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Abridged Debaters' Handbook Series

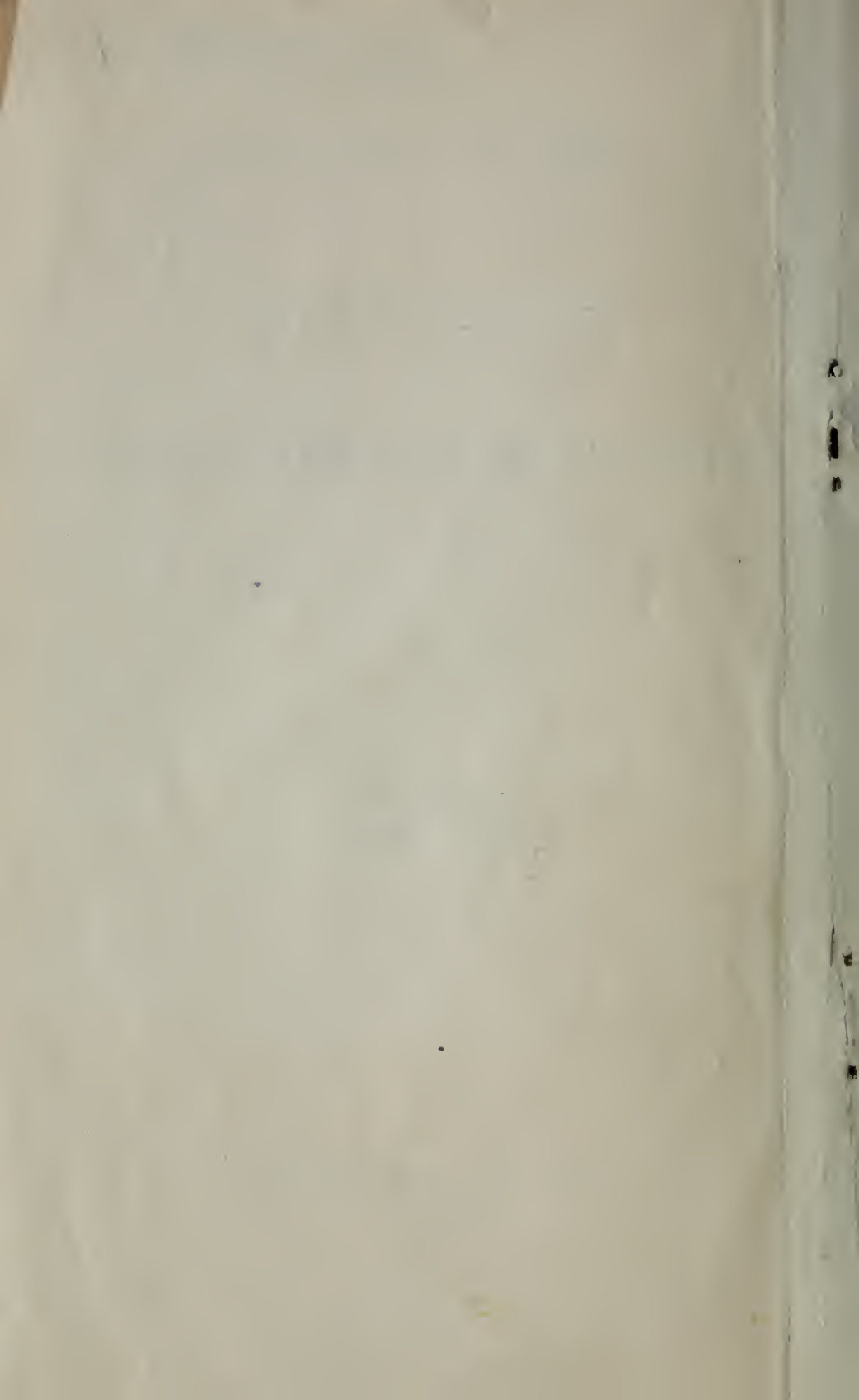
SELECTED ARTICLES

ON

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION

COMPILED BY
EDITH M. PHELPS

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

With the passage of the Burnett-Dillingham bill in February 1917, over President Wilson's second veto, there came an end to the long struggle, waged since 1896, to incorporate the literacy test into our immigration laws. But this did not prevent demands for further restriction of immigration, as can be shown by the number of bills introduced into Congress since that date. Conditions resulting from the war and the uncertainty as to future immigration have made the question of more importance than ever. Many feel that the present temporary lull in immigration is the time to shape our course for the future.

