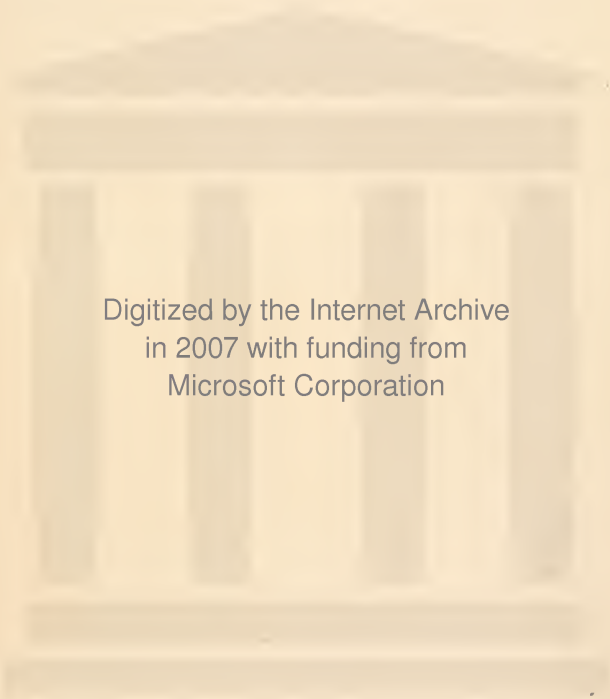

IMMIGRATION AND THE FUTURE

FRANCES KELLOR

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BY

FRANCES KELLOR

AUTHOR OF "EXPERIMENTAL SOCIOLOGY," "OUT OF WORK," "STRAIGHT AMERICA," ETC., ETC.

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PREFACE

The war has brought to all the peoples of the world a new epoch in the history of immigration, an epoch in which the achievement of economic assimilation is of prime importance to America and in which the extension of international understanding and sympathy is of great moment to each immigrant and to all countries.

If this book shall be an incentive to fuller and more dispassionate discussion, to further research, to the extension of knowledge, and to a more scrupulous attention on the part of thoughtful Americans to the broad aspects of immigration, the end must then be a more humane, sagacious and sane American policy on immigration which will be respected at home and honored throughout the world.

If I have been able to view this complicated subject from various aspects, it is due in large measure to the great kindness and helpfulness which have been extended to me in my association with the late Theodore Roosevelt and business men like the late Frank Trumbull and Felix M. Warburg, Coleman du Pont, W. Redmond Cross, Gano Dunn, John H. Fahey, A. J. Hemphill, Myron T. Herrick, William Loeb, Jr., Cyrus H. McCormick, Charles A. Munroe, William Fellowes Morgan, John E. Otterson, John H. Patterson, John T. Pratt, Julius Rosenwald, William B. Thompson, Guy E. Tripp, Frank A. Vanderlip, Paul M. Warburg, Daniel Willard, John Williams and many others; with lawyers and educators like Franklin K. Lane, Charles E. Hughes, Louis

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FRANCES KELLOR.

NEW YORK,
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opinion, because of the isolation of the foreign language press, which does not fully interpret America to the immigrant nor integrate racial opinion into American opinion. It supplies the needs of the immigrant for self-expression, for international news and for his business and other affairs. It has the greatest responsibility of any press in the world to maintain good relations between the races in America, whose compatriots are at odds at home, and to promote understanding between Americanizers and those who are to be Americanized. It consists of a network of publications which are the heart of the racial economic system in America. It is supplemental to the English language press with which it is scarcely in competition. It devotes its attention for the most part to foreign political affairs, and its advertising is largely about racial business. This press is not in favor with Americans who, on the whole, favor its suppression; but it has a great potential value to America if it can be put on a sound American business basis. This is what the new management of its trade organization —the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc. —is trying to do, but it is opposed by the racial economic system which is afraid that some of its racial business will be lost. The rehabilitation of this press is in the hands of the English language press whose responsibility it is to mold public opinion in America.

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workman nor has their effect upon him been estimated. He, therefore, to some extent, embraced Bolshevism; and resented Americanization. These issues distracted the attention of business from its responsibilities—the economic assimilation of immigration through the day's work at the points where he finds work, where he buys his goods, where he banks his savings, and where he obtains his opinions about America. Therefore, a business system of receiving, distributing and adjusting the immigrant into American economic life still waits; and the native American economic system has yet to absorb the racial economic system which supplies the needs of the immigrants.

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and he did not like to associate with the men already engaged in the immigrant banking business. But the European banker thinks the immigrant's savings very well worth while and does all he can to encourage their transmission to Europe; also he helps the immigrant with his business ventures in America. The American banker, as his share of the economic assimilation of immigration, has to educate the immigrant concerning American banks and methods and about investments; he has to encourage the immigrant to invest even his smallest savings; he has to extend credits to the immigrant business man and to help make every immigrant workingman a small capitalist as soon after arrival as possible. The American banker is also under further obligations to see that the immigrant's savings are protected by American banking laws; and if need be, by Federal legislation. Also the American insurance company has a responsibility to compete with the racial benefit society if the immigrant is to look to America for his full incorporation into American life.

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The answers to these questions are to be found among all groups of people in America who, before a sound policy can be devised, must unite their knowledge and judgment behind a majority opinion. They may do this through an institute on immigration research for the discussion of domestic affairs and through an American Institute on International Affairs for the discussion of its international aspects; and through a unity of the efforts of business organizations which are now supporting research movements.

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unless the American spirit makes it a success. Without it we shall find neither the peace nor the unity we seek. Immigrants, as well as ourselves, seek it. Some come prepared to join with us; others come to remain in their own groups; while others are here but temporarily. But there are divisions among them over the question of assimilation and something more than material gain is needed to unite the many races to each other and to Americans. The tests of assimilation are not the superficial ones of clothing, language, or even citizenship; but whether the American, in the presence of so many aliens, can preserve the American position and point of view; and whether the immigrant, in the presence of so many Americans, can keep his head and use wisely his opportunities. If assimilation, then, is identity of interest, its principles are recognition by both the immigrant and American of the capacities, qualities, and potentialities of each other; the exchange of ideas, opinions, and goods; and the participation of each in the life of the other. Economic assimilation is, therefore, the application of these principles through the shop, the bank, the store, and the press. But beyond the day's work in which the immediate instruments at hand are commercial, full assimilation must come when men share not only material but also spiritual gifts, and when these and not profits are the objects sought.

PART I: IMMIGRATION

IMMIGRATION AND THE FUTURE

PART I: IMMIGRATION

CHAPTER I

A NEW EPOCH OF IMMIGRATION

DOES America want new immigration? This question is uppermost in the minds of Americans as they read about conditions in Europe, and about the crowds at Ellis Island; for they remember the revelations of the war, and the recent propaganda of Bolshevism in America. This question existed long before the war, though the present manner of thinking upon it is new.

Does Europe intend to favor America in the direction of its future emigration? This question is uppermost in the minds of Europeans as they read about the exploitation of immigrants in America, and the tendency to suppress languages and to compel immigrants to become citizens; for they remember that their nationals did not return during the war as was expected. This question is new in Europe, though the manner of thinking upon it is old.

And what of the immigrant? Hitherto a traveler, of his own free will, answering to the call within him of adventure, of freedom, or of conquest,—does he now become a pawn in the great commercial contest between nations for economic stabilization and expansion?

These absorbing questions involve grave matters of policy in which all countries are deeply concerned. Europe, having in mind its own best interests, inquires under what conditions emigration will take place, who will be permitted to emigrate, and where emigrants will go. She wonders, not a little, what part the complex and delicate race questions, now pressing for recognition, will have upon her future emigration policies. America, having in view its future welfare, asks whether, along with immigration, the racial troubles of Europe will be transferred to its soil, and wonders what measures of freedom it should accord to future aliens.

While answers to these questions naturally wait upon the solution of the more immediate problems of reconstruction, the individual immigrant, on the one hand, is taking the future into his own hands, and is trying to escape from the results of the war in Europe; while, on the other hand, the individual American is indifferent to the future, and is content with conditions which obtained before the war. This situation is likely to continue until the relationship of America to the Treaty of Peace, and to the League of Nations, is finally determined; and it may extend to the time when economic stabilization and peace are restored among the various nations.

But there are evidences which indicate that the day of the unregulated flow of immigration is passing, and that its conscious utilization, as an element in the economic expansion of nations, is approaching. Therefore, any nation which continues to regard immigration solely as a matter of the individual immigrant's desire or initiative, or which continues to consider it only as a source of labor supply, is but dealing with conditions of a temporary period between the military conquests of the past and the economic conquests of the future. Those who do not see beyond the crowded entrance of Ellis Island compre-

hend but little of the new forces which have been released by the war, and of the necessities and opportunities existing in Europe; all of which are changing the attitude of the world toward immigration.

Is America, as is Europe, seeing beyond the immediate present? Do the graver questions of state occupy its thought? To answer these questions further inquiries must be made because it is evident that there are in this country two distinct trends of thought; trends so distinct as to constitute rival schools.

Before the war, Americans who thought at all about immigration were divided into restrictionists or anti-restrictionists. But there was also a vast body of people who had not made up its mind one way or the other, but which has now begun to think and to act. This group is largely responsible for the immigration bills introduced in Congress during the period of the armistice. These bills clearly indicate a growing belief that a sound immigration policy must embrace much more than provisions for the admission, rejection, or deportation of aliens.

In this belief, one part of this newly defined group is influenced by the great service which has been rendered to American progress by the 31,000,000 people who, in the past century, have been contributed by Europe. They believe that this constitutes a debt which Americans wish neither to belittle nor to deny. In the sincerity of this acknowledgment they are inclined also to believe that there is a place for countless other millions who will help to make this an even greater country. To them, the industrial advantages of immigration overshadow every other consideration.

There are others who, in view of recent revelations concerning the growth of the spirit of nationalism and of the pressing economic necessities of Europe, believe that American and European interests will inevitably

come into sharp conflict over immigration. To them the safety of American institutions is the first consideration.

These two schools of thought—the one relying upon the benefits of the past for the key to future action, the other relying upon the revelations of the war as a guide—indicate that the world is entering upon a new era in its immigration history. It is likely to be one in which America will no longer be needed as an asylum for oppressed peoples. It is one in which we may witness the negotiation of immigration treaties that will succeed the present order of haphazard migrations where the individual immigrant alone bears the burden. This new era may well be one in which nations in the future will share these burdens through agreements covering the transportation, distribution, protection, and living conditions of immigrants in countries of immigration. Such agreements will be hardly less important than are the prevailing commercial treaties.

Students of international affairs see little hope for the successful maintenance of any policy which does not recognize that the adult immigrant is an international person and an important pawn in the future contest among nations for economic supremacy. Such students point out that conditions and influences which surround the immigrant before he leaves his home land will continue to affect him as powerfully as do those which environ him in America. The adult immigrant, even if he would, can scarcely be without ties and interests in both countries. America, of all great immigration countries, alone, seems to have discounted the fact that the immigrant is the product of his heredity as well as of his new environment, and is thus the mutual possession of two nations; and that, while his *duty* may be to the one, his *sentiment* may be with the other.

It requires no sacrifice of American pride or of inde-

pendence to perceive that the immigrant cannot be separated from the habits, tastes, tendencies and remembrances of his home land. There will be little disagreement upon the principle that America, unaided, must decide who and how many shall enter, and who shall be permitted to remain. But, at the same time, it must also be admitted that the country of origin has a similar right to say who and how many shall leave, and what countries will be favored in the distribution of its emigrants.

Without conceding one iota of America's right to determine its own policies and to conduct its own affairs, it will readily be apparent that there are many delicate questions to be discussed and many complicated situations to be adjusted in order that this international personality, during the period of his migration, may not be made to pay too heavy a price. Some inkling of this complex situation may have been in the minds of the American statesmen who objected to Article XXIII in the draft of the League of Nations, on the grounds that it would permit interference with local affairs. It may have been also in the minds of those who secured the passage of an amendment to the Immigration Law, which authorized the President to call an international conference on immigration.

These statesmen showed both vision and courage, for to-day Europe and America regard the question of immigration in different ways. America looks squarely in the direction of the assimilation of races. Europe looks as squarely in the direction of the separation of races. America urges every desirable immigrant to become a citizen. European nations urge every emigrant to remain loyal to his home country. The needs of America to safeguard its wealth and to unite its many peoples make its attitude but one of self-preservation. The needs of Europe for money, for markets, and for man power to

stabilize economic conditions, and to protect the rights and boundaries of each nation against future aggression, make the attitude of the various foreign nations but one of ordinary prudence.

Europe, disillusioned by the war concerning the resources and ambitions of America, is naturally averse, without exacting compensation, to help make this country become more powerful. Each emigrant nation, with relation to its emigrants, is, therefore, more jealous of their citizenship, more concerned with the remittances of their savings, more interested in their temporary if not permanent return home, more sensitive to their value as propagandists for the home country, and more sagacious in placing them abroad as economic outposts. The emigrant, carefully planted in a new country, or directed to a destination where he will reflect the most credit and bring the most profit to his home country, and carefully watched during his stay in the new land, thus creates a situation whereby the subject of immigration must become a matter of international conference.

That Americans are not more conscious of these vital, and as yet unsettled, international issues is due to the fact that, on the American side, they are obscured by the present rush of immigration; and, on the European side, they are submerged by the publicity which is given to more momentous affairs. In Europe, such matters as the creation of new states, the experiment of the Soviet government, the attempted taking over by workmen of the Italian factories, the disputes over boundaries, and the economic hardships of the people—these hold public attention. Because the American is so far removed from European affairs, he does not realize that the way in which even these priority questions are settled will have a mighty influence, not only upon the character of emigration from Europe, but upon its volume and direction;

nor does he generally appreciate how these questions will affect the rate and cost of production and the prices of goods and markets in America; for he is disinclined to admit that America has any economic dependence whatever upon Europe.

Other questions have arisen which relate to matters wholly within our own boundaries. Now that the war is over, we are discovering that, while it has cemented many new friendships among races, and has promoted coöperation between some native and foreign born Americans, it has just as definitely created new racial antagonisms and brought about new misunderstandings between individuals. The American, influenced as he is by the spread of Bolshevism and by the prevalence of unrest, as well as by some spectacular evidences of disloyalty among some aliens during the war, leans more and more toward repression and intolerance of differences. The immigrant is sensitive to this change and, as he is constantly receiving messages from abroad urging him to return home, he is becoming less friendly toward America. For this reason, assimilation measures, which might have been undertaken with ease and success before the war, now yield but little result, even with greater efforts.

One would expect that the greatest immigration country in the world would be keenly alive to these difficulties between races in America, between native and foreign born, and between nations of emigration and immigration. But not so. Even so visible a result of these difficulties as the remigration of American immigrants has not aroused our curiosity. In the two years since the armistice was signed hundreds of thousands of immigrants have returned to their native countries, and we have scarcely inquired into the causes of this exodus. In the press of other affairs we have said: "Oh, let them go, there are others"; while European countries, on the

contrary, have welcomed them as important factors in their own reconstruction and future expansion. America has seen in this increase of remigration only the temporary loss of labor; Europe has seen in it an economic asset.

This assumption by Americans that immigration is important only as a source of labor, is typical of some of the habits of mind into which we have fallen and which delay our appreciation of the significance of larger events. It is this which has led us to judge immigration so exclusively by a quantitative test.

When Ellis Island is crowded, our apprehensions arise; when it is deserted, our confidence is restored; and the million or more immigrants who entered during a heavy period of immigration, are cheerfully forgotten. In like manner we assume that assimilation is satisfactorily progressing when the number of immigrants who are convicted is low, or when the number who become public charges is small; or, again, when the number who attend English classes or who apply for naturalization papers is large. So, too, we regard it as a good sign when the ratio between the arrivals and deportations is low, and when the arrivals exceed the departures.

These statistical tests, upon which Americans have so faithfully relied in the past, have failed altogether to indicate such subtle forces at work among immigrants as, for example, the persistence of racial characteristics and the control by foreign governments of their own emigrants. In this country an optimistic interpretation of statistics has obscured the significance of the growth of racial solidarities, of the increasing power of the foreign language press, and of the ever increasing influence of racial leaders. At the same time the influence in America of public opinion from the old world on the life of the immigrant has often to Americans seemed trivial or

amusing. Isolated as we are from the foreign born groups we are likely to assume that they, like ourselves, are immune from foreign influences.

When evidences of these influences come to an American, he is more likely to dismiss or to resent them than he is to seek to understand them; he is more apt to condemn the foreign born than he is to examine into the causes that mold their thoughts and actions in this country. Indignation rather than curiosity is aroused when the average American is told, for instance, that there are sections in America where the third generation of foreign born has not learned to speak the English language; or that a Turkish colony, with its old world customs and manners of living, is established in one of the oldest and most conservative of New England towns; or that to-day a town in a state that Charles the Second gave to William Penn, is inhabited wholly by Sicilians who have their own mayor, chief of police, postmaster, school teacher, and political leaders; or again, that a fourth generation of native born Germans of native stock favor the fatherland in preference to America.

Another assumption by Americans is that immigration cannot be discussed in an impartial manner. Whoever approaches the subject in such a spirit and from a scientific standpoint is regarded at once as having ulterior motives. He must be prepared to meet the accusation that he is serving the cause of capital or of labor; or that he is "socializing labor"; or that he is "shackling labor with the chains of capital." Such a one cannot escape from the reproach that he is, at least, trying to subsidize the press, or that he is playing politics. Indeed, if his research is very thorough, the probability is that he will be charged with all of these offenses. The idea is generally scouted that Americans are capable of discussing disinterestedly the question of immigration in its national and interna-

tional aspects. To the mind of the average American, the query "are you for or against immigration?" is equivalent to, "are you for or against organized labor?"

This state of American public opinion has now come to influence the freedom of discussion. Official investigators and public officials who are charged with the duty of supplying the public with the full facts on immigration have submitted to this narrowness of view. An evidence of this was shown in 1909 when the Federal Immigration Commission decided to exclude certain subjects as likely to lead to political controversy. From a like motive, the Director of Americanization of the United States Bureau of Education, at the opening of its conference on Americanization, in 1919, and in the hearing of officials from other departments, announced that the subjects of immigration, emigration, and naturalization should be avoided as they were not within the jurisdiction of the Bureau. So accustomed have Americans become to this kind of dictation that even this action seems to have aroused little comment among the hundreds assembled.

On occasions we have been known to penalize violations of this established precedent. In April, 1920, The Interracial Council called a conference to which were invited representatives of industry, agriculture, commerce, labor, and races to discuss a national immigration policy. Out of sixteen recommendations, but *one* aroused public discussion, and that was a recommendation to abolish the literacy test. Although the findings of the conference did not express the action of the directors and members of The Inter-racial Council, the assumption immediately was made that the repeal of the literacy test was the sole object of the meeting, and, because of this false assumption, two of the labor members of the Council resigned.

In view of this attitude of mind, there are many who believe that the first task before Americans is to free im-

migration from class controversy and its discussion from the suspicion of ulterior motives. They see the necessity of lifting it from the plane of partisan politics to that of practical affairs. Otherwise, they point out, we shall continue to be the victims of international, as well as of local propaganda; and we shall, in addition, be unable to collect the necessary scientific data. They insist that we will not, therefore, be in a position to deal intelligently with the changing conditions, and with the new proposals which will be laid before us. They assert that, prior to the adoption of any policies to fit the new epoch, we need to establish a source of public opinion which will be free from bias or control by any one interest, and which will serve to create standards upon the subject and give the authority for them.

In the meantime, immigrants come and go and the difficulties multiply. While it would seem that Congress acted wisely in postponing action upon the many proposals submitted, we should not, in the absence of a united public opinion, pursue a policy of inaction simply because it does not seem wise to erect ideal barriers against immigration or to throw down inferior safeguards. There is danger in continued delay, even though it is true that in our puzzled state of speculation one guess is as good as another; that any conclusions by experts upon the interpretation of the statistics upon the volume of immigration can be proved or disproved; and that a policy adopted to-day may have to be rejected to-morrow. The danger increases every hour in which propaganda is substituted for information.

Meanwhile, through scientific study, other countries are assembling information. They are submitting their findings to dispassionate analysis. They are meeting in conventions and perfecting agreements. They are formulating domestic policies to stimulate, to divert, or to retard

immigration. Thus, they are arriving at sound conclusions which eventually will give them a sound policy. The men who direct the broad fiscal and commercial policies of these countries, and who direct their foreign affairs are the men who deal with immigration policies.

Few will contend that we in America are following a similar course. No such study or analysis of the immigration question is being made, nor are we formulating sound policies, arrived at by similar methods. Neither are the minds that direct the fiscal and commercial policies of America at work on immigration questions and policies. On the contrary, not one of the best constructive business minds of this country has ever been applied to the subject and the men who have added power and prestige to America have given little more than a passing thought to the foreign born people who have contributed so much to the success of their undertakings. How else are we to keep pace with Europe than by developing in this country a group of men whose word and judgment on immigration will be trusted as readily and deservedly as is the word and judgment of other groups upon finance and commerce?

Though no country possesses more material upon immigration than does America, never has public opinion in this country had to grope so much in the dark. Government departments have acquired more than enough information to guide this country aright if it were assembled, analyzed, and made available to men who understand its significance. Its departments are filled with data which indicate that unless we can make use of them, we cannot understand the responsibilities which the millions of immigrants of America have created. So well is this fact recognized abroad that the solution of the problem of racial assimilation is regarded as the one great contribu-

tion which America is under obligation to make to world history. America has had more than a century of experience with all of the races of the world; and because of this there are those who believe that, had she but mastered the knowledge that naturally should come from such an experience, and had her racial experience been more articulate, the results at Paris might have been different. Far from being enlightened at the Peace Conference by America's knowledge of racial assimilation, European statesmen are still seeking for principles to guide them in their future policies. They are eagerly watching America with a view of profiting by its experiment. They say, quite frankly, that if America fails, no other country can succeed in the assimilation of immigration. The success of America, therefore, is of immense importance, not only to itself but to the world.

In the meantime, America marks time while the governments of Europe are making their own plans independently of this country. They are regarding the immigrant, not so much as a free individual but as one whose ambitions, hopes, possibilities and progress will keep him united to his home government. They seek to tie him to his native land, not less by economic than by political bonds. They conceive the task broadly and profoundly, and the American government must think, act, and plan, not less broadly or less profoundly. For, great as is its wealth and power, numerous as are its opportunities in the field of immigration, America is yet but one competitor among many.

As we look back, there is something magnificent in the way in which America has flung open its doors to the oppressed of all lands. As we look forward, there is something noble in the conception of a great embracing policy which, while intelligently providing for the wel-

fare of the nation, will also insure to every immigrant from the time he leaves the land of his birth until he returns to it, or elects to stay with us, respect, justice and fair play.

CHAPTER II

IMMIGRATION BEFORE THE WAR

THE American answer to the new immigration questions which have been raised by the war is to be found in the past as well as in the future. As we see new aspects of immigration, we shall continually have to go back over the route by which we have arrived at our present belief and policies, if we would solve these questions by evolutionary and not by revolutionary methods.

"To give room for wandering, is it that the world was made so wide?" The early immigration to America came in this spirit of romance—the leaving of old things for new; the passing from the known to the unknown; the door of opportunity ever widening; the end of the day as fresh as its beginning; and the morrow uncharted—these, as much as the fables of gold, brought the early immigrant to American shores.

Europe, then, speeded the journey to those in search of freedom, adventure, profit, or distinction. America, then, extended a welcome to them upon arrival. Whatever regulations were adopted were for the purpose of protecting the immigrant. Whenever racial antagonisms arose, as they sometimes did, they were discouraged; for, did not America need the immigrant; and did not Europe see opportunities in the new country which would redound to her credit and profit?

For a number of years all went fairly well, for the immigration policies of both Europe and America coin-

cided. Did the ambitious immigrant youth seek a wider field for adventure and opportunity—America supplied the field. Did he seek work and higher wages—American industry supplied the work and wages. Did people flee from political oppression and religious persecution—the American's form of government provided the asylum for them. Did uneasy, discontented subjects seek a new home—the steamship agent was ever ready to arrange for their transportation. In this way, restless spirits in Europe became good pioneers in America; and people hovering between content and discontent or between plenty and starvation became the backbone of American production.

The prosperity which they found in this country soon began to displace the romance which had brought the early immigrants to America. Successful immigrants began to send letters in which they urged their friends and relatives to join them in the new land. When urging failed, money was sent in a further endeavor to induce the people "back home" to emigrate. Every boat to Europe carried travelers who praised America. Business in this country was not slow to see in the prosperity of the immigrants its opportunity and soon the combination banker-steamship ticket agent-job finder appeared. This combination rapidly extended its facilities abroad and, thus, the foundation was laid in America for the present racial economic system.

Economic law, unhampered, governed the transactions of this combination. In these early years, the fluctuation of immigration roughly corresponded to the varying conditions of prosperity. The volume of immigration increased as business expanded and decreased in times of depression. This mobility of immigrant labor fitted admirably into the pioneer character of American indus-

trial needs; and when unemployment appeared Europe re-absorbed the surplus of labor.

In accordance with this situation, practically all of the first century of immigration to America, until 1882, was a pay-as-you-enter and go-as-you-please affair. Immigration was given scant attention and the twelve millions of people who came in during that period entered in the belief that they were welcome. Since they promoted agricultural and industrial development, and since they brought prosperity, few in America questioned their rights to the same privileges as had the native born.

But prosperity brought its penalties. Less and less did the immigrant "cut loose from Europe" and come to America unannounced and unassisted. Less and less did he come without having some one to meet him and to give him a start. But this assistance was not always to his advantage and the improved economic status of the immigrant soon made his exploitation worth while. Many organizations under the pretense of furthering the immigrant's economic interests made their appearance, and so varied became the forms of this exploitation that it soon became necessary for the government to find means for his protection. For this purpose, New York State, in 1847, appointed a Commission on Emigration. Of the rather wide powers which this Commission exercised, an early report said:

"At Castle Garden, after examination of their luggage by the customs officers, the immigrants were transferred to the landing depot, where they were received by officers of the commission, who entered in registers kept for the purpose all particulars necessary for their future identification. The names of those having money, friends, or letters awaiting them were called out, and they were put into immediate possession of their property or committed

to their friends, whose credentials first were properly scrutinized. Clerks to write letters for them in European languages and a telegraph operator to forward their dispatches were on hand. The main railway lines had offices there. Brokers were admitted to exchange the foreign money of the immigrant. A physician was always in attendance, and a temporary hospital was located there."

This Commission on Emigration protected immigrants through its power to license immigrant boarding houses and solicitors for immigrant banks. It also exercised the right to examine into the conditions of immigrants, to protect their persons and property against fraudulent practices, and to relieve them from suffering while they were *in transit.*

Later, this Commission in addition to the interests of the immigrant, safeguarded the interests of the country by the control of infectious diseases, through regulations of the Marine Hospital. When some states began to object to the burden imposed upon them in safeguarding the interests of the immigrant and in maintaining institutions for immigrants who became public burdens, the refusal of New York State to bear the cost of receiving and caring for them brought the matter to the attention of the Federal authorities. On a question of the right of the state to levy a poll tax state control of immigration was declared, in 1876, by the United States Supreme Court, to be within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government; and, in 1882, Congress adopted legislation embodying that principle.

It was at this point that the blunder was made which later laid the foundation for the conditions which the war revealed to Americans. The first Federal law provided for the taxation of incoming immigrants, and also for the exclusion of defectives, the insane, and those

likely to become a public charge. It sought merely to remedy the evils of which the states had complained. *All of the features of the state laws which provided for the protection and assimilation of the immigrant were omitted.*

The Federal law which nationalized immigration did not very clearly define the powers of the nation as distinct from those of the states. Therefore, states which had made provisions for the protection and assimilation of the immigrant immediately dropped such provisions, and he was not only left to shift for himself, but was soon discriminated against. As a result, in fourteen states an alien may not own land, or he may own it only upon condition that he dispose of it within a specified time. In other states he may own a home and acquire real property. In certain states all instruction in the public schools must be in the English language; while in others, it need not be. In nine states an alien may not be employed on public works, and is prohibited even from shoveling snow as a public employee. In Michigan, an alien may not follow the occupation of a barber; in Louisiana, he may not receive any public printing; in Georgia he may not be a peddler; and in Idaho he may not hold a job in any corporation unless he has applied for his first papers. In certain states the family of the alien is not entitled to compensation under the widow's pension law; while in still others, there is discrimination against him under the workmen's compensation law.

The failure of the Federal Government to provide for the protection of the immigrant, not only set a bad example for the states, which some of them soon turned into discrimination, but it also set a bad example for business. For a long time thereafter immigrant workmen received less compensation for injuries than did the native born; they were not so well safeguarded while at work;

they were less well housed; and they received very little consideration in welfare work.

Other results of the neglect to include in the Federal law any provisions for the protection and assimilation of immigrants appeared in both America and Europe. In America racial institutions began to thrive. The immigrant bank, the foreign language newspaper, and the employment agency found the immigrant to be a source of great profit. As he was for the most part ignorant of American ways and not suspicious of his compatriots, he willingly gave his patronage to them. One padrone found the combination of furnishing men to employers with the privilege of housing and feeding them so profitable that he was able to leave an estate valued at a million dollars. The owner of a foreign language newspaper advertising agency is reputed to be worth a like amount; and many immigrant bankers and some racial business men are reported to be not less prosperous.

Because of the rumors of the exploitation and hardships which immigrants were encountering in America as a result of these racial activities, and because of the indifference of the American, Europe began to believe that this country was either unable or unwilling to take proper care of its immigrants; so it began to protect its own immigrants. Soon there were established in America immigrant societies and homes which were subsidized by foreign governments. Legal aid societies and information bureaus also appeared; consular officers were given increased authority and larger appropriations; and soon the immigrant began to look for assistance from his racial society and from his home government rather than to the country of his adoption.

The motives of European governments in providing such protection for their immigrants were not entirely disinterested. They saw in the growing racial organiza-

tions in America a way to hold the immigrants, many of whom had shown a tendency to forget the land of their birth. They saw a chance to secure their savings for investments abroad. They saw the opportunity to sell foreign goods in America. These things accomplished, they foresaw that, in times of war, when he was most needed, the immigrant would return to his homeland.

And what did the American see? Did he realize that a competitive economic system was arising in America? Did the American realize that his dreams of assimilation were fading away? Not at all. He congratulated himself that he did not have to undertake these responsibilities. He welcomed the racial societies which were organized to look after the welfare of their countrymen, and he assisted in establishing their agencies at Ellis Island. Until 1910, when an organization known as the Immigration Guide and Transfer Service was perfected by a group of American business men, it was chiefly the countrymen of the immigrant who first approached him and who followed him to his destination. It was chiefly his compatriots who protected him from the runners, porters, hackmen, expressmen, bogus money exchangers, and from the grafters who infested the landing place at the Barge Office in New York City. When the immigrant arrived at his final destination, it was the American who helped to establish the immigrant colony across the railroad track and who housed him in a shack in a camp, or in a crowded tenement in the immigrant section. It was the American who employed the padrone; and so long as the immigrant was a good workman, and so long as labor was needed and was plentiful, the American saw no reason to change the situation.

Despite the exploitation which was practiced by some persons and organizations toward the immigrant, the effectiveness of the racial system of protection greatly stim-

ulated immigration. The American became alarmed at the tide of emigration and again turned to legislation for a remedy. In the belief that the law of 1882 had become inadequate, amendments were adopted in 1903, which again changed the policy of America. The negative policy of forgetting about the immigrant was supplemented by the more positive policy of restriction and deportation; and the spirit of welcome was colored by a growing resentment. The idea that America was a haven for oppressed and persecuted people was qualified by the proviso that the immigrant was welcome if he proved to be an economic success. America, from a position of supreme confidence that it could assimilate all immigrants, changed its position to one of defense, and proceeded to dig some economic trenches to protect itself from the immigrant.

The first line trench was the contract labor clause in the Immigration Law. This clause prohibited the importation of common laborers under contract to work. Domestic servants were exempted, and skilled workers could be imported only when it was proved that no excess of labor of a like kind existed at that time. Had this provision recognized the fluidity of common labor, and its amenability to economic law, it would have made provision for the suspension of immigration when it was no longer needed, and for facilitating the return of aliens to the country of their origin. As it was, this legislation demonstrated the futility of political law to alter the inevitable law of supply and demand. The law was evaded in many ways, chiefly by the simple expedient of transferring from America to Europe the activities which had been used to stimulate immigration. Although a premium was placed on vagrancy, immigration still increased, because in its operation the racial economic system remained unimpaired.

Later, a more stringent interference with economic law was attempted. It was made unlawful for any person, association, society, corporation, or steamship company, to solicit, invite or encourage any alien to come to the United States. Had this been enforceable, it would have prevented most of the communication of immigrants with their families in the old world; and, therefore, soon the law became a dead letter.

A second line trench was the passage, in 1917, of the literacy test. It had been vetoed three times, and its passage may be attributed, in part, to the reaction from the European war, although it was not in itself a war measure. Several advantages were claimed for this test of admission. It was said by its supporters that it would reduce the number of undesirable immigrants; that it would promote assimilation, and that it would improve the quality of immigration. Its advocates also claimed that it would increase literacy in Europe, and thus protect American workmen from competition with immigrants who, because of their low standard of living, were in a position to underbid them in the labor market. This test has hardly served as a barrier to immigration, since it has been so easy for the immigrant to comply with the examination as now conducted.

Americans might have remained serenely unconscious that these economic trenches were not serving their original purpose, and that assimilation was not the perfect thing they had imagined it to be, had not the war and the deliberations over peace cast a searchlight over the entire racial situation. Had we not, at same time, determined upon an Americanization movement—valuable to us, not so much for what it has accomplished, as for what it has revealed—we might not have discovered the extent and significance of racial solidarity in American social and economic life.

By racial solidarity we mean that practically every foreign born male adult in America is a member of some local racial society which is social or political in character, and which is of particular benefit to the immigrant. This local society is usually a part of a national society, and in turn this national society may be part of an international body, or a branch of an organization created in the home country. In most of these societies the language of the immigrant predominates and the discussions relate to foreign rather than to American affairs. It was said, just before the war, that there were 300 of these nationalist societies in America with 42,000 locals or branches covering thirty races. Since that time, the Foreign Language Information Service of the American Red Cross estimates the number of such local societies to be 63,000. These organizations influence directly or indirectly the lives of approximately 25,000,000 people, and seventy-five per cent of them are concentrated in the eleven industrial states. Owing to the insurance and service features which many of them have adopted, they are closely allied with immigrant banks, employment agencies, the foreign language press and other racial economic institutions, and, thus, are a part of the racial economic system.

A study of the constitutions of these racial societies shows them to be of three kinds. The first group is almost wholly nationalistic in sentiment and aim, and is interested primarily in the political and economic conditions of its native country. Some of its objects are stated variously to be: "To work for the preservation of language and literature, encouragement and promotion of our national affairs, and to aid the home country in every way in our struggle for liberty"; "to assist in liberating the home country"; "to secure the political independence of the home country"; 'to conduct propaganda here and abroad to establish the return to power of the moderates"; "to es-

tablish and maintain an independent democratic country."

The second group is concerned primarily with maintaining racial solidarity in America; and some of its objects as stated are: "To awaken love of native language, to render mutual aid and to cherish due esteem and pride in nationality"; "to advance in America the influences and culture of the native land"; "to combine for mutual interest and protection."

The third group is avowedly for America. Some of its constitutions state their objects to be: "to have our proceedings in English, and to urge our members to become American citizens"; "to foster American ideals and love of America"; "to encourage and instruct our members to learn about America." This group has taken the initiative in Americanization work. It purposes to make the English language and American history accessible to its people. It has published many dictionaries, grammars and books on American citizenship and life. It has repeatedly reminded the rank and file of its race that failure to succeed has been due to their own shortcomings. Americanization has been urged countless times in speeches and in publications. Many of these societies belonging to this group conduct their lodge meetings in English and close the meetings by singing American patriotic songs.

The really significant thing about the solidarity of these racial groups is, not that they exist in the heart of American life, but that they are not more generally utilized for the advancement of American interests. That this is a possibility is shown by the willingness with which these organizations, when asked, coöperate with native American movements. Over and over again assurances have been given by them that their meetings are open at any time to speakers for the discussion of American affairs; and yet, we generally ignore the invitation to utilize these natural channels of communication in the

interests of Americanism; instead we continually organize expensive meetings, and stage elaborate affairs and functions which the immigrant will not attend. Whenever the approach has been made in the right spirit, the foreign born have shown a desire to meet the native born half way. Thus, whenever classes in English were to be filled, it has been their institutions, assisted by their press, which have been the most effective means of accomplishing this work. Whenever America was to be interpreted to the immigrant, they have proved to be almost the only effective medium for this purpose. As an illustration of the kind of coöperation which America secures from some of these racial organizations, the following excerpt from a report is given:

"It may surprise many Americanizers to know that the most effective, in fact, the only Americanization efforts made among the Czechs, long before the recent hysteria had seized on the native born, were the results of the work of the Czechs themselves. No American took any interest in them except at election time, so, forthwith, they themselves set about learning the first step in the process of becoming 'Americans'. Not fewer than thirty-five English books, interpretations, grammars and dictionaries have been written and published. Series of lessons on the American constitution, and on civics in general have also been prepared and for years our press has devoted columns to articles on the Americanism of leaders like Washington, Franklin, Lincoln and Roosevelt. Practically every masterpiece of American literature—both prose and poetry—has been translated into the Czech language and widely circulated, in the justified belief that the truest knowledge of the nation of Americans can come through intimate acquaintance with its literature. It is noteworthy, too, that the Czecho-Slovak press in the

United States published in 1919, upwards of 520 releases from United States Government departments, issued by the Czecho-Slovak Bureau of the Foreign Language Governmental Information Service, and have cooperated whole-heartedly in every effort to provide its readers with authentic and dependable information about activities of government agencies. The official organs of large Czecho-Slovak organizations constantly urge their leaders to learn English, and to take an active part in all community activities. Practically every one of them now has from one to ten pages devoted to information articles in the English language. Most of these organizations open their lodge meetings by urging Americanism."

Had it been possible for these racial groups to have survived in their original form as fraternal and benevolent institutions, America might not have had so complete a racial economic system. But the immigrant, thrown back upon himself through social, political, and educational isolation, naturally turned to his own racial group to avoid economic discrimination. He was in a great measure forced to combine with his fellow countrymen for advancement and protection, because he was shut out from many trades unions and isolated from many American economic institutions. The racial organization was the only existing agency which could be enlarged to meet his broader needs.

