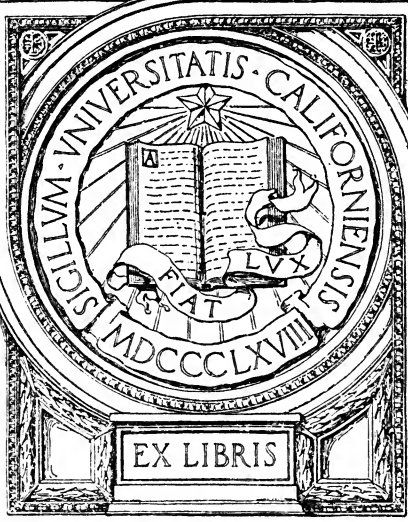


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FACTS in a NUTSHELL

**About Immigration
Yellow and White**

**BY
ARETAS W. THOMAS**

FIFTEEN CENTS

The Columbia Publishing Co.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

43 B Street N.W.



Facts in a Nutshell About Immigration, Yellow and White

... BY ...

ARETAS W. THOMAS

Author of

“Democracy and Direct Legislation,”

“The Philippines and the Purpose,”

etc., etc., etc

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By Aretas W. Thomas

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TO THE
AMERICAN

THE VITAL ISSUE

The most important issue of this presidential campaign is the question of immigration. It is the most important question because it tends to settle what kind of people shall make up the population of this country at the present time and in times to come. The kind of people there are in the country inevitably determines the kind of civilization, the standards of life, industrial and social, the kind of government and liberty, the measure of progress and happiness which shall prevail here now and hereafter. It is the basic issue of all questions now pending before the American people. Every voter should, first of all, pay attention to the record, and views upon immigration of each candidate for whom he is to vote in the coming election, including the office of the President and all subordinate officeholders.

(October 1912)

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THE
YELLOW
IMMIGRATION



Facts in a Nutshell About Immigration, Yellow and White

ONE.

"I can and do declare as the accredited Ambassador of my Emperor at Washington, that the relations between the two governments are as friendly as at any moment in history," said Ambassador Aoki, of Japan, in 1907. "The factors in the peaceful resolution of the racial differences will be commerce and marriage." * * * "The instruments by which that is brought about are chiefly the two I have named—the process of trade and the institution of marriage."

This declaration by a high official representing a government of fifty million Yellow Type men (Japanese), is worthy of consideration.

Asiatic immigration presents two phases, the economic and the ethnic. Here, in brief, is the economic phase. There are twice as many Yellow men (Chinese, Japanese, Hindoos, etc.) as

8 THE YELLOW IMMIGRATION

there are White men in the world and ten times as many as there are White men in the United States. A large share of the Yellow men are crowded into densely over-populated areas in Eastern and Southeastern Asia, living in abject poverty under social and political conditions unknown in the Western Hemisphere. In no other portions of Asia are there sufficient unoccupied and desirable lands to support these surplus and needy millions of Yellow men. On this side of the earth, and to a considerable extent in the United States, are vast areas of vacant and sparsely settled lands, fertile and with climatic conditions of the best.

Until very recent times natural barriers—oceans, mountains, deserts, inconveniences of travel and transportation—combined with racial hostilities and distinctions, have tended, in the main, to keep aloof the Yellow and the White man. But modern methods of travel and communication have surmounted such barriers and have bridged distances so that practically they are neighbors.

As for the ethnic phase: Naturalists assert that every member of each of the five great types of men, migrations

aside, is born in a distinct zoological realm. As declared by Professor A. H. Keane, author of "Man Past and Present," the human varieties "are the outcome of their several environments. They are what climate, soil, diet, pursuits and inherited characteristics have made of them. So that all sudden transitions are usually followed by disastrous results." Through evolution in habitats under action and reaction of the laws of heredity and environment each great type has developed its own characteristics and civilization. This is Nature's first law regarding the genesis of man.

The amalgamation of any two great types of men produces offspring inferior to the normal development of the higher race and incapacitated to sustain the best characteristics and powers of the lower type. This is demonstrated by Herbert Spencer and other physicists, and is apparent to the ordinary observer. This is Nature's second law of the genesis of man.

It is folly to imagine that this country by a "melting pot" process can generate out of diverse types a new and superior type of man. Such an amalga-

mation would mean mongrelism, the destruction of the Republic, and the doom of progressive civilization.

One-tenth of the population of this country (mainland) are negroes. And by race fusion one-third of these negroes are of mixed white and black parentage, or descent. Where any two great types of men live in the same area this blood mingling goes on—regardless of social or political conditions, or marriage laws even. Millions of Yellow-type people will seek to gain entrance here in no distant future, and unless debarred admittance, the inevitable results of their presence would follow.

TWO.

For more than a quarter of a century following the beginning, in 1860, of Chinese immigration, and the consequent presence in our Pacific Slope areas, from year to year, of one hundred thousand or more of Chinese coolies, unceasing appeals were made to Congress for an Exclusion Act, and frequent anti-Chinese riots took place. The entire nation discussed the "Chinese question."

Finally, in 1888, a treaty was made with China providing for the future exclusion of all Chinese except "government officials, teachers, students, merchants, or travelers for pleasure or curiosity," which policy has been continuously maintained.

The number of Chinese now in this country (mainland) is officially stated to be less than one hundred thousand. But this statement is often disputed and the claim is made that the present Chinese population is much greater than that, even more than before the treaty was made. The presence in many cities of the East, as well as in the Pacific Slope, of great numbers of Chinese

many years too young to have been born in this country, emphasizes the statements often made by Federal officials that in innumerable ways our Chinese Exclusion laws are being constantly evaded.

From the presence of a comparatively small number of Chinese great evils arose in our industrial system, and it is evident if our exclusion policy against them is relaxed or abandoned millions of China's surplus population will eagerly seek permanent homes here and become a menace to the White race and to Western civilization.

Prior to ten years ago few Japanese came to this country. Roughly estimated their number in 1909 was officially given as about one hundred thousand in the Continental United States, but this estimate is claimed to be not nearly large enough. Whether their number is now decreasing or increasing is vehemently disputed. Unlike the Chinese the Japanese often bring their families and are generally desirous of becoming permanent residents and citizens.

Strenuous objections against the Japanese are maintained on the Pacific

Slope, even more pronounced, in some ways than those put forth against the Chinese. The Japanese are not merely wage competitors with the White laborers, but they are competitors with the White farmers in the possession, by lease or otherwise, of considerable areas of the choicest fruit lands of that region, and to a great extent control that industry, and are dangerous competitors in many forms of commercial enterprises also. Their unassimilable ways of life, building up in many places in country, towns and cities centres of Oriental civilization, are hostile and fatal to American institutions; and are most strongly denounced by the people and press of the Far West states.

The alien, non-landing holding, and the Segregation acts sought to be passed by several of the Pacific states; the San Francisco school difficulty about Japanese pupils in schools there, becoming matters of international importance, and demanding the intervention of the past and the present Federal Administration at Washington, are recent and well-known symptoms of the trouble that will not down between the White men of the Pacific Slope and the Japanese residents there. And thus, the "Japan-

ese Question," one phase merely of the problem of Asiatic immigration, looms up prodigious, circling on our Western confines and out over the bosom of the Pacific like a world eruptive cyclone of war.

THREE.

In Japan the birth rate largely exceeds the death rate. Every year about seven hundred thousand round faced, slant-eyed babies there bloom forth into light and life in excess of the number of weary, pallid humans who fade away into the darkness and so-called nothingness of death. The total area of Japan is about equal to two-thirds of the area of California, but only one-sixth of this area, equal to the combined size of New Hampshire and Vermont, is tillable land—on which must be raised food for fifty millions of people. Where is this rapidly increasing surplus population of Japan to find dwelling place and sustenance?

The combined area of Japan, Korea, and the Chinese Empire and India makes up about one-tenth of the land area of the globe, and therein dwell one-half the population of the earth. Large areas of China and India have a density population per square mile of fully five hundred people; and Japan has at least an average population per square mile of three hundred and thirty.

The average population per square

mile of the United States, exclusive of Alaska, is one hundred and twenty-two; and the three States of Washington, Oregon and California, containing a total population of three millions, have an average per square mile population of nine persons only. Between the people of this Pacific Slope of ours and the needy seven hundred and fifty millions of people above named rolls the easily traversed waters of the Pacific.

How long will Japan with her crowded millions of surplus people, war-like, ambitious, vivified by the pulse of modern progress and invention, and by successful warfare, be content to be held confined within such narrow and congested limits?

There is no room for this surplus population of Japan in Asia. China with a population eight times greater than Japan, also awakened to the needs and power of modern civilization, can not find in all the Asiatic mainland room for the necessities and development of her own people. The nominally Chinese province of Manchuria has an average population of seventy per square mile; and it is to a great extent commercially and otherwise con-

trolled by Russia and Japan, and all the Western Powers, including our own country, are seeking to exploit or possess these areas.

Siberia to the Northward, the natural outlet for China's development, is held by the White Empire of Russia. India crowded to the starvation point offers no field for Japanese or Chinese development, and the regions beyond the Himalayas to the West and Northwest are for the most part occupied or impossible of conquest and utilization by either of these nations.