The question of prohibiting immigration entirely until conditions approach a normal peace-time basis, is of very recent origin. The war has made evident that we have admitted to this country a large number of people who, for various reasons, have not become assimilated, and whose present situation is a menace to our political, social and economic well-being. Some feel that the remedy lies in further restriction of immigration; others, rather in better assimilation and distribution of the immigrants. The varying opinions are set forth in the following pages.

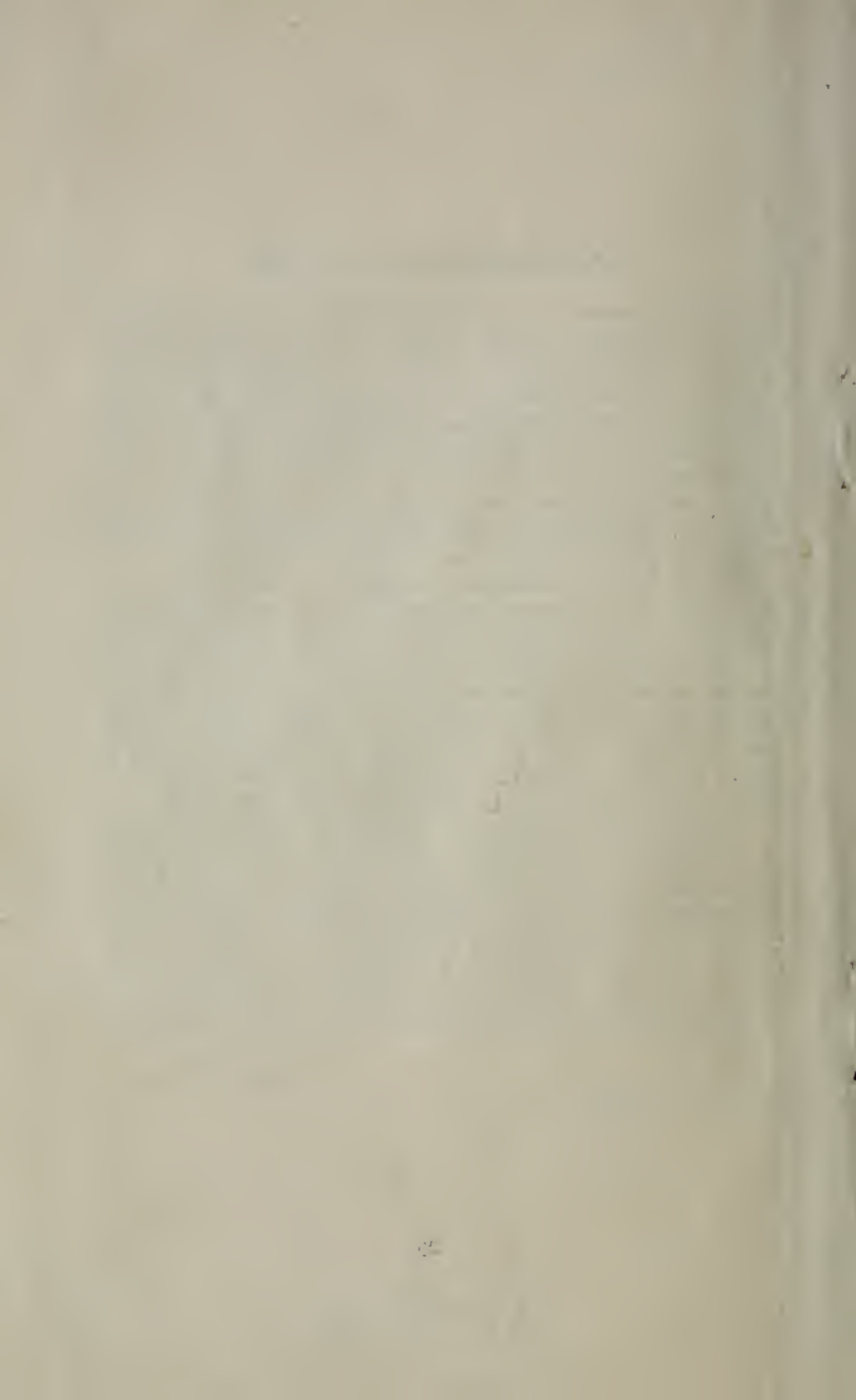
This Handbook conforms to the general plan of the Debaters' Handbook Series in that it contains briefs for both sides of the question, a selected bibliography, a discussion of the history and present status of the immigration problem, and reprints of articles both for and against the proposal to prohibit immigration for a term of years. Since this phase of the subject is new, the bibliography is meagre, but additional arguments can be found in the older literature listed in the various bibliographies mentioned.