Thus we find, largely through our own shortsighted policy, that there exists in America to-day two economic systems; one for the immigrants, under foreign born leadership; and the other for the Americanized immigrant and native born, under native born leadership. Side by side they compete with each other. Each system has its own employment agencies: the one, where English is spoken; the other, where it it not. Each has its own way

of handling laborers: the one, through the padrone who houses and feeds the workmen; the other, through boarding houses which are run on American standards. Each has its own shops: the one, where imported articles from Europe predominate; the other, where American products come first. Each system has its own banks: the one, where the savings are transmitted to Europe and where foreign investments are encouraged; the other, where savings become American deposits and are used to purchase American securities. Each has its own societies and press: the one, which preserves the traditions, culture and habits of the race; the other, which furthers the traditions of America. Each has its own trade relations with native countries: the one, which favors the interests of the foreign country and of the race; the other, which favors American trade interests only.

These racial agencies are as perfectly linked together in an economic system as are the parallel American agencies. Though they are far less powerful and resourceful than are the American agencies, yet they possess a greater potential power to influence the economic affairs of their own people. Identity of racial interest has in this way bound together the members of each race as no American interest has ever done for all of the races.

This mobilization by racial organizations of racial resources in America has amazed the old world by its cohesiveness, and by its wealth, its power, and masterful efficiency. The immigrant is met at Ellis Island by a racial missionary who speaks his language; and who, having the advantage of knowing his friends at home, at once establishes cordial relations. The immigrant is then lodged in a hotel where the atmosphere reminds him of his native country. Thus, the impressions which he receives concerning America come to him first through old world memories and experiences. He is next introduced to a

padrone who secures work for him under a racial boss. Then the immigrant is taken to a racial colony, he is given a racial newspaper, and through these he is introduced to racial merchants and bankers. During all this time, it rarely has been suggested to him that much of his future success and happiness may depend upon his learning the English language. Thus, in close contact with his own people, he lives his life in America. Should he wish to return to Europe, his racial bankers will arrange for his passage, and his countrymen will in the language of his forefathers, bid him "God-speed." Should fate decree that he should die in America, a racial churchman will officiate at his funeral, his countrymen will attend the obsequies, a racial undertaker will see that he is decently buried, and his family, in time, will receive a check from a racial benefit society.

Americans have found that efforts to bring the racial economic system into closer relation with American life, through discriminatory or restrictive laws, have not been successful; nor has much progress been made through denunciation and repression, for these have but increased racial antagonism. On the other hand, much has been accomplished by coöperation, when that has been possible, and American business is beginning to realize that when that fails, competition is the best alternative.

Many, therefore, believe that it would be a mistake to regard the racial economic system as it exists to-day in this country as an anti-American influence; for it has grown out of the necessities of the immigrant people. But they believe also for a country to maintain for each of the racial solidarities, an economic system which is not integrated at every point with the American system which controls the broad policies of the country, is to perpetuate a situation which is a source of economic waste and weakness. Because this racial economic system vitally affects

the amount and kind of immigration to this country, the consumption of American commodities, the destination of savings, the labor supply and turnover, and lastly, the formation of public opinion among millions of immigrants; it should therefore be interwoven inextricably and indistinguishably into the American business system. There are many who believe that the racial system is still in a formative state; and if placed under the direction of native born American leadership, can be made a vital asset to America. They urge, therefore, that no time should be lost in providing such a leadership for a system which comprises an invaluable purchasing power, a vast capacity for assembling savings, a virile labor body, and an intelligence that is capable of accomplishing vast good for America.

The complete integration of the immigrant into American life at each vital point, where he works, where he lives, where he banks his savings and makes his investments, where he buys, where he travels, and in what he reads will meet with powerful resistance. It will be a resistance which will be politic and accommodating, and silent. It will be made by men who, having a strong hold over their countrymen, will fight to retain a racial power which is of such enormous profit to them and to their native country. It will be a resistance backed by a combination of foreign influences, which has no equivalent in American life—influences which are powerfully entrenched and which are to-day operating with great intelligence among the races in this country. These influences work, not so much against America, as in their own interests; for since the war each European nation needs more than ever its own nationals whose success, wherever they may be, is increasingly vital to the rehabilitation of the home country.

To accomplish this integration, conferences should be

held between the native and foreign born business groups. This task is by no means so easy as it looks. We have achieved a considerable measure of success in bringing together the native and foreign born in education. We have met with equal success in bringing them together in patriotic and civic affairs. But this task is as nothing compared to the one which business will face, when it undertakes to bring together native and foreign born bankers; racial and American trade and merchants' associations; English and foreign language newspaper editors; and native and foreign born workmen in plants. Difficult as is this task, none other than the American business man can undertake it. Native and foreign born producers, bankers, merchants, and editors must be united before the absorption of this racial economic system, which is too vital to be suppressed, and too powerful to be ignored, can be completed.

But the average American business man is, at present, hardly in the mood for such a task. It is much pleasanter for him to support Americanization campaigns. It is much easier for him to wave flags, to make speeches, to provide moving pictures, and to sing patriotic songs. It is more to his liking to be in a parade, or to figure as a member of a reception committee. But these can never counteract the trend of racial interests in favor of American business interests. The American business man should not feel that the nation is secure until every phase of American business—racial and native—is merged into one unified economic system. Until this is accomplished, other activities among immigrants are, relatively speaking, about as vital to American economic progress as is golf or yachting.

It needs no argument to prove that two countries cannot claim the same immigrant for military service; two countries cannot have the same lien on his loyalty;

two countries cannot have a prior claim to his savings; and two countries cannot engage his attention in their economic expansion. Sooner or later a clash must come, and when it does, it may well be between the nations behind the immigrants.

CHAPTER III

RACIAL RELATIONS DURING THE WAR

THE war found America with its native and foreign born peoples living far apart. The foreign born were united each in their own racial solidarity, with their own economic systems and quite independent of native American assistance; the native born were pursuing their own way toward success and happiness, quite unconscious of the separateness of the many races.

The native American has, therefore, never fully appreciated what the declaration of war in Europe meant to almost one-third of the population, for the foreign born and those of foreign parentage, unlike the native born, had a direct personal interest in the fortunes and issues of the war. They were banded together in powerful organizations. They had a press of more than 137 daily newspapers, and 1,250 publications of all kinds. They conducted business through thousands of racial banks and racial trade organizations; while in essential industries they formed the bulk of unskilled labor. They were eager to participate in the war and they were equipped with money, men and resources to act at once. They had the American interests in mind, but they had also the safety of their fellow countrymen at heart.

How serious this situation was may be seen from the fact that, when the war opened, there were gathered together in United States territory, living peaceably and pursuing ordinary vocations and trends of thought, 15%

of all the Danes in the world; 8% of all the Finns, 13% of all the Germans, 7% of all the Italians; 8% of all the Czecho-Slovaks; 20% of all the Norwegians; 8% of all the Poles; 15% of all the Swedes; 3% of all the French; 5% of all the Dutch; 3% of all the Greeks; 5% of all the Lithuanians and 24% of all the Jews.

Not only were most of these immigrants in touch with the members of their own race in America, but they were in constant communication with their home countries. They corresponded with families and friends and many of their letters contained money, not alone for the assistance of their families, but to cover important financial and trade transactions. When war was declared, practically all such communications were suddenly suspended. Immigrants could hear nothing from their families and friends, and the news from the war zone, which appeared in the American press, was too general for the man interested in the happenings of a particular locality in Europe.

As immigrants were intensely interested in the progress of the war, and in preserving the independence of their respective countries, it was thus far more difficult for them to follow the command to observe neutrality than it was for the average American. Public opinion among the various races was thus unable to express itself with relation to the whole war situation and it began to vent itself in animosities among the various racial groups in America. Also, thousands of nationals in this country who were unable to participate in war activities began to leave America in order to fight in the armies of their native countries.

Until the war, immigrants had not been called upon in a public manner to choose between the old and new countries. While the test of the war was not a thorough one,

inasmuch as many immigrants thought they could help their native countries most by remaining and working in munition plants, it nevertheless revealed the status of assimilation. America had supposed that it could fully count upon its immigrants; while European nations believed that, when the need arose, the older loyalty would prevail. Neither side was entirely right; hence both Europe and America awoke to a realization of what had been taking place during the hundred years of immigration to America. Many immigrants, who had been confidently counted upon, refused to answer the call of the home country and stayed in America; while others, among them many naturalized citizens, laid down their work, uprooted their homes, and departed. Many other immigrants obeyed to the letter the order to observe neutrality, while still others, to help win the war, engaged in activities on one side or the other. Early in the war period, propaganda for both the Central Powers and the Entente began to make its appearance; and in the belief that their nationals would prove coöperative, foreign language groups chiefly were selected for its dissemination.

The export of munitions from America called forth the first public expression of the influence of this propaganda. A number of American foreign language press editors, protesting against the export of munitions, signed an appeal to the people of the United States. This appeared in the form of full page advertisements in some of the English language dailies, and was later discovered, by the Senate Judiciary Committee, to have been the work of a promoter who received a part of an "alien enemy fund" for disbursement among foreign born people. Other evidences of the spread of propaganda were seen in the destruction of life and property in American munition plants, and in sabotage activities which were intended to hamper production. The radical ele-

ment, always ready to seize upon any unusual conditions to further its own ends, became the ready agent of this propaganda, and capitalized alike discontent and unrest. Even so, the results were disappointing to both propagandist and radical, for the great mass of the foreign born who had remained, refused to be drawn actively into the war situation.

The restlessness and anxiety were not, however, all on the side of the immigrant. Americans, too, grew uneasy when they began to read of the war activities of some of the foreign born in America. They began to ask why aliens had not become naturalized; why naturalized citizens had not become Americanized; why America did not come first in their interests; and why naturalized citizens were returning to serve in the armies of their home countries. As the war progressed, a widespread apprehension grew among Americans as to what the foreign born ultimately might do. In some quarters, because the apparent un-Americanism of the few was taken to represent the attitude of all, this fear began to develop into a deep seated resentment against the whole foreign born population. The breach between native and foreign born was gradually widening, and antagonism on both sides was increasing, when America's entry into the war called for united action on the part of all, irrespective of race, creed, color, or class.

The task then before America was to mobilize millions of native and foreign born for war work, and to unite behind this program the activities of thirty-two races whose compatriots were already fighting with or against each other in Europe. In order to handle adequately a problem of such magnitude it was necessary that this country should know the location of the various races, their characteristics, organizations, alignments, and attitude of mind on international matters. It was necessary

also, that it should know who among them could speak English, and for those who could not, what was the best medium for communicating with them. It was necessary that this country should have some record of the loyalty of the various leaders of racial groups and of their publications, or some means of determining it as well as of knowing in what essential war industries enemy aliens were at work. It was also highly important, since so much of the American assistance was to be financial, that the resources of these various groups should be ascertained.

America, having pursued for the past thirty years of its national administration of immigration a policy of letting immigrants strictly alone, neither possessed this information, nor had it any central authority or machinery for its immediate assembling. Because of this, the government pursued a policy of further decentralizing authority and dealt with the foreign born in a way which made it impossible to acquire the necessary information for this phase of its war work. The Department of Labor, with power to admit or exclude aliens and to naturalize them, possessed authority and information of one kind; the War Department, with power to mobilize an army, possessed powers of another kind; while the Treasury Department, with its Liberty Loan activities and War Risk Insurance; and the Department of State, with its international responsibilities, and the Department of Justice, with its secret service, all possessed authority and information of yet another kind. Each department acted within its own authority and upon its own information independently of the others and in consequence each in turn was often in controversy over the alien with other departments.

The new war agencies which were created but added to the difficulties of the situation. The Council of National Defense assumed certain duties; the Committee on Pub-

lic Information assumed certain other duties; while to the Food and Fuel Administrations, and to numberless other bodies, were delegated specific powers, all differing essentially from each other, but all directly affecting the immigrant.

The character of these regulations was such as the absence of information regarding the alien and the conflict of authority of the various departments would lead us to expect. For instance, the war proclamation of the President declared only Germans to be alien enemies, but the public knew that Hungarians, Austrians, Turks and Bulgarians were fighting the Allies. The American, therefore, regarded the members of these races as alien enemies, and acted accordingly. This proclamation established war zones which excluded from certain districts all alien enemy men but not women and was, therefore, largely ineffectual for the purpose in mind. The inevitable separation of families, and the resulting hardships that followed, soon caused it to be disregarded. Because of defective registrations and confusion regarding first papers, alien enemies, *barred* from war zones, found themselves ordered to appear at armories *within* these zones. While the War Department was finding a way to teach the English language to the foreign born in the camps, and was deciding whether men might fight in the army of their home country or in the American army, and if they chose the former, what the effect would be upon insurance and help to their families here or abroad, the foreign language groups, without waiting for the decision, were organizing their members into battalions to join their colors at the front. While the Labor Department was undertaking the problem of safeguarding essential industries from alien enemy workers, the War Department was organizing a Plant Protection Service to do the same thing. While the Post Office Department

was requiring foreign language newspapers to have a permit and was *denying* the use of the mails to some of them, the Committee on Public Information and the Treasury Department were reprimanding the same publications, irrespective of their status with the Post Office Department, for not giving larger free space to war propaganda and Liberty Loans. While numerous secret service agencies were regarding the alien as a suspicious character, the Council of National Defense and the Americanization Division of the Department of the Interior were urging his attendance at Americanization meetings. While the Alien Property Custodian was taking over the property of alien enemies, the sons and brothers of these alien enemies were often being drafted to fight with the Allies in the war. The same immigrants, therefore, often found themselves the object of suspicion as well as of solicitude; of regulation as well as of Americanization; and of inclusion in war activities as well as of exclusion from them.

These are but a few illustrations of the confusion of powers and of the conflict of orders that were issued by the forty or more Federal agencies charged with war duties which in one way or another affected aliens. Furthermore, the nation and the states were often in disagreement over the division of authority and over the methods to be employed; and when this occurred, the troubles of the alien were multiplied.

While opinions differ both as to the necessity and wisdom of some of the measures adopted for the safety of a country which was in no imminent danger of invasion, with its forces fighting three thousand miles away, it became increasingly evident as the war progressed that the confusion and injustices to which many immigrants who were unquestionably loyal were subjected, would bring new problems. Could there at the outset have

been established a Board or Bureau on Aliens to which all questions affecting the foreign born could have been referred for information, for adjustment, and for advice, many of the reactions and problems inherited from the war management might have been avoided.

But as it was, men, unfamiliar with the complexity of racial questions or with international affairs, adopted policies almost at a moment's notice and, without an idea as to what their effect would be, issued orders for their immediate enforcement. For instance, to help win the war, the Committee on Public Information urged that racial solidarity and organization be increased and that propaganda to their home countries be prepared and sent out by them. By this action the government not only strengthened racial solidarities in America, but through them and independently of America, it precipitated the immigrant into foreign affairs. Again, the Foreign Language Division of the War Loan Organization of the Treasury Department, by adopting measures in order to force the immigrants to buy Liberty Bonds, created among them a resentment toward America which later resulted in their throwing these bonds upon the market in order to enable them to secure funds to buy the securities of their native countries. The creation by the Department of Justice of a Citizens' Protective Association, which became, in effect, a voluntary spy organization—at one time numbering more than a quarter of a million men—has done much to destroy the confidence which was developing before the war between the native and foreign born people in America.

While the entrance of America into the war absorbed the activities of all the people, it did not tend greatly to lessen the strained relations which had begun to appear between native and foreign born during the period of neutrality. There are many who believe that America

failed to grasp the greatest opportunity in its history to unite its many peoples in a cause in which there was genuine identity of interest. Some Americans entered the war service with this high hope in mind; but the thirty years of neglect and the resulting isolation of the immigrant, the prevailing strength of the racial solidarities, and the war methods adopted by the Government, these were seemingly too great a handicap to be overcome. The possible assimilation of immigration might have been endangered still further by these conditions had they not been to some extent offset by the relationships between the native and foreign born which were established in the trenches through Red Cross and other patriotic drives; and through the many voluntary war services which sought to include the immigrant, not as an alien, but as an American.

So, when the armistice was signed, and the period of post war adjustment began, many native Americans found that they had acquired a genuine fear of immigration and a dread of what a large body of unassimilated peoples might do when a national crisis arose. They said: "Suppose we had been at war with all of Europe, would the foreign born of all races have gone back; would some of the members of each race have acted as spies; would every race involved have hindered our production; and would our country have been flooded with propaganda?" They saw a positive menace in the growing power of immigrants' organizations and of the foreign language press; and they began to favor the suppression of all languages but English; the elimination of the foreign language press; the restriction of immigration for a period of years; and the enactment of a compulsory citizenship law.

But there were others, both native and foreign born, who found in the revelations brought about by the strain

of the war a great faith in the assimilation of immigration and a better way to undertake it. They recalled that approximately one-third of the men in the American Army were foreign born; that legal exemption was waived by 414,389 aliens who went into Class I while only 1,692 withdrew their declaration of intention to become American citizens in order to claim exemption, and of the latter the great majority were men belonging to the older and not to the newer immigration. They pointed to the fact that the new friendships established by the war, and the remarkable steadiness shown by immigrants under great pressure from abroad, revealed an unexpected strength in our racial relations, even as the acts of disloyal immigrants had shown their weakness.

Many immigrants have come out of the war with a sense of resentment, and in some instances of bitterness. They have lost much of their faith in American justice and fair play because they have been dealt with by Americans in a summary way, with little expressed comprehension of their own peculiar difficulties. They have acquired a supercilious and critical attitude toward Americanization because its pretensions have not coincided with their experience. They have remembered their humiliation by self-constituted bodies who took the law into their own hands; and they are less sure than they were before the war that the guarantees of the American Constitution will protect them.

This resentment might have been lessened had America been more successful in its work at the Peace Conference, and had it secured even a measure of the benefits which the immigrants hoped would result from its efforts in favor of their native country. They looked to the President to secure independence and a "square deal" for their respective countries. They were also led to believe that our Government would participate in the final

settlements. This was one of the reasons for their enthusiasm over the work of the President during his stay in Europe and over the provisions in the draft of the League of Nations. Prior to the deliberations at Versailles, they felt a justification for this enthusiasm because of the President's triumphal procession in Europe. His promissory note to "make the world safe for Democracy" was suspected of being an overdraft by the various racial groups in America, who were not prepared to wait until it matured. The immigrant in America, whose native land is now struggling under the burdens imposed to a considerable extent by this overdraft, is becoming increasingly discontented and bitter over the continued sufferings among his people.

There were many who thought, when the armistice was signed, that the racial situation would revert to that of pre-war lines. Nothing of the kind occurred. The "scrapping of the whole war machine" was undertaken in the same spirit in which it was built. The lack of coöperation among the various Federal departments and the eagerness shown by men to get back to business, lost to America what might have constituted an invaluable agency for reconstruction work among immigrants. The real problem of reconstruction was not in industrial and financial fields, which had greatly prospered and expanded during the war; but it was in the field of racial relations which had greatly suffered during the war. Some racial groups which had helped to win the war had become during the period of the armistice all but embryonic republics within a great republic. They were bent upon diverting the power, which had been used to help win the war, to help settle peace terms in their home countries. They, therefore, turned their attention away from Americanization efforts which were then in full swing. They reasoned that "making the world safe for democracy" meant that

the things which immigrants had sought in America could now be realized in the homeland, and without the added difficulties of learning English or of changing allegiance. Each racial group was as much possessed with the desire to establish peace and prosperity in its native land as it had been to help win the war. For this purpose, it began to raise money for political propaganda. It threw its support to one party or to the other, or to this or to that cause. It began to see that following political settlements would come economic settlements and opportunities, and so it organized trade bodies and export and import companies, and made other foreign business connections. Thus, organizations which were created for the protection of the immigrant became political bodies with economic aspirations. They began to reflect chiefly the contentions and opinions prevailing in foreign countries and in consequence soon lost much of their interest in America.

Into this situation Bolshevism was injected, and the Communist party arose. The immigrant was made the center of Bolshevist propaganda, as he had been of war propaganda. The emissaries of Lenin saw in the foreign language groups of America the most vulnerable point in the country's defenses, just as war propagandists before had discerned its penetrability. These emissaries reasoned that if they could rely upon the immigrants, located as they were in essential American industries, for the "tonnage of their movement," then the leadership of radicalism and unrest among native Americans would bring about an industrial upheaval, if not a collapse. The immigrant listened to the new propagandist, as he had listened during the war to the propagandist from Washington, for did not the one promise to him a better living and a happier time after the war was won; and

did not the other make like promises to him when the Soviet would be established throughout the world?

The methods adopted by the Government to deal with Bolshevism were the result of the inevitable war reaction, and were directed chiefly against the alien. This is shown by the Attorney General in his report, where he says:

"The Federal statutes are exceedingly limited so far as they affect persons of American citizenship engaged in radical agitation. The efforts have therefore been largely centered upon the activities of alien agitators with the object of securing their deportation.

"At the same time, present unrest and tendency toward radicalism arise from social and economic conditions that are of far greater consequence than the individual agitator. An intelligent investigation of the agitator, of his work and results of his work therefore demand understanding of social and economic conditions as a whole."

The virulence of the feeling which accompanied the methods of repression was not dissimilar to that which prevailed at the close of the Revolutionary War concerning which Alexander Hamilton said:

"Nothing is more common than for a free people in times of heat and violence to gratify momentary passions, by letting into the government principles and precedents which afterward prove fatal to themselves. Of this kind is the doctrine of disqualification, disfranchisement, and banishment by acts of legislature. The dangerous consequences of this power are manifest. If it [the Legislature] may banish at discretion all of those whom particular circumstances render obnoxious without hearing or trial, no one can be safe, nor know when he may be the innocent victim of a prevailing faction. The name

of liberty applied to such a government would be a mockery of common sense."

In the agitation referred to by Hamilton, it was sought to disfranchise those who had been Tories. In the agitation of 1920, it was sought to achieve, through deportation, what could not be done through the courts of law in the United States—to deport all aliens who were members of the Communist party, whether found guilty of crimes or not.

That the problems resulting from the war are still unsolved is shown by the increasing alienation of native and foreign born residents; by a loss of confidence of the native born in assimilation; by a loss of respect of the foreign born for American institutions; and by the unrest caused by the spread of Bolshevism. States, as well as the nation, are to be considered in arriving at a solution of these problems, for during the Bolshevist agitation many of the states passed repressive measures such as the restriction of the use of foreign languages and the suppression of the racial press.

What is there to indicate that America is to deal as wisely with the present situation as it did with the previous situation?

The American Bar Association, aware of where legislation of this character is likely to lead America in its international relations, reflects in the following recommendation, approved at its last annual meeting, the saner American point of view.

"That the President be authorized to direct the Attorney-General, in the name, and on behalf of the United States, to file a bill in equity in the proper district court of the United States against any person or persons threatening to violate the rights of a citizen or subject

of a foreign country secured to such citizen or subject by treaty between the United States and such foreign country; and that this provision shall apply to acts threatened by state officers under the alleged justification of a law of the legislature of the state in which such acts are to be committed."

The Congress, returned by the election of 1918, showed a similar sane point of view when it refused to be stampeded either by public clamor or by an impending national election into passing the mass of proposals submitted for the repression of free speech or the restriction of immigration. It refused also to pass Americanization measures which would have been but a partial remedy. There is hope in this attitude that we may have a thorough-going study made of the whole situation before any final action is taken.

The bills now pending before Congress indicate the necessity for such a study, since they do not embody a solution of the racial problems inherited from the war. Of first importance is the bill proposed by the Commissioner General of Immigration which provides for the registration of aliens. At the same time it suspends the renewal of the registration fee, if the alien learns the English language, and about American history, and the American government. This substitutes an economic for a patriotic motive, and makes it worth about $6 a year for the alien to acquire such knowledge. This bill also classifies immigrants into those affirmatively and satisfactorily admissible, those to be provisionally admitted and those inadmissible. It places the burden of proof of admissibility upon the alien and, while it nowhere prescribes adequate tests, it establishes a new principle in that the immigrant is considered to be inadmissible until he proves himself to be otherwise. Further, this bill under-

takes to regulate racial animosities and practices by providing for the deportation of those who advocate, teach, sanction, or encourage the extortion of money; or the avenging, through bodily injury, of grievances. This applies also to members of organizations which advocate these things. This provision suggests questions of ethics and niceties of judgment which are bound to be more subtle than accurate. Even a judge and jury might hesitate, without more specific legal definition, to pass upon the questions which such a provision will raise.

Such legislative proposals as are contained in this bill raise questions concerning our good faith in keeping our international agreements because they seek under penalties of deportation to deal with conditions and activities which have not been defined in law; and tend, therefore, to break down the safeguards of law. It follows, then, that the increase of deportable offenses should be safeguarded with the greatest of care. The proposals contained in this bill furnish a sound argument in favor of a comprehensive study of immigration in which the fundamental principles of American government will be the determining element in whatever practical use is made of the data.

The Welty Bill undertakes to formulate a post-war policy and includes as its important features the establishment of a percentage test for the admission of immigrants and the creation of a Board of Immigration. The omission of provisions that deal adequately with post war conditions is all the more significant when it is recalled that the bill is the work of a large organization, the leaders of which have been making a study of immigration for many years.

It is scarcely the physical examinations, or the contract labor law, or the literacy test which is restraining the great mass of people who wish to enter America. It will not

be provisions like restricting immigration to the relatives of those already here that will protect the country. Half of the people of Europe can meet these requirements. Immigration to-day is restrained by technical economic matters like the rate of exchange, the price of steamship tickets, steamship accommodations, delays in the visé of passports, activities of foreign governments and their imposition of regulations. It would appear that what America needs is not more technical regulations, not the extension of hardships, not the erection of barriers based on temporary expedients, but a racial inventory and a formulation of policies, with such general powers as will enable the government to meet any situation as it arises. And it needs more than all a policy of assimilation which will cover the reception, distribution, and adjustment of immigrants after arrival so we can really ascertain if we have assimilated the immigrants who have entered, with a view to determining how many we may wisely admit.

Americans have perhaps too readily assumed that all immigrants can be assimilated with equal ease. We now realize as the result of experience in encampments during the war, and as the result of Americanization work, that some races require many times the efforts needed for other races. Backward races, unfamiliar with our language, form of government, industrial organizations, financial institutions, and standard of living require much more aggressive efforts towards assimilation. Should we not therefore make an examination of the assimilability of the various races and apportion the number accordingly? We cannot safely do this on the basis of the number of those who become citizens alone, unless naturalization is granted only after a more careful discrimination than now generally obtains or than has as yet been suggested. The education of the immigrant in America, the relative

strength of the old nationalistic sentiment, the coöperation extended by the applicant's own government or the reverse, these might well be included among the determining factors.

Thus, the end of the war finds America but little better off in its racial relations than it was at the beginning. Its racial solidarities have become more fixed and more powerful and now have international political aspirations; Americanization has come and gone its way as a national enthusiasm; Bolshevism has left a harvest of discontent and unrest. And such policies as are proposed lack vision and understanding and are not only independent of each other but in many cases are in actual conflict.

In the light of what follows in the next chapter, we shall perceive only too clearly their inadequacy. For Europe reveals unmistakably to us that we stand upon the threshold of a new era in our immigration affairs, an era in which "faith and justice between nations are virtues of a nature the most necessary and sacred; they cannot be too strongly indicated nor too highly respected; their obligations are absolute and their utility unquestioned."

CHAPTER IV

FUTURE MIGRATION

AT the beginning of 1921, with a new administration in Washington, America has a racial situation which for its complexity and delicacy is second to none in the world. England, with its colonial problems, has no more difficult task than has America with its racial problems: for it must bring together, through the leaven of Americanism, the members of many races which have been torn asunder by the war; it must reëstablish between native and foreign born the confidence which the war has shaken; and it must reinstate the faith of the foreign born in its Constitution and in its institutions. Furthermore, in international questions it must have a fine appreciation of the feelings of one-third of its people who are personally and, therefore, deeply interested in foreign affairs; and an equally true appreciation of the feelings of two-thirds of its people who care little or nothing about foreign affairs.

This condition is, in part, the result of our past methods in dealing with immigration and especially of the methods which we have adopted during and since the war. This legacy takes but little cognizance of the problems which confront America with reference to future immigration. For Europe has also received a legacy on emigration from the war which she hopes soon to invest for her own future welfare. Her action in this respect will

create additional problems for America, as well as for all other countries of immigration.

Conditions in Europe and America are vastly different and the fact that Europe and America now hold diverse points of view upon immigration challenges our attention. Europe is a jumble of nationalities, each of which aspires to be a nation. These aspirations culminated in the war; and Europe was reorganized along strictly national lines that are, as yet, only partly nationalistic. As a result, hardly a country in Europe, to-day, is without one dominant nationality—but with several strong nationalistic minorities. Each of these minorities is rooted deep in the soil of race and tradition and is averse to being assimilated by any of the others. The problem, then, is either to coördinate the aspirations and activities of these minority groups with those of the dominant nationality, or to eradicate them by encouraging emigration.

America, on the contrary, is a country which is just awakening to the fact that it is not a nationality but a mixture of nationalities. As yet, there is no problem of minority-nationalities because most of its immigrants have severed the ties which bound them to the land in Europe. When they arrived, they were for the most part prepared to help build up America, and though they gathered together in separate groups, they regarded their future and that of their posterity to be in America. What, then, are the changes due to the war which, depending upon events in Europe, may bring a new epoch of immigration history, in which the willful, hapless wanderings of large bodies of men throughout the world will be discouraged or prevented?

Europe is now concerned with the separation of races, not with their amalgamation. Her tendency is to purify racial strains rather than to mix them. There are many evidences of this tendency. The creation of new states

along ethnological lines has stimulated each race to concentrate its members within its own boundaries. Eventually, each one hopes to prevent all other races from participating in its affairs. France desires no one in France but Frenchmen, and is more than ever discouraging any participation in her internal affairs by other races. Whenever she finds it necessary to use laborers from other nations, it is understood that they will be received upon a temporary basis only. She offers coal and phosphate to Italy in exchange for workmen. Though she agrees to furnish these laborers with food at special prices, and to permit them to form coöperative societies, she gives no encouragement to them to become permanent residents or citizens of France.

The efforts throughout Europe to expel the Jews is but another evidence of this general tendency. Germany has established labor exchanges for the "regulation and enlistment of foreign workers." Even England now requires employers to secure a permit to hire aliens. The exchange of men by a country which has a surplus with one which needs men is becoming a matter of careful negotiation, by which each country seeks to safeguard its own interests, and in which the primary object is to keep the racial strain pure.

Each European nation, to strengthen further its own nationalism, is sending out a call to its own well-to-do immigrants in other countries to return home, at least temporarily. Even where the economic conditions are unsettled, each country now deems it wise to strengthen the immigrant's home ties which it believes have been weakened during the war. Belgium sends out word that she needs her able-bodied men from all over the world. Poland appeals to her emigrants to return. Czecho-Slovakia urges them to visit the homeland and to help build a new nation. Germany has established an

Imperial Department of Immigration and Emigration to undertake the work of bringing her colonists back to the fatherland. In fact, immigrants from all over the world are returning to Europe in obedience to the call of the native land,—a call which many of them consider hardly less imperative than that of the war. The immigrant answers this call, notwithstanding national debts, high taxes, lack of transportation, need of machinery, ruination of roads, shortage of food, prevailing unrest and other adverse conditions in his native land, though he well knows they will make life harder for him for a time. Even the stories of the hardships of life in Europe told by newly arrived immigrants do not greatly affect the tide of remigration, nor quell the spirit of nationalism. From America, alone, nearly four hundred thousand immigrants left during the second year of the armistice.

The reasons for foreign nations being in favor of race separation are not hard to find. They believe, under the present terms of peace, that the economic safety of no nation is assured. They believe that the time will come when their own strength and resources, alone, will determine their fate. Each nation, therefore, deems it to be a first duty to assemble all of its racial members and to infuse in them a sense of loyalty and devotion. It is not of so much moment whether these returning immigrants stay. The essential thing is that they return, become infused with a new spirit of nationalism, and if need be, go forth again, free to acquire new resources for the native country.

The policies under consideration by European countries with reference to the great countries of immigration are taking as definite form as are the policies which they mean to apply among themselves. They now believe emigration to be a manageable affair in immigration

countries, and, in this belief, they are proceeding to formulate new emigration policies. Each country, to which emigration is a vital economic asset, is now considering in what manner it can best control its emigration.

The formulation of such a comprehensive policy involves many difficult questions which each country must decide for itself. For example, should emigration be discouraged or encouraged; in the latter case should emigration be temporary or constant, from the whole country or from certain selected sections?

A policy which discourages emigration would need some supplementary measures, for absolute prohibition would be difficult to enforce. Counter attractions would have to be provided. And in any case, whatever the policy of emigration might be, there would be international policies to consider, which in turn would involve the diversion of emigration on a basis of bargaining.

How are these various plans to be put into effect? Greece illustrates the thoroughness with which they are being discussed, and in a report recently submitted to its government, these significant passages occur:

"We intend to allow immigration, but we intend to arrange it in such a way as to protect immigrants against those who defraud them, and to take care of those who return. We shall establish offices in the second class ports and have one head bureau at the Port of Piræus. The immigration agents and their representatives must file a bond with the state, and they must conform to certain regulations.

"There will be an endowed fund through private contributions and the help of the nation, the purpose of which will be to encourage immigrants to return and to help those who do return. Our first duty toward the re-

turned ones will be in the care of the sick and the safety of their families against all contagious diseases, especially consumption, since unfortunately many of the returning immigrants suffer from that disease. We intend to continue our plans for the returning immigrants and if necessary help them come back to Greece. We think that such measures for the benefit of the immigrants will have a great psychological effect upon them and will accomplish more than if we were to prohibit immigration altogether.

"The recent immigration to America is due to the instinct of the Greek for immigration, but this does not necessarily lessen his love for the old country. The fact that the Greek who immigrates to America does not return to his country as easily as other immigrants of different countries, does not necessarily mean that he has immigrated to America and intends to make it his permanent residence. There are other reasons which prevent him from returning. Some of the reasons are the great distances, the cost of transportation, and the idea that he must return as a millionaire, also the improvident state until recently of the fate and life of the Greek in America.

"During the Balkan War many Greeks returned to fight for the realization of their national aspirations. During the recent war the same thing would have been repeated had it not been for the fact that they were allowed to fight in the American army against a common foe.

"We must admit, however, that the obtaining of American citizenship by the Greeks tends to relax their interest in their mother country. For the above reasons we must encourage, both financially and morally, the returning of Greeks to Greece. The extension of Greek Territory will afford to the 300,000 or more Greeks in America an

opportunity. They will bring to Greece industry, civilization and their love for their mother country.

"Every citizen who has no obligation to serve as a soldier or against whom there is no warrant of arrest, can immigrate after he obtains a passport from the proper authorities.

"By Royal decree, immigration for men and women of a certain age and of all ages, can be curtailed for a short period.

"Every agent must give free of charge to the Ministry of the Interior twenty third-class tickets and sixty half tickets every year from New York City to Greece which will be used for those Greeks who wish to return to Greece.

"The owners of immigration agencies are prohibited from issuing tickets unless the immigrant has first obtained his passport. A list of the tickets issued must be filed monthly with the Ministry of the Interior.

"The immigrant agents, their clerks, representatives and all those connected with them are prohibited from urging immigration by publishing articles, advertisements or through other means. They can only state the name of the vessel, its capacity, date of departure, length of trip and destination."

Many European countries recognize that the ownership of land is a great restraining factor in emigration, so most of their plans include some form of land distribution. Greece has passed an act to permit land owners to keep one-third of their estates, and to compel them to surrender the other two-thirds to the peasants. Applicants for land must be members of the Farmers' Union which allocates the land. The indebtedness may be met by amortization, extending over a period of thirty years. Esthonia is planning to distribute to each of its male

residents fifty-seven acres of land confiscated from the large tracts of the baronial estates. The Finnish Government has under consideration the establishment of settlement areas where the occupation, reduction and cultivation of land will constitute ownership, the government to bear the initial expense of drainage and of supplying the necessary tools.

The improvement of working conditions, as a possible check to emigration, especially in the newer European countries, has, for this reason, acquired a new significance. More attention is being paid to hours of work, methods of management, security of employment, profit sharing, and representation in management in order that working conditions may not compare unfavorably with those in countries which are trying to attract immigration.

The improvement in political affairs, especially of the new nations, has for one of its objectives the prevention of emigration. Many of the new constitutions are modeled along the lines of the American Constitution. Prospective emigrants may then be told that they no longer need to go to America, for has not the American Constitution been brought to them and will they not have similar rights at home, without having to face the hardships of a long journey, and the uncertainties of a new country?

In some countries a strong "stay-at-home party" is developing, and speeches by political leaders are being made along such lines as the following:

"We shall only be respected abroad when we shall be able to support ourselves, when we shall no longer be forced to knock at other people's door (also at the door of those who do not pretend to have a thousand years' history of superior civility) in order to obtain a living, when we shall no longer have to display our rags, our

misery, our illiteracy, to the world; then only shall we gain respect, and not before. The workers who have gone through the war and to whom you have promised work and bread here, in their own country, do not intend to start again the calvary of emigration as they did before the war, but they intend—and they have the sacred right thereto—to work and produce here, and you men of the government and of the directing classes, it is your duty to provide for them."

In proportion as the new governments succeed in making these constitutions vital, the emigrant will be induced to remain. Continued strikes, the failure of the peasants to receive the land promised to them by the government, or to receive the freedom of which they have been assured, will make the imposition of emigration restrictions difficult. But that nations mean in the immediate future to gamble with the destiny and the happiness of their emigrants is everywhere apparent.

In some countries, the stimulation of emigration, rather than its prohibition will, for the time being, best serve their purposes. This will be undertaken by each one of them with as much care and forethought as is the restraint of emigration where that is the policy to be pursued. No longer is the prospective emigrant to follow his own inclination, or to be encouraged to go when and where he pleases. No longer is the steamship ticket agent to be the sole deciding factor. No longer is the letter from his countrymen abroad, even though it contains the price of a ticket, to be the only factor in his decision. As the various European countries gain in stabilization and in power, they plan increasingly to direct the emigration flow and to divert it in accordance with two economic purposes: First, to capitalize its value

in immigration countries; and, second, to supervise its activities after arrival in such countries.