The white nations have partitioned among themselves all Africa, except the Moorish States on the Mediterranean, and they guard all access to any desirable areas in the interior of the Dark Continent. If the Yellow man seeks an outlet in Africa he will have to fight the Whites and exterminate the Blacks.

There remains in the Eastern Hemisphere only the island areas of the Indian and Pacific Oceans—the Malayan group, New Guinea, Borneo, the Philipines, Australia, New Zealand, and the small and far off isles of the Mid and West Pacific, including Hawaii. In all of these no adequate relief could be

found for the dire need of Asiatics even if it were possible to wrest them from White control. Nothing is left, therefore, for the Yellow man but the vast and unoccupied or sparsely settled areas across the Pacific in North and South America. Here is the outlet the Yellow races must inevitably strive to acquire, either by industrial or warlike invasion—and the industrial invasion has been for some time in progress.

FOUR.

Gladstone said, "the Chinaman is penalized for his virtues,"—referring to industrial characteristics merely. As a wage worker his tireless industry, ceaseless patience, and almost universal adaptation to diverse climes and employments, coupled with his frugal habits and low standard of living, enables him to underbid the White workman. The Chinese merchant also, possessing similar "virtues," can undersell the White merchant in many places.

The situation in Hawaii illustrates the effect of unchecked Asiatic immigration. Hawaii, the "Outpost Isle of the Sea," was acquired in order to protect our Pacific Coast from possible aggression from any Asiatic or other power. In 1900 the population was one hundred and fifty-four thousand, one-fourth of which was native or half-breed Hawaiian, another fourth mixed European, and the remaining half Asiatic, mostly Japanese and Chinese. There were forty-four thousand Japanese males over the age of eighteen years included in this enumeration.

The Report of the Department of

Commerce and Labor for 1896 cited the views of the Honolulu Merchants' Association, wherein it was said, "this country has been inundated with an influx of Asiatic population that threatens to undermine its political security as far as the ascendancy and control of the White race is concerned."

And to this declaration the report mentioned above added, "The two nationalities differ in race, and their history and traditions have nothing in common. They differ widely in their experience of political institutions. They differ radically in their spiritual ideals and their religious beliefs. They differ wholly in their moral and social conventions, their philosophy of life, and in their habits of thought." * * * "The second generation of Asiatics, therefore, however much in such a community they may conform to American business customs, remain alien in thought and sympathy."

The Japanese especially have driven out the Whites from various lines of commerce and industry, even where capital and technical skill is essential. "The flowing out of the Caucasian population almost as rapidly as it is re-

cruited is one of the most serious problems," declares the Report of the Immigration Commission submitted to Congress in December last.

The Stars and Stripes float over Hawaii, but practically Hawaii is an Oriental possession, industrially dominated by Asiatics.

On the other side of the globe, almost directly beneath the volcanic base of Hawaii, lies the Island of Mauritius, five hundred and fifty miles from the East coast of Africa, the "Half-way House" between the Yellow and Dark Continent. For three hundred years settled and controlled in turn by Dutch, French, and English peoples, it is today, under the flag of Great Britain, by reason of Asiatic immigration and competition, an Oriental colony. Great Britain with her mighty navy can there preserve political authority. But it is now in the power of Japan, if she desires, to take possession of Hawaii—and, in such case, in the tropic sunlight, there on so-called American soil, thousands of Japanese swords would flash out welcome and allegiance to the Mikado.

FIVE.

Wherever Chinese and Japanese are allowed to enter and compete in trade and industry with native or with Whites in any of the European possessions and dependencies in the Eastern Hemisphere, such as the Federated Malay States, the Straits Settlements, the islands of New Guinea, Borneo, etc., the invariable result is that they lower the wage standard of White laborers and undermine the White merchants and tradesmen, and, if uninterrupted, gain possession of the entire field.

Baron Alexander Von Huber, former Ambassador to France, after a trip around the world in 1885 declared in a public address in Vienna that the Chinese were supplanting the European wherever the races were brought together, and detailed numerous and unquestionable instances of such facts.

In a recent work entitled "The Mastery of the Pacific," by Colquhoun, the author referring comprehensively to the condition in the Federated Malay States, the Straits Settlements, the city and port of Singapore, etc., shows "the

significant development there in the gradually encroaching wealth, power and number of Chinese there."

The disastrous effects of industrial and commercial competition between the Yellow and the White races are everywhere seen when they come in contact in the Old World. By sheer persistence the Yellow tide undermines the White civilization.

Since the American domination over the Philippines many army and civil officials there in command have officially reported against the presence of Chinese in that Archipelago. General McArthur, as military governor of those islands declared, "such a people, largely endowed as they are with inexhaustible fortitude and determination, if admitted to the archipelago in any considerable numbers during the formative period which is now in process of evolution would soon have direct or indirect control of pretty nearly every productive interest, to the absolute exclusion alike of Filipinos and Americans."

Great evils arose from Chinese immigration and competition in the islands all through the Spanish occupancy of the same. At the present time the Chi-

nese exclusion laws have been extended to the Philippines; but Secretary Strauss recommended a change in that policy as far as those islands were concerned, and there is a persistent demand from monopolistic interests for the reintroduction of Chinese labor there.

The Australian Colonies have constantly sought to exclude Asiatics. In the earlier days their exclusion statutes were directed against Chinese, and each Chinaman on landing there had to pay a poll tax, in many instances as high as one hundred pounds sterling; and strict tonnage taxes and supervision of vessels bringing them were enforced. Later on when the Japanese and other Asiatics began to seek entrance the statutes ran in some of the Colonies against the admission of all "Asiatics," and the word "Asiatic" was defined to mean "any native of any part of Asia, or the islands adjacent to Asia or in Asiatic seas, and the descendants of such natives;" but did not include persons of European or Jewish extraction, nor Hindoos.

More recently all these Colonies enacted an educational or "illiteracy" test requiring every male adult immigrant to be able to read and write in some *Euro-*

pean language, the effect of which excludes nearly all Japanese and other Asiatics. This requirement was adopted by the Commonwealth of Australia when the Colonies became federated, and is now the law of the Australian Continent. Such an "illiteracy" test if adopted here would check, for a time at least, Asiatic immigration and shut out much undesirable immigration from Europe.

SIX.

The Asiatic exclusion laws of the Australian Colonies, and now of the Commonwealth of Australia itself, had back of them the universal determination of the people to preserve there the Anglo-Saxon civilization. The Asiatic exclusion of New Zealand of 1885 declared its purpose to be "to safeguard the race purity of the people of New Zealand by preventing the influx of persons of an alien race.

"It is our duty", declared Sir Henry Parks, Lieutenant Governor of New South Wales, in an address in 1888 before the Immigration Conference of representatives of all the Australian Colonies, "to preserve the type of the British Nation, and we ought not for any consideration whatever to admit any element that would detract from, or any appreciable degree lower that admirable type of nationality."

"We should not encourage or admit amongst us any class of persons whatever whom we are not prepared to advance to all our franchises, to all our privileges as citizens, and all

our social rights, including the right of marriage. I maintain that no class of persons should be admitted here, so far as we can reasonably exclude them who can not come amongst us, take up all our rights, perform on a ground of equality all our duties, and share in our august and lofty work of founding a free nation."

"We can not patiently stand to be treated with the frozen indifference of persons who consider some petty quarrel in a petty state of more importance than the gigantic interests of these magnificent colonies."

"Neither for Her Majesty's ships, nor for Her Majesty's representatives on the spot, nor for the Secretary of State for the Colonies, do we intend to turn aside from our purpose, which is to terminate the landing of Chinese on these shores forever, except under the restrictions imposed by the Bill, which will amount, and which are intended to amount to practical prohibition."

And this was not said in a spirit of detraction as regards the Chinese, for he adds, "The Chinese are a superior people. The influx of a few million of Chinese would entirely change the char-

acter of the Australian Commonwealth. I wish to preserve the type of my own nation in these far countries."

The British Crown has power to approve or disapprove of measures enacted by the colonial legislatures affecting the relations or intercourse of such colonies with foreign nations. At first Royal assent to the exclusion laws of the Australian Colonies was withheld. But there arose from the mass of the people all through the Colonies, from the legislative and civic bodies everywhere, and even from the governors of the Colonies placed there by the Crown, such out-spoken and determined opposition and defiance to the Imperial policy that Royal Assent was finally given to such measures—for to refuse such assent would have, in all probability, resulted in the withdrawal of the Colonies from the British Empire itself.

It is evident that the Yellow Man can not, except by force of arms, gain access to the vast and vacant areas of Australia.

The mysterious alliance, on paper, at least, between Great Britain and Japan has back of it, no doubt, the anxiety of

the Mother Country to conserve and guard her White Colonies from encroachments on part of puissant Japan.

SEVEN.

When the Dutch Burghers migrated to South Africa, and, from time to time with their families and household goods loaded on wagons, driving their flocks and herd along, "treked" back into the Veldt so as to be by themselves, no Yellow man appeared within their horizon.

But later on, by reason of the coming into the Transvaal of Chinese, East Indians (Hindoos) strenuous Asiatic restriction laws were passed. The "Volksraad Resolution" of 1885 denied to Asiatics the right to own lands, required all those doing a trading business to register; and to pay twenty-five pounds sterling for a registration certificate; and provided various segregation and "bazaar" laws against them. These rigorous provisions were somewhat relaxed during a portion of the Kruger Administration, but under the British rule similar enactments, including Hindoos of High and Low caste alike were made; and thumb-print identification marks required to be made on such certificates issued to them. This policy brought great dissatisfac-

tion not only among the East Indians in South Africa but in India itself.