EDITH M. PHELPS.

February 3, 1920.

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BRIEF

RESOLVED, That Congress should prohibit immigration into the United States for four years.

INTRODUCTION

- I. It is generally admitted that there is need of greater care in admitting and assimilating the foreign-born who come to our shores.
- II. As part of a program for better assimilation, it is urged that further immigration to the United States be prohibited for four years.
- III. The issues for debate are
 - A. Is this legislation necessary?
 - B. Is it advisable for other reasons?
 - C. Does it have the support of public opinion?

AFFIRMATIVE

- I. It is necessary that immigration into the United States be prohibited for four years.
 - A. There are already in this country large numbers of aliens who have not been assimilated.
 1. They have come much faster than they could be cared for.
 2. A large proportion of them have come from countries with speech, laws and customs entirely dissimilar to our own.
 3. Many of them are still unfamiliar with our language and laws.
 - B. As soon as ocean transportation is fully re-established, there will be more immigrants than ever before.

1. Many will come from war-ruined countries to better their social and economic condition.
 2. The decrease in immigration during the war and at present is purely temporary.
 3. Many aliens now returning to Europe will come back bringing their families and friends with them.
- C. This legislation is needed for economic reasons.
1. The low-skilled occupations into which most immigrants enter are considerably overstocked.
 2. With the return of our men from Europe and the closing of many war industries there is increasing unemployment.
 3. Standards of living and wages cannot be maintained in competition with immigrant-recruited reserves of unemployment.
- D. This legislation is necessary to preserve our ideals and institutions.
1. Democracy can only exist with the maintenance of a certain standard of living.
 2. Our government is threatened by those who do not understand our ideals and institutions and seek to overturn them.
- II. Prohibition of immigration for four years is desirable for other reasons.
- A. It may serve to convince our middle-class people of the dignity and worth of hand labor.
- B. It will preserve the integrity of our free institutions.
- C. Statistics would tend to show that immigration in the past has acted as a check upon the birth-rate among the native-born.
- D. It is our duty to humanity to protect our standards of living.
1. To serve as a model and a goal for striving democracies in other lands.
 2. So we ourselves may be in a position to help those democracies to gain their ideals.
 3. Free immigration of labor, as it is usually of a lower class, tends to break down standards.

III. The American Federation of Labor and the four railroad brotherhoods are in favor of this legislation.

NEGATIVE

- I. Prohibition of immigration for four years is not necessary.
 - A. There is no danger of an over-supply of immigrants.
 1. Immigration has failed to materialize since the signing of the armistice.
 2. Emigration is at present in large numbers notwithstanding the fact that labor is scarce and well paid.
 3. Labor tends normally to flow where it can get cheap land. ✓
 - a. Practically all of the free land in this country has been absorbed.
 - B. There is already a shortage of labor.
 1. Household servants are difficult to obtain.
 2. There is a dearth of laborers for railroads, roads and public works where large numbers of unskilled workers are needed.
 3. More unskilled labor is needed in order to keep work going for skilled laborers.
 - C. Present machinery for regulating immigration is sufficient.
- II. Prohibition of immigration is undesirable for other reasons.
 - A. Prohibition for four years will not keep out the undesirable element permanently.
 - B. The migratory instinct is inevitable.
 1. It is better to seek to regulate it wisely than try to crush it.
 - C. Prohibition of immigration is unpatriotic and un-American.
 1. To be an American means to be actuated by the highest motives of humanity.
 - D. The loss in population will not be offset as some think, by an increasing birth-rate.
 1. The birth-rate is controlled by the price of food.
 2. Prices will not lower as long as there is a labor shortage.