One of the ways by which the value of the emigrant will be capitalized is to secure concessions in return for his diversion to such countries. European nations which now have to count every item in order to pay their war debts and to rehabilitate their industries, are beginning to realize that the country which receives the most immigrants of productive age, and at the least expense to itself, has a great economic advantage. They believe that the exchange of man power for economic opportunities is a proper matter for future commercial negotiation.

Does Argentine, for instance, offer land and a bonus to immigrants, with no bothersome requirements regarding citizenship? If so, concludes the native country, an effort will be made to persuade emigrants to go to Argentine. If persuasion fails, the home country is prepared in some instances to go further, and will supply part of the passage money. Again, does Canada guarantee work to every immigrant admitted? Then Canada will be favored in preference to a country where the immigrant is to be left to shift for himself, or to a country wherein the alien is liable to be deported if he has had work promised to him before he sails. Does the exchange rate of the new country favor the home country? If so, that is a consideration of one kind. Does it pay better to send men to earn money in countries with high rates of exchange? If so, that is a consideration of another kind. As an illustration of the kinds of terms which countries of emigration may impose, those of Belgium are of interest. Because of its need of man power, it has prohibited all adult male emigration unless each man has received a contract to work, and the employer has agreed to pay passport and other fees.

The following are typical of some of the many con-

cessions being made by immigration countries to promote the diversion of emigration:

"The Canadian Government has appropriated several hundred thousand dollars annually to care for and to encourage immigration to Canada. Agents are kept in the principal European cities to care for permanent and traveling exhibits of Canada's opportunities. The government also pays a bonus to steamship offices for every ticket sold for Canada. Negotiations for men were begun between a Canadian official and the Italian Commissioner of Emigration. There was a meeting almost every day, and sometimes it seemed the matter would be arranged, but, unfortunately almost every time a new decree was unearthed the Canadian had to communicate a new condition to his company. The delegate continued these conferences for three months. The conditions imposed on the company by the Emigration Commissioner were so complicated that finally the official left for France to enlist workmen, despite the fact that more than 1,000 Italians would have been only too glad to emigrate to Canada under the conditions proposed by the railway."

"A Committee of the Soldiers' Settlement Board of Canada was sent abroad to take up the question of securing emigrants from Great Britain. It held eighty-three sessions and selected 629 men representing an aggregate capital of over $1,000,000. These immigrants have to spend a prescribed time on farms before they can be settled on their own account."

"Chile offers a hundred acres of land, implements, and other assistance to the immigrant settler."

"Australian provinces will assist immigration, especially those with agricultural experience; advances are

made for improving their farm holdings which they purchase on very small half yearly payments. Like Canada, it also has paid agents to go to Europe to induce immigration. New Zealand arranges with the shipping companies for reduced fares for desirable immigrants."

"Brazil gives not only free passage to all who come to its ports as immigrants, but will take care of them on arrival, transport them to their destination, provide them with tools and seeds and supply them with medicine and care for their families. Brazil also exempts steamship lines from harbor duties and poll taxes. It has already received over 3,000,000 immigrants, half of them from Italy. Italy at one time suspended immigration to Brazil because its measures for the protection of immigrants were unsatisfactory and it declined to remedy them. Immigration was renewed only after objections had been removed."

"Argentina is receiving large numbers of Italians, Spaniards, and Frenchmen, now totaling several millions of population. They have full liberty to engage in any business and to acquire property. Free land is also given to newcomers. Naturalized citizens are exempted from military service for ten years—a point which has considerable weight with some races from Europe who have endured militaristic governments. In the course of three months more than 600 families with some capital from Central Europe have settled in the country. If the stream of immigrants from Germany, Austria, and the Balkan States is strong, that from Italy is not less so. An Italian vessel which recently came into port brought some 800 Italian immigrants, of whom no less than 250 had sufficient money to acquire their own land. Before the war, immigrants arrived without any other means than

their will to work. Today, in addition to this, they come provided with capital for acquiring allotments and land, which enables them to settle with their families."

In considering the adoption of a policy which will enable a country to profit by its emigration, foreign countries are not unaware of the difficulties. Each knows that in proportion as it succeeds or fails in its policies of protection, in its rewards and in the new opportunities granted to its people, will its immigrants listen, whether it counsels them to remain at home or to depart. Likewise, each country realizes that its emigrants will be inclined to follow dictation and accept the assistance which may be offered in proportion as its negotiations are successful with other countries abroad, and as the protection afforded to immigrants is adequate. On this subject, one emigration officer says:

"The diversion of immigration presents a laudable intention but in practice some grave difficulties, because emigration is not an artificial phenomenon; it is not a current which one can easily divert or direct with dams or dykes. It resembles something of the migration of birds; there is something of an intensive character in it, which answers however to given economic conditions that are not understood by emigrants but which they nevertheless obey. The fact is that up to the present emigrants have gone where they wished to go and not where we wished to send them. Does this mean we should not try? No. Let us adopt economic not political regulations even to the extent of grants of free passage."

Countries of emigration, therefore, recognize that successful regulation and diversion of emigration requires the coöperation of all European countries. They believe if, for any reason, one country may decide upon the re-

striction of emigration, that arrangements can be perfected whereby immigrants will not be permitted to leave by ports in alien countries. This is one of the things which, it is expected, the adoption of a uniform passport system will control. It is also proposed soon to hold a conference to discuss the adoption of more uniform measures of protection, to be applied in countries of immigration.

That such coöperation in the future is possible may be seen from the fact that Great Britain, with the best of motives, is at present helping the Syrians who are suffering great hardships and who are in a difficult situation, with respect to peace regulations, to migrate to Canada or to the United States. Some students of immigration think it is within the possibilities that countries may soon combine in an attempt to force the Jews into new territory and the German emigrant into South America or Russia. While America is not unwilling to do its share in caring for the stricken people of the war, the work will be much better done, with less likelihood of racial friction and of unfavorable reactions later, if this country is advised of the exigencies of the situation and of the plans being adopted to meet them.

International labor bodies which are federated in a powerful organization, with strong socialist tendencies, also intend to at least try to control the labor supply and thus affect production in the various countries. For instance, the International Needle Workers have under consideration the establishment of a bureau to control the supply of needle workers throughout the world. One of the objects of this bureau is to socialize industries; to prevent immigration to countries where there are strikes or unemployment; and, should this fail, to connect them with trade unions on arrival in the new countries.

It is also reported that an International Commission

of Emigration has been created by international workers whose duty it is to regulate the emigration of workmen from their native countries and to protect the interests of laborers who are located in different countries than their own. The commission consists of 18 members comprising government representatives, employers and workers. Germany has delegated a workman as representative. The International Workers' Bureau has sent a questionnaire to 42 governments which have joined the Bureau, requesting information concerning emigration, and legislation appertaining thereto. The answers received up till now are of a too general character to enable the Commission to undertake as yet any extensive work.

The attempt of labor bodies to control immigration affairs may be illustrated in another way by the action of the Industrial Trades Union Conference which met recently at Amsterdam. It recommended that social attachés be appointed to serve in different countries for the purpose of keeping the native country informed concerning labor conditions, wage rates, unemployment, legislation and other matters in the country to which they are accredited. Of the duties of these attachés, a report says:

"The social attaché must carefully watch the labor market in both countries, in order that he may be able to give expert advice on questions relating to immigration and emigration. He must know the particular class of workmen called for in one or the other country and the districts where they are needed. It is desirable so to organize immigration and emigration, with the assistance of the social attaché, that each workman may know exactly where he can find work, thereby obviating unnecessary traveling and annoyances.

"The social attaché shall also, in so far as the case lies outside general office routine, represent the interests of the individual workman and the employees of his nation in a foreign country. For this purpose it is necessary that he should be on a good footing with the authorities as well as the employers' and workmen's organizations of the country in which he is working. In political matters he must, of course, observe strict neutrality.

"Such an arrangement, which must extend to the conditions of employment, to the personal protection of the workman, and to the enforcement of acquired rights, can, generally speaking, be arrived at only by agreement between the governments concerned, with the cooperation of employers' and workmen's organizations. To suggest and prepare the way for such agreements is also part of the duties of the social attaché."

It was in furtherance of such international plans that application was made to Federal authorities by American trades unions to have representatives at Ellis Island there to meet the immigrants on arrival; which application has been denied.

The lesson of the war which revealed to Europe the ebbing strength of its hold upon its nationals has not been lost. They mean if possible to be more certain of them in the future, and they intend to bind them more closely to the home country, especially when it is more to their advantage to encourage them to stay abroad than to return home. To assure success, at least two lines of policy are being followed. The first is to have an economic survey made of their "colonies" in foreign lands which will cover their location, properties, and resources. The following summary illustrates the comprehensiveness of some of these surveys:

"In Chile where there are only 14,000 of our countrymen, the collective wealth of this group exceeds half a billion 'pezzi' and consists chiefly of immovable property. There are about 80 firms of which 52 are in Valparaiso alone with a capital of $25,000,000. In Uruguay, we have about 400 commercial houses. In Montevideo, alone, there are 114, representing a total value which exceeds $20,000,000. In Paraguay there are more than 300 firms, with a capital exceeding $500,000,000. In Ecuador, in Venezuela, and in Guatemala, there are more than 300 firms of importance. In Colombia, these firms number about 30, a greater part of them are in two centers of Bogota and Barranquilla. In New York, 280 firms, in San Francisco, about 80, several in Seattle, and others in the leading centers of the United States. The greatest number, however, is in Mexico and Brazil where it exceeds 500 for each of those two states with capital that reach many hundred of millions. In Morocco, there are some 20 firms of which 12 are in Tangiers, each of which is valued from 400,000 to 500,000 francs. In Spain over 300; and in Barcelona, about 130. In Argentine, where the immigration is very considerable, we have over 250 commercial houses, many of them with a capital in excess of five million, while the smaller ones have capital varying from one hundred to one hundred and fifty thousand pesos. If, from among so many millions which are spent by the state for various purposes, and not always useful, there could be found at least $100,000 to be directed to taking a census of the industrial, commercial and financial forces of all of our individual immigrants abroad, this country would have a wonderful picture of her economic expansion."

A second line of policy, which was followed somewhat indifferently before the war, but which has now assumed

greater proportions, is indicated in the intention of foreign governments to control their nationals after their arrival in countries of immigration.

The following excerpts from official reports, and from statements of emigration officials, indicate the nature of the methods which are now in operation, or which are under consideration:

"I believe that the state may be able to assist and subsidize the private enterprises which are directed toward colonization in the new country to which our emigrants are directed, giving due preference to those where our immigrants are better treated. Our Board of Emigration has already considered three forms of state intervention: guarantee of interest to the combination which should there invest its capital; the payment of a sum as a donation; or the concession of loans to colonists."

"By emigration policy we mean one which aims at keeping the emigrant as closely joined as possible to the mother country and at his conferring upon her the greatest possible advantages. One of the first elements of maintaining this policy is to strengthen the bonds between the mother country and the emigrant sentiment of national brotherhood, by maintaining alive and propagating even more the language, and the ideas of civilization of the home country in other states, by offering her political and moral influence which should open the way to her commerce. One way is to maintain schools, and to this end we should coördinate the various existing scholastic institutions in given localities, provide for a wide distribution of school books, provide books for circulating libraries, and great subsidies in money. In South America for instance under the name of master agents, teachers are provided who not only perform school

duties, but help immigrants by furnishing them with information and advice and by exercising sometimes the functions of Consular agents, and where there has been a deficiency of sanitary assistance we have favored the location of our own doctors to whom we offer free passage and a sum for expenses."

"Capital gives an influence which labor does not. Great Britain, with her investment of 400,000,000 pounds of sterling in Argentina, possesses more power than we with millions of men; therefore our capital must follow our men, if we are to have a moral, commercial and political influence."

"Requests for enrollment of whole families have been refused, because the necessary guarantees were lacking. Either the wages were deemed inadequate or the regions to which the emigrants were to go were considered unhealthy or it was held that the parties who were to enrol them did not give sufficient guarantee of that seriousness and integrity which are indispensable in such cases."

"We deplore and should discourage the rivalries existing among rival societies in America, and the dissensions, private animosities and strife for recognition in colonies, for commercial competition, and honorary appointments—these render the position of our agents more difficult because the contending parties naturally wish them to take sides and if they hold themselves aloof they only reap the anger and resentment of every one concerned."

"We must be very glad that the differences of the seasons, joined to the ever increasing extraordinary swiftness of communication permits an always greater devel-

opment of temporary emigration for by this we do not lose our workers who return to us with the savings they have laid up by their thrift. But there is a future also for permanent emigration to countries where land is available and where our capital can follow them."

"We must find some way of making it easier for our emigrants to become foreign subjects, because by acquiring this foreign citizenship they will have the right to vote, will gain influence and our colonies will acquire greater importance. The answer is not to encourage or dissuade them but to facilitate repatriation for those who have lost citizenship by becoming foreign subjects and to modify the severe regulations of the civil code by which the reinstatement in rights is a possibility."

"It must be the object of our greatest desire to foster in distant lands the continued study and use of our language among our countrymen, to avoid being confronted by the painful phenomenon which has taken place in some regions where after two generations of life abroad, our emigrants are still our own although our language has ceased to exist among them."

"We have had under contemplation the consolidation of our societies in America but this can be done only by granting a subsidy and making the subsidy itself subject to conditions. Also a diversity of societies answers our purpose better than consolidations."

While the use of these methods and the establishment of such organizations are not new to Americans, a movement on the part of foreign governments to deal with their nationals through their racial organizations, rather than through individuals, does indicate a new departure.

This changes the situation to a marked degree, for Americans have now to consider, not so much the safeguarding of the freedom of the individual immigrant to express his beliefs as they have to question the right of his organization to take formal action with regard to his beliefs, which in turn may affect the current and progress of political affairs in the native country of the immigrant.

In a country where there is a foreign language press of many hundreds of publications with a considerable circulation abroad, the use of such a press in one country for political propaganda affecting another country becomes of considerable interest.

When racial organizations, with great financial resources, with a powerful press, with ambitious leaders, and with a far-reaching racial economic system, undertake to influence or settle affairs in another country, a situation is created which sooner or later must result in misunderstanding. For instance, a recent issue of a Hungarian paper published in America, which has a circulation of 4,000 copies weekly in Budapest, was recently confiscated and distribution denied to it, because of articles which it contained attacking the native government.

The changing character of these racial organizations which may be so used in immigration countries is also of importance. Before the war, their activities in immigration countries were largely humanitarian; while now they are becoming largely economic. It is the consulate, the foreign chamber of commerce, the branch of a foreign bank, the trading corporation and similar organizations which are now taking up the protection and direction of the immigrant's affairs in America. And the immigrant home, the information bureau, the racial society, and similar humanitarian organizations, if not changed or superseded, will at least become tributary to these more efficient economic institutions.

For instance, among some races it is no longer the individual or the racial committee alone which is bringing to America the families of immigrants in order to reunite them with their wage earners who have been kept here during the war; but a number of overseas or trading corporations have been organized, whose business it is to bring in these families at a cost exclusive of transportation of from $150 to $600 per family. One prominent American bank is now acting as trustee of the funds advanced by immigrants for this purpose to one such trading corporation in America.

So naïve is much of the effort of foreign countries to keep in touch with their nationals that one is not surprised to find the Dutch government, through the Netherlands Emigration League, proposing in all good faith to establish bureaus, not only "to protect our immigrants after their arrival, to see that they reach their destination without molestation, and that they maintain the good reputation of those already here"; but it also is planning to relieve the American somewhat of his Americanization work, by urging its immigrants to stay in America, to learn English and to become citizens; and for this purpose it will make their repatriation more difficult. If America in the future is to receive immigrants at no expense to itself, and is to have them protected and Americanized at European expense, it must be that immigrants in America are considered to be a good investment.

Unquestionably the requirement of certain standards of protection, with reference to working and living conditions in immigration countries, is to be an important consideration in determining what countries will be favored with immigration. Certain countries are already carrying heavy burdens not only on account of the physical condition of their returning immigrants, but also because of financial burdens, due to their failure to suc-

ceed in new countries, a situation often due to the prevailing conditions of employment. The Dutch government has under consideration a plan for calling a conference of European states to consider this very question. This conference, when held, will doubtless raise the whole question of the desirability of having a system of protection which will take care of the emigrant from the time he leaves his home until he arrives at his final destination in the immigration country. It will doubtless take under consideration, also, what will constitute standards of protection in immigration countries and the best means for inaugurating and maintaining them alike in all countries.

Great Britain offers, perhaps, the best illustration of some of the problems which are encountered in the matter of keeping in touch with its own nationals. A recent report on the subject says:

"The Committee, appointed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to consider the means of maintaining a connection between Great Britain and British communities abroad, recently presented its report to the Foreign Office. The Committee was invited to consider a number of proposals, among them the advisability of introducing a system of registration for all British subjects abroad, the advisability of establishing or assisting British schools in foreign countries, and the policy to be adopted toward British Chambers of Commerce in foreign countries. *Communities of British subjects in the United States and Russia were expressly excluded from consideration.*

"Among the Committee's most important recommendations are those connected with education of British children resident abroad. The Committee has adopted as a principle that the Imperial Government is liable for the proper education of the children of His Majesty's sub-

jects even when resident outside his dominions, and recommends that necessary steps should be taken by the Board of Education to subsidize and inspect schools in those centers where the size of the British community justifies the expense. The parents could be expected to contribute school fees and foreign children would be admitted, both for the purpose of distributing the financial burdens on a wider basis, and in order to extend a knowledge of the English language."

This attitude on the part of Great Britain reflects an increasing tendency among other European countries to emphasize education. Provisions for free education and for religious practice in immigration countries will play a much larger part than heretofore in the selection of destinations; on the theory that native countries need to secure a maximum return from their nationals abroad, and that educational and religious facilities advance the economic interests of the immigrant, through his better protection and increased opportunities.

Is the immigrant aware of his new value to his native country and of its eagerness to hold his allegiance? It would appear not. In the future he will leave his home with a heavier yoke of nationalism upon him, but it will be a yoke whose pressure will be gentle because of his willingness to bear it. The emigrant will leave, as he believes, to better his own conditions, but his nation will understand that it is to relieve the economic strain. He will leave, as he believes, to join friends and relatives; but his nation will understand that it is for its own best interests. He will go, as he believes, for his own adventure and success, but his nation will understand that he goes for the glory of the home land, and will, therefore, admonish him not to abjure his allegiance, but to report opportunities for investment and locations for

foreign capital in the new country. It will urge him to do everything while abroad that is in his power to advance the interests of his native land. It will connect him with racial organizations, so he may keep aloof, rather than join in, the affairs of the new nation.

Fraught with danger, as all such movements must be, unless they are openly conducted with the approval of immigration countries, not only to the happiness and success of the immigrant but to the good will between nations, some European nations have under consideration another movement which should cause grave anxiety. The immigrant, between the time he leaves his native country and the time he becomes a citizen of a new country—a period of about five years—has no political standing and the alien group which he joins has no representation at home or in the new land. These nations now propose to give the immigrant located in the new country representation in his native land. This would extend the principle of representation, which is *now confined to colonies in the territory of the native government,* to groups of people *in alien territories,* without discrimination as to whether they were aliens or naturalized citizens.

Under this plan, a group of foreign born people might meet, let us say, in America to select representatives who are to sit in a capital in Europe, there to pass upon policies and questions affecting, not only the home country in its local affairs, but also international affairs. The same group of people might at the same time in America participate in a policy which their own representatives abroad had disapproved. Such representatives would naturally try to influence the country in which they lived upon matters pending between the two countries. These in turn, would seek to secure the support of the racial group to which they belonged, not perhaps for American interests, but for those of the native coun-

try in whose councils they were important personages, though they were comparatively unknown in America. In accordance with this tendency, delegates from American racial groups have already attended conventions abroad which have had a political significance and have reported to their constituents in America the action there taken.

America, with its many races and its millions of foreign born, may well inquire: first, if this would not tend "to divide its own community, and to distract its councils," and, second, what effect these racial representatives, concerning whom it had no knowledge, setting in the councils of foreign nations would have upon its official relations and negotiations with these same foreign governments. The adoption of such a policy by European countries might well mean that America, in addition to its prevailing dual economic system, would, in time, come to possess a dual political system.

Under such a plan organized groups in America would deal officially with political affairs in both Europe and America; questions of European policy would be referred to these groups in America and American initiative and resources would be used as a lever in European affairs. The attitude of nationals in the new country toward affairs in their native country, in view of the unsettled conditions in Europe, might assume a position of great importance, if we are to prevent the growth of race hatreds in America and are not to meddle by subterranean channels in European affairs.

The war has created a number of situations, not primarily concerned with the control of emigrants, which are indicative of the international importance of the problems which are arising. One of these is the adoption of greater precautions to protect from infectious diseases the health of the immigrant *in transit,* as well as to protect the countries to which he emigrates. Several interna-

tional conferences have been held upon this subject; but, even so, some of the measures adopted illustrate that needless hardships are imposed upon the helpless emigrant by the action of his government. This may be illustrated by the new regulations concerning disinfection which are enforceable abroad. These have unexpectedly cost so much additional money for subsistence, that after they have left their home country some immigrants have arrived in America without the required amount, and in consequence have not been permitted to land.

Another problem concerns passports. There is already, under the leadership of Lord Robert Cecil, a Passport and Postal Reform Committee. As a result of the activities of this committee, Switzerland has modified its passport regulations, which have heretofore harassed the foreigners visiting that country; other countries will modify their regulations; and it is hoped that all countries later will adopt a uniform plan. The immigrant is, at present, the greatest sufferer under the passport system, especially when he comes to this country. America has not yet participated in these conferences; but "it is hoped that she will accept the decisions." There are indications that the further use of the passport, as a means to regulate emigration, will be an important question in future international deliberations; and its present status as well as its possibilities may well be made the subject of careful study by Americans.

Dual citizenship, perhaps the most insoluble of all international questions, is awaiting its turn for a hearing. Before the war, it was the subject of innumerable conferences but, as has been pointed out, the very existence of each country is at stake in this matter and a compromise hardly seems possible. In the meantime, the United States sees not only its naturalized citizens but their sons

born in America drawn into the military service of a foreign country. It is impossible to say whether the solution will be a new kind of international citizenship or a movement by foreign countries to encourage their nationals to become citizens in foreign lands, but which countries at the same time will aim to make the repatriation of their nationals, who have become citizens, easier if they will later return home. But some agreement there must be, if for no other reason than to protect the standing of American citizenship.

If this is to be the nature of future policies for emigration countries in Europe, to be carried out as perfectly and as rapidly as their rehabilitation will permit, what is to be the attitude toward them of immigration countries and what policies will they devise? For these intentions of emigration countries, if carried out, cannot fail to produce new situations which immigration countries should at least be prepared to meet. It may be that these proposed policies will be to the benefit of America, and that it may wish to further them; or it may be that they will be inimical to its welfare and America may have to oppose them, or at least to neutralize their effect within its own borders. Whatever has been said concerning these tendencies is, therefore, not for the purpose of stating a final judgment as to their advantages or disadvantages to this country, but is rather for the purpose of stimulating Americans to make a more extensive inquiry, looking toward the adoption of such measures or the opening of such negotiations as may be necessary in its own interest.

Far-reaching future legislative action based upon single investigations, or upon temporary excursions to Europe, with a hasty examination from time to time of prevailing conditions and intentions will scarcely answer the purpose. The situation requires the careful and prolonged

study of conditions in each country by experts who can understand not only the records and policies which will be opened for their inspection but their probable effect upon future affairs. The problem is too vast and the responsibilities are too grave to sanction the enactment of laws from the deductions of one or two people who go abroad, collect a few impressions, make a few superficial observations from crowds of immigrants waiting for passports; and who return either with "news" for scareheads to stimulate race prejudice, or with a policy to be imposed upon the American people.

Many countries of immigration appreciate the necessity for thorough information and for representative conferences. South America has already taken a stand and is ready to negotiate for immigrants, to make concessions, to adopt protective measures, and to fit her plans to those of Europe. Mexico is in the market for immigrants, though upon what terms we do not as yet know. Canada has adopted a selective policy, under which she is negotiating for the labor needed, of the kind she desires; she is specializing on farm labor and is prepared to send abroad commissions and agents to perfect the terms of negotiation. Australia, one of the great immigration countries of the future, is marking time pending the outcome in Europe, and not less in America, for she is waiting to see what progress America will make in its plans for assimilation. Russia, probably the greatest immigration country of the future, is also making her plans to attract immigration. In all of these countries, there is a marked tendency to favor economic assimilation but, as yet, little definite action toward political assimilation has been taken. Indeed, some of them have scarcely, as yet, considered the question of the future political rights of their new residents.

The position taken by America seems to be unique. The

country is concerned, not with the separation, but with the amalgamation of races. It welcomes the immigrant, not only as a worker, but as a potential citizen. It urges him to learn its language, to transfer his allegiance; and definitely to cast in his lot with the new country. Its immigration laws and present policies are constructed upon this theory, and the American is bent upon strengthening these policies even if it necessitates compulsion. He is squarely on record against the admission of races which, he thinks, cannot be assimilated.

These divergent attitudes of countries of emigration and of immigration have not yet reached the point where they have become either the subject of mutual study or of general agreement. America sees little need for action to protect the future, so long as immigrants continue to arrive in fairly satisfactory numbers. South America is content, so long as immigrants create few political problems. Europe, while stabilization is delayed, sees no reason to stem the outgoing tide of emigration so long as it relieves the economic strain at home and advances her interests abroad.

But beneath this apparent indifference, some significant changes are taking place on both continents which should make the statesmen of both hemispheres, who have peace among nations at heart, pause and reflect. These widely diverging policies must sometime be dealt with understandingly and coöperatively unless they are to constitute a future ground for misunderstandings and perhaps for war. For the future migrations of millions of people are threatened with great difficulty to themselves and with danger to nations, when some countries in Europe are bent upon retaining the allegiance and controlling the activities of their emigrants after arrival in immigrant countries, and are hoping to give them representation in their home countries; when other countries, like America,

are bent upon restriction, registration and repression, unless immigrants learn the language and become citizens; and when other countries, like Argentine, are indifferent to citizenship, and are willing to receive and billet immigrants for an exchange of markets. In such a confusion of attitudes and policies the immigrant is likely to be the sufferer.

Before the war America, alone of all the great immigration countries of the world, seemed to have no general agreement in opinion on immigration policies among its own people. Now, for the most part, it seems to be unaware of what Europe is thinking and planning about immigration and of what other immigration countries are doing. It is therefore in no better command of immigration affairs than it was before the war. Its leaders are talking, not about future immigration and its new aspects and responsibilities, but about repression and deportation, and about probation systems—all of which affect the immigrant only after his arrival and do not consider the prevention of conditions which he creates. This indicates that the only future which Americans anticipate is a rush of immigration, and that they intend either to arbitrarily restrict it or to continue in the same unintelligent way to accept every immigrant who comes, if he passes a few physical tests and can read forty words in the English language, or is perhaps related to someone already here. It sees no necessity for expressing to Europe what it either needs or desires in the way of immigration. It is a pertinent question whether, in the face of the commercialization of immigration by all of the countries in the world, this loose idealism of America can prevail. This question should be decided, at least, with a full knowledge of what the rest of the world has in view.

A survey of American activities during the past six

months, during which time there has been a resumption of immigration, leads to the inevitable conclusion that, so far as the whole subject is concerned, we have neither changed our methods nor enlarged our vision. As evidence of this, we find from what information is available that the studies on Americanization, now being published under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation, concern domestic matters only and are retrospective, rather than perspective; and so take us but to the threshold of the new immigration epoch. We find that the method of receiving immigrants at Ellis Island is, as the Commissioner of Immigration has said, "to extend the glad hand to our new immigrants instead of a kick," which is a reversion to the days of Commissioner Watchorn. The present policy is to sublet, without limit, and apparently without much discrimination, to racial, civic, religious or patriotic organizations the reception and distribution of the immigrant. It lessens, but little, the confusion and competition of these various agencies for the government to exclude a few of them, even such important ones as the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion—since in the great competitive rush to welcome him the immigrant cannot well distinguish between the public interests of government and the private interests of organizations. Beyond this immediate welcome, there as yet is no protective *system,* and no organization of the labor market. We therefore regard with complacency, if not cordiality, the renewed efforts of foreign governments to protect their own nationals in America. We find Americanization proceeding upon its own happy way, according to any ideas which its several leaders and organizations may hold, and limited in its efforts only by the size of the contributions it receives and the enthusiasm of its workers.

What our government and business will do with this

mass of well-meaning endeavor, to secure to the country a fuller return from the efforts of these organizations while preserving their entity, is an important question. What the government will do in relation to the future policies of emigration countries, which the numerous endeavors under present conditions hardly affect, is a matter of greater moment. But whether America will adopt an immigration policy which will give to it the position of leadership in the great international world of immigration affairs, which as the greatest immigration country in the world is its natural place, is a question which transcends all others.

Few will deny that these and other questions, which are presented later, should in this country be made the subject of national study and conference, and at an early date be made the subject of international conferences. That the European policies which are now under consideration, and which will affect America, will lend themselves readily to such discussion, is shown by the fact that necessity and not animosity is the motive behind them. That countries of immigration should be consulted in advance of the adoption of emigration policies is a suggestion which will be welcomed, because self-preservation, and not exploitation, is the spur for the present action. In the absence of any authoritative call for such national or international discussion, we run the risk of having these most important matters fall into the hands of class organizations, as for instance the garment workers who aim to control the migrations of all needle workers.

If America is to continue to admit the immigrant, content only with what he appears to be, by reason of a superficial examination at Ellis Island, and with no comprehension of the forces and intelligence behind him and operating through him after arrival, then it requires but

little imagination to picture the effect which these new policies may have upon the racial situation in America. If immigrants are to be sent to us without relation to our prevailing problems and without our knowledge of the objectives of emigration countries, we may well ask what is to prevent America from becoming a country of economic exploitation, a land of many colonies, an objective of racial propaganda, a temporary home, and a source of wealth to Europe; and from becoming a country torn with dissensions and racial antagonisms?

America is in a position to act in this matter, for Congress has authorized the President to call an international conference to consider just such questions as now arise. America possesses the advantage of being in a position to contribute to such a conference the inter-racial judgment of its peoples. Congress has under consideration proposals of such far-reaching importance that they should be made the subject of debate throughout the country.

The mind rises to the possibilities which may result from such a deeper understanding and larger appreciation of the questions involved, and the vision of its full accomplishment will inspire those, who, though they place their own country first among the nations of the earth, know that it, alone and unaided, cannot solve the race problems of the world.

CHAPTER V

RACIAL OPINION IN AMERICA

IN a country which is so largely governed by public opinion as is America the sources of that opinion concerning the problems of immigration are of vital importance. To deal with so complex a national situation and so profound an international situation requires an intelligent and united opinion in America. This can be acquired only by uniting the racial and native born thought in this country. We cannot claim such unity of opinion at this time, for our past immigration policies and the effects of the war have divided opinion among the many races; even as they have separated their economic and social interests.

The character and quality of the racial opinion, which is expressed in America in forty-two languages by thirty-six racial groups, with as different heritages and experiences as their number implies, is of the utmost importance in the state of national and international affairs. The powerful racial publications and organizations provide this opinion with a means of formal expression which makes it a power in American public affairs.

What, then, is the character of this public opinion among our foreign born people? The immigrant in America does not originate it so much as he receives and propagates it; for he has not the leisure, contact, nor knowledge with which to form independent judgments. He is disposed to see things from the old

world standpoint and not from the American point of view. This is often due to his previous education, habits of mind and accepted dogmas. He, therefore, turns more readily to his racial leaders and is reluctant to accept the judgments of American public opinion. It thus becomes a matter of the greatest importance to promote a feeling of reciprocal good will among the various races and of general good will toward America, and to integrate racial opinion so that the American point of view will prevail.

The way in which various racial minds react to American opinion is the guide to racial assimilation in a country, such as America, where it is possible to have such a free and fair exchange of opinion, and where a press has the opportunity to express the thought of its own race and to benefit by that of so many other races.

If the foreign language press, which is the medium for this expression, is to be of value in American affairs, it should not necessarily reflect American opinion, but it should express the most intelligent opinion of the people for whom it speaks. Thus this press would offer to America an invaluable index to the state of mind of the immigrant and to his needs, just as it would offer an invaluable aid to Americanism. But in any event, American public opinion should be the uniting judgment among all of the various racial opinions and the final test in determining the constructive and permanent value of racial opinion to American life. If the tone of this press is largely one of protest, we should regard this attitude as a matter for serious thought. If it is hypercritical, we should ascertain the reason. If it tends to discuss old world affairs, to promote old world theories, to the exclusion of American affairs, we may inquire if the facts regarding America are sufficiently at its disposal. If it places too great an emphasis upon factional differences

and racial antagonisms, Americans then may be concerned lest only the tenor of the discussions in Europe is being reflected in this country.

What are the needs which this press supplies, and the state of mind which it seeks to interpret? The immigrant, when he reaches America, is no longer amenable to the form of public opinion which has hitherto influenced him in his mental processes and affairs. The transition from the simple life of the peasant to that of the factory worker, from the country dweller to that of the crowded city, and from family associations to those of the "strangers' hive" is a wrench to the old associations that played so important a part in his former life.

Even when these transitions are safely made, and when the immigrant is, through his first job, on the way to success the need of expression in some other way than work must be met. It is not enough that interesting things are happening to himself; he must tell them to others and must know how they, too, are succeeding. The immigrant instinctively seeks some medium of thought through which to satisfy his thirst for knowledge and news because he is inarticulate in any language but his own, and because he is in the midst of many strange customs and habits of thought. In a place where ideas and events crowd so fast, he feels much safer and happier when he finds, in print, a sympathetic interpretation or statement of the everyday affairs of life. Otherwise, his new experiences perplex him, the rush of city life oppresses him, and the very freedom of thought and liberty of expression extended to him sometimes tend to unbalance his judgment and to warp the perspective of his own rights and of his corresponding duties in the new country.

Then, too, isolated as he often is from Americans and American life, shut in villages, camps or colonies, he is

likely to have a distorted point of view. It is at this time that he needs help to secure a firmer hold upon the higher things of life, which, because of his absence from family, friends and church, may have been lessened. He needs to be reminded that his aspirations are not necessarily reflected by the glare of a furnace or confined to the ugliness of an average American industrial town. He needs to be freed from racial animosities which cater to purely selfish interests, for they but tend to cause him to brood over fancied wrongs that incite to hatred, violence and revenge. Under such conditions he must have some center of thought and of expression to help him to form his opinions and to steady his reactions. This his foreign language press may supply, and may contribute greatly to his choice to become to America an economic asset or liability, a wanderer or a settler, a tower of strength or a source of weakness.

If this press is important because it holds the immigrant steady in the new country, it is equally important in keeping his family and friends in touch with what is happening to him and in bringing tidings to him from home. All of the news concerning marriages, deaths, births, and social events and the happenings to his friends in the old country, cannot be written in the occasional letter which he receives; nor does personal news in a letter impress his family and friends in the old country so much as when read from a newspaper clipping.

The foreign language press performs another service for the immigrant. It is not unusual for the immigrant who comes to America to have a capacity for appreciation of a high standard of literature and art, which are part of his heritage from an older civilization. Very often, the only things within his reach are the newspapers and the magazines in his own language, the publishers of which, understanding these capacities, feature subjects

—music, literature, art and the drama—in a way which will appeal to him. At the same time, he is curious to know about American literature, art and humor; and to find a way to incorporate their benefits into his own life. Because the foreign language editor cannot satisfy this latter desire, the immigrant subscribes, even before he can read English, to profusely illustrated American journals, and through their pictures derives his first conception of American ideals and life; his impression of public men; and his knowledge of American affairs. If his first introduction to the English language press is by way of the comic supplement, or through the sheets which picture the underworld or which ridicule and disparage a more representative America, then it is important that his former standards be maintained through the foreign language press until such time as he can read the more representative journals of America.

The immigrant and his press in America have also interracial problems to meet. Races which lived apart in Europe and which have dealt at arm's length with each other, largely through diplomatic channels, are required to live and to work side by side in this country. For the first time they as individuals express to each other their beliefs and feelings. In doing so, it may be that they recall centuries of misunderstandings, and even feuds which have existed between their races. It is, somewhat of a new experience for men whose native countries may be at war, to talk things over among themselves instead of communicating through the more formal diplomatic channels to which they have so long been accustomed.

For instance, there are differences to harmonize between races which have their origin in international affairs, and which no English language press can understand. There are rumors to be verified or disproved in

order to insure interracial tolerance. There is the respect of one race for another to be promoted. At the same time, there may be race riots to be prevented, there may be factions to be healed; there may be rival organizations to be satisfied; and many animosities within the same race to be overcome. There are events concerning Fiume, Russinia, Macedonia and Danzig to be handled, editorially and as news, in the same publication to the satisfaction of its readers, who may comprise revolutionists, socialists, independents, royalists and conservatives.

The immigrant also needs to express his approval or disapproval of events in his home country of which he still considers himself a vital part, while he is deprived of political representation in the new country in which he has not yet had time or inclination to become a citizen. Because he neither understands nor is interested in American political affairs, he needs information and American interpretation of the meaning of many events abroad, concerning which the native-born American is indifferent.

This may be illustrated by Albanian and Chinese publications in America.

"The cornerstone of the Albanian national movement in the United States was laid in 1906 by a native of the province of Korcha and a graduate of the University of Athens. In a dark basement of a dingy Hudson Street, Boston, Mr. —— started in that year the publication of a weekly newspaper *Kombi,* with the proceeds of his own manual labor—he was a factory worker at the time because of his ignorance of the English language—and with some voluntary contributions made by a handful of Albanians. The people to whom he sent the newspaper gratis at the beginning, wondered what

it was for; they not only had never seen any Albanian newspaper, but they also were entirely illiterate. Consequently Mr. ——, who was at that time editor, publisher, manager and printer, was obliged to go and explain in person what the shabby sheet of paper meant to be. Out of 5,000 Albanians who were estimated to have been in the United States at that time, not twenty persons could read or write. Today their number exceeds 15,000; most of them have never attended school, and have learned to read and write with the help of the spelling-book and the newspapers which they set to studying during the hours of rest following their hard daily work."