But as Sir Arthur Lawley, Lieutenant Governor of the Transvaal, in an official communication to His Majesty's Government, in 1904, declared—"It is true that the British Government have laid down 'that there shall not be in the eye of the law any distinction or disqualification whatever founded on mere distinction of colour, origin, language, or creed'; but the history of South Africa has been such as to set up an impassable barrier between the European and the coloured races."

"The problem does not begin and end with a shop keeper's quarrel, but is more far reaching than the question whether this country shall be governed by Englishmen or Boers." * * * * "It is really prompted by the instinct of preservation in the minds of the European trading community."

At one time in the Transvaal Chinese coolies were brought in under a strict indenture system and kept at close confinement at work in the Rand gold mines, but they have now all been sent back to China and the most rigorous Asiatic exclusion laws, including the

educational or "illiteracy" test, now prevail in all of the British South African Colonies.

Until within recent years the colony of Natal permitted East Indians to come there under the indenture system, and at the expiration of the indenture time allowed them to remain. In consequence of this policy Natal was long called "the Back Door" of Africa, because these East Indians (Hindoos) were wont to stray over into the other Colonies of South Africa. These East Indians became numerous and prosperous; but their lower standard of living proved disastrous to the Whites. Their status was such that they could do practically anything that an Englishman could do, skilled labor, clerical work, and the operation of factories, etc. In this way Natal became to a great extent "Orientalized." As described by Sir Arthur Lawley in an official dispatch in 1904, "so prevalent is the Indian element in that country (Natal) that the moment one crosses the Transvaal border he loses the impression that he is traveling in an European country at all."

EIGHT.

In 1885 the Dominion of Canada passed a law requiring every Chinese immigrant to pay a head tax of fifty dollars, and in 1896 this tax was increased to five hundred dollars. But treaty relations between the British Government and Japan do not permit Canada to place restrictions upon Japanese immigration.

Conditions due to such immigration in the Pacific sections of the Canadian Dominion, especially, have arisen similar to those in the Pacific Slope of the United States. Restrictive legislation on part of some of the Canadian Provinces applicable to Japanese and other Asiatics in their several areas has been passed; protests and petitions in great numbers against such immigration have been presented to the Ottawa Government, and riots and hostile acts against members of those races have taken place on several occasions.

For ten years or more the legislative assembly of British Columbia passed various labor regulations providing that no Chinese or Japanese should be

employed on any public works, or that every workman employed on such works should be able to read in some *European* language.

Sanction to each of these Acts has been successively refused by the Executive authority of the Dominion Government, and the Imperial Government of Great Britain. itself, has officially remonstrated with the authorities of British Columbia against the enactment of such measures. Nevertheless, year after year, that province has defiantly enacted such Acts—so irresistible has been the sentiment of the people there against the immigration and presence of Asiatics.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration, filed in 1902, says, "All that has been said in this regard with reference to the Chinese applies with equal, if not greater force, to the Japanese." * * * "The consensus of opinion of the people of British Columbia is that they do not and can not assimilate with White people, and that while in some respects they are less undesirable than the Chinese, in that they adopt more readily our habits of life and spend more of their

earnings in this country, yet in all that goes to make for the permanent settlement of the country they are quite as serious a menace as the Chinese and keener competitors against workingmen, and as they have more energy, push and independence, more dangerous in this regard than the Chinese."

In 1902 Great Britain secured from the Mikado a "Restrictive Agreement" regulating the migration of Japanese laborers to Canada. Later on, when the influx of Japanese immigration was renewed, to petitions, protests and anti-Japanese legislation on part of the Western Provinces of Canada, there followed at Vancouver and other places riots and life destroying assaults upon both Japanese and Hindoos. At the same time at Bellingham, and at other places on the American side of the line the White men there maltreated and murdered their Yellow brothers because of the undesired presence, debasing competition, and Oriental ways that do not fit in with a White Man's civilization.

This fact stands out, regardless of all industrial and social differences, wherever around the world the White and

Yellow man attempt to live in the same habitat, they disagree—and they can't help it.

NINE.

Samuel Tilden once said, "The Monroe Doctrine might be a good thing if any one could find out what it was."

The Monroe Doctrine has been a gradual growth, a political evolution. It has potencies sufficient to protect, if need be, the soil and institutions of the New World from encroachments by any European power, and to prevent the establishment in the New World of any Oriental civilization.

Some of the South American republics, and even our neighbor Mexico, are granting lands to Asiatics for colonization, and are opening to them industrial opportunities and resources. In a purely industrial way important areas may thus become "Orientalized" if unrestricted migration of Asiatics should be long continued.

In a militant way also what is to hinder Japan, for instance, if she sees fit, from securing political control or possession of some South American areas. It would be easy for her to pick a quarrel with some one of these republics; to bombard its ports, to sieze its coast cities, or even to invade the mainland

and entrench its forces there. Japan might readily enough ally herself, moreover, with some one of the contending factions that are sometimes warring upon each other in some of these republics in South or Central America, or even in Mexico, and dominate peoples and civilizations there. The filling up of such areas with millions of Japanese and erecting an Asiatic civilization might follow therefrom.

Count Okama, an important progressive leader in Japan, in 1907, said that Japanese migration should be directed towards the coasts of Chili, Peru and Mexico, rather than to Brazil, because the countries named were much easier "to include within the sphere of the influence of Japan in the future;" and he added the specific declaration that the "military and naval forces of Japan are not for ornament, but for use, and that the west coast of South America is within our sphere of influence." Similar assertions have been made by other Japanese statesmen, and the attitude of the Japanese Government in many ways manifests that policy.

Baron Kiyoura, ex-minister of agriculture and commerce of Japan, in a

magazine article some three years ago, declared himself to be in favor of changing the insular habit and sentiment of the Japanese people so that Japan might become a world power, and to that end he favored the selection of South America as a site for colonial enterprise, and said it "would offer a fruitful field for our exploitation, for in that country there is no keen competition, nor any particular anti-Asiatic fever such as one finds on the Pacific Coast of North America. Hostility toward immigration in general, and against the yellow race in particular, does not seem to exist in those roomy states of South America." And he urged the establishment of a line of Japanese steamships to run to South American ports as a means to such end; all of which has been done.

Which is the wiser policy, to temporize with the trend of events that lead to the irresistible conclusion that Oriental races and civilizations, peacefully if they can, forcibly if they must, will seek lodgment in and control of areas in the Western Hemisphere, or to say at once, "This side of the globe shall remain white!"

TEN.

It is often said that our trade relations with the East are dependent upon our free maintenance of Asiatic immigration to this country. In the early colonial days it was urged that trade with Africa and the West Indies demanded the bringing into this country of African slaves. All the world knows the results of that doctrine and that practice.

Trade between this country and Great Britain, or France, or Germany, between nations of like civilization, does and always will surpass any possible trade to be gained with Oriental countries. The relatively small commerce that we carry on with China and Japan is mostly raw materials, such as lumber, kerosene oil, iron ores, etc.; things which we need ourselves, or of which in the near future we shall need at home, and which even now we are trying to conserve for the generations to come. The day is nearly gone when we have an excess of food products to spare, and cotton is about the only great agricultural staple of which we can have any considerable surplus for export.

Most of the other things we send

there consist of machinery, equipments, etc., which both China and Japan are beginning to use in a productive way. When the eastern people have generally adopted the ways of the western civilization, in dress, diet, and articles of pleasure (if they ever do), they will by that time have learned to produce nearly all those things themselves in their own countries. China has undeveloped natural resources of coal, iron and other metals, some of them equal, if not greater than similar deposits within the United States; and she has the cheapest labor in the world which, under western superintendency, is quick to adopt and carry out modern methods. Japan now makes a great share of the things used in modern civilization, from the largest warships to watches. Japan and certain places in China are likely to become the workshop of the world in no distant future.

The "open door" is a door shut to American labor; and the commerce such as is maintained between this country and the Orient is, for the most part, conveyed in steamships owned by Japan and manned by Asiatic sailors. Japan has driven the American steamship

lines from the Pacific, and she has gained the ascendancy of the carrying trade between the different ports of Asia over the English and German lines. This she has accomplished by unity of purpose by her cheaper labor.

A few years ago an American "Napoleon" of trans-continental commerce sought to control that of the Pacific. He undertook to educate Asiatics so that they would eat flour rather than rice, and thereby become consumers of American wheat, and he built the largest steamships in the world to traverse the Pacific and carry American products to the Orient. But the Orientals still continue to live on rice, and now we have but little surplus wheat to export, and nearly all the trade across the Pacific goes in Japanese steamships. Commerce is a great civilizer. Trade within the lines of peace and good will is to be desired. But attempts to change Oriental ways, or to compete at home or in foreign habitats in production and commerce with low-wage standard Asiatic labor under skilled governmental control, like that of Japan, is another proposition.

ELEVEN.

Against Asiatic immigration to the West place European and Occidental exploitation of the East, and you have the status of world affairs in view.

