No. 7
TO FOREIGNERS RESIDING IN
NATIONAL TERRITORY

Know you these facts:

On November 29th, 1916 the Dominican Republic, through the arbitrary and powerful will of the Government of the United States — which by a sneaking pretext had entered our territory with cannon and bayonets — without declaration of war, without enmity, without provocation of any kind, without any motive, was declared subject to military forces and submitted to harsh slavery.

And from that unhappy event, the land which, on account of its wise and virtuous citizens, was worthy at one time of being called the Athens of the New World and was the cradle of American civilization, which, twice in cruel and unequal struggles, without a protector, without allies, without other aid than that of God and of its patriotism and steel, achieved the right to be free, sovereign and independent, saw itself submitted to the rigors of a pitiless fate. And in order to humble the heart, break the will, destroy the energy, wrest consent by the lash, instilling enslaving terror of body and soul, there has been no anguish of hunger, desperation of

thirst, cruelty of iron bonds, martyrdom by water, torture by fire which its sons have not been made to undergo and suffer, and during five years the sun of America has looked down with horror on scenes more painful and dreadful than those illuminated by the sun of the terrible European conflagration or the barbaric African sun.

Does the Government of the United States believe today that the moment of perfecting its work of vassallage, by returning to us a scrap of liberty in exchange of our submission to the hidden plans of conquest in America, has arrived? If this is the sinister plan which dictated the iniquitous plan of evacuation contained in the Robinson Proclamation of the 14th inst. — which without doubt you have read with stupor and reprobation — the Government of the United States is mistaken, and it has stupidly and fatidically erred. And before its representatives here and before you who represent the invincible disgust of other nations which were and are our friends, we swear that until our absolute liberty, soveragnty and independence is returned to us, it is well that the American forces retain in their rough hands, to be used on our flesh, all the instruments of blood and torture which civilization has wrested from the

hands of the barbarian and which has formed an immense ulcer on the body of the Dominican nation.

And before the implacable hand which scourges us, so as to break the spirit that encourages us, falls into fragments through sheer fatigue, without doubt, you will witness many scenes of pain, of which you will advise your relatives and friends on the other side of the sea and perhaps you will also advise them of a last tragedy of desperation.

And thus we advise you, so that our situation may be known to the world and that it may be known to what lengths our firm decision to be absolutely free, sovereign and independent has gone.

ON BEHALF OF THE YOUNG MEN OF THE CAPITAL CITY:

Fabio Fiallo, Pedro Landestoy Garrido, Américo Lugo, Jr., Guaroa Velázquez, Manuel J. Pellerano, Luis A. Abreu, Enrique Aybar, Frank M. Jimenes, José Pou, Rafael Esteva, Conrado Licairac, Julio E. Pérez, Julio F. Peynado, C. Larrazábal Blanco, Eduardo de Castro, Félix E. Valera, Rodolfo Burnigal, L. A. Cambiaso Mejía, Abada Enríquez, Apolinar de Castro, No. O. Fiallo, R. Heredia, C. Luis Marión C., J. Rafael Bordas, Enrique Alfau, M. A. Matos Mena, Sil-



vain Coiscou, Armando A. Ieses, R. A. Hernández, J. M. Troncoso y Sánchez, Guillermo González, Barón Sánchez, R. Gallart, Luis A. Paradas, Esteban Gregorio Billini, H. Herrera Billini, Salvador Coiscou, Luis A. del Castillo, H. Cruz Ayala, Julio Sánchez Gil, Jr., Ernesto C. Botello, José E. Aybar, Manuel A. Amiama, Rafael M. Aybar, Luis A. Alfau, Héctor Benzo, Hamlet García, I. Enríquez, J. B. Montes de Oca, L. E. Nadal, Gilberto Fiallo, R. Gilberto Sánchez Lustrino, Hernani García, Antonio Fiallo, Luis Ney Agramonte, W. Figuereo Cabral, José Ma. Vidal, Víctor Ml. Rodríguez, O. Cuello, A. Cuello, Ml. Lora, F. T. Cuello, J. Suardí, P. B. Bazora, Ismael Sánchez, Arioste Fiallo, Eladio Ramírez, Raúl Lluberes, Viriato A. Fiallo.

Santo Domingo, June 19th, 1921.

ANNEX NO. 8

MEMORANDUM OF THE HARDING PLAN PRESENTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE IN WASHINGTON

BY DR. HENRIQUEZ Y CARVAJAL

Washington, D. C., July 14 th, 1921.