In describing a foreign language publication of one of the older races, a New York journal recently said:

"Ever hear of a newspaper without presses, with a staff of several thousand reporters, no city editor, no linotypers, no compositors, and not a single paid employee? There is one right here in this city and its circulation is one copy. It requires no delivery, costs even its admirers nothing, and has been in existence for the past twenty years. Some night when you are down that way, pay particular attention to the jumble of Chinese characters that are written on red paper and then pasted on the walls along Mott Street. That is it. When a news story "breaks" the first person who learns of the story gets out his brush and red paper and writes it, or rather draws it, on the red sheets, or anything else that may be handy, even the bare wall during the present paper shortage, and pastes it up for his neighbors' benefit. If the story is authentic, it is said, the informer is permitted to paste an advertisement of his wares beside it. It is the official organ of Chinatown, and

at times holds the attention of crowds of the Orientals, who line the street four deep."

But if the immigrant, in America, needs some form of personal, racial, and international expression in order to contribute the best he and his race have to offer to American life, this country too needs some form of expression so it may absorb to the fullest extent this contribution. In order that the immigrant may be able to think in American terms, it is necessary that he have a knowledge of American institutions, of the language, of the ideals, and aims of the country. In order that the immigrant may judge intelligently of American current events, it is necessary that he have a knowledge of the manners, habits, and customs of its people. In order that the immigrant may propagate American opinion throughout his own racial group, it is necessary that he acquire a knowledge of the views of the majority and of the types of thought and speech which have come to prevail. In order that the immigrant may receive recognition that his contribution is a force in the formation of American public opinion, it is necessary that he have some American center of thought or circle of native born friends by which to test and correct his own impressions and interpretations before he gives them final expression.

To meet the needs of the immigrant, and to make his individual and racial contribution available to America, and to interpret America to the foreign born—this is the opportunity and privilege of the foreign language press. What is there to lead Americans to believe that this high privilege is appreciated, and that the opportunity is being used to the fullest extent?

If numbers and variety alone could give the answer, there could be no question of its nature. The circula-

tion of this press is estimated to be approximately 10,000,000 copies; it includes 147 daily newspapers; 863 weeklies and semi-weeklies, and 240 monthlies or semi-monthlies. Of these, 898 are essentially newspapers; 122 are general magazines, 155 are religious publications, and 75 are commercial publications. This circulation is divided among 36 races as follows: Albanian, 4; Armenian, 17; Assyrian, 5; Bohemian, 74; Bulgarian, 3; Carpatho-Russian, 3; Chinese, 8; Croatian, 15; Dutch, 20; Danish and Norwegian, 69; Esthonian, 2; Flemish, 3; Finnish, 32; French, 39; German, 269; Greek, 20; Italian, 185; Japanese, 15; Jewish, 35; Lettish, 3; Lithuanian, 21; Magyar, 42; Polish, 83; Portuguese, 17; Roumanian, 8; Russian, 13; Serbian, 6; Slovenian, 13; Slovak, 36; Spanish, 109; Swedish, 61; Syrian, 8; Ukranian, 8; Uhro-Russian, 5; Wendish, 1.

That this press has, to a great extent, satisfied the needs of the immigrant is shown by the fact that its growth and variety have kept pace with the progress of the racial groups in America. The general magazine supplemented the newspaper; later, the class magazine for religion, art and for the family, found a place. The religious press alone has grown to considerable proportions and now circulates among 11,000,000 members of 26,000 churches, where foreign languages are used. From time to time new periodicals have appeared; until now practically every nationalist society has it own publication, and in some cases has its press.

With the entrance of the racial groups, through their various organizations, into international commerce, trade and commercial magazines have been added to the ever-increasing variety of racial publications. The rapid growth, since the war, of this character of publication illustrates in a forceful way the drift of the immigrant's

mind away from industrial and toward commercial enterprises.

Even the almanac, which is a survival of the home land, has followed the races to America, and must be included in order to gauge accurately the range of this press. It is profusely illustrated, often in colors, which adds greatly to its popularity. It still retains much of its authority, due to the mass of useful information which it contains, concerning historical events, customs, holidays and other matters of racial interest. Wherever solidarity is strongest, the almanac has found a place, and several million copies of such publications are printed each year, which means that there is one in nearly every household of the more recently arrived immigrants.

A recent development in the racial publication field has been the printing of racial magazines in the English language. Sometimes this has been done under the direction of racial leaders and sometimes under the direction of native Americans, or of both. There has been one unique experiment, where a magazine, The Day's Work, containing American material, as well as racial material, was published in foreign languages by native Americans, in collaboration with racial leaders. This magazine aimed to be a vehicle for the best thought in American life, as well as for the best thought in the life of each race.

Since the armistice was signed, a new kind of interracial magazine, international in its character, has appeared. This is in the form of a mutual review, of which the best illustration is *La France,* published in America. This magazine aims to introduce French thought and culture to America; and the proposed *La Revue Americaine* which is intended to be a companion magazine to *La France* will presently be published

in France, to perform a like service for American thought and invention.

With the extension of our commercial relations among races that speak different languages, translations are coming to play a much larger part in the formation of American public opinion. Through translations, there is opened a whole new world of thought and activity to every race, by which each may become familiar with the history, traditions and achievements of the other. The necessity for such interracial knowledge is leading to the establishment of publishing houses, where the art of translations is receiving increasing attention. Sometimes this service, which is most necessary to both the formation of public opinion and to business development, is attached to the foreign language press; and sometimes it is a separate "polyglot" printing house which translates catalogues, educational books and commercial documents.

Here, then, is a network of publications which embraces daily and weekly papers, weekly and monthly magazines, journals of societies, almanacs, commercial magazines and books which are printed for racial groups wholly in foreign language or partly or wholly in the English language. This press has an enormous power to form racial public opinion in America, for it reaches into the farthest recesses of Europe as readily as it does into the smallest hamlets of America. It is the main line of communication between nationals wherever they may be, and is the very center of the racial economic system in America.

At present, it occupies a place no English language publications can fill, because in certain important respects it is supplemental to them. This is shown by the fact that in the present imperfect stage of assimilation, many immigrants, after they have learned to read English, con-

tinue to take their racial publications in addition to an English language newspaper. This continued dependence by the immigrant upon his racial press is due to the many differences which exist between it and the English language press.

It differs in the greater amount of space which it gives to foreign affairs, in which immigrants are naturally more interested than are the Americans; and also in the emphasis placed on racial news and events. It differs in the way it features the old world culture of a particular race—its music, art, drama and literature. It differs in the personal relationship which exists between editor and reader—a relationship which is expressed in the great number of inquiries from his readers, which are answered by the editor himself—and by his association with his readers in racial societies, celebrations, business and public affairs. It differs in its editorial policy, the racial editor in many instances not having as yet, divorced the news from the editorial columns. And finally, the foreign language press differs from the English language press in the character of its distribution, which is national, even with the smallest publication.

When we consider the variety and number of the publications, with their millions of subscribers, it appears that, so far as the readers are concerned, it is supplying their needs for personal, racial and international expression. But it is much more of a question if this press has enabled the immigrant individually or his race collectively to contribute their best to American life or to interpret American life to them. To what extent has this press helped the immigrant to think like an American, to judge American events from an American, as well as a racial, background? To what extent has it propagated American public opinion among its readers and secured for them American recognition of their

contribution to American thought? These questions are to be judged first by the kind of American material which is contained in the editorials, news and advertising columns of this press.

If we take as illustrations from the many racial groups, publications which are typical of the various attitudes, we find the following to be the situation:

Among the Hungarian newspapers in America, one-third of the space is devoted to advertising, one-sixth to news items of Hungarians in America, and one-sixth to news of other countries, one-twelfth to politics of Hungary and one-twelfth to American politics, the rest, or one-sixth, to news from Hungary. In one of the more important Hungarian papers, as much as 25% of the space is devoted to home country matters and 45% to matters affecting Hungarians in the United States. The topics which chiefly occupy the editorial page are: home country politics, the presidential campaign in the U. S., the peace treaty, and after-war conditions at home, such as exchange and cost of living and immigration.

Among the Greek newspapers, fully one-half is devoted to advertising, one-fourth to political questions in Greece, most of it in news form, and less than one-sixteenth to the politics of the United States, and three-sixteenths to news of Greeks in the United States. The topics which have occupied the editorial pages have related chiefly to differences of Greeks in America over the political question in Greece, the peace treaty and after the war relations with Turkey, Armenia and the Allies.

Among the Rumanian newspapers, the proportion of space is reported to be 70% to Rumanian matters in the home country and the remainder to American affairs. The five topics which have occupied the most space on

the editorial pages have been the following: Propaganda to keep alive the numerous mutual aid societies; educational and other advantages of living in the United States; criticism of communism and anarchism, frequently based on reports from other journals; quarrels with other Rumanian-American papers, chiefly over the "attitudes" of the "intellectual" and "labor" papers.

Among the Jewish newspapers, the reverse is true of the proportion of space given to American matters; fully 75% deals with America and American news and only about one-fourth to news of Jews abroad. The five topics which of late have occupied most of the editorial pages have been in the order named: American politics, immigration, racial questions in this country, racial questions abroad, labor and capital. In Socialist Jewish papers the discussion of labor matters is of first importance. Before the political campaign began, the other non-Socialist papers dealt with current questions much as do the English language papers.

Among the Russian newspapers, not quite one-half of the space is devoted to advertising, a little more than one-fourth to the life of the Russians in the United States, about a third to Russian news from Russia and about a sixth to international news. On the political situation twice as much space is given to conditions in Russia, as compared to the conditions in this country. The five subjects which have occupied the editorial pages chiefly in recent months have been the civil war in Russia, the Allied distribution of territory among the different countries (this is the main topic in the Ukrainian and Carpatho-Russian papers), the immigration problem, especially ways and means of returning to Russia, and lastly, various educational activities among the immigrants. Among the most important papers, fully 40% of the editorials and news are on international

matters, 35% on home country matters and 25% on American matters. The conservative papers give more American news, the radical, more international news.

Among the Scandinavian newspapers, about half of the space is given to advertising, one-fifth to fiction and features, especially on literary and agricultural topics, 13% to American news, 10% to Scandinavian news, 4% to international items, a little more than 1% to Scandinavian politics and 2% to the presidential campaign. Earlier in the campaign, however, they devoted three times as much to American politics and a similar increase of space is made when extraordinary political events occur in the home countries.

This press is also to be judged by the part it takes in interpreting to its readers American political affairs. An examination of the interest taken in American political affairs shows that out of 1234 publications which were analyzed in 1919, 7% were reported to be Republican, 4% were reported to be Democratic, 4% to be Socialist, 40% to be independent, and 45% to be non-political in character. Of the 767 publications which might properly have taken a party interest in American political affairs, less than one-half of them have taken any such definite political stand.

At first sight it would seem an advantage to have many independent publications among the foreign born people, but, upon further analysis, it is found that this, in great part, is but an expression of indifference toward or ignorance of American affairs, with a corresponding interest and intelligence concerning the affairs of the native country. This indifference and ignorance are due, primarily, to the fact that the interests of the readers, who are largely non-citizens, lie elsewhere. The nature of American political campaigns is partly to blame for this. So far as this press is concerned, the discussion

of American political doctrines is usually compressed into a few short months, and during the rest of the time the immigrant reader is left to himself or to his district leader. Therefore, for a few months, this press may be for this candidate or for that, for one measure or for another; but for twelve months of the year its interest is in the politics of its native country. For instance, the really bitter strife that prevailed in the early fall of 1920 between the two leading Greek publications in New York, was not over the election of a president of the United States, but over the question whether King Constantine should be returned to the Greek throne; and over this contention the two factions organized meetings and carried on for months extensive propaganda. So bitter was the controversy that the Venezelist printers on the royalist publication struck because a picture of the king was printed in the paper—a thing quite unknown in American journalism. The burning question among the Albanians in America has not been about the high cost of living, nor about the attributes of American liberty but whether Albania should be independent, or whether Southern Albania should be united to Greece, or whether all of Albania should be joined to Italy.

If it is true, as is so often alleged, that a considerable part of the opinion of this press can be bought, it is well to remember that its publishers are not necessarily more venal than others, but through the indifference of its editors to American affairs, and through their political interests, which so often lie elsewhere, they believe that the acceptance of money which ultimately helps to secure freedom for their home countries is an end which justifies the means. Funds collected for relief purposes to be used abroad have been known to be diverted to political uses and, without discussing the ethics of this

practice, it is clear, in the last analysis, that the immigrant and, therefore, his press, really cares more to see the land returned to his compatriots than he does to provide for the immediate comforts of relatives in the home country. If the facts were known we might very well find that in the past year as much money has been raised from immigrants to be used for political propaganda abroad as has been sent for relief purposes. This is understandable, for not every man has the call of a dependent upon him but every man will respond to the call of freedom within him.

When some of these editors have been asked why they have taken no more interest in American political affairs, they have replied that they preferred to take no position upon questions which they knew so little about, or concerning which they had so little opportunity to discuss with Americans, or facilities to obtain exact information. They say they have neither the time nor the facilities, much less the resources, to acquire the knowledge and point of view essential to interesting their readers in American political events. They admit that they are content to be weather vanes on American political affairs, while they aspire to be advocates on home country politics. Where American political education is undertaken, as is the case in the Socialist papers and in some of the leading dailies, it has been a powerful factor in forming public opinion among the immigrants, and in interpreting to them American political thought and events.

In the third place, this press is to be judged by its reaction to the Americanization movement. In judging Americanization, in the light of the coöperation it has received from the foreign language press, it should be noted that both the choice of this name and in many cases the methods of the work have antagonized the

editors. They have come to believe that this movement meant that Americans wished them to forget their language, homeland and heritage. This fear has been stimulated by racial propagandists and some racial business men who saw danger to their own prosperity in the Americanization of aliens, and should Americanization receive too much prominence, threatened the editors with a withdrawal of advertising.

But granting all this, fundamental reasons still remain for the foreign language press being on the whole indifferent or opposed to Americanization. Some of its editors believe that to teach the foreign born the English language will in time make their publications less prosperous and perhaps unnecessary. They believe that to encourage the alien to become a citizen will have a tendency to lessen his inclusion in the racial economic system and eventually will put him in touch largely with American groups. They see in his growing knowledge of America and interest in its affairs a lessening of the demand for foreign information and of the services in which they now specialize. They see in the increased demand for American goods and in the use of American banks, a possible decrease in advertising of a racial character. In this attitude of self-preservation, they are not cordial to Americanization advertising which includes teaching the English language and urging naturalization, even when such movements pay for space in the advertising columns. Thus, there has crept into much of this press a supercilious attitude toward the American and a desire to make light of Americanization; while at the same time they have coöperated in giving publicity to government information, as from the Foreign Language Service of the American Red Cross, for they have regarded this information as important in its effect upon the racial point of view.

On the contrary, other editors see prosperity in a bilingual publication and are publishing considerable material in the English language; they see greater permanency to their circulation if the foreign born become citizens; for then they think they will be more likely to remain in America. In trying to meet the immigrant's widening American interests, they see a possibility of keeping their readers from growing away from them. They see a future prosperity for themselves in publishing articles on American history, literature and American ideas, quite as much as in selling racial material.

It has not, however, been easy for the foreign language press, even when it was willing to do so, to undertake Americanization work. It has had to remember that many of its readers were not in favor of it, and that the financial success of the paper depended upon its furnishing what its readers desired. It has received but little encouragement from the American, who is more bent upon suppressing than he is upon using this press. It has received but little advertising support from American advertisers, to take the place of the revenue which it was likely to lose from racial interests which are unsympathetic to Americanization. In the face of all this, however, there are many publications which have been genuine and loyal pioneers in their efforts to interpret America to the foreign born as the following shows:

"The Czecho-Slovak press in the United States published in 1919 upwards of 520 releases from United States Government departments issued by the Czecho-Slovak Bureau of the Foreign Language Government Information Service and have coöperated wholeheartedly in every effort to provide its readers with authentic and dependable information about the various govern-

ment activities. Practically every representative of the Czecho-Slovak press now has from one to ten columns devoted to information articles in the English language."

That the foreign language press has to some extent failed to do all that its opportunity warranted and that its power permitted, is scarcely an argument for its elimination, for in the causes for its failure there is hope that it may yet serve a great purpose in American affairs. If the influence of this press has been used to emphasize European affairs too much, it is partly because, in this respect, it has had an uncontested field. If its interpretation of foreign affairs has seemed to lessen the attention paid to American affairs, it is partly because it has followed the lines, not only of inclination, but of least resistance. If it has seemed to encourage racial animosities, and if its editorial and news columns have been used to disparage other races in America, it may be that the leaven of Americanism has not yet been sufficiently, nor very intelligently, applied. If it has seemed to ridicule Americanization, and has taken a supercilious attitude toward America, it is just possible that Americanization has not been undertaken in the best way. If it has sometimes seemed to be lax in upholding law and order, it may be that the American has stood too aloof to have his own unmistakable attitude understood. And where there is evidence that a part of this press stands in opposition to American institutions and beliefs, it may be said, finally, that it is the American's responsibility, and not the alien's, to unify public opinion and to have American public opinion prevail among all people in this country.

There appears to be reason to trust the potentiality of this press for the assimilation of immigration, even though it has in the past so often fallen short. If the war can be taken as a test, much to its credit are the

millions of dollars raised in war funds, as are also the stabilization of foreign born labor during a period of abnormal production, the steadiness maintained among races throughout the onslaughts of Bolshevist propaganda and its contribution to law and order. Much to its discredit, however, are the utterances of disloyal publications, and the promotion of Bolshevist and other radical doctrines. As a matter of fact, a large majority of such utterances are confined to a small percentage of this press. A hopeful sign is the fact that the moderate leaders of this press are so firmly in command that the I.W.W. and Communists, since they have been unable to control or to buy the established journals, have had to begin the publication of new journals in order to carry on their propaganda.

This policy of moderation has been maintained since the war, notwithstanding the lack of confidence accorded to this press by the American public, and the lack of support from American business and from the American government. As an illustration, the government called upon this press to support the war, and regarded as disloyal papers which did not contribute a considerable amount of free space. When the war was over and the government disposed, through paid advertising, of its surplus war supplies, appropriations were denied to this press on the ground that such action might be considered to be a recognition of its existence. It is unfortunate that so little distinction has been made between loyal and disloyal papers, and that suspicion and denunciation have become general, the immediate effect of which has been further to isolate racial from American opinion.

This loss of confidence by Americans is due, in no small measure, to the character of the personnel of the editors. Among them are to be found the fanatic and the zealot, the propagandist and the scientist, the patriot

and the profiteer, the workingman and the capitalist, the honest man and the crook. They include distinguished scholars and travelers, as well as men who are without education or training. It has among its leaders men who are devoted to the promotion of the highest causes, as well as men who can be bought and sold for this cause or for that campaign. There are among them those to whom hatred, untruth, and vituperation are anathema; as there are others whose every utterance seems to spread poisonous thought among their readers. With so wide a variation in personnel—too wide to secure to this press the measure of confidence which its great responsibility and opportunity deserve—there is likely to be, in time of disturbance, just reasons for distrust and suspicion.

Another cause of distrust is to be found in the character of the activities of its first trade organization. The idea of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc., was conceived by a native American. He placed a foreign born salesman in charge of it who was without a peer in his field, and who became its president. The foreign language press seems to have paid a heavy price for its membership in this trade organization. What the publishers gained by meeting a few Americans at public dinners, through increased advertising, which they could not have secured without outside help; and through recognition from Americans by invitations to participate in some of their public affairs was evidently offset, to a considerable extent, by the business methods employed by the Association and by its first president. As members of the organization, they printed, among other things, its membership seal in their publications, which stamped their approval upon things about which they knew little or nothing. They attended meetings, with all expenses paid, without knowing their real purpose or how the money was provided for

such expenses. When they carried out the orders of the president they were allowed to charge high space rates; and when they refused, the rates were reduced, with little regard to the rights of, or benefits to the advertiser. They found themselves often committed to obligations in regard to which they were never consulted—some of which, be it said to their credit, they refused to perform. A considerable part of this press lived for eight years under as perfect a form of autocracy as could be operated in a free country.

Under the leadership of this Association, many of the foreign language publications performed services and followed methods which brought them into disrepute with American advertisers and advertising agencies as well as with the American public. When war was declared, and the Senate Judiciary Committee made an investigation of the methods of this trade organization and found, among other things, that part of a notorious enemy alien fund had passed through its hands to be used in this press, public resentment turned into a clamor for its total abolition and all foreign language publications were required to obtain permits; or else to publish in two languages all matters dealing with the war and with the government. During the period of the armistice, this clamor increased, and many bills were introduced in Congress, and in the various states to abolish this press.

At this juncture, a group of native Americans, who saw a grave danger in leaving 15,000,000 people without a normal means of expression, bought this trade organization, and placed its management under a control whose Americanism could not be questioned, thus relieving the foreign language press of its former corrupt domination. The new ownership reasoned, that if this press, by legitimate advertising from American sources, could be made self-supporting, then its anti-American elements would

slough off, and it would be stimulated to do what the English language press had done through its various associations—clean up its advertising, news, and editorial columns, and effect a separation between the two latter.

In setting about this task, however, the new management soon found that it had encountered the power of the whole racial economic system. For racial reasons, some publishers would not coöperate; for business reasons, some American advertising agencies withheld their support; and for competitive reasons, rival racial advertising agencies disparaged its efforts. And on grounds of prejudice and distrust of this press, generally, the American advertiser offered but little patronage.

The Americanization of this entire press, therefore, remains an aspiration rather than an achievement. Unquestionably, however, there can be no surer way for the rehabilitation of this press in the eyes of the American public than through the adoption by it of sound business principles and organization. This is what the present management of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, Inc., is attempting to inaugurate. It is a question whether the foreign language press, as a whole, excepting those journals already operating on sound business methods, can, without American business support, be turned into a first-class American business proposition, in which the following principles will be incorporated: that it must be without subsidies in any form, and wholly self-supporting from revenues derived from legitimate advertising and a bone fide circulation; that this support must come from American, rather than from foreign sources, and must at all times be openly accounted for; that its personnel must include able business men who are citizens and who have constant American contacts; that its management must increasingly include men of unexampled integrity who will handle, to

the satisfaction of American advertisers, questions of rates, circulation and service; that its service must include only those practices observed by native American journalism; and, finally, that it assume the responsibility of dealing with the dishonest members in its own profession.

There are some who believe that if American national advertising support is given to this press, it will indefinitely prolong its existence in America. Careful thought has been given to this objection by those who favor this support, who believe their position to be sound for the following reasons: The foreign language press, as now operated, is not dependent upon American national advertisers. With fewer foreign born people than now, for half a century this press has flourished, without American national advertising support, until to-day, it is not only independent of it, but in some cases, prefers not to take it in competition with racial advertising. For instance, advertisements by American banks which urge that money be invested in America, sometimes are unwelcome, as against those of the racial banker who urges its transmission abroad. Again, this press is commercially valuable to foreign interests which will see that it does not suffer for lack of advertising support. The increase of immigration also renders this press increasingly important to foreign interests, so there is little likelihood of its being seriously handicapped by the withdrawal of native American patronage. When the tide of American public opinion was most unfavorable, it showed not only a resourcefulness which stood the war strain, but it also was able to surmount the difficulties due to the paper shortage. This, in itself, indicates that it does not depend primarily upon Americans for help in crises. These, and like considerations, have led the American advertiser, who patronizes this press,

to the conclusion that its feeding by American advertisers, and not its starvation, will further assimilation and will aid American prosperity.

But nothing less than the application of essentially sound American business methods will persuade American business men to pursue such a course on a larger scale. Nothing less will secure to this press American esteem. And, most important of all, nothing less will assure to it the coöperation of the English language press which, on the whole, is now opposed to it and without whose friendship it cannot eventually serve a great purpose.

The American English language press has a rare opportunity to show both its patriotic insight and vision by the recognition of the fact that this foreign language press is supplemental to it. It can show this in a practical way, by favoring the extension of credits to foreign language press publishers, by including this press in advertising campaigns, by placing experts at its disposal to assist it in its business organization, and by inviting its members into conference. But its most important duty beyond all others is to include the reliable publishers of this press in its trade organizations, in order that the foreign born editors may obtain the American point of view.

Even though the English language press, in order to promote a united public opinion, undertakes all of these things, it is doubtful if the foreign language press will realize its potentialities for Americanization unless it is furnished with an American news and feature service which will provide the information which the immigrant seeks about this country. Because there is no such news service, many of these newspapers clip their matter from English language publications or receive it from less responsible sources. There is, therefore, too much promi-

nence given to the commonplace affairs of America like robberies and disturbances, and too little to more important matters. As many of these papers circulate abroad, misconceptions and misinterpretations concerning American customs and institutions are spread among readers in foreign countries to the corresponding disadvantage of America.

Is it too menial a task to set a standard for 10,000,000 readers, many of whom desire to know about America and how Americans do things, and for what they stand? Some Americans think not, and believe that they will see the day when the best leadership in the foreign language press is joined to the best leadership in the English language press, to the enduring benefit of the nation.

Looking to the past, we behold a foreign language press at war within itself, without American guidance and with little American sympathy and support. We see it gifted with opportunity and staggering under a load of responsibility yet led by an indifferent leadership. We see it isolated from American public opinion, with no sympathetic relation to the English language press. We see it floundering along upon an unsound business basis. We see it as a fertile field for propaganda. But with all this, there exist the aspiration of many of its editors to serve the best interests of the great country in which it exists, and upon whose prosperity its own success depends.

Looking into the future, we see the possibilities of this press to interpret a great country to millions of strangers; to keep at peace in one land the fragments of thirty-two races which are more or less at odds with one another in their native lands; to express the racial judgment of their own people, and to integrate it into American public opinion; to further American ideas, trade, and commerce; to improve industrial relations between employers and immi-

grant workingmen; and to cement international relations through its power over its own racial groups.

It apparently does not possess the leadership to grasp this future. It is, therefore, for the leadership of the American press to disdain to be the instrument of racial prejudice; and to master the entire journalistic field for the best interest of all Americans, whether native or foreign born.

PART II: AMERICAN BUSINESS

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CHAPTER VI

BUSINESS AND IMMIGRATION

ALTHOUGH the epochs through which immigration to America has passed have been so largely industrial in character, American business has taken far less interest in the subject than is generally supposed. And toward future immigration, already on the verge of becoming an adjunct to international commerce, American business still remains indifferent. And yet, the whole subject, as we face it to-day is first of all a dollar and cents affair.

Much as some of us would like to dwell upon the humanitarian movements which should be part of this period of reconstruction, there is no mistaking the spirit of the age which is impatient of all else while the economic task remains undone. The question which we are to consider in the succeeding chapters is, therefore, whether future immigration will pay.

Business all over the world is proceeding on the theory that this is an economic age; one in which material welfare, individual profits and the control and development of resources and of man power will take precedence over everything else. It is but natural, then, that business leadership will count for most, and that there will be no peace throughout the world until the material prosperity and economic stability of all countries are more nearly

equalized. This is the logic which has made immigration so largely an economic question. It partly explains what sometimes seems to be the selfish point of view of business, since it is willing to leave to others the aspects of immigration which are not concerned primarily with the day's work. Much as business men may be tempted to participate in general immigration movements, they know that unless immigration is a paying investment for the country, for themselves, and for the immigrant, everything else connected with it will fail.

Up to the present time immigration has paid better than any other single element in production. This is true because it has cost industry comparatively nothing to secure immigrant workmen; it has cost little per man to maintain their efficiency; and it has cost comparatively little to replace immigrant man power. This hitherto unfailing source of supply has kept down the cost of production and has increased output. American business then should be prepared to deal with the new questions which will be involved, if there is to be a change in either the volume or in the quality of immigration and if it is to become a matter of state economics and regulation between nations instead of a matter of individual initiative. For it is production which will be most affected, if the trend of immigration is unfavorable to America. If, in the future, deposits of men are to be as much a matter of competition to protect and to control as are deposits of ore and oil, it is to business that the country must turn for assistance in meeting the new problems of immigration.

The tendency of government to rely upon business organizations to deal with the grave problems which have resulted from the war is illustrated by the manner in which France and England, in their different ways, are

meeting the present situation in which racial relations play so large a part.

France is concentrating her attention on internal affairs, and the minds of none of her leaders are to be diverted from the task in hand. Her people are working long hours, harvesting great crops and saving, even when there is a surplus. She is patiently repairing the ravages of war at each minute and specific point. There, unrest is being quietly controlled by the exclusion from power of its leaders, by the circulation of a sense of prosperity, by the equal distribution of available necessities and comforts, and by the elimination of "undesirable foreigners." Everything in the country is French and for the French. Competition in its internal affairs is desired from no other race. The country through the united efforts of all her people is rapidly being built into an economic fortress; a fortress which, it is hoped, will withstand not only the revolutionary tendencies of the present age, but also the economic wars of the future.

Great Britain, keenly alive as is France to her home problems, is concentrating her attention upon the stabilization of world affairs. She believes that the internal solidarity of no one nation will be strong enough to preserve the present economic order so long as Soviet propaganda continues. She sees the imminent disintegration of the present economic order, so long as the smaller countries are at war; so long as the backward races are neither self-governing nor safe from new oppression and despoliation, and so long as the new republics, which owe their birth to the collapse of Russia, are without stable governments. Great Britain sees also the imperative need of wide vision and careful judgment in dealing with the many nationalistic claims and movements springing up on every side; in settling complicated boundary questions whose determination is fraught with difficulties; and in

stemming the Bolshevist tide, which is appearing in countries ill-adapted to embrace a Soviet régime, such as Egypt and China. She accepts her share of the responsibility of deciding whether a country shall have an autonomy, a mandate, a plebiscite or complete independence.

But in America, government and business coöperate less sympathetically and openly than abroad. Of late, government and business have been inclined to go their separate ways. When such aloofness extends to international affairs, the results cannot but be disastrous to American interests. Nothing, perhaps, illustrates better this truth than the way in which immigration has been dealt with by business in the past and the way in which it is regarded to-day.

Business confronted by the evils which have resulted from a decrease of immigration and from an exodus of the foreign born, and from infection of the immigrant with Bolshevism, has turned from international to local solutions for the problems thus created. It has proposed measures that are largely local and individual in dealing with lower production; with increased cost and inferior quality; with decreased efficiency and increased pay; with the rising cost of living; with the display of extravagances; with the spectacular instances of enormous profits; with unrestrained speculation; with the use of leisure primarily for amusement; and with the prevalence of strikes, and disorder, and employment.

Later, when the cause of these conditions was found to be largely international in character, such as a reduced supply of men and material, the disarrangement of industrial organization, or Bolshevist propaganda, business persistently applied to one or all of them remedies that reckoned little of events outside of its own immediate field. Strikes for this reason have been deprecated and adjusted, as though they were purely local affairs. Bolshe-

vism has been fought only in localities where it has dared too prominently to raise its head. Retrenchment has been counseled only when extravagance ran too high. Production has been spasmodically urged to meet the mounting cost of living. Business has been tirelessly on the watch to prevent local disasters, but it has made few attempts to bring together its forces to meet the general situation.

The dangers inherent in this highly developed local point of view, and in this superficial method of handling situations, have already shown themselves in two important aspects of immigration affairs in this country, with which business has been called upon to deal. The first of these was the appearance of Bolshevism. When the Bolshevist propaganda reached America, the business man regarded it as a new species of anarchy. It was not until its activities began to show in increased unrest, in "striking on the job," in unusual demands, and in increased labor turnover, that business began to take a serious interest in the phenomenon. When the usual measures of relief were applied—increased wages, shorter hours, or better working conditions—business found that these palliatives had lost much of their efficacy. Then only did business discover that it was dealing with sources of power not only beyond its knowledge and control, but located far beyond American borders. Business then learned that the speakers, literature, and theories which were upsetting plant production and morale came from centers which it could not reach and that they contained arguments which, because they were international in scope, it did not know how to refute. Much of this propaganda was in a language which business men could not read, and it dealt with forms of thought with which their workmen were often far more familiar than they were themselves.

What was the real nature of the attack which business was so slow to appreciate? Bolshevism relied upon formulæ and alleged facts which were economic in character. For those who recall chiefly the newspaper headlines, it may be well to repeat a few of these formulæ and to show the nature of the alleged facts which were used in their support.

Bolshevism's first formula was that "labor creates all wealth," and therefore capital is unnecessary and all private property should be abolished. To convince the credulous of the genuineness of this formula, its leaders twisted and distorted excerpts from books written by economists. They did not hesitate to garble statements of leading authorities on history and current affairs. They did all this, secure in the knowledge that the great mass of people who read them did not know the original sources from which their "proof" was drawn.

Bolshevism's second formula was that "the profits of industry go to the employers and not to the workers"; and the general slogan used most frequently by them was, "go after the works." To support this formula, its leaders published statistics, data and illustrations which were taken for the most part from corporation statements and from financial reports. Information concerning costs and earnings were presented in such form, and in such part, as the Bolshevist writers saw fit, and were generally sent out as "official information." Rarely did the Bolshevist publicist deal in generalities. Much of his skill as a writer lay in his ability to give the impression that his conclusions were always based upon "facts."

Bolshevism's third formula was that "the capitalistic system was nothing but human oppression and injustice" —the mildest terms of description used by its propagandists. Public occurrences, such as industrial accidents and accounts of excess profits, were worked up with

painstaking care in support of these charges of oppression and injustice. The skill with which the details of each story were presented was indicative of the high degree of efficiency with which the whole Bolshevist program of propaganda was developed.

Bolshevism's fourth formula was that "no job is safe under capitalism" and, therefore, capital should be abolished by "direct action." The workingman was advised to "work as slowly as possible," and to "strike on or off the job," whichever proved most effective.

An illustration of the kind of facts used to support these formulæ is shown by the following excerpts from an editorial in one of the radical publications which is typical of the teachings of the various revolutionary bodies which though they maintain separate organizations, all have the same common destructive aims.

"Do you know that the income of the United States in 1915 was 33 billion, while in 1918 it was 73 billion, an increase of over 100%?

"Do you know that labor produces all wealth and without labor no wealth could be produced?

"Do you know that only 38% of the people of the United States actually labor; 36% are the young, old and crippled, while 26% do no work of any kind, yet receive the best of everything?

"Do you know that we have 400 more millionaires in 1918 than in 1913?

"Do you know that the workers (the only wealth producers) pay, every year, 602 millions in rent, for the privilege of living on the earth?

"Do you know that you pay 668 million dollars every year in interest?

"Do you know that 2,136,000,000 dollars is extracted from your labor power every year in the form of profits?

"Do you know that 376 persons in the United States receive an income from rent, interest and profit of 200 million dollars every year?

"Do you know that the children of fathers earning less than $450 per year die at the rate of 170 per 1,000 before they reach the age of 3 years?

"Do you know that children of fathers earning between $650 and $850 per annum die at the rate of 100 per 1,000 before they are 3 years old?

"Do you know that children of fathers earning between $850 and $1,000 die at the rate of 80 per 1,000 before they are 3 years old?

"Do you know that only 60 per 1,000 under three years old, die whose parents earn $1,250 and over?

"Do you know that the profits of the 'big five' were 95 million dollars in 1918?

"Do you know that the profits of the American Sugar Refining Company in 1918 were $6,661,683, and this is in the year of sugar famine?

"Do you know that the United States Department of Labor in Bulletin No. 232 states that the labor cost of a pair of welt lace shoes is 36 cents?

"Do you know that the 36 cents represents the wages of the fireman, the bookmakers, the watchman and the superintendent as well as the wages of those who handle the product directly?

"Do you know that the total amount of labor time necessary to make a pair of shoes is 86 minutes?

"Do you know why a pair of shoes cost as much as $12 and $15 a pair? It is because 67 persons in the United States receive an income of $6,000,000 yearly from rent, $21,000,000 from interest, $84,000,000 from profit and $178,000,000 from dividends, a total for only 67 persons of $289,000,000.

"Do you know that out of 171,691 school children

examined by the Board of Health it was found that 29,781 were perfectly nourished, 104,908 were on the border line of under-nourishment, 31,718 were greatly undernourished, and 5,284 were in a chronic state of undernourishment?

"Do you know that 100,000,000 dollars were voted in Washington in 1919 to feed starving Europe? 78,575 children in New York City died in 1919, and 12,568 of them were under one year of age?

"Do you know that New York City has 50 Baby Health Stations, and in 1919, out of 20,000 quarts of milk required there could only be supplied 9,000 quarts because the Dairymen's League (a combine of six men) desired to hold up the city for ransom?

"Do you know that when asked what they did with the surplus the Secretary of the League stated that they gave the milk to the pigs and that it was no concern of theirs that 11,000 children had to go without?

"Do you know that if you wish to stop this contrast, poverty for the workers and riches for the idlers, you must join the One Big Union known as the I. W. W. and unite with your fellows so as to put a stop to all exploitations and assure to the workers the full value of the wealth that they themselves create?"

The Bolshevist program was entrusted to trained workers, able publicists, expert investigators and capable speakers and writers. They were engaged in a cause in which they believed with their whole hearts; but they were supported by a considerable constituency which hoped to profit by the downfall of capitalism.

Effective opposition to this program lay with industry through a counter reply to the propaganda; through an anticipation of misstatements by giving workingmen the

facts concerning industry and capital; through the promotion of personal contacts between management and men; through the granting of an increased participation in profits; through the greater assurance of security of employment; and through finding new incentives to production. To carry out such a program required no less able leadership and a no less well trained staff than that to which it was opposed in the Bolshevist camp.

When it dawned upon business interests that the attacks of Bolshevism were not so much against government as against business; when it saw that it was not the Republic but capitalism which Bolshevism wished first to destroy,—what did business do? Did it analyze the nature of the attack? Did it unite its forces and concentrate against it? Did it assemble its leaders to plan a counter campaign and to unite judgment under capable generalship?

It did nothing of the kind. True, here and there an enlightened trade organization dealt intelligently with the menace of Bolshevism; but more often it listened respectfully to an exposé of its methods and then debated whether or not it would contribute $100 to a campaign against it. In the meantime, thousands of workingmen all over the country were giving regularly a large part of their week's wages to revolutionary funds. It is true, that some corporations also carry on a desultory campaign among themselves. They paid for messages against Bolshevism and bought space in the press for their distribution. They contracted for space on billboards and bulletin boards. They financed moving pictures and paid for speakers and promoted educational measures and publicity. Local business paid local men to conduct local anti-Bolshevist campaigns and expected them to attack an enemy, concerning whom they themselves knew little, and of which their campaigners knew less. In all of this spending few business men worked together, and no in-

telligent, rational plan of action was developed, and no general staff under competent leadership was selected to prepare and execute these various campaigns.