“Good brother, yellow and benighted, let us teach you arts of peace, of industry, and of warfare!” and thus breathing benedictions the white man moves forth into realms of the East, marking out therein “spheres of influence;” seeks to control seaports, to build railways, to dominate trade, and distributes Bibles and gunpowder with assiduous persistency.

There be “Yellow Perils” and “White Perils” alike in vision. Concerning the latter it was said as early as the year 1904, in an address made before the Harvard University by Baron Kentaro Kaneko, L. L. D., a high official of the Japanese Government, “Japan has far more reason to fear a “White Peril” in the East than the world, or any part of it has to anticipate danger from Japan. Observe the advance of the European nations into Asia. What are the extension of French Tonquin and the occupation of Kiow-Chan by Germany

if not "White Perils" for the Chinese empire? There is another "White Peril" for China on her borders in Russian occupation of Manchuria, but it is far more of a "White Peril" for Japan. We recognize it is a real and dangerous menace to our national existence, not for a moment imaginary in character like the "Yellow Peril" now so much talked about in Europe and America.

But besides these actual and militant invasions and seizures of areas in Asia by European powers, there has been carried on for some time by White Capitalism an industrial and troublous invasion of some of the Eastern Countries in the guise of loans of money, the building of railroads, and other far-reaching projects.

On this subject is worthy of notice somewhat that appeared in a Prize Essay submitted in 1909 to St. John's College, by S. U. Wong, a Chinese student, in part, as follows:

"A look at the competition established already in China shows too plainly that although railways have been constructed and developed by use of foreign capital, the power to direct where and how to

develop is never lost sight of by these foreigners. Primarily they indeed claim to work with a view to benefit China; but secondly and incidentally they attempt to snatch what power they can to obtain control over the Chinese people, with the instinctive result that the initiative on the part of the Chinese is, to a great extent eradicated." * * * "It has the tendency to discourage the Chinese from regaining the power of overseeing and directing the affairs of the corporation, besides stripping them of their initiative powers." * * * "We notice that those who lend their capital for railway construction would gain control over the means of communication, and hence over domestic commerce. If we should accomplish these ends by our own means, we could ourselves gain that amount of profit."

This Chinaman speaks straight-out English and Yankee common sense—for what doth it profit an Oriental to gain Western civilization and lose his own country, or the control of it?

TWELVE.

During his second term President Roosevelt officially recommended two changes in our policy regarding Asiatic immigration which, seemingly, if adopted, would result in great evils.

He recommended to Congress (first), that the Chinese treaty which now is designed to shut out all Chinese except Chinese officials, teachers, students, merchants and travellers, should be changed or construed so as to exclude Chinese coolies or laborers only and to admit all other Chinese freely.

In another message to Congress he recommended (second), that "an Act be passed specifically providing for the naturalization of Japanese who come here intending to become American citizens."

To admit all classes of Chinese except coolies and laborers would bring about conditions similar to those existing under our treaty with Japan. All classes of Japanese under that treaty can come into this country and enter into all kinds of business and employments—and they are doing that very

thing. The complaint is not merely that the Japanese compete unduly with American laborers, but that they enter into competition with our farmers, traders and business men in many ways, and build up Oriental communities within our States.

Now what the Japanese do the Chinese can do. The Chinese are the older and in some respects the superior people to the Japanese. But both of them show great aptitude and supplant in many places the White man by reason of their frugality, patience and low standard of living.

The fact is both Chinese and Japanese other than the mere coolie or laborer class, assuming that the latter could be shut entirely out of the country, if allowed to come here freely would enter into innumerable lines of employment and business, commercial and productive, corporate and otherwise; into trades and callings and professions—to say nothing of the thousands of employees thus available to corporate monopolies here in clerical and industrial lines, all in competition with American citizens and the American standard of living.

The second recommend above mentioned, to grant citizenship to Japanese residents here, brings up the question for what type of man was this republic founded?

At the time of the Declaration of Independence and of the adoption of the Constitution it was never imagined here nor in Europe that the Yellow man—a pagan, an infidel enemy, hostile to Christian civilization—would ever migrate here. Scarcely one of that race ever set foot on our shores prior to sixty years ago. The Constitution provided for White citizenship only.

The results of our civil war brought about the granting to the Black Man of the possibility of the suffrage franchise—necessarily a barren right in large areas here, and one deemed by many to have been unwisely granted. The Black vote largely enters into a vicious form of politics today.

There are now Asiatics enough in the States of Washington, Oregon and Idaho to hold the balance of political power if possessed of the ballot. Asiatics would everywhere vote solidly together. The right of suffrage confers the consequent right to own land. A

comparatively few Japanese in this country have shown wonderful faculty to create local and international complication, the echoes of which have been heard around the globe. Japanese ambassadors have even sought to influence legislation by our State and Federal authorities. Japanese suffrage here would be a step toward political hari-kari by the American people.

THIRTEEN.

Regarding Japanese immigration the late Administration inaugurated a "hands off and square deal" policy. President Roosevelt in 1907 made a "gentlemen's agreement" with the Mikado whereby the latter assumed to keep Japanese laborers from our shores by withholding from them passports to leave Japan for American ports. Such an agreement certainly was never contemplated by the Federal Constitution; and in effect it leaves in the hands of a foreign potentate a control of immigration to this country.

Whether this "agreement" restricts the coming here of Japanese laborers or not, is a debatable question. At any rate it is a mere makeshift, a temporary device which utterly fails to touch the great issues involved in the question of Asiatic Immigration. It is an attempt to solve a world wide problem affecting the interests of all the people, and of all commercial and social and political affairs of the Republic, likewise, by treating the question as if it were a "mere labor trouble out on the Pacific Coast."

The present administration continued with Japan this so-called "gentlemen's agreement" which is practically the only restraint now put upon Japanese immigration to this country; and President Taft in his evident desire to keep on good terms with Japan also adopted a policy in the making of the recent Japanese treaty which practically eliminates from consideration in the treaty any idea of Japanese exclusion as far as this country is concerned. This treaty, at the request of the Mikado, was negotiated a year before the then existing treaty would expire and was put through the United States Senate within the limits of a three days' consideration and discussion of the same.

It is well known that the Senators from the Pacific coast and farwest States were impelled to accede to the terms of this treaty from the desire of their constituents to secure at San Francisco the site for the Panama exposition then eagerly sought for in Congress both by San Francisco and New Orleans. The great desire of the administration and of those who were promoting the locating and carrying on of the exposition at San Francisco, was to

eliminate all racial difficulties with Japanese immigrations there dwelling—at least until the exposition should be ended. So “peace prevails” on the Pacific coast at present, but no one imagines that trouble between the two races will not arise later on; and it is evident some settled and stern policy regarding such immigration will have to be openly declared and maintained by our government.

Instead of eliminating from our treaties and negotiations with Japan, and with China, and other Oriental nations, all allusion to terms indicating a purpose of excluding the yellow races from this country, it would be better to state such purpose in unmistakable language. This policy was well outlined by Senator Newlands in a speech made in the Senate some two years ago, and on other occasions reiterated by him, as follows.

“We should declare by law that immigration to this country shall be restricted to the white race alone, except for the purposes of travel, education, and international trade, and that the immigration of the white races of this country shall be restricted to those whose physical constitution, character and

training will fit them ultimately for American citizenship."

That eventually such an attitude necessarily will be taken seems most evident. Our population as far as possible must be homogeneous, and be of the pure and unmixed white type of man—we cannot safely tolerate the presence in the west or elsewhere of any Oriental race or civilization.

This whole question of immigration to our shores, is inextricably mixed with and allied to the question of the Western invasion of the East by the white race. The tendency is, as heretofore referred to, for the monopolistic forces of white civilization to crowd into the areas populated by the yellow races, and to exploit them and their resources—to dominate them by certain financial and industrial control, and to reside and traverse those areas at will. We cannot maintain the exclusion of the yellow races from the western areas, unless we refrain from invading in this way the Oriental areas and civilization.

This immigration question is a world wide issue and the forces back of the same sweep around the world eastward as well as westward. Worldwide conten-

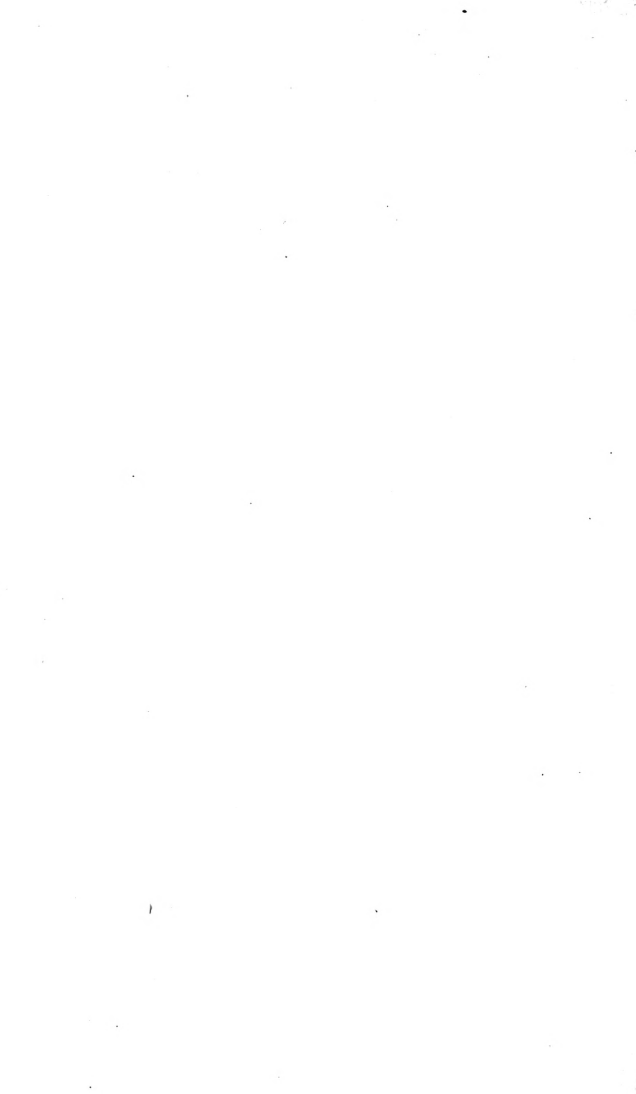
tions and warfare illimitable is likely to spring out of the controversies now looming up in this way. Just at this time in the Twentieth Century whilst armies and navies greater than ever before known are being maintained by all the Great Powers, are heard in Hague conferences and around the globe whispers of peace universal and lasting—and public opinion in all lands demands that desideratum.