E. Prohibition of immigration conflicts with the new idea of internationalism.

1. Restriction is based on one or the other of the following assumptions:

a. That a nation has the right to decide who shall or shall not enter its territory and to keep its economic and social life to itself.

b. That some races are inferior to others and that differences of race are a barrier to economic assimilation and social equality.

2. Either of these assumptions is inconsistent with internationalism or the league of nations.

III. Many social and economic workers, also manufacturers and employers of large numbers of laborers, are opposed to this bill.

A. This legislation would create more problems than it would correct.

B. More laborers are needed.

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GENERAL DISCUSSION

A COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION POLICY AND PROGRAM¹

The need of adequate and wise immigration and Americanization legislation is imperative. Now, while war suspends the tide of newcomers to our shores, is the time for enacting the new laws to regulate the coming of fresh aliens.

No one can foretell how large or small will be the immigration from the war-ravaged countries of Europe when the war ceases. Wages in America will be high and the demand for cheap labor will be urgent. Immigration companies and steamship lines will seek for fresh sources of cheap labor to bring to America.

The influx of foreigners in recent years has produced a serious situation. Our laws have not adequately grappled with the many kinds of problems which have arisen. Present laws afford no method of control either of the numbers or of the race types that may be admitted. We have reason to expect a large immigration of peoples that will prove extremely difficult of Americanization.

Vast masses of aliens in our midst are not Americanized and we have no effective provision for their Americanization. We give them citizenship with very inadequate preparation for it. The procedure in naturalization is needlessly hampered by red tape. We allow serious congestion of race groups. Free immigration from Europe constantly threatens standards of living of American workmen. Differential treatment of, and legislation against, Asiatics produces international irritation. Lack of laws makes it impossible for the United States to keep its treaty obligations for the adequate protection of aliens.

These varied dangers threaten the success of our democracy.

We now need a comprehensive and constructive policy for

¹ By Sidney L. Gulick, Secretary of the Commission on Relations with the Orient, of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. In *Scientific Monthly*. 6:214-23. March, 1918.

the regulation of all immigration, and the Americanization of all whom we admit, a policy that is based on sound economic, eugenic, political and ethical principles, and a program worked out in detail for incorporating that policy into practice.

If we are to attain the best results we should have a series of bills that deal with all phases of the immigrant question, in a systematic, comprehensive and well-coordinated plan in place of the patchwork, incomplete and disconnected legislation that now exists. Our new comprehensive policy, moreover, must take into consideration not merely the relations of America with Europe, Africa and West Asia, but also with China, Japan and India. The world has become so small and travel has become so easy that economic pressure and opportunity are now bringing all the races into inevitable contact and increasing intermixture. To avoid the disastrous consequences of such contacts and intermixtures, and to enable the United States not only to provide for her own prosperity, but also to make to the whole world her best contribution for human betterment, we need policies that are based upon justice and goodwill, no less than upon economic and eugenic considerations.

OUR FUTURE IMMIGRATION POLICY¹

The outstanding feature of our immigration policy has been its negative character. The immigrant is expected to look out for himself. Up to the present time legislation has been guided by conditions which prevailed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We have permitted the immigrant to come; only recently has he been examined for physical, mental, and moral defects at the port of debarkation, and then he has been permitted to land and go where he willed. This was the practice in colonial days. It has been continued without essential change down to the present time. It was a policy which worked reasonably well in earlier times, when the immigrant passed from the ship to land to be had from the Indians, or in later generations from the government.

And from generation to generation the immigrant moved westward, just beyond the line of settlement, where he found a homestead awaiting his labor. These were the years of Anglo-Saxon, of German, of Scandinavian, of north European settle-

¹ By Frederic C. Howe, Former Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York. In Scribner's. 61:542-6. May, 1917.

ment, when the immigration to this country was almost exclusively from the same stock. And so long as land was to be had for the asking there was no immigration problem. The individual states were eager for settlers to develop their resources. There were few large cities. Industry was just beginning. There was relatively little poverty, while the tenements and slums of our cities and mining districts had not yet appeared. This was the period of the "old immigration," as it is called; the immigration from the north of Europe, from the same stock that had made the original settlements in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the South; it was the same stock that settled Ohio and the Middle West, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas.