In all of this misdirected and disorganized effort on the part of business men, they forgot, if indeed they ever knew, what Bolshevism really was; and it became common to confuse every species of liberal thought with radical action. The simple principles of Lenin's formulæ—the abolition of property; the gospel that every man who eats must work; the theory that the hand worker is the equal of the brain worker; and the proposition that there should be established a dictatorship of the workers—all of these principles which were essentially economic in their nature, were completely ignored.

At this time two significant things were happening. While Lenin was adopting capitalistic methods to promote Bolshevism in Russia, Bolshevist leaders in America, in order to promote Bolshevism, were attacking the very methods which their chief was adopting in Russia. While Lenin was using economic formulæ to promote Bolshevism in Russia, business was resorting to political methods in America for its defeat. This anomaly is but one of many which occurred.

In furtherance of his own concept, Lenin's new program for his followers in Russia included factory discipline, the Taylor System, rigorous control of individual efficiency, a compulsory minimum output, piece payment and premium payment for all above a certain standard, and the employment of specialists at high salaries.

This inconsistency between the teachings of the disciples of Lenin in America and the acts of Lenin in Russia would have given American business men a ready weapon with which to check Bolshevism, had they but known of its existence. In the one instance, where Lenin's own rules regarding "iron discipline" were printed in a radi-

cal newspaper in America, over five thousand protests were received from readers who made inquiries regarding the truth of the statement or denounced it as untrue.

If American business, as an organized body, did little to oppose Bolshevism, the management in certain plants did much, and it is to them that America owes much of its rout—for it is only a rout and not a defeat; as Bolshevism has been driven in, not out. Also a considerable part of its rout was due to the American Federation of Labor. A special attack was made upon the conservative element of this body and there have been many times when that leadership was near dethronement. This organization, alone among all other international labor bodies, has refused to deal with radical international bodies which are defending Bolshevism.

Bolshevism, thus unable to capture the first line of industrial trenches—the basic industries, or the second line of trenches—organized labor, has now changed its methods. Its leaders have concluded that capitalism cannot be overthrown from without, so long as the efficiency and prosperity of the present order prevails. It is now quietly boring from within industry and is establishing personal contacts to educate the workingman. It is waiting for a business depression to further its ends. In furtherance of these more intelligent tactics, Lenin has said:

"It is impossible to construct communism without science, knowledge, culture, and this reserve is in the hands of the bourgeois specialists, who are accustomed to living with the capitalists and working in their interests. Among them, many do not sympathize with the Soviets. And without them we cannot build up communism. It is necessary to disarm them with the work of commissaries, with the work of the communists, with the environments of comradeship, with the friendly workers' and peasants'

activity, to make them work in accord with the worker-peasant army."

There are many business men who believe that the raids of the Attorney General, the sailing of the *Buford,* the activities of the New York State Lusk Committee, the expulsion of the Socialists from the New York Assembly, and similar repressive measures, are responsible for the apparent rout of Bolshevism and for the present security under which they assume they now live. There are others who believe that these measures have only further demoralized the alien worker, and that deportations and laws will not prevent men from trying to secure steadier jobs, more pay, better conditions and a share in management; whether the route is by way of a recognized body like the American Federation of Labor, or by way of an outlaw body, like the Communist Party. This extract, from a western journal, tells at least one side of a story which the employer rarely sees:

"A well known employer said to me the other day, 'I know all my men are loyal and true blue. They are happy and contented. They do not need the teachings of American democracy. They know them all by heart. Labor papers only contaminate them.' His smug contentment roused me to the serious question of realities. For five days I rode on the same cars at five o'clock with a number of his workmen. And this is what I discovered: No. 1, John J——, an Englishman, was reading 'God and My Neighbor,' by Robert Blatchford, England's greatest socialist writer. John informed me that this country was rotten to the core, ripe for the overthrow and due for a terrible lesson at the hands of the proletariat. No. 2 was American born, from American parents. He asked me to read this paragraph. 'There are but two nations in the

world—that of the exploiters and that of the exploited. The more powerful is the prisoner of the other, and we all belong, proletarians of battles, to the one that is vanquished. Such is the tragic, mad, shameful reality. All the rest is but foul superannuated sophisms which will bring the world's end by mere force of absurdity—if slaves remain slaves.' No. 3 was a Pole. He had been over here eleven years. He had letters in his pocket from his old father in Poland, telling him that the Bolshevik government was their only hope. This contented workman was reading 'Soviet Russia.' He was the most ardent advocate of the Proletarian Revolution. No. 4 was a Swede from Stockholm, a socialist from his boyhood days. All he could see in the United States was the chance to make enough money to buy a farm in Sweden. He admitted that he worked his passage over as a coal passer on a ship out of Liverpool and ran away from her in Boston. At forty-two years of age, with a Swedish wife and three children, a ten acre chicken and berry ranch, a Ford car and fifteen hundred dollars in the bank, all made since the war, he still found the country 'no good.' When I asked him for his reasons he said quickly: 'She ban one damned capitalist country.' No. 5 was another American born citizen. He said he was a Republican, a Spanish War Veteran—a follower of Teddy Roosevelt. I asked him about these workmen. His reply was characteristic: 'I tell you, frankly, what I feel about it. Most employers are asleep. The American business man is a hopeless optimist. You can't make him look facts in the face. He sleeps on the edge of a cyclone, like a babe in a swingcot—he is due for a rude awakening. Even though these fellows are making lots of money they are discontented and disloyal to Uncle Sam. They are better fixed now than ever before in their lives, but they want it all and still hanker after the old country. They

have been debauched by Socialist and revolutionary propaganda put out in this country by men like themselves. They were at outs with everybody and everything in Europe, now they are sore at everything in America.' "

In the effort made by public authorities to defeat the spread of Bolshevism, the immigrant was made to pay the heaviest penalties. While many native born were also engaged in spreading Bolshevist doctrines, aliens alone were raided and arrested, because the Attorney General could secure convictions only under the deportation law and not in the courts. This led the public to believe that immigrants were the chief offenders.

American business is now beginning to pay the cost of these methods in the loss of immigrant man power, in lessened production, in resentment toward American methods of justice and in the general loss of morale among the hitherto well disciplined and amenable immigrant workingmen.

Thus Bolshevism furnishes an excellent illustration of the way in which business regarded the first invasion by international agencies of American business. As an experience with foreign influences in American industrial affairs, it has a national value if it but leads to a better preparedness in dealing with manpower questions which have an international significance.

A second movement of an entirely different character, but also involving the foreign born, was Americanization. This also knocked at the door of business, but instead of increasing its troubles it offered to solve them and business was again misled, not so much with regard to its character, as to its possibilities. Many industrial leaders, in their desire to be patriotic and also to shift some of the burdens of management, opened their plants to Ameri-

canization activities, and thus patriotism and production became hopelessly confused. Plants began to create Americanization Committees, and to install English language classes and to require workingmen to have their first papers, in order to hold their jobs or to secure promotions. To "fire the alien first" came to be regarded as good Americanism.

But business soon asked the inevitable question, "Does it pay?" It then found that Americanization could not as a rule financially justify its existence in business organizations. Most cost sheets showed it to be an unimportant factor in increasing production at a lower cost. Where it did prove to be of value, it was discovered that better results at less cost were usually achieved by the community than by the plant. Thus, workmen were required to have first papers to hold their jobs, but in time of labor shortage this proved to be more expensive than did the labor turnover which was due to their non-citizenship. That part of the Americanization program which comprised the teaching of the English language upon company time, and which has been adopted by many concerns, seems in some cases to have paid, but its value in relation to the cost of immigrant turnover has never been definitely proved.

In deciding whether Americanization paid, few employers ever consulted their immigrant employees, either as to their desire to be Americanized or concerning the best way in which to undertake the work. They judged of its results largely by its technique. If classes for English were full, then it was held to pay; if men under compulsion applied for citizenship papers, then it was assumed that they would remain at work in America. But Americanization also alienated the immigrant from the native born American. Some of the reactions of the immigrant to Americanization are already beginning to find their

way into cost sheets. It was unfortunate that the various Americanization campaign came just at the time when the immigrant's friends and family at home were threatened with extinction and when frantic appeals were reaching him for help. Americanization in some subtle way thus came to mean to him a turning of his back on them and a loss of his identity with the things which he had known all of his life. So, instead of responding to the appeal, the immigrant came to distrust classes in English; he failed to follow up his application for citizenship, and he conceived a thorough dislike for the word Americanization and for everything connected with it. It was more than dislike; it was distrust. He saw no vital connection between Americanization and his daily life—a life usually so hard, so simple and so elemental, that unless he found practical proofs of the teachings of Americanization in his day's work, he did not believe greatly in its sincerity.

The immigrant, therefore, shut the door, perhaps needlessly, in the face of well intentioned Americans. He was highly critical and contemptuous of new advances that Americanization made. He applied practical everyday tests to the sincerity of the movement and expected superhuman results from outsiders who, because they were not an influential part of business, were unable to assure him of its economic benefits. He compared the alien baiting and the raids and the public utterances of unfriendliness by prominent Americans with the more specific personal promises of the Americanizers. Then he cast up his own balance sheet and, according to its showing, went forward with the Americanizer, or stayed with his racial leader, or joined the Bolshevist, or returned home—whichever course he thought held the most promise for his future.

The wisdom of including Americanization in industries

is still a matter of nation wide controversy. The Associated Industries of Massachusetts is committed to a program for teaching English in plants to immigrant workmen; while industries in other states are opposed to it. This subject formed one of the topics of a three days' conference which was held recently by personnel managers. They were about equally divided in their opinion upon whether it paid well enough for them to recommend that English be taught on company time. The Packard Motor Car Company, after years of experience with compulsory citizenship, has abandoned this work at a time when other industries in Detroit are planning its introduction.

Those who oppose Americanization say that since both its introduction into a plant and its control are governed, by mixed motives, it creates suspicion and unrest among foreign born workmen. They say that Americanization movements which aim to help native born people to understand the immigrant, and vice versa; that Americanization expositions which are held to acquaint the native born Americans with the arts of other races; that Americanization courses which propose to teach the principles of racial relations and which provide for the training of instructors to teach English, all these should unquestionably have the support of business; but only on condition that all Americanization work is kept out of the plants.

There are, however, many employers who differ from this point of view and who see in its by-products alone a justification for introducing a widespread Americanization movement into industry. As representing this point of view we may take the report of a conference committee, representing ten of the leading industries in the country, in which it says:

"The need of Americanization is now recognized as a national problem. Radicalism in the United States finds its most fertile field among those of foreign birth who cannot understand the English language and who have in no way been made a part of American community life. If we invite them to come among us, perform our labor and share in our self-government, it is our duty to them, to ourselves, to reveal to them the spirit of our institutions. Otherwise, when they rebel against law and order under which alone freedom can endure, it may not be so much their fault as our own. Education is the solution of the problem. The education of the alien should include:

1. "The teaching of English; a common language is first essential.

2. "The imparting of knowledge in regard to the United States, its government, its history and traditions, its institutions, and the advantages of citizenship.

3. "Instruction in the fundamental economic principles of American industry and the property rights of individuals and corporations, upon which the security of the nation and of the individual depends.

"Americanization in a large industry may well be carried on by the industry itself, with or without the Americanization service provided by tested local agencies; in the case of a group of small industries much of this work may well be done by existing, approved Americanization agencies; but in all cases the official sanction and backing of the industry is essential.

"Americanization work to be successful requires the full coöperation of the various racial leaders and of the local organizations coming in contact with the immigrant. Often it is desirable to organize an Americanization Committee in which naturalized Americans may well be members. Plants having Industrial Representation plans have

found such plans of great value in furthering Americanization work. In fact, an Industrial Representation Plan in itself may be made to play a very important part in the employee's training in the democracy on which American institutions are based.

"Americanization should not be forced, but rather aliens should be shown the advantages of citizenship, thus creating a desire on their part to become citizens. Through the public schools the children of aliens should be encouraged to interest their parents in Americanization. Any Americanization work encouraged by the corporation should not be confined to the plant, but should include the promotion of higher ideals within the home.

"To start and carry on successfully the education of the alien, the following suggestions have been found useful:

"Maintain a nationality census of plant employees.

"Call together racial groups of non-English speaking workers, tell them of the opportunity offered to learn English and to study the American government and American customs, and emphasize the advantages that should result to them by attending the classes. The assistance of the supervisory force and of promient foreign born citizens should be utilized in impressing them with the importance of this matter.

"Trained instructors are essential, and where an industry carries on the work directly, such instructors may be obtained either from existing agencies, or by having suitable persons already in the industry trained for this work. The native born American has proved most successful in handling groups of several nationalities. Classes of paid or volunteer teachers should be carefully trained to carry forward practical instruction in Americanization.

"Follow up those who start in the Americanization Classes. Assistance should be given in obtaining first citizenship papers and the alien should be actively en-

couraged and followed up until he has secured his second papers.

"In promoting aliens considerations should be given to increased efficiency growing out of Americanization courses. This will come about naturally, as an employe who can speak English is of much greater value than one who cannot.

"While in principle it is preferable that employees should attend classes on their own time, there are circumstances when it may be desirable for them to attend either entirely or partly on company time.

"Classes should be graded so as to meet the needs of beginners, of those more advanced, and of those soon to take out their second papers. An English course should provide both a vocabulary of the home and the community.

"The foreman should be educated to consider the alien as a potential citizen and to offer sympathetic assistance which will stimulate in the alien a proper attitude toward his work, and a real appreciation of American ideals and principles. This interest on the part of the foreman may be enhanced by having the foreman perform important parts in the Americanization program just as in other shop activities. All citizens should be educated to the necessity of fostering a closer relationship between the foreign born and our industrial and community life."

While business has thus allowed its attention to be diverted by what have seemed to be temporary aspects of immigration, fundamental questions have remained untouched of insuring a labor supply, of using the immigrant as an economic asset, and of planning a system for his distribution and adjustment. The necessity for interesting immigrants to remain in America, by urging them to acquire property interests and by bringing them into

contact with American business institutions has escaped our notice. The plans of European countries, by which, as part of their plan of stabilization and commercial expansion, they mean to be masters of immigration have not been recognized. Unless business takes up these matters and does its full share in economic assimilation, which is a task it can delegate to no one else or to no other organization, assimilation must fail, for the simple reason that it pays neither the immigrant nor the country.

What after all is a sound program for economic assimilation which will pay? Will any other measures of assimilation be ultimately successful unless an identity of interest is established between the native and foreign born, through industry by means of production; through commerce by the use of American products; through the press by unity of public opinion; through insurance by providing security against disabilities; and through banking institutions by savings and investments? Here is the program for business, within its own field upon which the country must rely for this essential work—the economic assimilation of the immigrant.

The great problem of the assimilation of immigration is by the war transferred from social and political and educational fields to the economic field. The important thing is to merge the parallel economic systems—racial and native American—which now prevail. Business organizations like merchants' associations, chambers of commerce, and rotary clubs, have a great opportunity to bring together foreign born and native born business men in discussion, in plans, and in profits. Identity of interest will destroy class and racial lines more rapidly than will any other one thing. Industrial organizations like manufacturers' associations and employers' associations have a great opportunity to bring together

native and foreign born producers as well as workingmen. The establishment of plants whose managers and employees are wholly or in considerable measure of a single race does not conduce to assimilation nor does the industrial alignment of one race lead to any unity of effort favorable to American industry. Banking organizations like the American Bankers Association, the Savings Bank Association, the express companies, the insurance organizations have their own responsibility to unite the men of all races in America in a common financial program. Not less important is the unity of public opinion for American interests; here the great journalistic organizations of America as well as the leading American publishers have the privilege of bringing together the leaders of racial and American thought in America to secure a unity of American ideals, ideas and policies. No business organization need go far afield to do a thoroughly good task of assimilation, for it is to business that the outcome of the war has assigned the major responsibility for incorporating the immigrant fully into American economic life.

If economic assimilation of immigration is to be accomplished in this way, to what extent is American business prepared to carry it through, not only for the immigrants who are as yet unassimilated, but for the thousands of new immigrants who are now arriving?

First of all, immigrants have been admitted on the theory that there is an abundance of employment in America. But even so, is business prepared with a system to receive and distribute the immigrant to places where he is needed? Unless there is a proper organization of the terminal facilities of its labor market, can thousands of immigrants be so placed to-day that there will not be in one place a conspicuous surplus of labor and in another a dearth of labor? Can immigrants in

search of work, who drift from place to place, receive that protection which will predispose their native countries in favor of America as a destination for their emigrants? *Nothing less than a system of distribution, which will promote the identity of interest between native and foreign born, will eventually lead to the immigrants' choosing America as a home and in his giving to it his loyalty, because of his interest and success in the day's work.*

Second, immigrants have been admitted on the assumption that we have vast tracts of land that need cultivation. We point confidently to the fact that most of the incoming immigration consists of peasants; and then to the fact that vast areas of land are yet waiting to be put under cultivation. We assume a connection between the two which hardly exists. In fact, there is enough land to absorb all of the incoming immigration, if American business were prepared to help the immigrant to reach the land, and to stake him at the start, as other countries are doing. Can we expect that this will be done by the thousands of racial employment agencies whose profits are greater from the artisan than they are from the farmer? Can we expect that the desultory efforts of a few states, which have inadequate appropriations, and which send representatives to Ellis Island, or elsewhere, to pick up a few unattached immigrants, will provide the needful system? Is it not a shortsighted policy on the part of industry to divert immigrants from farms, and thus materially lessen the supply of raw materials and raise the price of foods, which in turn increases their own cost of production? Later this is sure to hamper them in markets where other nations can sell more cheaply. *There are granges and farmers' organizations whose responsibility it is to direct the assimilation of immigrants, through land tenancy and ownership. We shall hardly succeed*

with economic assimilation until they are prepared to include the immigrant in their program and to do their share of assimilation.

Third, immigrants have been admitted because for the most part those already here have been successful. We affect not to be concerned about the vast amounts of money which are sent home by immigrants, or by the fact that Liberty Bonds and our own government securities are sold in exchange for foreign securities. But is there not something more at stake than the mere amount of money involved? Is not a property stake in a country the best way to hold the devotion of the immigrant? We know that his personal interest follows the money interest which his savings earn for him, and which add to his own wealth and comfort and happiness. *Nothing less than a system for reaching and safeguarding these savings for investments will bring about assimilation through the pocket book, and American banks should be prepared to undertake the project.*

Fourth, immigrants have been admitted while the American standard of living has been rising and not deteriorating. We hear, with the rising tide of immigration, that the American standard of living may be endangered. What is this standard but the use of American products and facilities bought with the wages we pay immigrant workmen? Does the immigrant really desire to live in inferior homes and eat less food, and dress more poorly, and have fewer comforts and luxuries than his native born neighbor? The remedy seems to be a matter of acquainting him with the American standards, of interesting him to buy American goods, of inducing him to live in American houses, and of showing him the use and kind of foods adapted to this climate. It is the practical effort of convincing him that comforts and even luxuries are within his reach. He will then be

against American institutions no more than is the man who has a good job to defend or a good piece of land to till, or American securities to protect. *Nothing less than the merchandising of American products, so they will be within the knowledge and reach of the immigrant upon his arrival, will preserve the American standard of living and will make it the objective of the immigrant workman.*

And if each of these institutions—the industry, the bank, the farm, and the shop—were separately to enter upon this task, would we not be disappointed in the results, unless they could find a way to work together? The immigrant is the common object of all their endeavors. He is now enmeshed in a racial economic system. Can American business, each group by itself, compete with this highly centralized and effective racial system? As each American business group takes up its own part in economic assimilation, it will find itself drawn more and more into coöperation with others. If, then, immigration is a matter of dollars and cents, it is this racial economic system which business must study and absorb. Neither Bolshevism nor Americanization nor any other activity can be effectively opposed or supported so long as this integration of foreign and native born interests and activities remain unaccomplished.

As we analyze in the succeeding chapters the opportunities and responsibilities of each business group we shall, if we see immigration in the broad way in which Europe conceives it, find ourselves drawing closer together in conferences and confidence and in business enterprise. In no other way can a subject which reaches beyond our shores into the very heart of Europe be wholly appreciated, with enduring benefit to America, with justice to the immigrant and with full integrity in our international relations.

CHAPTER VII

IMMIGRANT MANPOWER

SINCE the effects of any change in European immigration policies will show first in the quantity and quality of production, it is to industry that we turn for the first solution of our post war problems of immigration. If, then, the country must rely upon American business to do its full share in economic assimilation, what part will industry undertake and how well is it equipped to carry its end of the load?

The first responsibility of industry is to see that America has a sufficient supply of labor to maintain American production with a fair margin of profit, and at the lowest possible price to the consumer. If its work is well done, there should be neither an under nor an over supply. Furthermore, it should provide for reserves to be called upon when needed and to be taken care of when idle. The very nature of American industry makes such an organization of the labor market an imperative duty and involves at the outset a consideration of immigration; for certain industries are almost wholly dependent upon immigrant labor, as it is impossible to secure for them a native supply at any price.

Immigrant workmen mine three-quarters of the output of iron and coal. They constitute the bulk of labor in the lumber camps. They are used almost exclusively to build our tracks and roads and to keep them in repair. In all forms of construction immigrant labor predominates. The building of houses, delayed first by the war

and then by the high price of materials, now finds itself seriously handicapped by the shortage of immigrant labor. Immigrants bake one-half of the bread in America, refine one-half of the sugar, prepare four-fifths of all the leather, make fifty per cent of the gloves, shoes, and silk, and make ninety-five per cent of all our clothing. Sixty per cent of all packing house employers are foreign born.

What, then, is the situation with regard to both the present and future supply of immigrant labor? In the matter of numbers, there seems to be but little likelihood of a permanent oversupply of the kind of workingmen America requires. This conclusion is based upon losses sustained during the war because of immigrants who failed to arrive and because of those who returned home. It is also based upon the temporary character of much of the incoming immigration and upon its lessened adaptability to American needs.

Before the war, immigration to America was at the rate of about 1,000,000 immigrants a year; but during the five year period of the war, it received only 1,880,205 people. Assuming that the number of yearly arrivals would have continued at the normal rate had there been no war, this represents a loss to America of 3,500,000 immigrants. A further loss was sustained in the half-million immigrants who, during the same period, returned to their native countries. Of the 4,000,000 immigrants who might have come to America or who might have remained here, had there been no war, at least three-fifths of them would have been in the producing class.

Assuming that the present increase in immigration will meet our expectations in numbers, what are the facts regarding the availability of this new immigration since the war for the kind of work America needs to have done to increase its production and decrease its cost? The significant aspect of recent information on immi-

gration is not so much a matter of numbers as of quality. Even though they come from the same countries and have the same qualifications, yet they are a different people for the war has changed them far more profoundly than it has affected those who live in our own country whether foreign or native born. Their attitude toward America is not the same as that of the immigrant of yesterday. The changed relationship of nations toward our own is bound to affect the attitude of new immigrants. There is no blinking the fact that America for the time being has lost much of the respect and confidence of European nations and therefore much of the spirit of coöperation in its people who come here. The effect of it is already seen in foreign markets, in the discriminations against American goods and will inevitably appear in production, because immigrants will seek only the material advantages and gains in America, with less and less interest in building up American business through increased production and a higher standard of output.

The present immigrant is not so eager to do the kind of work which America most needs to have done. This changed attitude on his part may be due to several reasons. He may have become affected by the Bolshevist doctrines which pervade Europe, or by the independence granted to his home country. If he is a reservist and has fought in the war, he tells us that he expects something better from America than the rough work he did before the war. If he has been through great hardships in the war, he says that he is not looking for an immediate job, but for an opportunity to escape from the results of the war in his home country. In any case, when he arrives in America, he is averse to doing hard manual labor. This changed attitude of the immigrant toward manual labor, considered in terms of production, compares unfavorably in capacity, adaptability, skill and will-

ingness with that of the immigrant who is returning to Europe. A balance to our credit in numbers may thus be more than offset by differences in capacity and willingness to work.

The employer, therefore, is making discoveries which are disturbing. In the near future he may not only have to employ two immigrants to do the work which one was able to do before the war; and he may not only have to pay them the same rate of wages which the earlier immigrant now receives; but he may have to deal with a new kind of workman who brings with him the Bolshevist theory of "working slowly on the job." Moreover, the employer finds that the new immigrant is more restless and more eager than was his predecessor to get something for nothing, which again adds to the increasing cost of production.

The employer also finds that in addition to the labor turnover cost, which is increased by the migration of immigrant workman that industry as a whole may have to bear in the future a new burden, namely, that of immigration turnover. Few American plants have kept the records of labor turnovers by races, but in one plant where such records were kept, it was found that among native born employees the turnover was 66.8% while among those of foreign birth it was 104%; that among foreign born employees who were *naturalized* the turnover was 82%, while among those who were still *aliens* it was 110.9%. It costs this plant about fifty dollars per head to hire and train each new worker, upon this basis, a further analysis of the labor turnover showed that for the native born the cost per unit of increase was $163.41, while for naturalized foreign born it was $194.17, and for the unnaturalized foreign born it was $523.36. Incidently, these discoveries illustrate that there is a practical value to industry in keeping native and foreign born

workmen separated on all cost sheets, a plan which few employers so far have adopted.

Many aliens who had been regarded by American employers as "settled" have become imbued with a spirit of nationalism which has created a desire to return to the homeland. This creates an immigration turnover cost. For instance, who can estimate the cost to American industry of training aliens to a point of efficiency in production and organization methods, only to have them return to Europe as competitors? Who can estimate the cost to American industry of converting the inexperienced peasant who is undernourished by the war into a well-conditioned experienced workman, only to have him return to Europe to produce goods in competition with American products? Who can foresee the cost to American business of receiving a million immigrants a year and teaching them American methods and helping them to acquire technical skill and instructing them in the English language, only to have half or more of them, in an unfriendly and unsympathetic attitude toward American business and toward America itself, return to the lands of their birth?

There are some who believe that American business is under obligation to make such a post-war contribution to Europe. Granting this, would it not be well for the American business man to know, not only that this is such a contribution, but also what it costs? Then, if he continues so to contribute, it would be because he was willing to do so, in full confidence that he was meeting the cost in a businesslike manner. Only by complete knowledge and by the adoption of business principles in all of our immigration undertakings will the avoidance of resentment in our future commercial relations with foreign nations be possible.

Business has sustained another loss, due in part to immigration which, though less obvious, is none the less real. This is the deterioration in the quality of American workmanship during and since the war. The pressure under which war work was done has increased a natural tendency toward a somewhat careless workmanship. But another cause is to be found in the loss of immigrant workmen. The absence of that leaven of steady, careful plodding which the immigrant puts into his work is beginning to tell, especially in basic industries. So, also, is the lessened amount of his quality of thrift beginning to show itself in the increase in waste and breakage within plants.

Being a prodigal nation, we are so much in the habit of not counting costs that we rarely consider the immigrant as an addition to our resources as well as to production. Each adult immigrant now costs Europe about $2,000 to raise him to the age of production. For the millions of laborers who might have entered, had there been no war, this is equivalent to a loss of many billions of dollars to America.

It is not manufactures alone which must bear the burden of a shortage of labor, due to loss in numbers, unavailability, and inadaptability, for the losses are distributed over all fields of production. Each year there is a shortage of labor on farms. It has become so constant as to be a chronic condition which we take as a matter of course. Farmers, hopeless of ever having the situation remedied, now habitually count on a heavy percentage of annual waste, or plant only such crops as they think they can market with the available labor supply. This is even more serious when we consider that since the war the demand for farm products has increased over thirty per cent, because of the conditions abroad and of the increased wages and of the higher standards of living which

prevail in America. The farmer cannot meet this demand because of the labor shortage which is estimated by official authorities to be at least twenty-five per cent.

In spite of the rise in prices of farm products and the general excellence of crops, it is becoming more difficult to hold immigrants on the farms. This exodus is not due entirely to the call of the city or of the homeland. One-half of the total immigration into Canada last year consisted of some 50,000 farmers from the northwestern states who left in response to an aggressive campaign which was carried on by Canadian agents in that part of the country.

To meet the shortage of farm labor, Mexicans were imported into a few of the southwestern states. But that relief promises to be but short lived, for Mexico, having to import Chinese labor to take care of the situation created by the loss of its own native labor, is strenuously opposing further emigration. A proclamation has been issued by the Mexican government which seeks to prejudice Mexicans against emigrating to the United States. It states, among other things, that the contracts made by American employers with Mexicans have not been respected by the former; that the lack of knowledge of the English language has prevented Mexicans from securing their rights in this country; that they are subjected to this treatment because of the hostility of American workers; and that they are unable to return to Mexico because of conditions which prevent them from saving enough for transportation.

Those who regard the importation of Mexican labor as the solution of the American farm labor problem will, in the light of these facts, scarcely continue to place much reliance upon the importation of temporary labor. Under such conditions it is a question whether America at this time can consider the inauguration of any policy of

admitting labor under temporary contracts as a method of permanent relief. It will hardly be advantageous for America to secure such laborers for a year or so, if it arouses such national resentment as is reflected in the Mexican proclamation. We should know the net results of this experiment with Mexico before we adopt a national policy of this kind; otherwise, our future supply of labor may be affected to our disadvantage, and may even influence unfavorably our commercial relations with other countries. In any case, we should consider carefully whether we are in favor of a policy which is so great a departure from the American belief that the immigrant should become a permanent settler.

It has become almost a habit of mind for the American to deal with the question of immigrant labor, one day as a matter of oversupply, and another day as one of undersupply. But this limited view must give way to the larger one of securing a base of labor supply which will enable us to call upon it when needed and to hold the surplus in reserve when it is not needed. In the past it has been too often the case that when emergencies arose we would rush out to find labor and when the emergencies were over we would expect labor to take care of itself. If we would avoid such methods in the future, provision should be made which will insure greater security for both industry and labor.

The organization of the labor market is, however, more easily proposed than accomplished. It has been undertaken by business, by labor, by the Federal Government, and by the State governments. But, so far as the immigrant is concerned, the private employment agency of his own racial group is still the chief means by which he secures work. One reason for the failure to organize this market is, that the need for such organization has not been apparent. American business has been able to

pay the cost of the present inefficient and extravagant methods which lack the intelligence and skill necessary to receive, distribute, and place the immigrant at work on arrival. The immigrant still finds his way to the plant through his racial employment agencies or through his acquaintances and by the same means finds his way out again. Steady and unchanging as the immigrant may be in his home country, ever he goes from plant to plant and from town to town in America, each change causing a loss of time and a depreciation in skill. Government no less than business has been a failure in not perceiving the prime necessity for the organization of a *business system* to receive, distribute and adjust the immigrant with the least possible delay and waste. The precarious existence of the United States Employment Bureau, which expanded during the war and then shrunk to its normal existence, is so well known to business and labor alike for its inability to adjust the labor market, that it needs little more than a passing comment.

It is because business still regards the reception of the immigrant and his distribution as a matter to occupy the attention of philanthropists, civic and social workers, missionaries, and representatives of racial societies that foreign countries are looking askance at America and considering whether they will not divert their immigrants to countries where protection in a more responsible way can be assured. They are not greatly impressed by the "glad hand" which is offered to their immigrants at Ellis Island. They know that this will not act as a balm to their immigrants when later they are despoiled of their small savings with which they had hoped to start life in America. The assumption by the American that the remembrance of this first, and perhaps only handshake from an American will cheer the dark hours of the skilled immigrant workman or the university trained man who

starts life here by digging ditches; and that it will, in a measure, compensate for the isolation and discriminations which later characterize so large a part of the immigrant's experience, makes no corresponding appeal to the native country of the immigrant to which immigration is a matter to be measured on a dollar and cents basis, in terms of the money which the immigrant sends to his home country.

America has permitted Europe to organize the immigration market, inasmuch as Europe now decides who shall leave and how many and under what conditions. The policy of selection and direction which prevail to-day is hers. For does she not follow her various nationals into strange lands and protect them and recall them if need be? Not the least of the reasons is our failure to organize the labor market and to provide the necessary facilities and safeguards for taking care of immigrant labor and for assuring to ourselves an adequate future supply.

But if nations have found a way to follow their nationals into immigration countries, Lenin has demonstrated that he has found a way by which internationalism can go further, because his propaganda has already followed working men into production—whether they are workers in the most remote lumber camp or in the most perfectly organized factory. So the American employer has to deal with the immigrant, not only as an international person in the labor market, but with him as such at work in the shop or mine or camp.

Few business men realize to what an extent the war has accentuated the internationalization of the immigrant. To-day, the smallest employer or banker in the most remote American industrial village is now called upon to deal with questions which have their origin in circumstances quite beyond his conception, and with forces which

have been in existence for centuries, that are now operating through thousands of miles to reach him. He is, in most instances, quite unaware that the immigrant is quite a different unit of power from the native born workman. The immigrant has traditions, customs, habits of thought, and centuries of inheritance which the employer generally knows little about, and because of this ignorance, he may offend unwittingly, thus causing a lasting resentment. The immigrant workman is the subject of solicitation from forces across the sea that the average employer hardly more than suspects—be they the propagandist from Russia, the appeals from his family in Europe, or the importunities of his native government. He has worries and responsibilities, the extent and seriousness of which the employer cannot possibly imagine, especially when he has his own mind fully occupied with questions of wages, housing and production. When the immigrant workman goes home, it is not to a consideration of affairs which the Americans readily understand, but it is more often to read his foreign language papers or to talk with his friends about conditions in the native land and what can be done to help change them.

The average employer is inclined to regard these conditions, if brought to his attention, as more bother than the immigrant workman is worth. His chief remedy is to provide a racial boss or foreman to handle these men in squads, and if this plan fails, to dismiss them. As an illustration of how little racial elements are considered by American business in labor stabilization, one need only consider the unrest which prevailed among the foreign born when the armistice was signed. Immigrants, unable to hear from home, or unable to send supplies and money to their people, deserted their work in the hope of returning home; or, at least, of getting as near to New York as possible, so they could hear through new arrivals

or metropolitan racial agencies about their families and friends. To facilitate the sending of relief abroad and to assure its arrival at destination, Mr. Herbert Hoover perfected a warehouse food draft, which could be bought from American banks, and which when presented abroad through the American Relief Administration would guarantee deliveries of food up to a specified amount. Employers were asked to coöperate in selling these drafts, so that a greater amount of relief might be sent and be assured of safe arrival. From both the humanitarian and economic aspects it would have paid employers to assist in furthering this plan, as it would have served the purpose of keeping men steadily at work since it would have relieved the unrest due to the alien's inability to get information from home, or to help his family and friends. It was the first national attempt by which business could have approached the immigrant workman in the interests of the latter. The plan was presented to over 8,000 employers, and, although many of them were complaining of the loss of immigrant labor, less than 3% showed any interest in the plan whatsoever. At the same time many of these employers were enthusiastic in their support of a "Stay in America" campaign which attempted by methods of wholesale propaganda to undertake an economic task that could have been done much better by them in their own plants, if they had coöperated with the Hoover plan.

It requires, however, little vision to see that in the near future, if America continues to receive a large amount of immigration, the racial specialist in industry will be as necessary to adjust racial relations as is the labor specialist to adjust industrial relations. A few years ago employers regarded as mere sentiment the idea that the personal health and home conditions of their employees were their concern. To-day the plant

doctor and dentist and the plant visiting nurse are everywhere to be found on the payroll of industry. Business is finding that they are a good investment, for they maintain a normal standard of health among employees and help to sustain production. So, employers yet regard as sentimental the idea that racial antagonisms and racial ills among their employees are their concern. But they are beginning to see that production is hampered when the Italian and Jugo-Slav, because of existing feuds in Europe, are full of hatred for each other as they work side by side; when Pole and Jew, because of fundamental racial antagonisms, are at cross purposes; or when Russian and Greek dispute over a dictum issued by Lenin. These and countless other racial matters demand with ever increasing insistence the attention of the employers of America.

We should therefore revise our ideas of plant management and our theories of welfare work, if we are to depend upon immigration for a future labor supply and if we are to secure a maximum production from the races already at work in America. A glance at the development of welfare worl in plants shows us that, so far, the immigrant workman has for the most part been left to himself or to his racial leaders in the plant and community.

The first period of organized industrial relations was one of individual bargaining in which personal contact played a large part. It began in New England with the establishment of the factory system, which system from the first included a large number of foreign born working people. From the beginning, this practice of personal contact between management and men did not obtain to any great extent among the immigrants. The tendency was to exclude them from plant activities and to isolate them in colonies, to designate them by numbers,

and to practice discriminations and to raise racial barriers in industrial organizations, partly because of language difficulties and partly because of the contempt in which most of his qualities, except his ability to work, were held.

As the factory system grew the problems of management multiplied. The informal personal relation between employer and employee was displaced by an organized personal contact, equivalent to a kind of benevolent paternalism. The employer ceased to know about the particular home of a workman but he built homes for groups of his workmen. He ceased to know how each man spent his leisure time, but he provided playgrounds or gardens for the use of his men, or financed baseball teams.

During this period of benevolent paternalism, the alien workman fared little better than before. This was not the result of any studied partiality on the part of the employer but was due to differences in language, to the racial peculiarities of the immigrant, and to the fact that it had become a habit to regard him as a mere cog in the machine. For these reasons, perhaps more than others, the immigrant has lived in isolation in inferior or in congested quarters of the city or town. And, isolated as he was from Americans, both within and without the plant, it became more natural than ever to discriminate against him in the new welfare activities. It was then but a step further to discrimination against him in such matters as safety, compensation for injuries and the like. As his labor came cheap to the employer, he was treated in a cheap way.

When the movement to transfer welfare work from a benevolent to an economic basis was begun, the immigrant began to receive attention. It was found that it paid as well to provide good working and living conditions for

him as it did to provide them for the native born workman. The adoption of certain standard features of management further protected his interests. For example: in time, the central employment office, safety-first and first-aid measures, profit-sharing, insurance, pensions and other guarantees against losses because of illness, old age or death came also to include the immigrant. "Safety first" signs were printed in the language of the immigrant workmen, because safety first paid. The plant doctor, dentist or nurse paid the same attention to the immigrant as they did to others, because the good health of any employee paid. Inequalities in compensation for injuries began to disappear because it paid to secure the good will as well as the labor of the immigrant.