Events which have occurred in Santo Domingo since June 14th last by reason of the publi-



cation of the Proclamation of Admiral Robinson, relative to the proposed evacuation of the territory of the Dominican Republic by the North American marines, have amply verified the basis of the objections which have been repeatedly made by the writer and by Mr. Tulio M. Cestero, member of the Dominican Nationalist Commission, to the basic points of the general plan of evacuation of the Dominican territory and the restoration of the national government drawn up by the American Government. As we foresaw and stated, the protest against the said plan by the Dominican people is unanimous, formidable and vehement, notwithstanding the efforts of the undersigned to prevent such vehemence. The concrete belief of the Dominican people is that the evacuation of the American troops from the territory of the Republic requires no treaty and the said people are not willing to give consent to any treaty which limits or restricts even in the least degree their right to the full exercise of sovereignty, nor will they accept obligations other than those already accepted in freely formulated pacts. The undersigned has explained many times to the Department of State, and it is evident, that the Dominican people prefer to be annihilated rather than accept any plan which in a precise or veiled

form provides for the fundamental subordination contained in the note presented by the American Legation to the Dominican Government on November 19th, 1915. President Jiménez rejected the proposals of the said note, and the undersigned, after a long discussion with Minister Russell and Rear Admiral Pond again rejected them, despite the formal warning of the Rear Admiral that the national government would be destroyed, the territory of the Dominican Republic occupied by American forces and Martial Law put into effect.

The undersigned has had the opportunity of maintaining before the Department of State that the Dominican people possess the natural and legal means to reorganize their government by enacting an electoral law in the form of a plebiscite or a referendum and calling the Electoral Assemblies which, in accordance with Article 83 of the Constitution, can meet with full right in case they are not called by governmental authority. The American forces now occupying the territory of the Dominican Republic are responsible for the maintenance of order and cannot be given any authority which may hinder the exercise of individual rights. The government resulting from the free exercise of popular sovereignty is the legitimate govern-



ment and, therefore, has right to take over public administration. Any military government, legal or illegal, is always transitory. When military government ceases, the civil government which was supplanted thereby resumes power.

Based on these antecedents and ideas, the writer has always believed that national civil government should be restored in Santo Domingo without the necessity of a treaty of evacuation. And, in opposition to this treaty, the writer suggested the necessity of a reciprocal commercial treaty between the United States and the Dominican Republic.

Putting aside the idea of the treaty, the possibility of agreeing on a protocol of evacuation could be considered, but the method and modus operandi, praised in his Proclamation of June 14th by Admiral Robinson, are not only inefficient, but have caused an explosive protest from the people.

The bases of such a protocol could be: a) A clause ratifying the action of the Military Government; b) a clause of subsidiary guarantee for payment of the debt and interests; c) a clause authorizing the loan of \$2,500,000 to terminate the public works now in construction; and d) a clause by which the Dominican Government

obligates itself to ask for a North American military mission to organize and command the Dominican armed forces.

The writer has declared and states again today that the clause obligating the Republic to deliver the command of the armed forces to foreign officers will never be accepted by the Dominican people. However, such decision does not prevent the Dominican Government from requesting and using the services of an american military mission under the usual conditions in which it has been and is done by other Republics of Latin-America and in accordance with the Constitution and organic laws of the Dominican Republic.

The use of a loan of \$2,500,000 charged to the Dominican Republic to terminate the construction of public works begun in the country by the Military Government is not essential and falls within the field of action of that Military Government and under their responsibility, but that refusal to consent to any loan granted in their name and under their responsibility, but that refusal cannot be considered an essential and prohibitive condition for restoring sovereignty to the State.

The subsidiary guarantee clause relative to the payment of the debt is unnecessary and un-



reasonable. During fourteen years of the Convention which regulates payment of the debt, the Custom Houses have never failed to cover the annual amount of interest and amortization payments. On the contrary, the annual quotas have increased with the progressive increase of the customs receipts. Although the present crisis has greatly decreased the customs receipts, it can hardly be believed that the decrease will prevent payment of the annual amount of the debt. If this should occur, no Dominican would hesitate an instant to seek more funds, perhaps by the increase of customs duties or by creating a subsidiary guarantee for the servicing of the debt.

Now, what the Dominican people do not wish is that through unwise administration of the Military Government, they be subjected to onerous obligations which would bring about a breakdown of the financial system. This opinion rests on the recent attempts to raise a loan in the United States, to be paid by the Dominican Republic. All are most unfortunate. The last one of \$2,500,000 to be amortized in four years, has little advantage as a financial arrangement. The interest is too high and the quick amortization in four years creates a heavy obligation on the Dominican nation, forcing them to pay out

\$2,350,000, annually. Without such increase in the debt, the total thereof was on May 31st of the present year only \$10,150,000 which required for interest about \$525,000 annually, thus leaving a variable margin for amortization, without it ever being necessary for the Dominican State to constitute any subsidiary guarantee.