The "old immigration" from northern Europe ceased to be predominant in the closing years of the last century. Then the tide shifted to southern Europe, to Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Poland, and the Balkans. A new strain was being added to our Anglo-Saxon, Germanic stock. The "new immigration" did not speak our language. It was unfamiliar with self-government. It was largely illiterate. And with this shift from the "old immigration" to the "new," immigration increased in volume. In 1892 the total immigration was 579,663; in 1894 it fell to 285,631. As late as 1900 it was but 448,572. Then it began to rise. In 1903 it was 857,046; in 1905 it reached the million mark; and from that time down to the outbreak of the war the total immigration averaged close on to a million a year, the total arrivals in 1914 being 1,218,480. Almost all of the increase came from southern Europe, over 70 per cent of the total being from the Latin and Slavic countries. In 1914 Austria contributed 134,831 people; Hungary 143,321; Italy 283,734; Russia 255,660; while the United Kingdom contributed 73,417; Germany 35,734; Norway 8,329; and Sweden 14,800.

For twenty years the predominant immigration has been from south and central Europe. And it is this "new immigration," so called, that has created the "immigration problem." It is largely responsible for the agitation for restrictive legislation on the part of persons fearful of the admixture of races, of the difficulties of assimilation, of the high illiteracy of the southern group; and most of all for the opposition on the part of organized labor to the competition of the unskilled army of men who settle in the cities, who go to the mines, and who struggle for the existing jobs in competition with those already here. For the newcomer has to find work quickly. He has exhausted what little resources

he had in transportation. In the great majority of cases his transportation has been advanced by friends and relatives already here, who have lured him to this country by descriptions of better economic conditions, greater opportunities for himself, and especially the new life which opens up to his children. And this overseas competition is a serious problem to American labor, especially in the iron and steel industries, in the mining districts, in railroad and other construction work, into which employments the foreigners largely go.

How seriously the workers and our cities are burdened with this new immigration from south and central Europe is indicated by the fact that 56 per cent of the foreign-born population in this country is in the States to the east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio Rivers, to which at least 80 per cent of the present incoming immigrants are destined. In the larger cities between 70 and 80 per cent of the population is either foreign born or immediately descended from persons of foreign birth. In New York City 78.6 per cent of the people are of foreign birth or immediate foreign extraction. In Boston the percentage is 74.2, in Cleveland 75.8, and in Chicago 77.5. In the mining districts the percentage is even higher. In other words, almost all of the immigration of the last twenty years has gone to the cities, to industry, to mining. Here the immigrant competes with organized labor. He burdens our inadequate housing accommodations. He congests the tenements. He is at least a problem for democracy.

But the effect of immigration on our life is not as simple as the advocates of restriction insist. It is probable that the struggle of the working classes to improve their conditions is rendered more difficult by the incoming tide of unskilled labor. It is probable too that wages are kept down in certain occupations and that employers are desirous of keeping open the gate as a means of securing cheap labor and labor that is difficult to organize. It is also probably true that the immigrant is a temporary burden to democracy and especially to our cities. But the subject is not nearly as simple as this. The immigrant is a consumer as well as a producer. He creates a market for the products of labor even while he competes with labor. And he creates new trades and new industries, like the clothing trades of New York, Chicago, and Cleveland, which employ hundreds of thousands of workers. And a large part of the immigrants assimilate rapidly.

In addition, the new stock from southern and central Europe brings to this country qualities of mind and of temperament that

may in time greatly enrich the more severe and practical-minded races of northern Europe.

OUR NATIONAL GATES—SHUT, AJAR, OR OPEN?¹

When the House of Representatives failed to pass the Burnett Literacy Test bill over President Wilson's veto last year, another chapter was ended in the history of a long and bitter controversy about our national gates. The first began with the settlement of this land and was terminated by the War of Independence; the second was closed by the disappearance of the Know-Nothing party shortly before the Civil War, the third by President Cleveland's veto of the Lodge literacy test bill, the fourth by the creation of an immigration commission in 1907. The fifth was closed by President Taft's veto of the Dillingham-Burnett bill (two years ago), whereupon began the sixth, which culminated as told above. An interesting seventh chapter is now being enacted.