While there were many glaring inequalities among plants, concerning the inclusion of immigrants in welfare work, nevertheless the trend was upward and immigrants everywhere were receiving increasing consideration in practical ways which they understood. The war, however, upset the natural development of welfare work, and caused ramifications which are less intelligible to the immigrant workingman and which are less likely to hold his confidence. This tendency to confuse methods of management is directly traceable to the introduction into plants of so many different psychologists, economists, sociologists, journalists and other well meaning but inexperienced people who were successively injected into industrial establishments "to help win the war." Government representatives, who made a sally into the control of plant operations, were, for the most part, theorists; and while they introduced many new points of view and stimulated a new interest in industrial relations, it is a question whether we shall not have to go back and counteract by organization the influence of the vagaries which have followed their work.

The fact is, that plants having once thrown open their doors to propagandists and outside interests, are now the objective of a variety of efforts which seek to relieve them of responsibility and which aim to transfer authority outside the plant. There is the photographer who wants to stimulate production by news and pictures on the bulletin board, and he in turn is challenged by the cartoonist who insists that the exhibition of his drawings will more effectively do the work. There is the economist who offers to write "stuffers" for pay envelopes, and he, in turn, is challenged by the writer who argues in favor of using the factory magazine. There is the moving picture man who insists that his scheme is the best; but he in turn is challenged by the orator who contends that his talks to the foremen and men will boost production sky high. There is the institute which sells courses on how to handle men or how to run business which are prepared by "experts" who never did either; but these "experts" are challenged by the educational spy system which asserts that if its educators are permitted to work alongside of the men, they will "make them think straight." There is the patriotic and civic organization which asks to be entrusted with the anti-Bolshevist fight and it in turn is challenged by "investigation committees" which advise the employer to "leave it to us." There are Americanization agencies which have perfected a plan to teach English and to help the workmen to become citizens, and they in turn are challenged by a variety of "uplift societies," each with a different panacea.

Along with this great variety of effort to improve industrial relations is the reaction from the war which has found its way into industry. The disposition to "fire the immigrant first," to force him to take out first papers before he can work, to compel his attendance at classes in English—these seem strangely inconsistent to the immi-

grant who, while he sees the olive branch of paternalism in one hand, also observes a club of coercion in the other.

It hardly ever occurs to the employer to ask what his immigrant workmen think about all this; and what effect these outside influences and this multiplicity of activities, which are intended to promote better relations, are having upon his foreign-born employees.

First of all, the immigrant often does not understand their meaning and, coming as he does from a country where industrial conditions and organization are much simpler, he is alternately puzzled by their applications or he is pushed so fast into unfamiliar activities that his industrial balance is upset. Often he resents them because their purpose is not explained, or he is suspicious that they may be propaganda, or that they are intended to separate him from his beliefs and traditions. For instance, the motives for installing classes in English may be misinterpreted to him, if he is told that some ulterior scheme lies back of them to alienate him from his traditions and affections, and so he does not attend the classes. Or, again, the objects of a meeting may be given a slant by the propagandist which makes him suspicious. Half-baked ideas portrayed on posters or smart catch words and phrases that are introduced into his pay envelope may encounter prejudices and offend traditions of which neither the writer nor employer is aware. He may be told that the outside expert is a spy and that the moving pictures being shown in the plant is propaganda. And as for Americanization—that may be the last straw, for is it not intended to take away his language and all of the things which he holds dear in the home country?

To the immigrant, these panaceas seem to have no clear central purpose and so they possess neither continuity nor stability for him. The Bolshevist propagandist therefore finds a fertile field in this confusion of panaceas. The

immigrant lends a willing ear to attacks upon these new movements. Where such welfare measures are emphasized the propagandist denounces and ridicules them with such telling effect as to convince the workingmen that business does not know how to run its own affairs. "If it needs outside experts," he says, "why does it not let the men themselves operate the plant?"

The soundness of the welfare measures adopted and the manner of their adoption have a bearing upon the future immigrant labor supply. Does the story of his experiences at work, which is contained in the letter written home or which is told by the returning immigrant, stimulate the desire of men to come to America, or does America suffer by comparison with other countries? Is America, with regard to the treatment of workmen, regarded as a country of new-fangled industrial notions? Hitherto, as a country favored by immigrants, we have not had to consider the effects of our activities beyond ourselves. It was our own affair. To-day, as a result of the war, whether we like it or not, they have become the affairs of every intending emigrant as well as of every emigrant country in the world.

It has seemed to close observers of the trend of thought among immigrant workmen, if industry is to secure their coöperation and if it is to command the confidence of their native countries, that the present personnel work in industry needs to be enormously simplified and extended along more practical lines; that it needs to be fully explained, and a few simple principles adopted by which every proposal will be given an acid test. The principles should be clearly within the understanding of the humblest workingman.

Does the proposed measure increase participation in profits? Does it create interest and also bring out latent ability and individual responsibility? Does it promote

better feeling among the men and a common endeavor? Does it add to the security of employment? Does it visibly improve the working conditions? Is it for the benefit of the public as well as of the management and men? The presence of outside experts and the introduction of new measures in a plant, which cannot be explained upon such simple grounds, tend to breed suspicion. The transfer of responsibilities and authority from plant executives to outside service organizations and men cannot but destroy the morale within a plant.

There is abundant evidence that employers are awake to the difficulties of dealing with immigrant manpower. But that they will find the final test of the soundness of their theories and of the practicality of their experiments through the immigrant at the bottom of the industrial heap is by no means so generally recognized. For in the welfare movement, through which science and organization are gradually finding their way, the immigrant has as yet taken little part. While he sometimes benefits by the measures adopted, he is still too far removed from the philosophy of the movement to contribute much of his own thought or to profit by the fragments of discussion which come his way. But it is the theory as well as the practice in which he is interested. It is the theory of industrial organization which the internationalist propagandist attacks, and which attack he supports by industrial facts. For the employer to secure the coöperation of immigrant workmen they must know more of the reasons why measures are adopted, on what principles plants are run, and who are the men who furnish the ideas?

There are evidences that personnel work in the near future is to be placed upon a saner basis. A committee of executives of a dozen of the leading corporations is at work upon reaching an agreement upon principles and standards and they have already formulated their pre-

liminary finding covering wages and hours, collective bargaining, open shop, representation, profit sharing or profit distribution, employment, training and education, Americanization, health, safety, housing, community interests, factory restaurants, and coöperative buying.

Drexel Institute has organized, with the coöperation of business men, a Council on Management which has a similar object in mind, but which will also undertake to relate the training of executives in colleges more closely to practical work in the plant. The National Research Council has called a conference to consider the advisability of establishing an Institute of Personnel Research. The engineering societies have federated into one organization which will consider manpower as well as other matters in its larger aspects.

The National Association of Corporation Schools also announces the establishment of the American Institution of Industry and Commerce, which will make investigations and have courses in educational institutions expanded to meet more fully the needs of commerce and industry, and to improve relations between employers and employees.

If a way could be found to include racial leaders of the foreign born workmen in industrial deliberations and to secure a racial judgment upon proposed management policies and measures before they were adopted, much would be scrapped before it was tried; much would be prevented which now leads to unrest; and many of the answers to Bolshevism would be found.

If industry, then, which must needs rely upon the immigrant workers here as well as upon those to come, is to undertake fully its share of economic assimilation of immigration through the day's work, then it must organize the immigrant labor market at home and abroad, so as to insure a proper reception, protection, distribution

and adjustment of the immigrant. It must improve management relations so as to include the immigrant upon equal terms with all others in order that his confidence and coöperation may be obtained. It must improve living conditions where it has the power so as to facilitate the adoption of the American standard of living. It must organize its personnel work within the plant along sane lines which the immigrant as well as the native born can understand, and must include the racial specialist who understands the psychology of the foreign-born workmen so as to incorporate them into the full industrial life of the plant. Above all, the employers—they who constitute the leaders of industry—must forget that the immigrant workman is a "foreigner." He must be treated as a man.

CHAPTER VIII

FOREIGN MARKETS IN AMERICA

THERE was a time, soon after independence had been achieved, when our forefathers feared that an American market of 3,000,000 people would attract the avarice of Europe. Now, in little more than a century, some of us have come to believe, even with a market of 15,000,000 foreign born people, that there is little danger from the avarice of their own countrymen across the sea. But others believe that we need economic assimilation of immigration as much to protect that market to-day as we needed the tariff to protect our general markets.

The American market of a century ago was a simple matter, compared to the foreign market in America to-day. For the market which the immigrant alone creates is now a many sided affair. It is nothing less than his acquirement and maintenance of the American standard of living. What is this American standard of living by which Americans so generally test the assimilation of immigration?

The immigrant's personal needs are first the primary ones, food, clothing and shelter; and later the comforts and even luxuries of American living. The market, at this point, needs little stimulation to meet these, because every immigrant desires, as soon as possible, to look and live like an American. The furnishing of his household then becomes a matter of prime importance and the education of immigrant women and children in the knowledge and use of American made goods is there-

fore a part of the function of the American market.

The establishment and maintenance of these prime essentials of the American standard of living are dependent, first, upon American wages; and, second, upon the availability of American products which the immigrant can buy with these wages. An investigation of the foreign market in America shows that wherever there is an indifference to this standard, the American producer has failed to reach the immigrant buyer, who has, therefore, beyond the bare necessities of existence, preferred to spend his wages in the native land, or to hoard them until the time arrived when he could have access to a market in which he could buy the things he desired. One result of this short-sighted policy is that to-day the American producer has little respect for this foreign market, and the immigrant purchaser prefers goods, if he can obtain them, manufactured in his home country.

But the American standard of living which the native born workingman regards so highly is something more than the consumption of American commodities, for these are but its material expression. While the immigrant readily adopts American clothing and lives in American houses with such comforts and luxuries as he can afford, he is not inclined to change his customs and habits, nor to alter his opinions and beliefs. But American ideas are just as much a marketable commodity as are houses, clothing, food and other merchandise. The acquisition of an American point of view is of just as great importance to the maintenance of an American standard of living, as are materials.

The American publisher and manufacturer can find as ready and profitable a market among the immigrants in the distribution of books, magazines, pictures, and of the products of science and art, which give immigrants a knowledge of American history, institutions, beliefs,

traditions and opinions, as can the merchant who supplies the immigrant with necessities, comforts, or luxuries.

Until this is clearly understood by the American business man, it is doubtful if American ideas and the American point of view will be readily accessible to the immigrant. So long as their interpretation is a philanthropic or civic proposition, it will be easily abandoned for more material interests. So long as it is a government matter, it will be administered indifferently in the interests of party politics; but when American ideas are embodied in commodities, men will compete for the privilege of selling them.

The immigrant cannot reach the American market, whether of goods or of ideas, without assistance from the American manufacturer and merchant. One reason for this is that he does not speak the English language and, as the announcements of business are generally made in this language, he, therefore, remains in ignorance of their value. It becomes necessary to teach the immigrant the language of the country as soon after his arrival as possible and English language lessons, like other commodities, are also marketable. If for no other reason than to facilitate the sale of American goods to immigrants, some American business houses should sell such lessons as a commodity, which the immigrant will buy in order to further his own progress. In furthering a knowledge of the English language, the interests of business are advanced, because every immigrant who learns English increases the consumption of American goods; he extends the range and kind of his purchases, and he aspires to new acquisitions of property.

The acquirement of an American standard of living which includes not only the material necessities and comforts, but an American point of view and a common language is, then, a matter of salesmanship for American

products. From this point of view, it is apparent that the native born American merchant is no more in control of this market among the great mass of foreign born people in America, or the American employer of labor exchanges; or the American banker of savings; than is the American insurance company of premiums; or the American English language press of opinion. But this foreign market in America is just as much a part of the racial economic system as is the immigrant bank or the foreign language newspaper. Beginning with the peddlers' pack, or humble push cart along through to the prosperous up-to-date dealer's store, this market constitutes a chain of many links which makes for a racial solidarity of supply and demand.

The American business man has, therefore, not one but thirty or more of these racial markets to control. They are governed by the habits, tastes, customs, and traditions which characterize the particular race to which they belong. They have their own organization and a personnel best suited to their own class of trade. If these markets were valuable before the war they are doubly so now, for wages have increased enormously and prohibition has released large sums of money among the immigrants to be used for household products.

What have the American manufacturer and merchant done to acquaint the immigrant with the essentials of this American standard of living—a knowledge of American products and their use, an American point of view, and a knowledge of the English language?

The first answer is to be found in the extent and character of the advertising in the foreign language press, which reaches this market. Of the 385 leading national advertisers who manufacture American goods less than ten per cent use this press, which reaches about 10,000,000 prospective purchasers. Of the $100,000,000

appropriated in 1919 for national American commodity advertising campaigns only about 1% was spent through a medium which reaches more than one-tenth of the total American market. The amount of national advertising carried by American firms in this foreign language press is spread over more than one thousand publications, and approximates $1,000,000 a year. Of the fifty leading American publishing houses, scarcely one has used this press to sell American books, magazines or other literature which would have brought the American point of view to the attention of the immigrant.

If American products are not advertised to any great extent in these foreign language publications, what are the products that are being offered to the foreign language buyer? A careful analysis of the advertising columns of this press shows that the chief users of this space are: the importer of foreign goods, the immigrant banker, the quack doctor and dispenser of medicines, the "blue-sky" investment broker, the publisher of books and literature in foreign languages, the racial shopkeeper, and the racial society which provides insurance. The immigrant, seeking to spend his wages for American products, will, therefore, but occasionally find an advertisement setting forth the products of American manufacturers. Furthermore he is constantly being stimulated through his racial instincts to buy certain things. Typical of this effort to sell goods by appealing to racial instinct and prejudices are the following excerpts from advertisements contained in the Irish press in America:

Solomon Lazarus heads his clothing advertisement, "Special Announcement to the Gaelic Clubs"; Carl Dahlen announces that he will sell steamship tickets to "The Friends of the Irish Republic"; Joseph Fischel says he will "discount $1 for every one dozen photographs bought

of him if the purchasers carry *The Gaelic American* in their pockets at the time of purchase"; the "All American Brokers, Inc.," opens an appeal for Irish-American business by an attack on the British Insurance Companies operating in America; Mulvey, "the up-to-date tailor," announces that he is a member of the Knights of Columbus; the General Electric Company announces that it has positions open for 100 Irish girls; certain book stores announce "Irish books only"; while talking machine stores announce "Irish records only"; the Slavin Picture Play Corporation announces a new motion picture "Why Ireland Must be Free"; the Trunk Store advises "When going to Ireland get your trunk here"; G. H. Breckwoldt, the tailor, prints at the foot of his announcement the words, "Sympathizer with the Irish Cause"; Joseph MacKnight calls his business the "Irish Grafonola Shop"; and J. J. Nolan of the Irish Bakery says at the foot of his advertisement, "I am a member of the Archbishop Plunkett Branch of the Friends of Irish Freedom." Lazarus says, "My clothes are known far and wide—especially amongst Irish clubs"; Samuel Doherty says, "My Christmas cards are printed and painted in Ireland"; James Eagan says, "If you will buy an Irish song at my store I will be glad to sing it for you myself."

A second answer to the question of what the American manufacturer and merchant are doing to introduce the American standard of living to the immigrant is to be found in the use of the racial shop, through which the newly arrived immigrant must be reached, and through which American products must be merchandized. The degree to which early immigrants have become dealers and now influence the purchases of their countrymen may be illustrated by the extent to which they are engaged in the retail business. According to the Sugar Equaliza-

tion Board, there were 375,000 retail stores in the country selling groceries; and of these 112,500, were in the hands of the foreign born, who, however, represented every country in Europe. This prosperity indicates a vast selling machine for the distribution of American goods, which American business utilizes only to a small fraction of its capacity.

Willing as the racial shopkeeper may be to sell American goods, and eager as many of his customers are to buy them, American producers have not always made it easy for him to interest his customers in such products, because they have made so little study of this market, and have not adapted their brands of goods or prices to its requirements. Therefore, the producer and manufacturer have shown very little consideration for the immigrant dealer in the following respects: Salesmen with strong prejudices, and even salesmen of antagonistic races, have been put to work among their old world adversaries; salesmen, instead of learning the tastes of their patrons, have sought to impose things upon the dealer for which he was not ready; substitutes have been sent for the things originally ordered—a practice which the immigrant dealer especially dislikes. Methods have been used which have been intolerant or mandatory—a procedure which has been deeply resented.

Neither has the American producer shown his usual business acumen in helping these racial dealers to succeed, by extending credits to them upon the same scale as he does to the native born dealers, or by encouraging American capital to invest in these enterprises. Neither has he made special efforts to include them in his trade organizations, or in his trade conferences. So racial dealers, while they handle many lines of American goods, and have many customers who wish to buy American goods, are much more a part of the racial economic sys-

tem of America than they are of a unified American economic system with a complete identity of interest in sales and profits.

Why has the American business man, through a refusal to advertise or adequately to merchandise his goods through racial dealers, neglected this foreign market in America? Why has he not seen that it is good business to bring to the immigrant, immediately upon his arrival, a knowledge of American products?

In the first place, he has assumed that this was not an important market, because the immigrant's wages were low; and that as the immigrant received the lowest rate of wages, he was necessarily the poorest buyer and, therefore, his trade was hardly worth cultivating. Before the war the immigrant expended for his living about $3.00 per week per capita. While, of necessity, a considerable part of this amount found its way into the American market, a great part of it was diverted to the purchase of foreign goods, or was wasted upon quack remedies, or was expended upon worthless or inappropriate articles, largely because the immigrant had nothing more useful brought to his attention. There are many who think that 15,000,000 foreign born people and the million new arrivals a year represent a buying power worthy of cultivation both for business and patriotic reasons.

In the second place, the American business man has considered the immigrant, on account of his frugality, not a good spender. It is true that the immigrant is thrifty, and that he habitually saves a part of his wages; but this natural thrift is accentuated by the fact that the American business man offers to him so few inducements to spend his savings for American goods. This apparent lack of desire on the part of the immigrant to spend money in America is also explained by the fact that he

is constantly urged to spend his savings for products in the home country for his family and friends. The extent to which the immigrant responds to this urging is shown by the fact that one country fixes some of its most important fiscal policies by the amount of money sent back by its emigrants. This affects the sale of goods in America, not only during the time the immigrant stays in this country but later when, instead of bringing his family over to become new consumers of American goods, he returns home, unaware of the attractions of the American standard of living.

In the third place, the American business man has assumed that the immigrant preferred to live as he did in the old country; that he did not care to adopt the American standard of living; and, therefore, his trade was not generally desired. It is true that upon arrival, and for some time thereafter, the immigrant prefers to live as he did at home. This is not surprising, if he knows no other way of living; and is often prevented, while here, from learning the American way. For instance, the padrone, in order to obtain a contract to feed and house workmen, had first to convince the American employer that his countrymen wished to live in shacks and to cook their own imported food. Then, in order to get the immigrant to accept this arrangement he was told by the padrone that this was the way in which immigrants lived in America, and that any other way was too expensive. How else could the padrone collect an employment fee, and make a profit from the imported goods he carried in his own store? In this way, through the selfishness of his own countrymen, Americans who saw the rude shacks and wretched living conditions of immigrants, have come to believe that the trade of the immigrant was neither desirable nor important.

It is impossible to say how much the preconceived ideas

of Americans have had to do with retarding the adoption by immigrants of the American standard of living, but that it has had some influence is illustrated by the following incident: The frequency of pneumonia at one of the aqueduct camps led to an inquiry which showed that the men caught cold from coming out of the tunnel into the cold air. It was suggested that a shower bath would remedy this. The superintendent objected on the ground that it would not be used but finally consented to the experiment. A month or so later the superintendent said, "See that new water tank; that is for the shower baths; the men used so much water that we had to build a new one, and they even stole all my meal bags for clean undershirts to put on afterwards—and not a cold in the camp for a month." Throughout the thousands of labor camps in America, there are many immigrants who are as eager as were these men to live like Americans, but no American producer has ever thought them to be worth reaching, even through a mail order system.

In the next place, the business man has assumed, because of racial differences in languages and habits, that this market is hard to reach and that the profits are small. When approached on the subject he has said: "Why should I bother with difficulties of language and with intricate merchandising problems among the foreigners? Why should I spend time studying a field that I do not need when I can make big money in another field at less cost and effort?" In instances where he has become sufficiently interested to lay the matter before his advertising manager or before an American advertising agency, he has been generally discouraged because they have realized that to handle advertisements in media so diverse in rates and languages meant more work for them.

This aversion on the part of American advertisers and agencies to doing business with the foreign born people in

America is reflected also in the merchant's desire to secure the "right class of trade." Most American shops are not prepared to repeat the experiment of the New York department store, which advertised in the foreign language press that there would be a basement sale. The proprietor did not consider the standard of taste, which is so pronounced in many races and, when the immigrants, in answer to his advertisement, refused to accept his bargain offerings and showed greater interest in the better class of merchandise on the floors above, he became alarmed and cancelled his advertising. Another large store refuses to advertise in the foreign language press on the ground that the class of trade it would bring might offend and ultimately supplant its American trade.

The result is that American merchants who have entered this field have not greatly helped the immigrant to acquire the commodities necessary to promote the American standard of living. For instance, few of the higher grade American merchants have established in immigrant centers branches which have specialized in American goods nor have the great mail-order houses to any great extent made an effort to reach the immigrant in the mine, camp and colony. Coöperative buying is therefore extending rapidly in America, due largely to the failure of the American dealer to reach this somewhat isolated market through the mail-order house, or through the influence of racial groups.

When the business man has disposed of the assumptions that the wages of the immigrant are low; that he would rather save than spend; that he prefers to live as he did in the old country; that he will not adopt American standards of living; and that racial groups are hard to do business with, he finds, if he then decides to enter the foreign market in America, that the very eagerness of the immigrants to know about American products and to buy

them makes these markets easy to develop. They possess many advantages, one of which is their capacity to absorb the cheaper lines of goods, which are more adapted to the work of the immigrant, thereby preventing a waste of material in manufactures. These markets are also highly concentrated as the bulk of their buyers is located in eleven states and chiefly in industrial centers; thereby reducing the costs of delivery. For the same reason, they are easily reached by advertising at a relatively low cost, as all foreign language publications have national circulations and comparatively low advertising rates. Furthermore, foreign markets in America are stable. The immigrant does not believe in "overall campaigns" to reduce the price of clothing; nor in "block meetings"; nor in spectacular uprising to reduce the cost of living. Wherever these have occurred, the leadership usually has been native American. The buyers tend each year steadily to increase their consumption and to reorder the things which they like, which makes it exceedingly profitable to merchants or manufacturers who establish a market for their goods.

While the failure of the American manufacturer to control this foreign market in America has resulted in loss to the country, not only in diminished sales of American commodities, but also in retarding the adoption by the immigrants of an American standard of living, and in the benefits which would have accrued to the country through their economic assimilation, an equally important question arises as to the effect this failure will have upon the American conquest of similar markets abroad.

Through the failure to incorporate immigrants wholly into American economic life, and through the neglect of the foreign markets at home, American business now finds itself in an amusing and incongruous position. It aspires to sell goods to 37,000,000 people in Italy while a market

of 3,000,000 Italians remains undeveloped in America. It is trying to set up markets in Czecho-Slovakia for 13,000,000 people when it is ignorant of the demands of a similar market of 1,000,000 Czecho-Slovaks in America. It is negotiating with 35,000,000 Poles in Poland and ignoring 3,000,000 of them who work in American factories and who live in American towns. Through the entire list of races, this commercial anomaly appears: wherever we attempt to obtain markets abroad, we have neglected a similar market at home.

That the buyers of these various races in America are an important part of the total number of buyers of their various races throughout the world is shown by their distribution in America. Czecho-Slovakia, which is about the size of Wisconsin, has fewer Czecho-Slovaks in any one of her leading cities except Prague, than are to be found in Cleveland or Chicago. One Czecho-Slovak out of every fifteen is in America, and one-fourth of the agricultural population of Texas is Bohemian. Albanians, one of the least important races in America from a standpoint of consumption, but quite important from the standpoint of future resources abroad, number about as many in America as there are in their largest city, Scutari. Or again, there are as many Danes in America as there are in Copenhagen; and Chicago contains the seventh largest Danish city population in the world. There are twice as many Greeks in America as there are in Athens, and only five of the twenty-six larger cities in Greece have more Greeks than are in New York or Chicago. But four Hungarian cities have a larger population of Hungarians than have New York and Chicago; the latter also contains the second largest Polish city population in the world, Warsaw being the first; Chicago is the second, and Minneapolis the fifth, largest Swedish city in the world.

To believe that these groups of people will not influence the sales of American products in their home countries is vastly to underrate the influence they have with their own countrymen. For instance, suppose that, with the transmission of money, the American immigrant urged his family abroad to buy certain brands of American goods which he had learned to use in America; suppose he wrote home about the many new and wonderful things he could buy in America; or suppose he sent American goods home—would not this stimulate the demand for American goods abroad? At this time, when the state of exchange rates and foreign credit is so unsatisfactory and exports are delayed the buying capacity of the immigrant may seem a trivial matter, but the time may come when his friendship, which can be acquired only slowly and with effort, may prove to be invaluable.

The commercial fair abroad is becoming an important means of selling foreign goods as it appeals to the foreign buyer. The one held in Prague in September, 1920, had 2100 exhibitors in which ten European countries participated. There were no exhibitors and few buyers from America. The committee in charge has intimated that it would be willing to erect a special building for American trade if we could be induced to enter next year as exhibitors. Should we agree to its proposition it would be well for American business to seek the coöperation of racial groups in this country in the matter of such exhibits, as they understand both the psychology of their compatriots and therefore the methods which appeal to the foreign born buyers.

It is expecting a good deal from the average business man, who has hardly, as yet, recognized the immigrant as a factor in the international trade situation, to suggest that he regard as a potential salesman the immigrant who is returning to his native country; and that he cultivate

his trade before he leaves America in order to advance the interests of American business through his knowledge and use of American products. But the war has done many strange things and not the least of them has been to transfer the humble immigrant in America to a position of power on his return to his native country. In his new position, in the councils of his nation, where future commercial contracts are to be arranged, and where the terms of commercial treaties are to be negotiated, his may well be the deciding voice for or against American products. It may happen that the American merchant who thought that his store was too good for the foreign born buyer in America may find in him the man to be dealt with in obtaining concessions in the new states in Europe.

American business men have not, perhaps, taken into consideration the full significance of what the friendship of men, so humble in America but so powerful in their native country, will mean to their trade relations. To have a foe in every European hamlet is to meet a stone wall of resistance, against which our trade emissaries may beat in vain; but to have a friend in every European hamlet to say a good word for American products and for American methods will go a long ways toward helping American business to triumph over any obstacles which competitors may create.

Among the millions of immigrants who have already returned and who will go in the future, it is not possible in advance to know the leaders. As we did not see in Trotsky the future military leader of Russia; nor in Ullmanis, of Nebraska, the future premier of Latvia; nor in Zmrhal, of Chicago, the future High Commissioner of Rumania; nor, for that matter, in any one of the young lawyers, the future statesmen who were to help Lithuania form a new government; neither can we

know the foreign born men, now in America, who will be most useful in the future to American trade. But we can, by an intelligent conquest of our foreign markets in America, make every immigrant familiar with, and friendly to, American goods; we can make him a "booster" and not a "knocker" of America; we can make him a willing assistant to struggling salesmen abroad.

There are other ways in which the foreign market in America can be made to serve the interests of American manufacturers who are seeking markets abroad. There exists among the thirty-two races living in America the best school for salesmanship in the world, in which to train the men who are later to engage in foreign business. It is assembled ready for use. Each race has its own customs, traditions, point of view and attitude of mind which are expressed through its own colony in other racial distributing centers. Each race furnishes a laboratory, in which to study interracial competition at home which is identical with that abroad. Each race offers the best field in which to practice and to test the salesmanship methods that will be best adapted to use in foreign countries. Here is the location for an ideal school of foreign affairs to train business agents for foreign fields.

This is not all. There are also to be found in these racial groups able merchants and salesmen who are equipped with a knowledge of the habits of their races, with a knowledge of their country, and who have valuable international business connections. They possess a high average of enterprise which, in the first instance, brought many of them to America, and which has led thousands of them out of the unskilled class into the professions, and into practically all lines of trade and commerce. They have language facility to an unusual degree, as a large proportion of them speak more than one tongue.

In addition to these merchants and salesmen who are now engaged in business among their countrymen, there are many potential salesmen who are now working with their hands and not with their minds and tongues. It is common for a manufacturer to say, "There is no chance to develop my foreigners," for he supposes that his particular "lot of foreign born workmen" is the slowest and dullest of all that come to the country. But the fact is that out of just such material in the factory have come welfare managers, foremen, bank-clerks, leaders of racial affairs, and professional men. It is quite common to find in a plant a foreign born foreman who can speak with ease four or five languages. The young ambitious member of many races would make excellent salesmen if the American business men would more fully recognize his opportunity, and train them for this work. While it is difficult for the native born American to become qualified for the foreign field, it requires only American leadership to equip many of the foreign born for this field.

Although this to some extent is already recognized by many of the leading commercial men, they do not appreciate the able competition which confronts them. Chambers of commerce have been established by foreign business corporations in America, and the activities of foreign consuls have been expanded to utilize more fully the services of their countrymen; these consuls are active in associating racial business men with their enterprises some of which are of special interest. Many consuls are rapidly extending their contacts among foreign born groups and are assuming extensive duties for the purpose of securing the coöperation of their nationals in foreign trade relations. As an illustration: In New York City the staff of the consulate of one of the new European states now consists of forty attachés. In addition to the usual departments operated before the war, there have

been added one on press and propaganda, one on money forwarding, and one on taxes. Through the press and propaganda departments, some hundred foreign language publications in America are made the adjunct of this consulate. This propaganda has four objects in view: "To attract American capital to the home country, whether in the hands of immigrants or of Americans; to conserve racial ideals and allegiance in its racial groups; to facilitate the repatriation of immigrants who have acquired skill and competence in America; and to use the resources of their fellow countrymen to help establish imposing headquarters in America." By means of this latter object they hope to impress the immigrant with the prosperity of his native country. The money forwarding department interests immigrants to invest their savings abroad; and the tax department is intervening with American authorities, on behalf of the outgoing immigrants, to prevent the payment of excessive income taxes, so that more money may go to the home country.

Although it has the same need to secure markets, to find opportunities for the location of American capital, to contract for supplies and for deposits of oil and ore essential to its manufacturers, and to encourage the production of raw materials; it is doubtful if American business enterprises, in foreign countries, can count on any such loyal and effective support.

Because of the enterprise of these foreign agencies, Americans now have the fight for the foreign markets in America. These they could have had at very little cost before the war owing to indifferent competition by foreign agencies. Racial salesmen, who would gladly have joined American commercial houses, are now bound by the war's events to join enterprises to help rehabilitate their home countres. Racial leaders, many of whom would then have been attracted by American connections, now

hesitate since they are urged to promote racial trade enterprises which did not exist before the war.

The mobilization of the racial groups and their leaders for American trade interests can be supplemented by the coöperation of the racial colony. The Spanish colony in America offers an illustration: Its market consists, first, of a group which went to Paris before the war, but which, through necessity, has found New York to be a good substitute. It consists, second, of business men and their families who represent South American interests in New York; and, third, of buyers and trade emissaries from South America who are constantly increasing in size and changing in personnel. These South American groups spend several months of the year here for the purpose of placing orders and of establishing business connections. While here, they read their own foreign language publications, associate with their own groups, and rely upon them for assistance in making many of their decisions. It will at once be apparent to the American exporter that the most effective means of reaching the foreign buyer is at the time and place where he comes to do business, and through the agencies upon which he relies. The kind of commercial contacts maintained by American firms with these publications and racial business men may often determine the fate of important business transactions.

The tendency of racial groups in America to organize trading corporations to engage in foreign business without being connected with responsible American commercial houses, may, in time, affect American business seeking a market abroad. Wherever the business practices followed are dishonest they furnish opportunities for attacks upon American goods as the following quotation from an Athens publication shows:

"Merchants in Greece have received two boxes of merchandise only instead of many which they have ordered. This is not the first evidence that even in the new world there is a gang of crooks who exploit the markets of the world. We have not yet forgotten the advertisement of shipyards in America which were not in existence and which attracted much money. We have not forgotten a big load of rice which, although the best quality was ordered and paid for, proved on receipt to be the worst quality. Be careful, therefore, whenever you order anything from America. Of course, honest American commerce has nothing to do with the crooks but the fact remains that there are crooks in the Greek market and proper steps must be taken. . . ."

It is evident to those who know the immigration field that in this foreign market in America business possesses an asset of no mean value, and that the opportunity is ripe for the American business man to secure control of the market at home: to turn the foreign language press into a medium for the sale of American products; to utilize the racial merchandising resources of America for greater sales of American products; to create a training school in America for American salesmen to be sent abroad; to take the cream of the foreign born leadership for American business enterprises; to make sure that returning immigrants are salesmen for American products abroad; to study economic methods used by consulates in America and to profit by this study; and to participate in the direction of the affairs of foreign chambers of commerce.

It is upon the manufacturer and the merchant that America must rely to bring to the immigrant a knowledge of the American standard of living, and to provide the means to attain it; it is upon the publisher that America

must rely for the interpretation and diffusion of the American point of view among immigrants. It is upon the correspondence school and university extension commercial courses, which can follow the immigrant all over its great territory, that America must rely for the teaching of its language and for the opening of new opportunities to the immigrant. The education of the immigrant in the American standard of living and the creation in him of a desire to both achieve and maintain it, is therefore a wholly practical matter of American salesmanship and is the contribution to economic assimilation of immigration which American commercial interests are relied upon to make toward American prosperity and unity.

CHAPTER IX

SAVINGS AND INVESTMENTS

WHEN asked what they are going to do in America, nine immigrants out of ten reply "Make money." When asked what they are going to do with this money, they say "Save it." Thrift is thus seen to be the companion of adventure in the new country, and it therefore becomes important for us to know what part savings can take in the economic assimilation of immigration.

The American workman and the immigrant, with their first wages in their pockets, regard the outlook quite differently. The native American has fewer obligations, and, therefore, thinks of how he can best have a good time; and if he saves any money, how it can be made to earn more money. But rarely is the immigrant without obligations to his home people. In all probability he has to return money borrowed for the trip; to support the family at home; or he has to meet obligations in the nature of debts or taxes. He is also expected to succeed, and in turn to help others to come to America. The increased needs of his countrymen, due to the war, have further intensified his sense of devotion and have increased his responsibility to those in his home country. Here are qualities which are invaluable assets to America —fidelity to obligations, gratitude for help, sustained thrift in situations where waste abounds, and willingness to suffer privations to help others. The prevalence of these qualities so often accentuates even the natural thrift of the immigrant, that it sometimes explains his willingness

to live under wretched conditions and what seems to be his delay in adopting the American standard of living.

In addition to the obligations which the immigrant owes to family and friends, a strong appeal is being made to him by the home country which is now impoverished by the economic burdens of the war. He is, therefore, contributing to relief and reconstruction measures, and is buying foreign securities and otherwise assisting his home country. He foresees that in helping to stabilize conditions in the native country he is safeguarding the future of those who have helped him to succeed in America.

But after meeting these many obligations, the immigrant, because of his thrift, still has a considerable amount of savings which, for lack of something better to do with them, and for their safeguarding, he often stuffs into his belt or under a mattress. The world of capital, investments, dividends, stocks and securities is unknown to him and when he seeks to acquire a property interest in America, he becomes easily the prey of many exploiters.

The immigrant bank is the one agency which is invariably at the immigrant's disposal, and which is always ready to minister to his economic needs. Because he is a stranger and is unable to secure advice and coöperation from American institutions which could help him to put his savings into circulation at a safe profit to himself, he readily turns to this banker. This immigrant banker performs many services for the immigrant. He helps him to write letters home and transmits his savings. He helps the immigrant to find a better job in order to increase his savings. He offers to draw up documents or otherwise help him with his legal affairs here and abroad. He encourages the immigrant to buy from him a steamship ticket for his friends or family. He offers to keep

his baggage or valuables while he is traveling from place to place. He advises him concerning investments, and takes his money on deposit. By means of these services and, because of the prestige in which bankers are held in his native country, the immigrant banker soon comes to hold an important place in the immigrant's affairs. For the immigrant is convinced that his fellow-countryman has succeeded, and that he occupies an important position in American financial affairs. What, then, is more natural than to trust a successful man with money, especially if he is a compatriot?

One would naturally suppose that the immigrant banker, whose relation to the immigrant is also that of counselor, confidant, agent and friend, would be representative of the most responsible racial leadership. One would suppose also that the American business man would be interested in the way his banker conducted his affairs, if for no other reason than to maintain the prestige conveyed by the name "American Bank."

That neither supposition is correct is indicated by the character of the so-called immigrant banking institutions which have grown up in America. This bank may be in a grocery store where the till is also used as the safe deposit box; or it may be in the hotel where the immigrant lodges; or in the commissary's office in the railroad camp; or it may be simply in the pockets of the various representatives who go into industrial centers to collect money for the "central office." On the other hand, the bank may be a well equipped highly responsible house with correspondents abroad; or it may be the foreign branch of an American bank; or again, it may be the American branch of a government banking institution in Europe.

To the immigrant, a bank is a bank whether it is located in a shop, office or hotel. Since he has no

practical means of knowing which are reliable, he will invariably entrust his affairs to the one showing the greatest evidence of prosperity; or to a compatriot who professes friendship; or to an institution carrying the largest advertisements in the foreign language press.

The past experiences of the immigrant with these banks are not particularly pleasant for the average American to contemplate. For many years, the immigrant upon his arrival at the Battery at the Port of New York, was despoiled of his small capital by the porter, runner, cabman, expressman and guide, many of whom were in collusion with so-called bankers. He therefore began his life with resentment in his heart and with a greatly diminished respect for the sacredness of the property of others. His resentment was further increased by his experience with the private banker to whom he was taken, especially when he was ready to send part of his wages to the family in the home country. In order to be sure that his help reached the family promptly, he paid high rates for transmission and was often persuaded to cable money, only to hear from his family many months later, that it had never been received. In the meantime, while the suffering of his family grew, the banker was using for speculation the money which he had accepted for transmission. When the immigrant paid in full for steamship tickets to bring over his family, months often elapsed before the money was sent; and when he bought a ticket on the installment plan, the conditions sometimes proved so hard that he frequently lost his first payments. When he wanted to buy a home, worthless sand lots were often sold to him, or he was enticed into colonization schemes. When he deposited his money for safekeeping, he frequently received no interest, and it was not unusual for him to find that his banker had closed his grocery store or steamship ticket

agency bank and had gone on a visit to his native country. When he wanted to buy a partnership, there was the ever ready business broker who sold him, more often than not, a worthless proposition.