The clause providing for the ratification of the acts of the Military Government has raised a wave of protest among the Dominican people. They cannot accept any clause, convention or understanding which prevents them from maintaining their protest against the intervention by the Government of the United States in their territory. That protest, with reserve of rights, was formulated in 1916 by the Dominican Government in a note presented to the Department of State by the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Dominican Republic in Washington, and reaffirmed by me personally in a note addressed to the Hon'ble Robert Lansing, Secretary of State at that time, on October 28th, 1920. The people cannot sanction the acts of bloody repression, the acts of violence and those which on their own authority the American Military Government carried out, without the consent of the people of the Dominican Republic, the only legally constituted power to govern themselves

while the nation existed as an international sovereign entity.

Nor can the responsibilities for damages which may be demanded of the Dominican State for acts of the Military Government by individuals, commercial association or foreign governments be accepted. The people cannot renounce their legitimate right to adopt, amend, or cancel such laws, decrees and orders as may have been enacted by the Military Government and which are at present in force. Nor can the people approve the debts for expenses contracted by the Military Government in the name of the Dominican Republic and with the funds of the people, without first hearing the report of a mixed commission of Dominicans and North Americans, appointed to study and appraise, on a strictly honorable and legal basis, all administrative acts of the Military Government from November 29th, 1916 to the date of definite withdrawal. The clause of ratification, therefore, can only be construed as referring to social order and for extinguishing all responsibility of the Dominican State as a result of expenses incurred by the American Government in name of the American Government in Dominican territory. Consummated facts have the authority of that which has been and the immediate juridical results of

such facts cannot be ignored without bringing about a chaotic situation in the society wherein such facts occurred.

Considering this point in the above manner, it can be easily understood that it is the Dominican State which is interested in regulating such a situation by means of a law. The protocol of evacuation in this manner would consist only of a simple exchange of notes between the American Legation and the new national government elected by the people, with the consequent delivery to such government, through the usual formalities of courtesy, of all the administrative, civil and military systems of the Republic up to that time in the hands of the Military Government.

In fact, a protocol of evacuation which could only contain the limited clause of the ratification as explained above, and the mortagage clause, subject to the condition of a subsidiary guarantee which would only be valid in case the customs receipts did not cover the interest and amortization of the debt, appears unnecessary.

With regard to the *modus operandi* fixed in the Proclamation of Admiral Robinson, the Dominican people would not consent to the Admiral's assuming executive power with right to call the people to elections, to maintain relations

with the recently elected houses and to name and give instructions to plenipotentiaries who would have to treat with the Government of the United States in the name of the Dominican Republic.

In view of the fact that the functions of the Dominican Civil Government cannot be fused with the functions of the foreign Military Government in the opinion of the Dominican people, they have decided, as a support to their protest against the Proclamation of Admiral Robinson, not to go to elections, nor to cooperate in any operation, whatever its purpose, which is carried out under the terms of the Plan detailed in the Proclamation.

In view of this resolute attitude assumed in a unanimous manner by the people who absolutely refuse to cooperate in the carrying out of the plan of the Proclamation of June 14th, the undersigned suggests to the Department of State that such plan be suspended, and some plan be worked out which will permit the Dominican people to reorganize their government alone.

The fundamental idea of the Proclamation of June 14th, as was that of December 23rd of the past year, was the evacuation of the territory of the Dominican Republic and the restoration of the national government of the country.



The conditions under which this idea should be carried out can be varied and adapted at the will of the Dominican people. That is the only manner in which they will have confidence that their sovereignty is not impaired. Adjusting ourselves to this temperament, I firmly believe we can quickly reach a just solution of the present problem of the Dominican Republic.

Dr. Henríquez y Carvajal.

Washington, July 14th, 1920.

FINAL WORDS

We have now reached the culminating point of this book: our adjustment of accounts with the Good Neighbor of today for the damages and losses of all kinds inflicted on us by the Bad Neighbor of yesterday, to whose actions the men who occupy the White House today in Washington are necessarily the responsible heirs as representatives of the American Government to face the just claims of the Dominican State.

One does not enter by surprise into another's estate, without reason and without right, and during eight years commit horrors of barbarism and cruelty and all depredations of sacking and pillage, without the responsibility of such acts continuing to exist until their just and complete settlement.

The great question of indemnity for damages and losses which we suffered by reason of the American Occupation of 1916 to 1924 has not