Rise of Anti-Alien Feeling

Of anti-alien feeling in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries little need be said. Those were still the dark days of bigotry. Nor is this the place for a long description of the second chapter of exclusionism—Know-Nothingism. The country was young. Universities were few, and higher education meant little more than the humanities. Men of enlightenment were scarce.

During the Civil War and subsequent period of reconstruction, anti-alien feeling existed in a latent state. It smouldered along until the early eighties, when immigration from Italy, Russia and Austria-Hungary increased. Then the sentiment broke out anew. In New England especially it became pronounced, and in 1893 the Immigration Restriction League was founded.

That same year Senator Lodge introduced the first literacy test bill, which, reintroduced three years later, was passed by Congress early in 1897. Its supporters thought their triumph had come, as there had been no systematic opposition to it. That it was objected to, however, was evidenced when President Cleve-

¹ By Manoel F. Behar. Reprinted from the New York Evening Post by the National Liberal Immigration League, May, 1916.

land vetoed it as an unjustified "radical departure from our national policy." The House promptly passed it over the veto by 193 votes to 37, but it failed in the Senate, which had previously passed it by 52 votes to 10.

* * * * *

How came the Lodge bill to receive so many votes? How is it that various exclusion bills are introduced session after session, and have come near becoming law? There are, of course, active individual exponents, and also private citizens, unaffiliated with the exclusionist movement, who believe that immigration is largely responsible for pauperism, insanity, crime, unemployment, and other evils. All these are the Restrictionists.

In addition, there have sprung up during the last quarter-century a number of organizations, secret of nature, invidious in their workings, and powerful enough to merit at least a passing mention even in a brief description of the exclusionist movement. They generally assume a patriotic guise, and flaunt such terms as "Freedom," "America," or "Liberty," of which they style themselves children or custodians. They conduct a continuous campaign throughout the country. They maintain a lobby at Washington. They publish newspapers. They have well-paid organizers, who, to show efficiency, often prepare their field by spreading misconceptions. Whenever a vote on an immigration bill impends, they flood Congress with appeals, the tone of which at times reaches extraordinary fervor. These forces constitute the New Know-Nothingism.

However, the most powerful advocates of exclusion speak for a class of citizens who, according to some economists, have profited by immigration and would suffer from its stoppage—the skilled laboring class. The executive council of the American Federation has exerted every effort to secure arbitrary checks on immigration, as have the Knights of Labor, the United Mine Workers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and other unions. However, this attitude may be dictated from above. Indeed, labor organizations with hundreds of thousands of members have gone on record as opposed to further restriction.

The anti-immigration movement is thus composed of the Restrictionists, the Know-Nothings, and Organized Labor.

Attempts at Exclusions

Ten years ago there came a new move. Representative Gardner introduced a bill raising the head-tax on every immigrant,

which was then two dollars, to forty dollars. For the first time in the history of the nation it became necessary for opponents of exclusion to organize. Their movement started, fittingly enough, in Boston. Some time later headquarters were established in New York, and the National Liberal Immigration League was launched, with President Eliot, Andrew Carnegie, Bishop Potter, Gen. Tracy, and William Lloyd Garrison among the committeemen. In Washington its formation was felt. The \$40 head tax bill was shelved, and the exclusionists centered their efforts on the educational test.

Congress remained, however, impressed by the votes controlled by organized labor and other exclusionist influences, and in 1906 a bill providing for the educational test was passed by the Senate almost unanimously. President Roosevelt supported it, and a canvass of the House showed a large majority there in favor of it. Speaker Cannon and Representatives Bennet, Moore, Goldfogle, and Sabath fought it tooth and nail. The newly organized liberals also surprised the House, when delegations representing various nationalities proceeded to Washington at their behest. The bill failed in the House.

Immigration Commission Formed

In January, 1907, the National Liberal Immigration League, seeing its opportunity, petitioned President Roosevelt and Congress to create a commission to investigate the subject. This was accepted as a substitute for the literacy test, and was included in the Immigration bill, from which the literacy test was dropped. Thus freed from a vexatious issue, the bill was quickly passed by Congress, and signed by President Roosevelt on February 20. In two other particulars the enactment of the law of 1907, which ended our fourth chapter, was a compromise. One was that the head-tax was doubled, although the \$2 tax had already yielded a surplus of millions above all the expenses of the immigration service. This was of some satisfaction to the exclusionists. The liberals gained a desired point in that the new law created a division of information "to promote a beneficial distribution of aliens."