For many years a careless disregard of the immigrant's savings and an indifference to his exploitation have prevailed among American business men, especially among American bankers. They have, with a few exceptions, scarcely raised a protest, and much of the resentment of the immigrant toward Americans is due to the bitterness caused by the immigrant's first financial experiences in America. This resentment expresses itself in many ways. The immigrant workman, discouraged and resentful because he has lost his savings, sometimes deliberately and again unconsciously decreases his output. The immigrant settler, disappointed in buying a home, and separated from his family because he has lost his savings, drifts from job to job and from town to town, and may eventually return to his native land, thereby steadily increasing labor turnover. The immigrant consumer, having lost much of his self-respect and standing in the eyes of his countrymen because he has lost his savings, lowers his standard of living and thus decreases his purchasing power in the American market. The immigrant investor, deprived of a property stake in America because he has lost his savings, joins the forces of unrest because he has nothing to lose. The immigrant thus exploited, without interest in his job, with no home or property to lose, becomes in time not only the exploiter of his fellow countrymen, but the enemy of America.

For, much as the immigrant blames his fellow countrymen who exploit him, he blames even more the great American nation which seems so little to concern itself in the protection of his interests. He blames the nation

for allowing real estate sharks to sell to him a lot for a home that proves to be a sand plot under water or a section of marshland that is unfit for cultivation and remote from transportation. He blames the nation every time he becomes involved in a colonization scheme that is planned by a lumber company for the purpose of clearing its land of stumps. He blames the nation for permitting the operation of blue-sky schemes, and has come to believe that his money is safer in the old country. He blames the nation every time he loses his savings through a "run on the bank," and only by a very slow process and a very expensive process does he in time learn to entrust his funds to a Postal Savings Bank or to an institution that has a better reputation than the private immigrant bank. One can understand how the immigrant who has seen the savings of years wiped out over night might regard the Bolshevist propaganda, and how he would come to believe that "direct action" is better than the slow processes of law and order. And his native country which is also interested in his success also blames the American nation for what happens to their immigrants. When he returns home and tells the dramatic story of his losses, it hurts American business prestige abroad, even as it affects the attitude of that country toward America when it comes to decide upon new emigration policies. It has thus come about that the more responsible immigrant banks, supplemented by branches of foreign government banks, have come to form a strong link in the racial economic system in America, to facilitate the use of immigrant savings for the home country; and to provide measures of protection from the more unscrupulous immigrant bankers against whose methods neither the American banking business nor the law has prevailed.

America has thus gained a reputation for being an

unsafe country for the investment of immigrant savings, a reputation which is capitalized by competitors of the American banker. This reputation is partly responsible for their being in circulation so little of the savings of immigrants—a distinct and vital loss to business expansion. In a recent report it was stated that the United States, with an estimated population of 106,700,000, has only 12,600,000 saving depositors, of which but 565,000 were Postal Savings Bank depositors; while in Belgium, with a population of 7,571,000, there are 3,063,000 savings bank depositors; in Denmark, with 2,021,000, there are 1,315,000 depositors; in Germany, with 66,715,000, there are 27,206,000 depositors; in Japan, with 56,350,000 population, there are 25,600,000 depositors; in Holland, with 2,692,000, there are 1,262,000 depositors. These foreign countries, with a total population of 171,357,000, had savings bank depositors of 77,000,000. Over 42% of the population were savings bank depositors as against about 11% in the United States. Undoubtedly the large number of immigrants who hoard their savings, and who are not yet drawn into the American savings bank system are to a considerable extent responsible for this low percentage.

This failure to protect the savings of immigrants and to interest them to use American banking institutions will eventually have an important bearing upon the future supply of immigrant labor. It is quite possible that, unless immigrant labor is obtainable, and the cost of production can be lowered so as to enable American goods to compete with those made abroad, American industries will have to be set up in countries where labor is available. American capital, even to a greater extent than at present, will then be searching for sound opportunities to establish paying enterprises in countries which have plenty of labor. Every foreign nation is ambitious

to have such industries developed. The immigrant in America, who is constantly in touch with his native country, is an invaluable ally in reporting such opportunities and in securing concessions; but at present his services are used by the racial economic system rather than by the native American system.

The whole relationship of the bank to industry is one of great importance to the immigrant. To take but one illustration—the way in which profit sharing funds and bonuses are paid to workingmen—it has been suggested that instead of paying these directly to the workingmen that they be paid to the bank; that the employee be given a pass-book, and be free to draw or leave the amount, as he sees fit, and that interest rates be increased in proportion to the length of time the deposits remain in the bank. An interesting plan, well adapted to immigrants, has been proposed in the following form:

"The bank prepares a pass-book with name and check number for each employee. The employer notes on the pay envelope the bonus paid and how to deposit it. The pay envelope with pass-book is presented at the bank, the envelope serves as a deposit slip so that no writing or signature is required as only the owner can receive credit. The amount of deposit and interest to be earned at maturity is entered so that the employee can see the full benefit derived, and have a visible and tangible evidence of his copartnership in the business. Interest is calculated on the basis of 7%, 3½% by the employer, only if the account is allowed to run to maturity and undisturbed (5 years) otherwise only 3½% is paid by the bank. Interest at this latter rate is calculated by the bank and shown on the card, so that the bank can know the interest reserve necessary for it to carry. If the employee dies, total interest as shown in his pass-book is

paid, the employer reimbursing the bank for the amount in excess of that actually earned at 3½%. In case the employees wish to remove to other localities, an endowment savings bond or certificate could be issued which might be purchased with their funds at any time that a sufficient amount had been deposited, to yield the same rate of interest—though not to include the company interest if that be a part of the plan adopted. Old age pension funds can be deposited in the same way, giving the employee the visible knowledge of the amount, rather than the promise of a certain amount."

It is the careful consideration of plans like these which will enable the immigrant to come into contact with American banking institutions and which will give him confidence in them, as he sees his savings earning interest, which will counteract the transmission of such vast sums abroad. Before the war immigrants transmitted more than $400,000,000 a year to those countries from which such information was available. The average savings at present of Italian laborers is said to be about $25 a month and there are at least one million such wage earners in this country. The average for the Greeks is higher, as 90% of them are wage earners. The average transmission of money per year of the immigrant to his family abroad has been found to be approximately $200. One post office from a village in Poland reports that the savings per man averaged $665 per year for each of the 37 men who had emigrated from that village to America. It is stated that 60% of the steamship tickets sold to emigrants are purchased with American wages. The failure, in 1910, of five racial banks in New York State showed that some 80,000 depositors had over $9,000,000 on deposit.

The American banker must take the responsibility for

the situation in which the immigrant finds himself, with respect to his savings—unprotected, unwelcome in American banks, lacking in confidence in American banking institutions, besought by racial banks to send his money home, and a prey to every variety of exploiter. The American banker must also take his share of the responsibility for the unrest, the labor turnover, the resentment against assimilation, and the lack of sympathy with American government institutions which have resulted from the immigrant's financial experience in America; for it has been his responsibility to safeguard and make fruitful the savings of immigrants. The American banker must further take the responsibility of integrating the racial banker into the American financial system, having in view the fact that this should be undertaken early in the latter's career, because, should integration be delayed until the racial banker becomes a power in the financial world, he will then be less likely to use his influence to bring his fellow countrymen into closer relation with American life.

Successful as the American banker has been, beyond his own dreams of wealth and power, dealing as he has with millions and billions, he has been averse to doing business with "foreigners." There have been many reasons for this. Like the merchant who has ignored the foreign market in America, the banker has not cared for the immigrant's savings because he did not need them. Representing, as he does, the most conservative element in American economic life he is further removed from the immigrant and, generally speaking, he possesses a greater degree of race prejudice. He knows that the immigrant's dollar bills are crumpled, that his clothes are dirty and that he often smells like a coal mine or a sheep ranch, and he believes that such patronage will hurt his present class of business. He does not

see why he should extend his banking facilities beyond his respectable corner into the industrial plant where the immigrant works, or into the foreign section where he lives; nor does he welcome the idea of opening his doors to the "hordes from across the railroad track."

The American banker also knows that the individual profits are small in immigrant banking, for it requires as much work to handle a $100 bond as a $50,000 bond. Also he is reluctant to enter a field where the name "banker" has such an unsavory reputation, for he knows that much of the enormous profits of the immigrant private bankers have been made through exorbitant charges and manipulation of funds. The American banker to-day does things on such a big scale and has such a commanding view of the business situation, that to him the immigrant is likely to be considered as "pretty small fry."

If the American banker regards the savings of the immigrant as "small fry," the European banker does not. He considers it well worth his while to establish in America elaborate institutions for the collection of such savings. These institutions range from American branches of European banks to consulate's offices which for this purpose have expanded their activities. The European banker is causing economic surveys to be made in immigrant countries in order to ascertain if the immigrant does not need greater protection and assistance. He is ready to make loans and extend credit to his countrymen in immigration countries in order to enable them to attain a more rapid success, in which the banker will participate. In financial undertakings, small or large, foreign governments coöperate with both the banker and the immigrant, of which the following is an illustration:

Recently, there was under contemplation a federation

of societies belonging to a certain racial group in America. It required several thousand dollars to begin the work. Their leader, a naturalized citizen and a leading educational authority, when asked where he intended to get the funds replied: "Oh, from the Ambassador to America." And to the question, "Why the Ambassador?" he replied, "Because he is interested in our success." It did not occur to this leading citizen of America that this country would be interested in a federation of organizations in its own territory, nor did it occur to him to turn to a native American agency for help.

Since it is important for foreign bankers, working in the interests of their country, to interest immigrants to purchase homes and land abroad out of these savings from American wages it should not be less important for the American banker to perform a like service for America. Since the profits from the transmission of immigrant's savings from American wages are used by foreign bankers to finance European business enterprises, it should not be less important for the American banker to earn these same profits to put into American business enterprises. Since European bankers have shown a tendency to direct the activities of the institutions which handle immigrant savings, should not the American bankers see the necessity of having like institutions wholly under American leadership?

That American financial interests intend to cover this field is shown by the way in which they have recently begun, not only to study the subject, but to try experiments. There are, among many, two noteworthy instances of this intention:

A trust company in Cleveland has developed an enormous business with the foreign born residents in that city through the establishment of some twenty-seven neighborhood branches, many of which are largely pat-

ronized by immigrants. As a result of its foreign business, it now has direct connection with over two thousand banks in other countries. The system of neighborhood branches enables foreign born men, women and children to acquire "the banking habit." Three days a week these branches are open from five to eight P. M., thus enabling the worker to stop at the bank on the way from work. In its special efforts to secure the banking business of the foreign born population, this trust company has recognized its special racial needs and has organized a number of personal service activities to meet them. The spirit and scope of this service is expressed in this extract from a circular printed in polyglot and distributed to the immigrant clients:

"Let us assist you in solving your daily problems, regardless of their nature. We are ready at all times to give you personal advice, without charge, in any trouble, financial or otherwise, which you may meet in your daily life. . . . We want you to get acquainted with us, and to feel that we are interested in you at our office. . . . You will find a man who can talk with you in your own language. He will show you the most courteous attention and render you the best service possible. . . . Do not run the risk of being overcharged, or of dealing with irresponsible agencies. Ask us for prices before sending money to any foreign country. . . ."

As a result of an extensive educational campaign through advertising and publicity and conferences with leaders of the racial groups and their societies, these branch banks are now used by many immigrant men and women to meet such simple banking needs as the payment of gas bills, furniture instalment accounts, and insurance premiums. On certain days, that are well advertised in

advance, experts on the various American and home country relationships of the foreign born, hold office hours at the various branches and give aid and information to any person who applies, even though not a depositor. This is a fundamental Americanization service which frequently prevents the exploitation of the foreign born, facilitates his personal adjustments in the new country, and promotes trust and confidence in American business institutions.

Practically all such foreign departments in order to meet the needs and international affiliations of the immigrant, also engage in the sale of steamship tickets, in exchanging money, in drafting affidavits for passports and visés and in preparing other technical documents of a semi-legal nature. Advice in any foreign language is also given without cost regarding any investment or business proposal, especially real estate transactions.

The advertising manager of a trust company in Youngstown, speaking of their foreign department says:

". . . A large building, with as much floor space as the average Ohio bank has, was erected especially for a foreign department. A man well versed in the complicated science of foreign exchange, and who could speak several European languages, was secured as manager and the department was formally opened for the transaction of business. For several years the department lost money. Difficulty was experienced in getting the agency of the best steamship lines, because local agents insisted they had an exclusive privilege in handling them. But as the department's business grew the steamship lines realized that it would sooner or later get the bulk of the foreign business in Youngstown and before long the department was able to sell tickets on all steamship lines. The bank not only sold steamship tickets, but personally looked

after incoming and departing foreigners. Often the banking room was filled with customers about to return to the old country. The lobby on these occasions was packed with bundles, baggage, women, children and dogs, and frequently a brass band accompanied the returning Europeans from the bank to their train. The bank was also used as headquarters for immigrants coming from Europe to Youngstown. Often the department presented a weird, old-world scene when filled with peasants from Croatia, Roumania or Serbia, clad in their native costumes. The department assisted these newcomers in finding their friends, helped them get boarding-houses, and in many cases told them where to apply for work.

"The department also opened a sort of semi-official post-office. They furnished their customers with post-cards and letter-heads and arranged to have customers' mail delivered at the bank in the bank's care. This proved to be a popular move. The post-cards had pictures of the bank upon them and were sent to all parts of Europe and helped to advertise the institution abroad as well as in the United States.

"In order to acquire good banking connections across the water, the bank sent the manager of its foreign department to Europe where he visited England, Germany, France, Italy, the Balkan States and Russia, and arranged for a splendid line of banking connections with reliable banks. As a result of this trip the foreign department was able to send money to all parts of Europe with the smallest expense and with the greatest assurance of its safe arrival.

"But the hardest problem of all still remained to be solved, and that was to win the confidence of the foreigners. They seemed to be suspicious of American banks and were inclined to withdraw their money without warning upon the slightest provocation. Any sort

of a wild rumor was enough to start a run upon the foreign department. A number of these runs occurred, some of them quite serious, but the same policy of stopping them was carried out in each case and resulted very satisfactorily. The plan was simple, but very effective. Depositors were paid off as fast as they could be waited on. It was found that it did no good to argue with the foreigners until after they had withdrawn their money. When they had their money back they were willing to listen to reason. After several big runs a plan was finally adopted whereby customers who drew their money out because they were scared were told they should start a savings account that drew no interest. They were informed that they could then withdraw their money whenever they wanted to without imposing upon the bank. A large number of these non-interest bearing savings accounts were started, but after depositors saw that the bank met each run promptly and seemed to grow stronger after every run, these accounts were gradually converted into interest-bearing accounts.

"After over twelve years' experience the foreign department has over $7,000,000 of deposits all owned by foreigners. It has ten thousand depositors who have an average of over $700 per capita, which is a very high per capita deposit for this section of the country. The department has nine tellers who speak fourteen languages. These tellers not only attend to the financial wants of their customers, but act as so many bureaus of information and furnish most valuable aid in assisting their customers to understand and appreciate American ideas and ideals. Besides being a signal success as a department of the bank, the foreign division of the bank has performed a great civic duty in giving the foreigner the protection he so sadly needs in money and business matters."

There are many other movements which indicate that the assimilation of the immigrant, through his savings, is under way. The more responsible immigrant private bankers, aroused by the complaints of immigrants against exploitation, have under consideration the formation of a clearing house, to protect immigrant savings. A savings bank association is planning an advertising campaign in the foreign language press to acquaint the foreign born with American savings institutions.

In the field of credits, the National Association of Credit Men has sent letters to 33,000 of its members in which it urges them to participate in an educational movement to establish the confidence of foreign born people in savings institutions.

Are not these movements, however, undertaking to reap a harvest in a field in which they have not yet planted the seed? If American interests wish to make sure of this harvest, they must first do the planting and then the cultivating. It is therefore to the American banker that this country looks to do his share of the economic assimilation of immigration through the savings of immigrants; and to accomplish this the immigrant needs to be drawn more fully into the American financial system.

The first task is to educate the immigrant concerning the principles and operations of American financial organizations. This should be very elementary instruction upon the nature of banking institutions, of capital, investments, dividends, stock, partnerships, prices, and how capital goes to work and what it does—things about which the immigrant has known but little in his home country. The immigrant's first information concerning them should come, not in distorted form from propagandists, but in his own language from American authorities. The object of this education should be to

see that every immigrant possesses a bank book, and comes to the bank as often as possible and hears regularly from the bank, in his own language, if need be, about financial opportunities that will interest him; and how his savings are earning interest for him. This will make him feel his importance in the new country and will stimulate his attention and interest in American affairs. A bank book and a relationship to an American bank is the kind of stabilizing influence which every new arrival is bound to understand and appreciate.

The immigrant needs encouragement to invest even the smallest part of his savings. The work in the mine and plant is much harder than he thought it would be; the pile of dollars grows more slowly than he had anticipated. As his hopes are deferred, he sees the dreams of his youth slipping away. As he grows older, he is reluctant to confess to those who helped him start life in America that his high hopes have not been realized. Since he has extolled the new country, to which he had gone so confidently and where pride now urges him to brag of success and not to wail over losses, he is too proud to appeal to the friends and relatives in the old country to whom he would have turned in time of sickness or reverses or unemployment, if he had remained there.

It is therefore of considerable moment that his savings should not be lost in speculation. It is part of the justification of his faith, which prompted him to leave his home and friends, to come to America, that he should not lose the first fruits of his toil. It is vitally important that he should not be swindled in his efforts to buy a lot and establish a home. It is to the future interests of production that the immigrant be not drawn into colonization schemes which result in failures. The American banker, with his facilities for

judging good from bad investments and with his power to capitalize savings should be the friend of the immigrant from the time of his arrival so he may not become discouraged because he has so little at first to invest.

The immigrant needs credit. When he gets a little money he wants to set himself up in business. His ambition leads him, perhaps, to the humble ownership of a pushcart, of a partnership, of a shop or of a little farm. To whom does he turn for help? Not to the American banker but to the racial leader, the immigrant bank, or to his consul. To such an extent is this true that one immigrant, when asked who his friends in America were, replied: "The men who loaned me money to start the little business that takes care of me and my wife." It is therefore highly important both to the interests of America and of the immigrant that American credit be extended to such ambitious immigrants, so they will get out of the habit of applying exclusively for help to their own racial economic institutions. The American banker should go further than this. Of his own initiative he should seek a closer contact with the institutions of the immigrant, and should urge American capital to go into the ownership of the racial shop, the immigrant bank, the foreign language publishing business, and the productive enterprises which the foreign born own or operate.

Economic assimilation, then, as the American banker's task, is to see that every immigrant workman as soon after his arrival as possible becomes a small capitalist through establishing personal contact with him; through furnishing attractive facilities for savings; through offering him safe and good investments; through opportunities to buy a home; through safe transmission of his savings abroad; and through conserving manpower through loans and credits.

The American banker, unless he undertakes on a national scale to satisfy the needs of the immigrant, will find himself in the same amusing and incongruous position in which the merchants is now placed. While he is furnishing capital and credits to nations abroad, he is neglecting the millions of their nationals in America. When he floats the loans of foreign nations, he leaves to companies or to individuals of each race which have their own ends to serve, whatever part the immigrants of those nations may take in the purchase of these bonds.

But the American banker has a further obligation. This is to secure the extension and full protection of American banking laws to immigrant savings, whether they be deposited or invested in America or transmitted abroad. A number of attempts have been made to secure such protection through state legislation, and the difficulty of this task is best illustrated by the experience of New York State. In 1907, the Wells Bill was passed, which was the first serious effort made to protect the immigrant. It provided that all private bankers who sold steamship tickets and accepted money for transmission should file, with the Comptroller, a bond for $15,000, conditioned upon the faithful transmission of all moneys received for that purpose. In 1918, this act was amended to include within its scope moneys received on deposit for safekeeping. The New York Commission of Immigration in its report of 1909, estimated that nearly $1,400,000 had been lost through bank failures in one year and urged the passage of a more comprehensive act, which was finally enacted in 1910. This provided for the licensing in cities of the first class, of all persons or firms who accepted deposits of money for safekeeping or for transmission abroad. For the protection of depositors, bonds ranging from $5,000 to $50,000 were required and all licensees were placed under

the supervision of the Comptroller. Those who were able to file a $100,000 bond, or who were agents of express and steamship companies, were exempted.

Although a great deal of good was accomplished under this law, the largest immigrant bankers were still under no supervision and their capital, investments and reserves were not regulated nor was provision made for their liquidation. As a result of the continued losses through these banks, the legislature, in 1914, placed all private banks under the supervision of the State Superintendent of Banks. Five of the fourteen so-called immigration states have followed the lead of New York and now contain provisions which protect in various degrees the savings of immigrants.

In the absence of state legislation, municipalities have attempted to protect the immigrant. The frauds perpetrated upon him in the sale of securities became so great in Pittsburgh that a Bureau of Securities was created under an ordinance which provided that all persons or corporations offering stocks or bonds for sale should be licensed. The validity of this ordinance was questioned, and the court ruled that the matter was one for the legislature to pass upon, and granted an injunction against its enforcement. This instance illustrates both the prevalence of evils and the difficulty of securing protection.

But the difficulties of securing state legislation have led to efforts to secure Federal legislation. In 1920, a bill was introduced in Congress which provided for the establishment of a Bureau of Export Savings in the Treasury Department. Had it passed, it might have constituted a beginning in the national protection of immigrant savings. The Federal difficulties, however, are even greater than those in the states, as Mr. Paul Warburg, former Vice-Governor of the Federal Reserve

Board, has pointed out in a recent address upon this subject. He says:

"This question of Federal legislation has been frequently ventilated. It could probably only be attempted, with any moderate likelihood of success, by treating the handling of immigrants' deposits and kindred transactions as matters interrelated with interstate commerce. It is obvious that an approach on these lines is not free from objections. To begin with, a very large, if not the largest proportion of such business does not come into the class of interstate transactions. In so far as it involves immigrant's deposits, made and withdrawn in the same locality, it is clearly intrastate. It would entail a very strained construction of the law to hold that remittances to Europe made from one state of the Union would constitute an interstate transaction. As a matter of fact it would involve a transaction not between two states, but between one state and a foreign country. An interstate transaction could be held to exist only if, to illustrate, a local banker of one state should send money to a banker in another state (conceivably New York) in order to have the remittance to Europe made from there. By establishing direct relations with the immigrants' old home country, it would be easy, however, for any bank or banker to keep his transactions free from the character of interstate business."

But with the greatly increasing amount of business which immigrants are doing with their home countries, the adoption of some form of national protection seems to be inevitable. Should America and the American banker fail to provide adequate protection for the savings of immigrants, it will be necessary for foreign governments, foreign business and foreign protective asso-

ciations to increase their financial activities in this country, in order that such adequate protection may be given to their nationals. This they are now attempting to do, and if the volume of business increases in the future, at the same rate which it has in the past, it is difficult to see how Federal regulation can be avoided. We have encountered a like necessity before and found a way to deal with the matter, when the enormous increase in immigration necessitated its removal from state control.

While the immigrant seeks to increase his income by a proper investment of his savings, and desires to advance himself by securing credits to enter business, it should not be forgotten that he is, in most cases, first of all a wage earner. It is therefore the American insurance company, no less than the American bank, upon which we must rely for the protection of immigrants from the hardships which result from sickness, old age, and disability. It is to such companies that the immigrant family should look for assistance when death enters its home. Any man needs such protection when he lands in a strange country with only enough money to carry him to his first job; and who is confronted with the possibility of deportation, if he seeks public aid; and with the probability of being buried in a potter's field, if he dies. With such a prospect in view he is more than willing to join an organization which will make these things impossible.

But again it is not the American insurance company but the racial society which meets this situation. As the immigrant bank has become a part of the racial economic system, due to the neglect and indifference with which the American banker has regarded the immigrant, so the racial, fraternal and benevolent society, described elsewhere, flourishes *because it is primarily an insurance organization.* While racial instincts and habits have

drawn the members of each race together in such organizations it has been the economic benefits which have held them together. The leader of one such association, whose membership comprises more than 100,000 foreign born members, when asked for the secret of its success, said, "We give them something for their dues—we have the best sickness and death benefits in America." Before the war, the failures of such benevolent societies were almost as numerous as were those of immigrant banks, and the sums lost aggregated hundreds of thousands of dollars, because they also have not been brought under American law. It is no exaggeration to say that the failure of many of the American insurance companies to grasp the significance of the needs of 15,000,000 foreign born people and of the new immigrants who are daily arriving, has not only deprived them of a great amount of needed protection, but it has greatly facilitated the growth of racial institutions and of racial solidarities in America.

The political future of America, no less than that of Europe, is likely to be determined largely by its economic instinct, and America cannot afford to neglect this instinct in its millions of foreign born people. There are strong racial jealousies inherent in the handling of money which characterize our interracial financial transactions. The immigrant to-day distrusts the American in money matters, partly because of his exploitation and, partly, because of the poor judgment which Americans have shown in the exercise of injudicious charity; and partly because of the American's tendency to be inexact. We shall not, therefore, integrate the immigrant into American economic life by simply handling his savings—we must find a way to understand his attitude of mind and to secure his interest and coöperation.

What greater service to assimilation, through the sav-

ings of immigrants, can the American Bankers Association render than to establish a division in its organization which shall include all bankers who handle foreign exchange and transmissions of money, or who deal with immigrant peoples of other countries? One of the duties of such a division should be to study this whole field of operation in the United States, with its ramifications abroad; to devise means of preventing exploitation; and to set a high standard of admission to membership. This, more than any other thing, would put into operation the principles of assimilation, namely: the recognition of, and the reciprocity and participation by all such bankers, and it would go a long way toward securing identity of interest and unity of action. It would level racial financial walls and would start the merger of the parallel economic systems in the financial field. And what greater service can the great transatlantic steamship lines and express companies render to the immigrants who trust their lives and savings to them than to unite with the American Bankers Association and with the leaders of finance in the Federal government to reëstablish the faith of the foreign born in American financial institutions, and to command through them a greater confidence from the countries of Europe.

PART III: ECONOMIC ASSIMILATION

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CHAPTER X

OPEN QUESTIONS

WHEN we pass from the world of business, in which we have presented a combination of opportunities as well as a complication of dangers, into the realm of public affairs, our discussion leads us not to a remedy, but to still larger questions. For we perceive that a unified public opinion, the integration of our two economic systems, the adjustment of racial relations and the manner of dealing with future immigration are not matters for the consideration of business alone. America, in respect to its immigration, has now become the center of world politics. Whatever immigration policies it adopts will affect Europe no less than European emigration policies will affect this country; and between the two countries there are irreconcilable differences which will create constantly new situations, to be adjusted.

It would, then, be folly for American business, strong as it is, to undertake alone the solution of problems, many of which are beyond its ken. The designing of a broad policy on immigration, which will deal with both our internal racial affairs and with the international aspects of immigration, is the work of no one group but of all of the people. Such a policy, while recognizing the economic questions involved, has also to consider questions of education and of public welfare and must

keep in mind the fundamental principles upon which this government is founded. It is, therefore, a question whether the economic assimilation of immigration will succeed in any great measure, unless this country establishes a clearly defined policy which will have an intelligent majority public opinion behind it. For this purpose, a way should be found by which business, labor, racial groups, government and all other interests, with different points of view, can combine in a common judgment.

The formulation of a policy to meet the requirements of the new era in our immigration history is a first duty if our community is not to be divided and our councils distracted; and if suspicion is not to weaken the strength of the nation; and if understanding and good faith are to prevail among nations. Until we separate the general subject of immigration into the specific questions which are now stumbling-blocks to the adoption of such a policy, and submit them to the American public, there will be no policy which can be said to represent American opinion. Until we examine our own mode of thinking upon this subject and test our own opinions by comparison with others, we cannot hope to establish a permanent policy. To facilitate this procedure, some of the open questions involved in such an immigration policy are suggested, together with a brief indication of the way in which Americans are to-day thinking upon them.

Is America irrevocably an immigration country?

Upon the general subject of future immigration, American opinion is divided between the restrictionists and the liberal immigrationists. The passage of the literacy test, the extension for a period of one year of the war regulations concerning passports, and the mass of

bills which have been submitted in favor of restriction indicate that a considerable body of Americans think that we have had enough immigration. That another group of Americans do not regard the matter in the same light is indicated by the large numbers of immigrants now being admitted, and by the ease with which regulations are either complied with or are evaded.

To secure a majority opinion one way or the other from these fairly evenly matched bodies of opinion, involves, on the one hand, a consideration of the traditions, beliefs and tendencies of the descendants of the older stock; and, upon the other hand, a consideration of the power, interests and obligations of that third of the American population which is either foreign born or who are the children of foreign born parents. The changing of the opinion of the foreign born is not an easy matter, as many of them still have their families in the old country, whom they intend to rejoin either here or abroad, or whom they are under obligations to bring to America. The question is whether the presence of so many foreign born people has already fixed our destiny as the great middle class country, made up of all the races of the world, or whether there is still time to reverse our policy and to try a new experiment.

As yet, there has appeared no clear answer which, in the one group, has been free from prejudice and class feeling or from the desire to assure the future benefits of America to their own posterity; and which, in the other group, has been free from commercial ambition, racial obligations and the desire to share American good fortune. Nowhere is there amassed the information and the facilities for the solution of the question which will assure to us the vision necessary to arrive at sound conclusions upon which we can base immediate action.

Is immigration essential to our economic development?

Upon the questions of the economic necessity for immigration, American public opinion is divided between the ambitious youth of the country who wish to see America in the foreground of economic affairs and to see it become the greatest commercial nation in the world; and those who are fearful lest the country grow too fast and thereby possibly exhaust its resources. Opinion is divided between those who see the vast unused farm lands, and those who see only the crowded cities; between employers who say they cannot maintain production without a fresh supply of immigrants, and organized labor which insists that immigrants take their jobs and lower their standard of living.

The passage of the contract labor law and of the Chinese exclusion law, the three vetoes of the literacy test, the constant raising of physical standards, and the increase of offenses for which deportation is prescribed, all bear testimony to the way in which Americans are registering their opinion upon this subject. The controversy existing among various governmental departments indicates vital differences of opinion even within the same political party. The Department of State regards future emigration as a matter of state to be governed by passport regulations; and the Department of Labor regards is as a matter of labor, to be governed by the immigration law; and the Department of Justice regards it as a matter of police regulation, to be attended to by the secret service.

To secure a public opinion, however, which will express something more than the attitude of one person or group, requires first an examination of the position of those who hold that economic needs come first. They believe that only in this way will America keep the leading position which it now occupies in production,

finance, and commerce; and that this in itself will maintain sound political institutions.

It requires, second, an examination of the position of those who believe that the protection of American institutions comes first and that business is able to take care of itself. Members of this group, therefore, favor legislative control of all phases of immigration. There is, however, a third group which advocates the solution of the present problems by means of the admission of temporary labor. A powerful body of engineers is behind a movement to import Chinese labor and an experiment of this kind has already been made with the Mexicans. The advocates of this remedy for immigration problems point out that America needs workmen; that the conditions of employment vary; and that the movements of men should be extremely fluid to meet the fluctuating demands of both production and markets. They remind us that every other immigration country in the world, acting in the belief that the interests of loyalty and of commerce are not identical, separates economic necessity from citizenship requirements. They claim that the use of purely economic incentives to naturalization, such as American business is now adopting, but inject insincerity and hypocrisy into the situation, inasmuch as such motives lead immigrants who have no intention of completing their naturalization to apply for first papers in order to hold their jobs. They hold that "birds of passage" are also desirable because on their return home they will spread American ideas abroad and will help America to extend its foreign markets.

Others, however, see in this movement only an attempt to break down existing safeguards and to flood the country with cheap labor in order to lower wages; while still others are genuinely concerned about our unreadiness to handle such labor, so long as race prejudice is

so prevalent, and so long as we lack facilities to protect such bodies of laborers, as they move from place to place.

Obviously, however, political exigencies rather than economic opinion will prevail, unless America first of all makes an unbiassed survey which will cover its economic resources, its means of distributing immigrants, and its powers to adjust them to its opportunities. All this will be more or less useless, unless there is a national reporting system which will keep the government constantly advised of the changing conditions of its labor market, and of the varying necessities of the immigrants whom it seeks to assimilate. Until then it is difficult to reach a decision which will have back of it a united public opinion.

Is America a necessary asylum for the foreign born?

Concerning America as a future asylum for oppressed people, opinion is divided between those who believe, irrespective of whether the immigrant is either essential or desirable, that there should be preserved the tradition that America is to be forever an asylum for oppressed people and a haven of refuge to the persecuted peoples of the world; and those who believe that the time has passed when America needs to continue so to serve the world. The latter group argues that the extension of democratic principles throughout Europe has eliminated the need; but some of its adherents go further and assert that even though the country needs alien labor, and even though some peoples may need an asylum in America, the safety of American institutions is being imperilled by the admission of those who must necessarily be affected by the unrest and spread of Bolshevism and by the growing sense of nationalism among these races whose experi-

ences in self-government and representative government are so different from our own.

There are many who believe that there should be a valid expression of opinion on this subject rather than that America should hold itself out to be in theory what it is not in practice. They point to the "backstair methods of deportation, repression, and discrimination," which are applied to aliens after arrival. They say that "if this represents the majority opinion, then we should serve notice to all the world of the change in our point of view."

Before a decision is reached, it will add greatly to its wisdom if information is amassed concerning the prevalence of oppression and persecution among various races in Europe, concerning the effects of Bolshevist propaganda, and the tendencies of the spirit of nationalism, so that whatever position is finally taken, will be one of justice to ourselves and of good faith to the world.

Shall the basis for assimilation be Anglo-Saxon?

Opinion as to who shall be responsible for the assimilation of immigration is divided between the Americans who believe that upon the Anglo-Saxon element depends the preservation of American ideals, traditions and institutions; and the newer immigrants who believe that they can express American ideals just as well. The former favor the restriction of immigration and the passage of laws which prohibit aliens from owning land, which discriminate against them in employment, and which suppress the use of foreign languages. They believe that political leadership should go to representatives of the older immigration, and that the ownership and direction of American business should rest primarily with the native stock. There is a growing feeling among members of this group that the more recent im-

migrants differ from the older type of Americans so much in political and economic experience and background that neither their capacity nor desire to help in the assimilation of newcomers is to be counted upon to any great extent.

This point of view—that it is necessary to retain an unimpaired Anglo-Saxon stock in order to guarantee assimilation of immigration—is resented by others and there is a growing feeling against the domination of the Anglo-Saxon element in American affairs. It is, therefore, asserted that any immigrant, as soon as he is naturalized, is as capable of holding public office, of participating in the direction of American affairs and of interpreting America to his constituency and to the world, as are the descendants of the older stock. They voice the belief that American birth, traditions and the experience of growing up amid American institutions no more qualify a man as an American than does the immigrant's experience in his own native country. Some of them point out that their race was fighting, centuries before America was born, for the very principles of liberty and equality which America now enjoys, and that therefore America's destiny is entirely safe in their hands.

We shall probably have no final answer to this question until the contributions of the various races to American life are better known and compared; and until there is wider knowledge of the part which each race has played in establishing and maintaining principles of liberty both here and abroad. To what extent immigrants possess the leadership which qualifies them to share in Anglo-Saxon institutions, and to participate in the administration of the form of government already established in America is now a matter of opinion rather than of fact.

Shall America become a one-language country?

Upon the desirability that the immigrant learn the English language, there is well-nigh unanimity among native Americans. But we divide upon the question of whether such instruction shall be made compulsory and upon the wisdom of applying economic penalties to the immigrant workman who does not learn it. Those who favor compulsion see a barrier to assimilation in a diversity of languages and some favor deportation as a penalty for the failure to learn the English language. Those who favor economic penalties, such as the loss of work or failure of promotion in case of failure to learn the language, and economic rewards in case of compliance, apprehend a possible decrease in the labor supply and in the increased inefficiency among men who use polyglot tongues in America. They, therefore, approve of the recommendation of the Commissioner General of Immigration to register aliens and to remit in part the annual renewal fees wherever the English language is learned.

But others, while they agree upon the desirability of having all aliens learn the English language, and approve of providing facilities for this purpose, see in the movement for compulsion an infringement of constitutional rights and of treaty agreements. They think the success of such a movement will result in a form of repression which will be subversive of the best interests of America and they deplore the action already taken by some states, to limit the use of foreign languages. They point out that the expansion of business increasingly requires their use of foreign languages at home as well as abroad, and that it is hampered by the reaction of politics which tends to prohibit such free communication.

In arriving at a sound public opinion which will govern future legislation, we shall need to consider

this question on broader grounds than those inspired by fear, prejudice or resentment. We shall have to consider our ability to provide such facilities as will enable aliens to learn the English language, as well as our capacity to enforce over so great a territory laws for the repression of all other languages. We shall have to ascertain in advance whether the international gains of good will and a future supply of immigration will be greater than will be the losses incurred by such action, and whether we safeguard American liberty more by encouraging free speech in all tongues than by limiting it to one.

What shall be done with the foreign language press?

Upon the subject of the necessity for the continuance of this press in American life, public opinion is divided among four groups of people. The first group would abolish it on the ground that it is unnecessary, pernicious and a distinct menace to American unity and institutions, by reason of its promotion of foreign culture, customs, traditions and ideas. They see no possibility for good in it—a conclusion to which they have been helped by the war and by the spread of Bolshevism. In support of this belief, they have encouraged the introduction of numerous bills in the states and in Congress for its abolition.