More than all else would peace be preserved if the nations would agree that henceforth no militant territorial encroachments, no capitalistic industrial exploitations should be undertaken by the West in the East, and that the migration of the surplus populations of the Orient should be wisely directed, first of all, to the various undeveloped or sparsely settled areas of the old world; that unselfish aid and guidance should be extended from the more advanced civilizations to the feebler peoples according to the wishes and capacities of the later—then, indeed, peace might prevail in all the earth.

To discuss and establish a policy like this whereby each type of Man might develop in its own habitat according to

the law of Evolution would be a conference worthy of a Twentieth Century Hague, and of the highest aspirations of the human race—and thereby would be taken a far step toward the solving of the problem of Asiatic immigration.

THE
WHITE
IMMIGRATION



FOURTEEN.

The Caucasian, or White type of man, differing essentially from the other four ethnical divisions of mankind, includes numerous groups or sub-divisions frequently called "races," having diverse languages, civilizations, customs and histories.

The immigration of the White man to the Western Hemisphere, especially within the areas now forming the United States, was almost wholly composed of Europeans who were descendants of a common original racial stock, and who had passed through a similar social and political development.

Up to the adoption of the Federal constitution the white immigrants to this country, with the exception of a comparatively small number of French and Spanish settlers, came from western and northwestern Europe, from such countries as Great Britain, Germany, Norway, Sweden and other areas there situated. These settlers though differing in language and in some minor particulars were radically so similar in their instincts and civilization that they readily assimilated and formed what is very

generally known as the American type of man and the American civilization.

A large portion of the earlier immigrants to this country went directly on to vacant lands. Very many of them were skilled mechanics and workmen; they could not have been used to cut down the American standard of living even if that had been attempted in those days. They came to stay, to acquire homes, not to exploit the labor market and then return home as so many of our present day immigrants do.

This sort of immigration practically unchanged continued on until about thirty years ago, and up to that time 95 per cent of our white immigrants came from the Western and Northwestern countries of Europe.

But in 1880 and thereafter the character of white immigration to this country changed so greatly that by the year 1907, 81 per cent of such immigrants came from Southern and Southeastern Europe and Western Asia, including Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Montenegro, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Servia, Syria, and Turkey.

The United States' Immigration Com-

mission in their report upon immigration to this country, for convenience divide such immigration into two classes, viz; "The old immigration movement," referring to immigration prior to 1880; and the "New immigration movement" referring to immigration since 1880 down to 1910. And this Commission commenting upon the same states as follows:

"The old and the new immigration differ in many essentials. The former was, from the beginning, largely a movement of settlers who came from the most enlightened sections of Europe for the purpose of making for themselves homes in the New World. They entered practically every line of activity in nearly every part of the country. Coming during a period of agricultural development, many of them entered agricultural pursuits, sometimes as independent farmers, but more often as farm laborers, who, nevertheless, as a rule soon became landowners. They formed an important part of the great movement toward the West during the last century, and as pioneers were most potent factors in the **development of the** territory between the Allegheny Moun-

tains and the Pacific Coast. They mingled freely with the native Americans and were quickly assimilated although a large proportion of them, particularly in later years, belonged to non-English speaking races. This natural bar to assimilation, however, was soon overcome by them, while the racial identity of their children was almost entirely lost and forgotten.

“On the other hand, the new immigration has been largely a movement of unskilled laboring men who have come, in large part temporarily, from the less enlightened and advanced countries of Europe in response to the call for industrial workers in the eastern and middle western States. They have almost entirely avoided agricultural pursuits, and in cities and industrial communities have congregated together in sections apart from native Americans and the older immigrants to such an extent that assimilation has been slow as compared to that of the earlier non-English-speaking races.

“The new immigration as a class is far less intelligent than the old, more than one-third of all those over 14 years of age being illiterate when admitted.

Racially they are for the most part essentially unlike the British, German, and other peoples who came during the period prior to 1880, and generally speaking they are actuated in coming by different ideals, for the old immigration came to be a part of the country, while the new, in a large measure, comes with the intention of profiting, in a pecuniary way, by the superior advantages of the New World and then returning to the old country * * * *

“The old immigration movement in recent years has rapidly declined, both numerically and relatively, and under present conditions there are no indications that it will materially increase. The new immigration movement is very large, and there are few, if any indications of its natural abatement.”

In this way the Commission have briefly outlined the salient features and dangers which are presented by the past and by the present continuance of white immigration to this country.

FIFTEEN.

Formerly the coming of average white type immigrants to this country tended to bring about the occupancy and development of our unsettled lands, to fill an increasing demand for wage workers in our expanding industries, and to add to the number of those who could profitably employ themselves in the marts of trade and in their several professional occupations.

Today there is a scarcity of desirable vacant lands to meet needs of our present population, there is an excess of unskilled labor seeking employment in our manufacturing and other great industries, and there is no demand, or scarcely any opportunity whatever for immigrants to enter into our commercial and professional walks of life.

The movement to this country of white home-seeking farmers, agriculturists, or settlers, has nearly ceased. Only about fifteen per cent of the immigrants of the present day are classified as "farmers, or farm workers," and but a small proportion of such classification are fitted to become in this country, farmers or farm laborers. Most

of such classification are mere unskilled laborers, settling for the most part in the Eastern and Middle States, and in our great cities. The Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1910 shows that out of 1,198,037 aliens entering the United States in 1910, only 15,476 were "farmers," and only 226,380 could be classified as "farm laborers."

By immigration of this kind a vital change is taking place in the character of American civilization. The building up of American homes wide-spread over sparsely settled areas no longer occurs, and we now behold the development of great centers of alien races civilizations here and there industrially, and the congestion of undesirable populations in the great cities of the Atlantic seaboard and in the Middle States.

In thirty-three of our largest cities the foreign population is larger than the native born; this foreign percentage is as high as eighty-five per cent in Fall River and in a number of other Atlantic seaboard cities, and even as far Westward as Milwaukee. The foreign colonies existing in such cities are isolated

from the rest of the community by language, customs, instincts as much as if they were located in their respective native lands. Eighty per cent of the population of Manhattan Island is foreign born or of foreign parentage.

The conditions under which a large proportion of the population of New York City and many other of our large cities and industrial centers live and carry on their several occupations are not only unAmerican but are absolutely shocking and are destructive of the industrial, social and political development of American ideals. It is unnecessary to dwell upon these horrible nests of crime and pauperism so often there evident; the crowded tenements and disease-breeding alleys; the factories and sweat-shops which degrade and destroy the lives of industrial workers; the hundreds of thousands of young children and frail women laboring in disease-breeding and life-destroying conditions — they are things familiar to all men and acknowledged to exist.

Such conditions would never have existed in this country, they could not today here exist for an hour, if it were

not for the influx by immigration of hords of undesirable, foreign-born people who have been admitted to our shores. They have arisen, very largely, since the change in the character of immigration to this country has come about—within the past generation, for the most part.

This fact also stands out: This undesirable immigration is on the increase; behind it is the pressure of unnumbered hordes of the same classes of immigrants who are seeking to cross the Atlantic and who surely will crowd in there under the immigration laws as they now stand. The numbers who will thus come, if needed changes are not made in our immigration policy, are practically unlimited. The continuance of this sort of immigration and of our present immigration laws and policy means that the American standard of living will be lowered in nearly all our great industrial operations where wage-workers are employed; that directly and indirectly trusts and monopolies will become still more powerful in their control of the necessities of life for all the American people—and that our social and political ideals will be swept away.

SIXTEEN.

Confessedly the industrial phase of this immigration question underlies all other considerations of the same. It settles inevitably the wage standard, the sort of people who shall make up the great mass of wage workers, the conditions under which they work and live, and affects the social and political status of the entire nation.

In times past as a rule, the condition of the "American wage-worker" has been vastly better than that of the wage-workers anywhere else employed in the world.

In a recent article published in the North American Review, written by the Secretary of the United States Immigration Commission, the following is said concerning "The American Wage-Worker":

"The term 'American wage earner' is rapidly becoming a misnomer. Almost three-fifths of the employes of the principal branches of mining and manufacturing in the United States at the present time are of foreign birth, and about one-fourth are of races from southern and eastern Europe. About one-fifth

of the total number of wage earners were born in this country, but their fathers were born abroad. Less than 20 per cent of the entire operating forces of our mines and manufacturing establishments are native Americans. In many of our industries the proportion of employees of foreign birth ranges as high as 75 per cent, with a corresponding falling off in the number of native Americans. Among bituminous coal and iron-ore mine workers, by way of illustration, less than one-tenth are native Americans. The fact of greatest import in connection with the situation is that about one-half of the industrial workers of foreign birth are southern and eastern Europeans and Asiatics, principally representative of the north and south Italians, Poles, Croatians, Greeks, Lithuanians, Russians, Portuguese, Slovenians, and Russian and other Hebrews. This transformation in the racial composition of the wage earners of the country has been brought about by the immigration to the United States during the last 30 years.

The most general effect of this extensive employment of recent immigrants in American industries is found

in the character of the industrial communities of the country at the present time. There is no manufacturing city or town or any mining community of any importance in the Middle West, New England, and the middle States which has not a foreign section made up of industrial workers from southern and eastern Europe. In the older industrial cities and centers of the country immigrants developed and attached themselves to the original population.

On the other hand, a large number of immigrant communities have come into existence within recent years because of the development of some natural resource, such as coal, iron ore, or copper, or by reason of the extension of the principal manufacturing industries of the country. In both classes of industrial communities there has been a distinct segregation of the immigrant and native American population, and there is little contact or association beyond that rendered necessary by business or working relations. The immigrant workmen and their households usually live in colonies according to race, attend and support their own churches, maintain their own business institutions and places of recre-

ation, and have their own fraternal and business organizations.

As a consequence of this general isolation the tendencies toward Americanization exhibited by the southern and eastern Europeans are small, and the maintenance of old customs and standards lends to congestion and insanitary housing and living conditions. Agencies for the Americanization and assimilation of the immigrant wage earners and their families are rare, and the native Americans, as a rule, are indifferent in their attitude toward the immigrant population and its problems."

As illustrative of such facts, take the city of Lawrence, Massachusetts, the scene of recent riots and labor troubles, as described by Senator Simmons, in a late speech in the Senate:

"The racial composition of Lawrence and the racial displacements which have occurred in the worsted and woolen mills there are typical of other woolen goods manufacturing centers in New England. This has recently been disclosed by the United States Immigration Commission and the Tariff Board.

"Only about one-eighth of the woolen and worsted mill operatives at the pre-

sent time are native Americans. Slightly more than three-fifths are foreign born, chiefly recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. The remainder are the native-born children of parents who were born abroad. During the past 20 years the American and the British and northern European immigrants have been rapidly leaving the mills, owing to the pressure of the competition of the recent immigrant. The south Italian, Polish, and north Italian are the three principal races of southern and eastern Europe engaged in the industry, while the English, Irish, and German of the races of past immigration are represented in the largest numbers.

“Of the foreign-born employees about one-fifth of the males and two-fifths of the females have had had experience in the same kind of work before coming to this country, while two-fifths of the male employees and one-third of the female have been farmers or farm laborers in their native countries. The average weekly wage of the male operatives 18 years of age or over is only \$10.49, and of the female employees \$8.18. The average annual earnings of male heads

of families employed in the industry are only \$400, and of all males 18 years of age or over \$346. * * * * *

"The effect of these low earnings is shown in the bad living conditions and the high degree of congestion which prevails in the households of the operatives.

"Very little political or civic interest is manifested by the southern and eastern Europeans. Only 3 out of every 10 males eligible to citizenship have taken out naturalization papers. * * *

"It is a foreign city on American soil. There are 85,000 inhabitants in the mill town of Lawrence, and less than 12,000 of them are Americans. It is a great industrial town. It is a center for the manufacture of woollens and worsteds. There are employed in this industry in that town something like 30,000 people; 92 per cent of them are foreign-born and that part coming from southeastern Europe does not live in the American quarters of that city. They live segregated, in colonies. They have practically no contact or association with our people. They cling to the habits of their old countries. They do not speak our language. Fifty per cent of them can neither read nor write in any language."

And concerning the illiteracy prevailing in Lawrence, Senator Dillingham, added the following:

“Among the Scotch seven-tenths of 1 per cent are illiterate, and there are 2,300 of them in Lawrence. Of French Canadians there are 12,000. I don't remember the percentage. Of German there are in Lawrence 6,500, and only 5.1 per cent ordinarily are illiterate. Of the Polish there 2,100, and thirty-five and four-tenths per cent are illiterate. Of the Portuguese there are only 700 in the city, and of those—that is, the Portuguese as a rule; I am not speaking of the Portuguese in the city of Lawrence—68.2 per cent— I am speaking of our experience in receiving European immigrants during the last 20 years. In those years 68 per cent of the Portuguese have been illiterate. Of Hebrews there are 2,500 in Lawrence, and the general percentage of illiteracy is 25.7 Of Italians there are in Lawrence 8,000 and of those we may expect to find, as the Senator has said, 54.2 per cent illiterate. Of the Syrians there are 2,700 in Lawrence, and their percentage of illiteracy is 54.1. Of the Armenians there are a smaller number, 600, in Lawrence.

and 24.1 per cent of them are supposed to be illiterate. Of Lithuanians there are 3,000 in Lawrence, with 48.8 per cent illiterate”

In many of the basic occupations of the country it is indisputably true that the poorest of the poor of non-English speaking immigrants have driven out American-born workers and in such industries destroyed the American standard of living. Mr. John A. Fitch in his book “The Steel Workers,” says that at the Carnegie Steel Company’s plants, 23,337 men were employed, of these 7,7479 were foreigners unable to speak English, 14,019 were unnaturalized, and only 5,705 were native-born white Americans.

The Boston Common in April 1911 referring to a strike of the grinders of the American Ax and Tool Company at East Douglas, Massachusetts, said that the force working there is largely made up of Pole and Finns; and concerning the lamentably low rate of wages stated “There are perhaps fifty villages in Massachusetts in which similar factory conditions exist.

The five cities of New York, Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Rochester manufacture nearly 70 per cent of the

total product of men's ready-made clothing made in the United States. Over 50 per cent of the workers in those cities engaged in such industry are women of whom only 7.4 per cent are native-born Americans—and the average weekly earnings of those "house workers," with helpers, were \$3.72. Among the house workers at this occupation, in all cities, 75 per cent cannot speak English.

The above are simply a few instances illustrating the widespread condition of a large share of the wage workers of this country in some of the most important industries of the same. Now how has this displacement of native-born workers by low-priced foreign-born laborers been brought about to so great an extent? It has been made possible by two causes; first, the desire of the managers of certain great industrial corporations to secure low-priced wage workers; and, the greed of great steamship companies (mostly owned by foreign capital and conducted under foreign flags) to make vast profits from the bringing in to and carrying from this country great numbers of steerage passenger immigrants. The amount of capital invested in these steamship companies is enormous, and

the profits made in this way are proportionately great.

The two causes enumerated have brought about the traversing of the Atlantic to and fro annually of vast numbers of immigrant workmen known as "birds of passage" who enter here and obtain employment at wages below the American standard and by parsimonious living in gangs save the greater portion of their wages, and when the demand for their labor ceases go back again to their native countries—carrying with them the greater bulk of their earnings. It has been shown that in recent years these immigrants returning to their homes have taken out of the country sums of money annually aggregating from three hundred to four hundred million dollars.

Concerning recent white immigration to this country the Immigration Commission state in their report as follows:

"The old immigration movement was essentially one of permanent settlers. The new immigration (since 1882) is very largely one of individuals, a considerable proportion of whom apparently have no intention of permanently changing their residence, their only purpose in coming to America being to tempor-

arily take advantage of the greater wages paid for industrial labor in this country. This, of course, is not true of all the new immigrants, but the practice is sufficiently common to warrant referring to it as a characteristic of them as a class. *

* * * * *

“As a class the new immigrants are largely unskilled laborers coming from countries where their highest wage is small compared with the lowest wage in the United States. Nearly seventy-five per cent of them are males.” * * *

They bring little money into the country and send or take a considerable part of their earnings out. More than 35 per cent are illiterate, as compared with less than 3 per cent of the old immigrant class.”

Upon the industrial phase of present day immigration the Commission as a result of their examination make, in part, the following recommendation. They say:

“(8) The investigations of the Commission show an oversupply of unskilled labor in basic industries to an extent which indicates an over-supply of unskilled labor in the industries of the country as a whole—a condition which

demands legislation restricting the further admission of such unskilled labor.

It is desirable in making the restriction that—

(a) A sufficient number be debarred to produce a marked effect upon the present supply of unskilled labor.

(b) As far as possible, the aliens excluded should be those who come to this country with no intention to become American citizens, or even to maintain a permanent residence here, but merely to save enough by the adoption, if necessary, of low standards of living, to return permanently to their home country. Such persons are usually men unaccompanied by wives or children.

(c) As far as possible the aliens excluded should also be those who, by reason of their personal qualities or habits, would least readily be assimilated or would make the least desirable citizens.

SEVENTEEN.