A second group believes in its regulation rather than in its suppression, on the ground that it reaches many people who do not speak English; that it has capacities for interpreting America to the immigrant; and that, in addition to being a center of opinion, it is a legitimate business organization. They believe that it should be licensed and that its utterances should be regularly supervised, and that active Americanization work should be undertaken through it; and that, further, it should be

used in every possible way to advance American interests. This group includes many foreign born editors who favor some form of supervision and effort which they hope will effectively "separate the sheep from the goats," and will give the loyal and more responsible publications the standing which their editors think they deserve.

There is a third group which believes that this press should be made bilingual and that all of its most important material should be printed in the English language as well as in the language of the race. They think that this will facilitate the learning of the English language; that it will enable the American to know what is being printed; and that it will gradually decrease the necessity for the existence of this press. They also urge that Americans coöperate in its ownership and management and in the use of it as an advertising medium.

There is still another group which believes that this press is indispensable to American unity and progress, and that any attempt to regulate it in ways not applicable to the press as a whole will promote race hatreds and will be a serious infringement of the rights of free speech. They point out that in the one state where the circulation of publications in foreign languages has been suppressed, the immediate reaction has been to revive and extend race hatreds; and that a publication in the English language has appeared, presumably to take the place of the foreign language press recently suppressed, which denounces not only the use of foreign languages, but types of racial activity and thought. It is significantly destructive and not constructive in tone and temper; and includes among its attacks one upon the Red Cross Service which furnishes information to immigrants concerning government institutions and functions.

The difficulties are almost insuperable at this time of obtaining a majority public opinion upon a policy toward this press. The great body of English language newspapers, which have so large a part in forming American opinion, and a great part of the English speaking public are not in sympathy with this press, while at least a third of the population believes there is a place for it in American life. To reconcile these two points of view and their respective interests by supplanting prejudice with facts is a task of the first magnitude.

Shall American citizenship be compulsory?

The question of learning the English language through compulsion suggests another—that of requiring aliens to become citizens within a specified time or to be deported. While there is great diversity of opinion on these two questions, bills have been introduced in Congress which provide for a declaration of intention upon arrival and for a penalty of deportation after a specified number of years, if citizenship has not been acquired. Those in favor of this legislation see in "birds of passage" an increase in labor turnover, a loss in money saved through American wages, and a tendency to exploit American resources. They regard immigration, naturalization and assimilation as inseparable and point out that America has received more than 31,000,000 immigrants from Europe under this policy and has thereby enormously prospered.

Those who are opposed to such a policy favor, as an alternative, making certain improvements in the present system. They believe that there should be a longer period of residence before aliens become citizens; that the technicalities of the law, as for instance state residence which now operates as a hardship rather than as a test should be replaced by more fundamental standards;

and that a thorough examination of the immigrant upon his knowledge of our form of government and institutions and upon his attitude and sympathy with them should take the place of the more or less perfunctory examinations which are now without uniformity or standards, dependent as they are upon the judge who makes such an examination. They believe that when the alien is ready for admission to citizenship the occasion should be made one of ceremony.

There are still others who oppose compulsory citizenship on the ground that immigration is purely a matter of economics. They favor the European plan of admitting temporary laborers, with the understanding that they are not to become citizens and are not to participate in any American affairs.

It would seem that compulsory citizenship is much too serious a matter for snap judgments or hasty legislation, involving, as it does, the reversal of some fundamental American policies. Moreover, it bears a vital relation to production, as such a measure would inevitably affect the flow of immigration toward America, since it runs counter to all European interests. It also involves one of the most delicate of international questions—dual citizenship—which has been under discussion for many years; an analysis and adjustment of which should, by all means, precede legislation.

What is to be the status abroad of naturalized citizens?

Upon the subject of international citizenship it is nations, and not individuals or states, which are divided among themselves. "It is," says an Italian writer, "the one subject upon which no compromise is possible because it goes to the very root of the existence of each nation." In practice, many European nations do not recognize American citizenship, but regard their immi-

grants and their sons born in other lands as subject to military training and duty when upon their soil; and as amenable to punishment and confiscation of property for failure to comply with the summons.

Aliens in America see very little advantage in acquiring a citizenship which makes them and their sons born in America liable to foreign military service; and naturalized citizens point out that in some countries little respect is paid to their American citizenship. The native born American has been indifferent and has allowed this matter to drift, largely because he has never realized its tremendous importance to the foreign born people in America and to their standing abroad.

Although the subject presents very great difficulties, yet in view of the kind of future immigration and of the complexity of our racial problems, the question cannot be longer ignored nor should its discussion in the future be permitted to lapse as it has in the past.

Shall aliens be registered?

The question of registration has been squarely raised by the activities of some aliens in America during the war. The object of registration, as given by those who propose it, is the separation of those who intend to remain aliens from those who intend to become citizens and to establish this classification by requiring a declaration of their intention upon arrival. Aliens are then to be kept under surveillance while declarants for citizenship are to be placed on probation.

Such registration is recommended in a bill suggested by the Commissioner General of Immigration in his report of 1919. It is again embodied under the guise of probation in a bill proposed by the League for Constructive Legislation. Its favorable consideration is re-

ported to be the substance of an address recently made by Mr. Albert Johnson, Chairman of the Committee on Immigration and Education of the House. It is favored by some of the foreign born people who see in this plan a way to relieve them of the burdens which they now carry, by reason of the American habit of indiscriminately grouping together the loyal and disloyal immigrants and the pro-American and the un-American elements.

Those who oppose registration, while they admit that we should know more about where our alien population lives and about what it is thinking and doing, insist that we should try a system of Americanization first, and should make a national effort to assimilate our immigrants. They say that the proposed registration plan will introduce into America the police system of Europe with Prussian methods which we went to war to exterminate. They point out that it is a complete reversal of the American policy of granting freedom to the immigrant after arrival. They hold that to place the members of other races on probation, and thus under suspicion, will offend European countries and will affect the flow of immigration in our direction. They fear that it will increase the strain already existing between the old and the new worlds.

There is perhaps more sentiment involved in the discussion of this question than in any other; and, therefore, both sides are taking a strong position which indicates that there will be a bitter fight on any bill which embodies such provisions. It is a question upon which a referendum will in all probability be taken to public opinion. It embodies a principle, so new to America and so fraught with national difficulties that the most impartial and exhaustive study of its probable effect

upon American institutions, upon the foreign born in America and upon our international relations should precede final action—whether for acceptance or rejection.

Shall the status of aliens be fixed solely by national laws?

Nation and states are in disagreement upon the question of the rights of aliens. The nation, with its power to make treaties and to govern naturalization and immigration, assumes one position; but the states, with a multiplicity of local regulations which they have passed discriminating against the aliens, apparently assume another position. Fourteen states prohibit aliens from owning land while the others permit it; other states limit the kind of employment in which an alien may engage.

While many Americans appreciate the delicate questions raised by these contradictions between international guarantees and the regulations in force in the various states, they also sympathize with the state leaders who are reluctant to abolish regulations which they believe are necessary to safeguard the homes, occupations and other interests of native Americans, and who contend that the Federal government is too remote, too slow and too indifferent to appreciate the local difficulties caused by the presence of aliens.

It may be said that majority opinion supports the national position, which is that it alone has jurisdiction over aliens. But, if so, it has apparently not registered that opinion in an authoritative way, for the alien is still perplexed and handicapped by a number of petty regulations which exist in some states and towns but not in others and which are a source of endless misunderstanding and friction between native and foreign born residents.

Shall America adopt a national system of assimilation?

Upon the question of making more adequate provision for the assimilation of immigration, there is little divergence of opinion, for America, through its laws and institutions, has already expressed its belief that immigrants can and should be assimilated. Its policy of admitting large numbers of immigrants which it considers assimilable, and of excluding others concerning whom it is in doubt, leaves no question at to the American attitude.

But the country is very far from having a generally accepted definition of assimilation and from the adoption of methods to carry out its policies; and it is upon such definitions and methods that the differences of opinion arise. When the Division of Information was organized a number of years ago, it was heralded as the beginning of such a system, but it received little coöperation from racial organizations. Likewise, when the Federal Employment Bureau was inaugurated it was believed that it would accomplish the same end, but it received little support from business. When the Smith-Bankhead bill was introduced to provide for the reduction of illiteracy and for the teaching of the English language, it was regarded as an all inclusive measure, but it was defeated by partisan political interests. The Commissioner General of Immigration also undertook to provide for assimilation in his proposed bill; and the Welty Bill, which is the last word Congress has had on the subject of assimilation, before the national election of 1920, covers it more specifically, as well as more broadly, under a Board of Immigration, which aims to protect the immigrant after arrival.

Those in favor of a national assimilation measure say that these are but half-hearted and ineffectual attempts to deal with a situation which is but little understood,

and that none of them provides for an inclusive system which will assure both political and economic assimilation. In reply, the advocates of these various measures say that the only way to obtain such a system is to build it up piecemeal by such efforts as they are putting forth, since no ideal plan can be either conceived or adopted in a situation which cannot be immediately controlled in all of its relations, largely because we lack the necessary data and experience.

The proposed measures, however, have other opponents, who, though in sympathy with their aims, are mostly Federal officials who fear that any coördination of government activities into a system will interfere with their individual powers and prerogatives. They think such coördination will hamper both their responsibility and their initiative, and they doubt whether the motives behind some of the measures which have been proposed are as disinterested as they appear.

It is extraordinary that there is so little public interest taken in the success or failure of assimilation and in measures to promote it, since in the last analysis it will determine both the volume and kind of future immigration. Its inadequacy explains the existence of many of the repressive measures now under consideration as it is also the occasion for much of the racial resentment now prevalent in America; yet, as those interested in the subject point out, it commands less of American constructive thought and action than does any other phase of immigration, and it is the one concerning which public opinion is least informed and the most voluble.

Shall immigration be dealt with abroad?

Opinion on this subject is divided between the "stay-at-homes," who see danger in conferring power upon officials abroad; and those who believe that at present

we are receiving only such immigrants as Europe chooses to send, without being in touch with either the motives or causes for this selection. They believe that additional light on this subject will be secured by the recent visit to Europe of the Commissioner General of Immigration.

Those who oppose the establishment of immigration officers abroad point out if inspectors are appointed to serve abroad, that the rejected alien will have no appeal and that the difficulties of such a long range method of control will hardly prevent maladministration. Those who favor it contend that it will reduce the hardships to the immigrant and will establish a fairer basis for the selection of immigration. There seem to be but few differences of opinion as to the gravity of the questions which will be involved in the extension of American powers abroad, but so far no one has sought to secure an expression of public opinion upon any phase of them or to take the lead in the initiation of such measures.

Shall the troubles of Europe be settled in America?

The question of whether the immigrant will bring the troubles of Europe with him for his race to solve in America has been brought to the fore by the war, and has been aggravated by the course of affairs in Europe since the war has ended.

There are many who view with some alarm the existing racial solidarities in America and the arrival of new immigrants. They ask whether they will bring with them the racial hatreds of Europe, and whether they will come already committed to work for this party or that one in Europe. They also inquire whether in the transfer of factional difference, existing among the races abroad, and in the stimulation by these newly arrived immigrants of political activities on foreign affairs, the

immigrant in America will not create miniature political republics which are a replica of those abroad. And if so, they further ask what will the effect be upon the one great Republic from which they derive their support. They reflect much of the caution which Hamilton urged in the early days of the Constitution, when he said:

"In the composition of society, the harmony of the ingredients is all important, and whatever tends to discordant mixture must have an injurious tendency. The United States has already felt the evils of incorporating a large number of foreigners into their national mass; by promoting in different classes different predilections and antipathies against others, it has served very much to divide the community and to distract our councils. It has been often likely to compromit the interests of our own country in favor of another. The permanent effect of such policy will be, that in times of great public danger there will always be a numerous body of men of whom there may be just grounds of distrust; the suspicion alone will weaken the strength of the nation; but their force may be actually employed in assisting an invader."

These inquirers cannot see how America is to be kept free of international entanglements if a large section of its population through its own subterranean channels is assuming the direction of affairs in Europe. They foresee the time when there will be a division of opinion upon the attitude to be taken by the country as a whole.

But there are many others who see an infringement upon American liberty in the limitations of the powers of such organizations. To them, the discussion of international affairs by foreign language groups, with intent to circulate propaganda in favor of one party or the other in the home country, is a lesser evil, compared

to the greater danger of restricting the freedom of expression in America. They see little harm in meetings which are called to denounce or to promote foreign governments regardless of whether these governments are free or oppressive, or whether they are monarchies or democracies. They see no harm in permitting publications in foreign languages to be published in America which take a stronger position on foreign political events than they do upon American political events. They believe that organizations should be free to raise money for any purpose which they see fit, to be used abroad; that they should forward resolutions expressing their opinion on the affairs of their native country; that they should send delegates, if need be, to deliberate in assemblies abroad which are dealing with native country affairs.

Upon a subject of such vital importance no general public opinion has as yet been formed. Both those who emphasize and those who minimize the dangers realize that before official action is taken a thoroughgoing analysis should be made of this new political situation, with a view to informing the country and receiving the benefit of its mature judgment.

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If these are the fundamental questions to be determined in the adoption of a national policy and if most Americans agree that they are as yet unanswered by a majority public opinion, as expressed in American law, procedure or customs where and how shall we seek the answers? If business alone takes the lead, it may be accused of having the motive of self-interest. If government alone takes the lead, it may be accused of having the motive of partisan politics. If the public alone takes the lead, its findings may be ignored as the work of "uplifters." For these reasons, there are many who believe that the question of immigration is one upon

which business, government and the public should cooperate in seeking a solution. They question the wisdom of pursuing a plan whereby laws passed at the instance of one group are evaded by other groups; whereby policies announced by the government or by business, are disparaged by those not responsible for them; and whereby official information, when published, is charged with being propaganda. They decry the spread of propaganda to influence legislation which plays upon the temporary fears of men whether it be through Bolshevism or through allegations that foreign governments are "dumping radicals or criminals upon our shores."

To avoid these dangers, we require first of all, an enormous amount of data from both American and foreign sources. Before a practical use can be made of such data, we need to have it tested, analyzed, compared and supplemented by an impartial and thoroughly trustworthy body of men, in order that it shall be free from any taint of propaganda or from any suggestion of control by special interests. There appears at the present time to be no organized body of men who can undertake this work, for such bodies as exist are either a part of other organizations which could not do otherwise than make this subject the tail to their larger kite; or they are committed to methods and policies which do not leave them free to give an unbiased judgment.

But there are students of both national and international affairs whose services could be combined in an institute of immigration research which would serve this purpose at home. Its immediate creation is important for there already exists in Washington an immense amount of valuable information concerning the foreign born in America, the significance of which few now in charge of it are equipped to use. Such governmental organizations as the War Loan Organization of the Treasury Depart-

ment, the Committee on Public Information, the Council of National Defense, the various extensions of the War Department, the Bureau of Naturalization, the war Bureaus of the Department of Labor, the Alien Property Custodian, the Bureau of Education and the Secret Services of various departments have collected a vast amount of information which, if put at the disposal of such a body, would be of inestimable value in helping the country to formulate a sound immigration policy. Furthermore, its preservation for future use is a matter of prime importance because the great sums expended to secure it are not likely to be duplicated. An effort should therefore be made at an early time to classify this information and to bring it up to date.

During the war some of these various governmental divisions established connections with foreign born people and their institutions, which brought about a feeling of cordiality and good will between them and the government. To permit these to lapse is for the American government to lose official touch with much of the racial life and expression in the country, and thus lose a connection which the war has made possible. For this reason a resumption of conferences with these racial groups is highly important.

To-day, with all of this information available—but unassembled and unanalyzed—America is at a disadvantage, not only in dealing with its own racial affairs, but in handling its international problems inasmuch as European countries are much better informed than is America regarding their nationals in this country.

Of equal importance is the necessity to submit this information, when gathered and analyzed, to the people whose opinion must finally prevail. While the publication of data and the formulation of policies are important, there are many who believe that before America makes

up its mind about immigration American public opinion would be greatly benefited if there were more deliberation upon a smaller body of data; more discussion of fundamental principles, and more frequent conferences held at which more free opinion was expressed in sustained debate.

American public opinion, owing to the distribution of its various racial problems throughout the country, differs very much according to locality, and, therefore, to obtain the judgment of one section is not necessarily to obtain the judgment of all sections. The South, with an intensive race problem of its own, bases its attitude toward all race problems upon this experience. The far West, with Oriental and Mexican border problems of immigration, reaches its conclusions through its experience with them. The middle West, with its older immigration and fewer intensive industrial demands, inclines to be less cordial to the new immigration; while the East is the home of both the liberal immigrationist and the restrictionist. But the experience and judgment of all of these sections are the substance of American public opinion and only conferences held in each section of the country, in which identical questions are discussed and findings are compared, can hope to reveal upon what points no unity is possible, or to secure upon such points as are susceptible of general agreement a majority public opinion.

Through such conferences the government should find a way to avail itself of the intelligence and resources of all of its people on the subject of immigration. Other countries have Emigration Councils, which discuss policies and give due deliberation to new proposals. Any policy which is adopted will affect the foreign born of thirty-two racial groups in different ways. If there were a council composed of both native born and naturalized American citizens who could bring to such a discussion

not only the point of view of the native born, but also the experience, judgment and point of view of each of the racial groups in America, its opinion would carry weight and we would obtain a high level of competence.

The knowledge gained by such a series of conferences needs to be supplemented by international conferences so as to collate similar knowledge and points of view possessed by foreign countries. America has in process of organization for such purposes an American Institute of International Affairs. This Institute, in coöperation with similar Institutes abroad, might well be asked to undertake this work. The purpose of these Institutes is to widen association, but not authority; to bring men into consultation, without attaching responsibility; to analyze information, but not to apply its findings; to separate information from propaganda; and to publish the results of their deliberations. These Institutes could do these things as well for immigration as for other international matters.

But it is important to diffuse this knowledge gained through international conferences among the various sections of the country and for this are needed exchange scholarships to acquaint leaders in one country with leaders of another country. Not less necessary are courses for the training of representatives in foreign affairs, and the exchange of missions between countries which should be extended on a considerable scale.

This necessity for the exchange of knowledge also suggests the need of a more formal statement of the result of such deliberations and of the diffusion of accurate information concerning the immigration activities of each country. This will in turn doubtless necessitate the establishment of international publications which would be the joint contribution of the various nations. The possibilities of this are illustrated by the work now being done

by a periodical of the character of the *Economic Review.* This is an admirable digest of such information, and with a few additions to include American data, would be of immense value to business men, who now have to rely upon a few organizations, like the Bankers Trust Company and the Guaranty Trust Company, in order to secure necessary information about industrial as well as trade conditions abroad.

The Peace Conference taught us the futility of having information possessed by only a few men, and of international conferences in which only a few minds participated. On a subject of such vast importance as immigration we need to distribute information and to multiply discussions throughout America, as well as to bring together American and foreign statesmen, scholars, publicists, engineers, jurists, bankers and industrial men.

It is to be hoped that if America concludes that such a necessity for information and analysis exists, that it will follow some such plan as has been indicated, and to a degree at least avoid the mistakes of the past where ponderous commissions have been appointed to hold hearings, the net results of which have been reams of opinions but few facts. The work of such commissions has usually been temporary and has depended upon ephemeral public interest or has continued until their appropriations were exhausted. It is not an investigation commission that is needed *but the assembling of a permanent, non-partisan body of scientific minds,* whose business it will be to function every week in the year, to gather facts as needed, to pursue routine studies, to test and to analyze propositions and to form a center to which public opinion, perplexed on any phase of the subject, can turn for enlightenment. Until then, we shall perhaps blunder along, following this prejudice or that whim, and this theory or that argument.

But there are other questions which involve immigra-

tion and unless the same quality and range of discussion is to prevail among them, immigration problems cannot be dealt with in the way indicated. Among these is the question of industrial relations which bears so vital a relation to the flow of immigration. It is, therefore, necessary that each trade organization throughout the country should not only have its immigration committee to keep its members constantly advised concerning immigration affairs, but also that steps should be taken to reach agreements upon methods of industrial management and manpower problems. In this way government, business, and the public interest would be united in a way to insure a speedy answer to the open questions which have been suggested, and thus insure a sound basis for any policies which were adopted.

CHAPTER XI

PRINCIPLES OF ASSIMILATION

AMERICA will succeed but ill in the task of assimilation which its millions of immigrants have created unless, in its accomplishment, the American spirit illumines the way. For assimilation embraces something greater than the integration of the immigrant into the American economic system, something finer than the best formulated policies can express, and something more just than American law yet embodies.

Unless this spirit which has built America sees beyond the day's work, and beyond the immediate material gain, what will it profit the country, and what will it benefit the immigrant if at the call for labor, an immigrant always responds; if at the call for money, an American bank book invariably appears; if at the opening of markets, the American brand of goods is first on display; and if at the call of war, all races through a united public opinion gather under the American flag? For when prosperity wanes, and men falter in the face of adversity, or when the desire for power divides their allegiance, what is it that will hold together members of all races, and all native Americans, in an identity of interest which embraces the spiritual as well as the material needs of men?

Even though the war was fought for nationalism, it has not revealed to us the principles of national unity; nor has it brought peace to the thousands of foreign born scattered throughout the world. They, no less than ourselves, seek a unity of spirit as well as of race. There is

one group of foreign born people which hopes to find this peace and unity in America. From the moment of arrival its aspirations, purposes and devotion are bound up in a great desire to become a part of America. This group as we have seen, has a leadership, a press and an organization which is always at the service of American interests. The assimilation of this group is but an opportunity to be used by America.

There is another group whose members believe that they can and must retain the connections and advantages of the old world; even while they aspire to embrace those of the new country. They believe that the way to do this is to combine for their own interests in America, so that they may also exercise a power here as well as in their home affairs. This attitude opposes race to race and separates them from native Americans, thus impeding the natural processes of assimilation. This is the battle-ground, for it is here that conflict exists in men's minds and hearts between the old allegiance and the new; between old and new points of view; between old customs and habits and new; and between dependence upon the old world and independence in the new. This group has its organizations, press, and leadership whose power depends more upon the preservation of the interests, traditions, customs, language, and literature of the racial groups, than it does upon the acceptance by them of American standards. The assimilation of this group is but a responsibility which Americans have assumed.

There is a third group whose members are openly and frankly loyal to their home countries; they have no thought of choosing America as a home, as they intend to use it only as a base for business operations in order to make money for themselves or for the corporations which they represent. Through this group we may benefit by its knowledge and contact with the world affairs,

and we may also establish relationships which will further good will between nations. This group has its organizations, its press and its leaders. Its assimilation is neither feasible nor advisable, but association with it is a privilege which America should recognize.

If there is a division in spirit among the several groups of immigrants, there is no less a like division among the native born. One group of native born is in favor of immigration and constitutes the leaven of assimilation, because of its understanding and sympathy with the questions involved.

The sentiment of other groups is divided; on the one hand it desires to use racial institutions and agencies, and to fuse with American life the contributions which the immigrant brings; on the other hand it desires to suppress the languages, customs, and habits of the immigrant, and to impose Americanism upon him. This division of interests impedes the natural processes of assimilation, and creates a conflict between prejudice and tolerance; between the disposition to share benefits and the tendency to safeguard them for our own posterity; between the courage to welcome strange peoples for our progress and the complacency to rely upon ourselves for the future; between the power which believes in expression and coöperation and that which inclines to repression and ruthless competition; between the impulse to look forward and achieve greater things and the instinct to look backward and remain safe.

There is a third group which has no faith in assimilation, and is either indifferent or opposed to immigration. It has no thought of coming into contact with the immigrant or of contributing to his advancement. It may from time to time utter a warning against it but for the most part its members retire into lofty seclusion to observe the struggle going on below.

Obviously, something beyond material needs or gains is required to unite spirits so averse to each other and interests so diverse in purpose. For important as material institutions are, they are but a mechanism through which we test our desires, achieve our hopes, and realize our ambitions. If they fail to serve these purposes the immigrant, not less than the American, in search of that perfection which man ever seeks, will look for new fields of effort. Surely there must be some key to assimilation which will open the doors of racial and American institutions alike, through which both the native and foreign born may pass freely. Surely there must be principles, susceptible of application to all of us in the association together of native and foreign born, that will establish that confidence and good will so essential to the assimilation of divergent peoples.

First of all, is there agreement upon what is meant by assimilation? Is it alone the learning of a language or the acquirement of citizenship papers; or are these but vehicles which increase American contacts and make more available the opportunities of the new country? Is it alone the immigrant's dressing and acting outwardly like an American; or are these but evidences of the first steps in his progress? Is it alone the receiving of American wages and their use to improve his living conditions; or are these but the means to an end? Is it alone the bringing of native and foreign born together; or does this leave unchanged the reaction of races toward each other.

Assimilation in the last analysis is to be found in no one of these things—alone. Rather, the test of assimilation for the American is whether in the presence of large numbers of alien peoples he retains the fundamental beliefs of his country, of its institutions, and has faith in himself; and whether his own customs, traditions, and form of government emerge triumphantly. If, as Ameri-

cans are daily tested by the activities of the foreign born and by their reactions to American life, they stand firm, as shown in the character of their thinking and by the consistency of their actions, then we may be assured that assimilation is satisfactorily progressing. The presence of aliens in America during the war was such a test upon a great scale. The spread of Bolshevism in America was another such test. Both of these have been a strain upon the American's belief in liberty and justice, upon the stability of constitutional law, and upon other attributes of fundamental Americanism. Our common reaction to such tests, much more than the absence of a common language, and of a low percentage of naturalized citizens, furnish us with a true perspective of assimilation.

For the immigrant the test is whether in a strange country and in the midst of native born Americans and many other races he shows, without sacrifice of racial qualities for which America has no substitute, a capacity to adjust himself to new conditions, to acquire new standards, to follow American trends of thought, and to accept American ideals and ideas. If the immigrant can make his own racial contribution available to America and at the same time can take from the new country what is necessary for his own progress, then we may be equally sure that assimilation is satisfactorily progressing. The plight of his home country in the war and the Americanization movement were such tests. His reactions to the new found wealth and to the sudden accession of liberty and equality of opportunity without surveillance; these, and not his knowledge of the language and the way he dresses, furnish us with a true perspective of assimilation.

If assimilation is the establishment of an identity of interest expressed through common reactions to American thought and life, through a unity of public opinion, and through a common belief in American government

and institutions, what then are the principles which native and foreign born alike can understand and apply in the every day affairs of life?

Recognition is the first of these principles—recognition by the American of the capacities, qualities, and contributions which the immigrants bring; and by the immigrant of the ideals and achievements of Americans. Americans, hitherto, have been inclined to "lump their appreciation" of what the various races have brought to America. They judge racial traits largely by direct and indirect contact with individual members or with isolated groups of the various races, and not by a knowledge of the history and culture of the races as a whole, of which the individual is but the product. But recently a systematic effort has been made, notably by the *Literary Digest* and other magazines, to bring before the American people the characteristics and achievements of the various races. This new interest on the part of America toward racial information has been one of the contributions which the war has stimulated.

But the application of this racial information to practical affairs is hardly begun. For instance, Americans regard quite differently the Italian in America who is doing rough labor, than they do the Italian in his native environment; and they seem to see little connection between the ditch digger and the literature and art of his race. Also, it scarcely occurs to us that there is reason for a joint celebration on Columbus Day by native Americans and foreign born Italians, and only recently have we begun to recognize their national holidays. By such lack of appreciation we have failed to convey to the members of almost every race whatever concept we may have had of their racial accomplishments.

This apparent unwillingness or inability of the Americans to connect in their own minds the immigrant with

his heritage, has caused us to pay but little attention to the individual. On the one hand he has been admitted to the country, which in itself may be taken as a recognition, either of his desirability or of his labor. American citizenship has been offered to him—a decided recognition that he could appreciate a free government. American schools have been opened to him,—a recognition of his desire to learn our language and history. An earnest effort was made to Americanize him—a recognition, from one point of view of his worthiness, or from another point of view of its necessity to America. Coincident with the war there has also been established a number of joint societies—a recognition of the desirability of bringing the various races and native Americans together. Increasing attention has also been given to the holdings of exhibitions of the arts and crafts of the races—a recognition of the cultural contribution which the immigrants have made to America.

But what of the day's work—the place and time where most theories are tested and where most ambitions are realized? Here the tendency has been to limit our recognition of the immigrant to his value as a laborer. As a result, discriminations in employment, in promotions, in treatment and in living conditions have, to a considerable extent, usurped the place of recognition. This limitation of recognition to labor values explains in a large measure our inability to absorb or to incorporate other racial values into the native American system. This has resulted in a loss to American business, as a few observations will show.

Deterioration in workmanship, no less than low production, is creating anxiety among American manufacturers; not only because of the increased cost but because of its possible effect upon international markets. A considerable part of this deterioration is due unquestionably

to the loss of immigration and to our past neglect to conserve the quality of workmanship of immigrants. It is also due to our failure to note the varying qualities in different races,—qualities which best fit them for American industry, by giving the highest return in the quality and quantity of production. What are some of these qualities that deserve recognition?

First, the immigrants of the majority of the races which supply America with unskilled labor have a capacity for faithful operation and a natural instinct for perfection. As part of the craft training of the old world they take a pride in their work, and their desire for perfection yields more slowly to the insistent pressure for quantity. Second, they have a definite "work sense," which they do not constantly seek to evade. Third, they possess a better discipline in working together. Fourth, the peasant has the patience to do the drudgery incident to monotonous work and the endurance to stand its strain. Fifth, they have a sense of frugality which eliminates waste in plant operations. Sixth, they have a capacity for self-discipline and for working together within the narrow confines of mechanical work, an asset to which Americans have given little thought.

The American producer who must compete in the markets of the world, including America, with the products which these races will make in their native lands, may well consider whether the encouragement of immigration of races possessing these qualities in a high degree is not a matter of considerable importance to American commerce. When competition with the frugal peoples of Europe, with their lower cost of production and higher quality of output, begins to make itself felt throughout the world, American employers may realize, when it is too late, the importance of knowing how to reach at its

source the labor supply of the races which will ultimately produce the most of the best qualities at the least cost.

The steady capability of the immigrant workman and his resistance to change are of considerable importance in production. These qualities could be utilized to a greater extent if the employer understood his racial workmen. Before the war the average employer was skeptical if he was told that his racial workman required a special recognition. To-day many plants have a different atmosphere due to an increasing recognition of the immigrant. As an illustration, in a certain plant where more than a thousand Italians were employed, a condition prevailed which showed a lack of harmony between management and men. The management complained that the immigrant workmen did not appreciate the lunch room; and that they would not learn English, even though the classes were conducted on part company time. The men were suspicious of every advance and innovation. It was suggested to the management that it show some simple form of recognition, such as an appreciation of what the Italian national holiday meant to the workmen. On that day every member of the management appeared wearing a red carnation. The Italian workmen understood the act of appreciation and, from that simple beginning, there has grown an intelligent and sympathetic method of dealing with racial workmen.

Another quality, the value of which business has failed to recognize, is the frugality which most immigrants practice. The peasant, trained in a hard school of privation and want, is not prone to waste even when he acquires plenty in America.

In a country where the business mind tends to act without mature deliberation, the immigrant's instinct for definition may be utilized if put into play in operations where it will count for the most. Where the American

business mind is only too ready to accept new propositions, the immigrant's greater power of refusal may furnish a much needed check to hasty action and may prevent the adoption of wasteful and half-baked experiments. His natural tendency to preserve traditions creates a center, however ill adapted and uniformed it may be as to American conditions, to which appeals on labor and other controversial matters can be referred for judgment.

Vast as the wealth of America is to-day, it furnishes no excuse for the neglect of small assets, one of which is the thrift of the immigrant. His tendency to hoard his savings and to withdraw them from circulation and thus destroy their immediate usefulness for capitalization purposes and also their earning power to himself, has not been recognized by the American.

If such qualities are among the resources of immigrants, which are largely unused by American business, it is also true that some races bring to America certain qualities which make their incorporation into American institutions difficult, and it is equally important to gauge their effect upon business.

The immigrant peasant moves slowly away from the beliefs, traditions and habits of his native land, and scarcely at all, unless he has the approval of some recognized authority. The processes of his mind are simple. His reactions to the complex American city are governed by a tenacity of early ideas and training, and by a routine existence which is appallingly narrow. His absorption in the day's work, with the ever present anxieties of food, shelter, and clothing, shuts him out from much of the new world about him. He is often filled with a deep-seated rancor, which is based on centuries of oppression and race feuds which have created in him an attitude of distrust, and which cause him to respond in most unexpected ways to overtures from the American. He has

a credulity growing out of an unbridled imagination which prevents him from readily perceiving abstract rights. His limitations in comprehending public events in a strange country create barriers through which few Americans have yet found the way. His untrained mind, unaccustomed to reflection and with few resources to fall back upon to tide it over the break with the home country, requires that the simple ties of religion and of physical restraints be established immediately upon arrival. In the absence of these, the immigrant does not respond during crises in a way wholly understandable to the American; and indicates a slower adaptation to American business operation and life which should be reckoned with in all industrial management experiments.

But if the American has failed in his recognition of the immigrant's qualities and possible contributions to America, the immigrant has no less failed to recognize the finer traits of the American and to appreciate American achievement. He has come to know the dollar far better than he has the man. He has come to judge of American institutions, not by their illimitable possibilities but by the pettiness of his narrow experiences. He has been contemptuous of the literature of a country which he thinks is without the richer traditions and simplicity of his older world. He has by comparison not only disparaged much that the new country has to offer, but he has acquired sometimes a supercilious and even critical attitude concerning much which, not having had a hand in the building, he does not yet fully understand. He has often mistaken liberty for license and duties for privileges.

Abstract recognition of the qualities of races and of the personality of their members will not do much for assimilation, unless a way can be found to make recognition not only apparent but mutual by effecting an exchange of ideas and ideals between the various races and between

them and the native born. Thus reciprocity becomes the second principle of assimilation. Much is now being done to acquaint Americans with a knowledge of the history and an interpretation of the races, many of whose members are now in America. But as yet we have done little with our interracial problems of bringing, for instance, the ideas and ideals of the races together; or of bringing about an exchange of literature and opinion and of combining them with American thought and expression.

This is essential if we are to apply the third principle of participation which will put into operation recognition and reciprocity between races and between them and Americans. For only through the full participation of each immigrant in American affairs will economic assimilation obtain. It is by drawing out the full contribution which immigrants can make and by utilizing their full powers, that identity of interest is finally established. This means giving to them the full opportunity to put into practice their ideals of freedom as well as their capacity for work. This means the elimination of discriminations, of a sense of race superiority, of imposition of regulations without consultation, and of many similar attitudes of mind which now limit the immigrants' participation in American affairs and which now turn their attention to institutions and countries where they can find a fuller expression.

Economic assimilation of immigration, then, is the application of the principles of recognition, reciprocity, and participation by native and foreign born in the day's work. It has for its objective the irrevocable integration of the immigrant into American life at every economic point.

Economic assimilation in operation means that industry recognizes his capacity for work and quality of workmanship; and that the immigrant recognizes the capacity of the American for leadership and organization. It

means that this recognition is expressed in practical ways. It means that views and ideas are freely exchanged. Thus, the immigrant will participate in the full life of American industry just in proportion to his capacity, and the American will participate in racial affairs to the same degree and in the same way.

Economic assimilation means that the banker recognizes the immigrant's qualities of thrift and frugality, that his patronage is essential to American progress, and that the immigrant, on his part, comes to have faith in the American bank. Then there will follow the reciprocity which will make the immigrant a depositor in the American bank and an investor in American securities. The banker will help the immigrant to succeed, and both will participate in financing and developing American enterprises which will bring both to them and to the country substantial returns.

Economic assimilation means that the merchant recognizes the value of immigrant trade, merchandising, and salesmanship; and that the immigrant will recognize that his interests are identified solely with those of American commerce. This will lead to reciprocity in which the American will sell goods to the foreign born, while the immigrant, in turn, will stimulate business for the American merchant here and abroad. Both will participate in building a better trade at home and in expanding American business abroad.

Economic assimilation means that the English language press recognizes the value and place of the foreign language press and that the latter will adopt the principles and standards of American journalism. This will lead to the formulation of a united opinion, based upon the recognition of the immigrant's beliefs, traditions, and customs and the consequent exchange of ideas and opinions, and participation of both racial and

native American thought in maintaining American institutions.

A broader economic assimilation beyond the day's work means that Americans have found a way to incorporate into American life the spiritual contributions of the immigrants and that the immigrant has found a way to absorb the finer qualities of American life. If as a racial member he is without the experience of free education and institutions, if he has not had the freedom of full self-expression, if he has not transversed the limits of class lines, if he has not been master of his own destiny, it may be that America will mean to him the realization of these ideals. If as a nation we are without great intensity, inspiration or tragedy in our history; if we have less power of refusal than of acceptance; if we have little respect for authority; if we are slow in establishing traditions; and if we have too much loose idealism, it may be that the immigrant can make a very real contribution if his full participation in American life is assured.

But assimilation in all of these ways must be more than a hope, more than an aspiration and stronger than a desire. Americans in this great undertaking must abandon the habits of thinking a task is done when it is but begun, of taking credit for achievements which are but yet projects, and of taking for granted situations which require the most careful analysis and reflection.

When this commercial age has exhausted the treasures to be gained by adventures into the resources of the earth, and we have found a way to assure to all men the necessities and comforts of life, then men's minds may create the age of beauty in which their thoughts will turn to quality rather than toward quantity; to simplicity rather than toward ostentation; to form rather than toward bulk; to color and line rather than toward size; to continuity and precision rather than toward loose ideal-

ism. Perhaps, then, the best architects will build the shops and homes of immigrants and native born alike, and the best designers will decorate them, and perfection will not be reserved for state occasions, but will find its way into the common things of life.

Then the ordinary problems of economic assimilation will no longer hold, for we shall have passed from the freedom we have gained by subduing brute force by science and skill by controlling the oppressions of men by politics and economics, to the conquest of ourselves. Thus we will be freed from petty ambitions; and peace and unity, which the end of the war has so signally failed to achieve, will become realities.

In the meantime, we must live through the practical age, in which the instruments given to us for use are commercial. We are cheered within the narrow confines of the day's work by the hope that the age which succeeds this will hold the keynote of beauty instead of profits. It is possible that we may have to wait until then for the full assimilation of the immigrant—for it may be that full identity of interest consists less in sharing what money alone will buy, than in the mutual appreciation of the spiritual qualities of men. It is the vision of this which keeps many in the economic treadmill though they know that the day of perfection is not for them to see.

THE END.

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