The disastrous effect of such immigration upon the industrial conditions of wage workers here has long been recognized everywhere in this country. Organized labor for more than a quarter of a century has persistently sought the passage by Congress of restrictive immigration laws. Some steps in that direction have been taken, but as yet they are entirely inadequate to afford the protection desired.

In more recent years a widely extended public opinion has become apparent concerning the evils of this immigration, especially as existing in our great cities and industrial centers where great populations of aliens are congested and dwell in conditions which are absolutely destructive to American standards of civilization and life. Great cities are really the nerve centers of the countries of which they form a part. They dominate to a great extent the social, industrial, and political status of a nation. And so it has come about that the evils referred to in our densely populated areas are seriously affecting not only the industrial but the

social and political ideals which this republic was instituted to establish and maintain.

In view of these facts efforts have been made by the federal government, by many of the State governments, and by various philanthropic and patriotic organizations to distribute into the more sparsely settled areas of the country, among agricultural and in smaller industrial centers of the country some portion of the alien population crowded into our great cities. It is to be observed that even if these efforts had been or could be crowned with success they would bring about mere palliative and temporary remedies. If thousands or hundreds of thousands or even millions of aliens were thus removed to other sections of the country, it would serve merely to create new openings and opportunities for the coming of still greater numbers of undesirable immigrants from foreign shores,—for, practically, under existing immigration laws, there remain in the crowded areas of Southeastern Europe and Southwestern Asia abundant millions more of such immigrants who would seek our shores. It is evident then, that the remedy does

not lie in plans for distribution of such undesirable and excessive immigration—however humane and philanthropic may be the motives underlying these undertakings.

Without going into detail the various attempts made by "National Liberal Immigration Leagues," racial and local Immigration Bureaus and various State organizations, providing for the bringing in of aliens and placing them upon the sparsely settled sections of the several states, especially in the south and southwest, are illustrative of the futility of such efforts.

Such a conservative and influential journal as the "Baltimore Manufacturers' Record," in review of the distribution movement, has said, in part:

"Willingness on the part of a few Southern men here and there has given ephemeral standing to a variety of undertakings, called 'Southern congresses, parliaments and conventions, under cover of which has been sought promotion of the purpose to relieve New York of its 'congestion' at the expense of other parts of the country, and thereby to allay immediate opposition to the carrying out of alien European plans to exploit the

people of the United States. In view of the menacing situation the safety of the country lies in opposing vigorously at every turn any proposition originating in or from New York turning upon 'philanthropic desire to help the rest of the country by supplying it with labor from the metropolis. 'Philanthropy' has come into such bad odor in recent years through the drive made from New York against the South upon economic, social or educational lines that now it is quite the thing to announce that new undertakings are essentially businesslike and that the 'philanthropy' involved is purely incidental. The rest of the country should do all within its powers to encourage the divers organizations of the kind in New York to solve their various problems by agitating for greater restrictions upon immigration, and, to that end, for the abolition of the worse than useless Division of Information in the National Bureau of Immigration."

Many other of the leading newspapers and periodicals of the South and West have time and again published similar declarations.

[The leading Farmers' Union organizations and educational and industrial

bodies, severally, and in various State conventions held at divers times and places, have declared themselves as unutterably opposed to the policy of distribution, and in language similar to the following:

“Resolved, That the Farmers’ Educational and Cooperative Union of America in national convention assembled at Memphis, Tenn., this 8th day of January, 1908, and representing 2,000,000 of farmers, urge upon Congress the immediate abolition of the Federal bureau of distribution and the speedy enactment of laws substantially excluding the present enormous alien influx by means of an increased head tax, a money requirement, the illiteracy test, and other measures; and that we call upon our public and especially our State officials to prevent the agricultural section from becoming a dumping ground for foreign immigrants.”

Great numbers of memorials and petitions signed by thousands of the people of the Southern and Western States have been laid before Congress protesting against this policy of distribution, and demanding in the strongest terms the passage and enforcement of restrictive

immigration laws which shall exclude the vast hordes of undesirable immigrants now coming into this country from southeastern Europe and southwestern Asia.

Some of the States, for instance South Carolina, after having established a Bureau of Immigration and after such Bureau of Immigration had brought into the areas of that State, two shiploads "of carefully selected foreigners" seeking to place the same on farmlands and sparsely settled areas, abandoned that policy as impracticable and dangerous.

It is apparent that the great mass of the people of the South and West are not desirous of adding to their population by any such methods, and that the oft published statement about the necessity for the bringing into such several states of "farm hands" to gather the harvests of the same are largely exaggerated, and, at best, such demand is but temporary and can be met by the supply of American laborers who if opportunity were afforded them would engage, even transiently, in such work. The fact is that this widespread attempt for the distribution of aliens into the farming sections of this country has behind it the di-

rect inspiration and effort of the great steamship corporations, and some of our railway corporations, who make profit by the transportation of aliens into and across this country.

The "distribution plan" is the most specious method of all the crafty ways which the great steamship lines follow in order to maintain the enormous profits which they derive from the transportation of alien immigrants to this country. It is part of the same plan and policy which for years they have in a wholesale way followed by sending agents into the various countries from which these immigrants come and stimulating an artificial immigration, by inducing these people to go to this country as passengers in their great specially constructed steerage method of conveyance. These facts are too well and positively established to be successfully disputed—and these steamship companies and some of our great labor-employing industrial monopolies are almost wholly responsible for the presence here of the great masses of undesirable immigrants, who year after year crowd into this country to the detriment of our native wage-workers and to the depreciation of

the American standard of living and American civilization. From these two sources arises the greater part of the opposition to the passage of effective restrictive immigration laws by Congress.

EIGHTEEN.

Our Republic is based upon the theory that the people of this country by their intelligence and votes shall govern themselves and control all the functions of government. To a great extent that proposition has been maintained in our history. Necessarily the kind of government and civilization we have directly depends upon the kind of people making up the great mass of our population. It follows, moreover, that the more homogeneous our population is the more like they are in racial development and attributes, the more united they are in their instincts, customs and inspirations, the more complete and harmonious will be their efforts toward self-government and the maintainance of liberty and happiness.

Aside from the industrial and social evils already rooted in our country to a considerable degree, our political institutions and ideals are perceptibly impaired by the immigration here of alien peoples not fitted by racial capacity or by their own political development to understand or appreciate the fundamental principles of our government.

Formerly the immigration from Northern and Northwestern Europe, heretofore alluded to, quite readily assimilated with our native population, and very generally adopted and maintained Americans ideals of democracy and American governmental methods. These immigrants differed in language, many of them, from the English speaking peoples who came here in pre-revolutionary days, it is true, but like the latter they were racially off-shoots from the Great Aryan root stock, or tribes that ages ago dwelt in Northwestern Asia, and who possessed to a considerable degree the germ of democracy. In those tribes self government was inherent in the blood, it was instinctive, and in their development into distinct communities and nations, even through the evolution of diverse tongues, they still preserved that ideal which is, in fact, the basis of what we call the Anglo-Saxon civilization.

In this respect they differed from all the tribes and peoples of Eastern or Oriental Asia where the very thought of self government seems never to have existed. In the Orient, government from without, despotism, autocracy has

been and still is the controlling power of the nations and peoples. The same theory has prevailed with the Slavic peoples, and the races in Southwestern Asia, bordering on Europe, from which areas now come the throngs of undesirable immigrants crowding in upon us.

The conceptions of government of such immigrants widely differ from the American standard. Their presence in a number of our large cities and industrial centers has already made it impossible there to maintain the form of democratic institutions, and we now behold "government by commission," and by various like autocratic devices established in several of our large cities. Democracy, government by suffrage has proven to be a failure under conditions there brought about largely by the inaptitude and inability of such immigrants to comprehend or maintain the American ideal standard. Democracy, self government will inevitably pass away in our great civic centers under the continuance of present day immigration.

If now our political ideals cannot be maintained in our great cities, how long will it be before self government will

vanish generally from the land? It is a question of time merely, and will be hastened by the continued inpouring of such immigration.

It is useless to say that many of these immigrants from Southeastern Europe and Southwestern Asia become voters and assimilate with our political institutions, and that under our public school system the second generation of the same have better conceptions of our political institutions. Where such immigrants become naturalized and exercise the right of franchise great evil arises from the massing in blocks of such voters by their separate nationalities, whereby vicious political conditions are created, especially in our large cities. If this were a question of present conditions merely, such evils might decrease as the years go by. But the continued coming in of greater and greater multitudes of these immigrants is likely to go on as the immigration laws now stand.

As for the expectation that the second generation will become thoroughly Americanized by education in our schools and otherwise, somewhat of hope lies. But there is often too much stress laid upon the results of what is

called "education." By education can be meant, properly, what the individual acquires of knowledge and capacity during his lifetime, especially in youth. It often avails much of betterment and progress, but it is superficial, in a sense, and comparatively of minor importance to what such individual has within him by heredity. Beneath the education lie the instincts, habits, customs, the deep rooted ways of thought and action derived from an illimitable inheritance pressing down with infinite compulsion, not easily swayed or effaced by book learning or day by day experience or association. Environment has much to do with the individual career, but heredity is the root of life after all. Capacity for self government, for a comprehension of democratic institutions cannot readily be acquired by those whose race and civilization have never had or have never maintained the same—it is a thing of inheritance rather than of culture, and in that respect the immigrants referred to are at a decided disadvantage. Unless such immigration is checked by laws in future the hope of political assimilation by methods of education will be futile indeed.

NINETEEN.

The thoughtlessness and indifference manifested by a large share of the American people concerning immigration to this country is accentuated by certain theories put forth on that subject by some writers and publicists, and which are accepted as scientific facts more or less generally. Such ideas are included in what has been termed the "Melting Pot" theory of race mixture. They are to the effect that America is the great "Melting Pot" wherein the several types of mankind, as well as the minor racial groups of men, are to be crossed and amalgamated into a new species or race distinctively and progressively American, superior in character and ability to all existing populations of the earth.

A more unscientific and ridiculous declaration has never been enunciated before concerning the history or evolution of mankind. It is contrary to all known laws of nature, and to the fundamental truths of human development everywhere observable.

In other words, immigration is expected to displace the orderly and eternal processes of life; and out of the mix-

ture of the heterogeneous, the unlike types and races of man, a homogeneous and improved type is to be evolved. The law of evolution is from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous—never from the heterogeneous to the homogeneous.

Behind all the operations of nature lies the great ideals of Infinite Intelligence working out wisdom through the laws of heredity and environment. If then there be no fixed types, no ideals behind all these manifestations of human life as evolved in diverse environments and conditions, and shaped out by the laws of heredity, then it may well be claimed that all human existence is the product of Chance, that Infinite Wisdom has nought to do with the evolution and history of man.

Space will not permit any lengthened discussion of this subject—it is not necessary in fact. Its mere statement is against common sense and conflicts with facts multitudinous and universal.

A distinguished writer in a recent magazine article quotes with approval the "Melting Pot" theory as advocated by Israel Zangwill, wherein he (Zangwill) graphically describes how at our

gates are poured into that "Melting Pot." Celt and Latin, Slav and Teuton, Greek and Syrian, Black and White"

* * * all to unite to build the "Republic of man and the kingdom of God."

It is difficult to understand the position thus taken concerning Immigration to this country by both of these writers. Israel Zangwill is a most distinguished member of a race whose wonderful virility, genius and beneficent civilization has survived the shock of ages of oppression and persecution, shedding a light meanwhile upon all the world from the earliest historical times, and which stands to-day in the very vanguard of progress and enlightenment—and all this is chiefly due to the reason that as a people they have preserved their race purity and have not amalgamated with other races of mankind. Practically the Hebrews by this process of racial conservation and blood preservation present an overwhelming argument in favor of maintaining the law of nature which works by development of types rather than by mingling of types or by racial amalgamation. All that the Jew has been, is, or hopes to be, proceeds very largely from his obedience to the de-

clared law to stand racially "separate and apart" from alien peoples through all his generations.

It is impossible to prove that the amalgamation even of races springing from a common stock, as a rule, has ever been as beneficial as would have been the uninterrupted continuation of such several stocks in its own orderly evolution and development. The history of ancient civilization shows that nations have progressed and flourished best when the blood of the people, of the race had been preserved pure; and that the downfall of such civilizations was largely due to the infusion of alien bloods— and that mongrelism brought about such destruction. The passing away of the Roman and other civilizations can be traced to this cause. Not from hostile incursion by barbarians from without, but from alien amalgamations within did Rome fall!

The most advanced and powerful nations of today are severally those that keep the most completely the racial stock unmixed and unimpaired by alien amalgamations. Thereby they preserve the special excellencies of their own civilization and progress. Whatever we

have attained in governmental and social status that is high and lofty and worthy of continuance has come to us by reason of the fact that our population, until in recent times, has largely been homogeneous in racial stock, in historic development, and in governmental and social ideas. If our development is to continue, if the republic is to endure, we must preserve this homogeneousness—for the mixture of unlike races by amalgamation, or by the living together in the same habitat of unlike peoples, will surely produce unlikeness not only physically and mentally, but in the ideals that must lie at the basis of our institution. In other words the "Melting Pot" process means mongrelism—and mongrelism means the destruction of the republic and of the development thus far obtained.

TWENTY.

The United States Immigration Commission created by Act of Congress in February, 1907, made a most exhaustive examination in this country and abroad of matters pertaining to immigration, and the results of its investigations have been published in forty-two volumes of Reports of some five hundred pages each. The Commission says restriction is demand by economic, moral and social considerations: and they present the following as bearing most concisely and directly upon the nature of the remedies which they suggest may be adopted to lessen the evils of undesirable immigration. They say:

“The investigations of the Commission show an oversupply of unskilled labor in basic industries to an extent which indicates an oversupply of unskilled labor in the industries of the country as a whole, and therefore demands legislation which will at the present time restrict the further admission of such unskilled labor.”

“It is desirable in making the restriction that—

“(a) A sufficient number be debarred

to produce a marked effect upon the present supply of unskilled labor.

“(b) As far as possible, the aliens excluded should be those who come to this country with no intention to become American citizens or even to maintain a permanent residence here, but merely to save enough, by the adoption, if necessary, of low standards of living, to return permanently to their home country. Such persons are usually men unaccompanied by wives or children.

“(c) As far as possible, the aliens excluded should also be those who, by reason of their personal qualities or habits, would least readily be assimilated or would make the least desirable citizens.

“The following methods of restricting immigration have been suggested:

“(a) The exclusion of those unable to read or write in some language.

“(b) The limitation of the number of each race arriving each year to a certain percentage of the average of that race arriving during a given period of years.

“(c) The exclusion of unskilled laborers unaccompanied by wives or families.

“(d) The limitation of the number of

immigrants arriving annually at any port.

“(e) The material increase in the amount of money required to be in the possession of the immigrant at the port of arrival.

“(f) The material increase of the head tax.

“(g) The levy of the head tax so as to make a marked discrimination in favor of men with families.

“All these methods would be effective in one way or another in securing restrictions in greater or less degree. A majority of the Commission favor the reading and writing test as the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration.”

Concerning the illiteracy prevailing among present day immigrants the following facts may be mentioned:

“The percentage of illiteracy among the old immigrants, that is, those who antedated 1883, was only 2.7 per cent, far below that of our native population. The rate of illiteracy among the new immigrants, that which has been coming here since 1883, is on an average about 36 per cent, and the bulk of this immigration, the most undesirable portion of it,

is of a much higher degree of illiteracy than the general average. Of the 1,500,000 south the Italians that came to America from 1899 to 1909, over 800,000, or 54 per cent, could neither read nor write; 54 per cent of the Syrians who came during that period could neither read nor write; 35 per cent of the Poles who came during that period could neither read nor write; 68 per cent of the Portuguese; 38 per cent of the Ruthenians; 51 per cent of the Russians; 58 per cent of the Turks; 27 per cent of the Greeks, and 41 per cent of the Bulgarians and Servians and Montenegrins could neither read nor write. In short, something over three-fourths of this entire new immigration is made up of a people the large part of whom are densely ignorant and illiterate."

The illiteracy of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe is over twelve times as great as that of aliens from northwestern Europe; and the illiteracy of Armenians, Japanese, and Syrians is also high.

In 1909 over three-fifths of the total immigration was of these illiterate races.

Of the Poles, 861,303 have come in since the War with Spain, and of them

35.4 per cent could not read and write. Of the Slovaks, 342, 583, and of them 24 per cent could not read and write. Of the Croatians and Slovenians, 320,977 have come in, and of them 36.1 per cent could not read and write.

The Portuguese sent 38,122, and of them 68.2 per cent were illiterate. They should not properly, of course, be counted as having come from southeastern Europe. Twelve thousand six hundred and seventy Turks came in, and of them 59.5 per cent were illiterate; 47,834 Syrians, and of them 53.3 per cent were illiterate. The Bulgarians, Servians, and Montenegrins sent in 95, 596, and 41.7 per cent were illiterate. Of the south Italians there came in 1,690,376, and of them 53.9 per cent were illiterate.

For nearly twenty years the proposition to make use of an educational or illiteracy test for the purpose of excluding objectionable foreigners has been agitated by great numbers of American people and been discussed most widely by all kinds of educational economical and civic bodies in all section of the country. It has been considered by Congress; and by decisive majorities measures to that end have passed in the sev-

eral branches of Congress nearly a dozen times. Such a measure has been recommended by President McKinley and President Roosevelt in messages to Congress; and such a policy has been endorsed by planks in the platforms of the great parties during presidential elections. It is not intended here to review the history of such efforts, or to present the question from any partisan standpoint.

The illiteracy test for immigrants, varying according to the provisions in the several bills presented in Congress from time to time provides that all aliens over sixteen years of age, physically capable of reading, who cannot read and write in some language, shall not be admitted to this country. The various measures provide, however, that after an alien has been duly admitted under the illiteracy test he may send for certain relatives to come to this country who themselves may not be able to pass that test.

This test as declared by the Industrial Commission seems to be the most practicable of all measures suggested as tending shut out undesirable white immigrants.

It would appear that if the illiteracy test used by the English Colonies of Australia and South Africa should be adopted here, it would prove a more effective and far-reaching illiteracy test than any now pending in Congress. This test provides that the immigrant shall be able to read and write in some EUROPEAN language, including Yiddish. Thereby would be shut out, for the present at least, all Yellow immigration, as well as a very large part of undesirable White immigration.

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