The creation of a commission was expected to afford both sides a two-year breathing spell, needed by the liberals to perfect their organization. This respite was soon interrupted by new moves on the part of the exclusionists, so that the fifth stage of the controversy began before the Commission had made its report. Attempts were first made to railroad restrictive bills,

but, these failing, the exclusionists tried new tacks. One was to suppress the Federal Distribution Bureau. They said it could be used for strike-breaking, and on the whole did more harm than good. The liberals on the other hand, claimed that "the problem of immigration is mainly one of distribution," and asked that the scheme be given a trial. The upshot was that the division remained, but its appropriation was cut down and its scope limited.

In December, 1910, the Immigration Commission brought in to Congress a preliminary report, finally adopted by its members "within a half-hour of the time when under the law it had to be filed." Commenting on it, Prof. H. Parker Willis, editorial adviser of the Commission, made the following admission:

"It is a fact that much of the Commission's information is still undigested, and is presented in a form which affords no more than a foundation for the work of future inquiries. * * * The result has been, instead of a small and finished study, a large and uncompleted body of data." (The *Survey*, January 7, 1911.)

The Commission, nevertheless, held that further restriction was "demanded by economic, moral, and social considerations," and eight of its nine members—Bennet dissenting—said: "We favor the reading and writing test as the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration."

Months afterwards, the information gathered appeared in forty-one octavo volumes.

Taft's Veto of Dillingham Bill

Embodying the recommendations of the Commission, a bill was prepared under the direction of its chairman, Senator Dillingham, who introduced it in August, 1911. It codified the existing law and contained, besides the educational test, provisions which would have required for their enforcement the promulgation of regulations scarcely in keeping with American traditions. All immigrants, for instance, were to provide themselves with certificates of admission and identity, as well as return certificates upon leaving the country. The Dillingham bill had a lively history, and disagreements between House and Senate and their committees furnished several times an occasion for a vote, which was invariably in favor of restriction by a large majority. It was finally passed by the House on January 31, 1913, and by the Senate on February 4, without division in either case.

On February 6, President Taft adopted the unusual procedure

of giving a hearing on the bill, which was attended by about 80 restrictionists, about 150 liberals, and a delegation from medical societies. Under the Constitution, the President has ten days in which either to sign a bill or return it to Congress without his approval. After that period, should he not veto it, it becomes law. Mr. Taft did not even express his view one way or the other until the evening of the tenth day, February 14, when, the White House stenographers having gone home, he wrote with his own hand a brief veto message, giving the educational test as the sole reason for his disapproval. On February 18, the Senate passed the bill over the President's veto, by a vote of 72 to 9. The following day it failed of passage in the House by 213 votes to 114.

Several days afterwards, Woodrow Wilson was installed as President. His opposition to further restriction was known; but the immigration service was placed in the new Department of Labor, whose head, Secretary B. W. Wilson, was known as an exclusionist. About twenty bills relating to immigration have been introduced most of which—including one introduced by Representative Burnett identical with that vetoed by President Taft—were restrictive.

Schemes For Restriction

Here are some of these schemes:

(1.) The educational or literacy test. (In the Burnett bill the immigrant was required to read; in others, to write as well.)

(2.) The increase of the head-tax from four to eight dollars in the Burnett bill, to more in others. This tax has already yielded a surplus of some \$11,000,000, all of which, in the words of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, "has come out of the pockets, not of the taxpayer of this country, but of aliens who are applying for admission." The immigration service requires about \$2,000,000 yearly.

(3.) The extension of the Contract Labor law to "mental" laborers, a provision aimed at skilled artisans, musicians, and the like.

(4.) The exclusion of "persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority," a proposal which provoked humorous comments, because its advocates never could agree as to its definition. The existing law bars out "idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons," and the like.

(5.) Although the existing law keeps out beggars, paupers, and persons likely to become a public charge, Mr. Burnett and others in their bills added "vagrants."

(6.) The "percentage scheme," *i.e.*, that immigration from any country during any one year be summarily restricted to a certain percentage of the number of immigrants from that country in the United States.

(7.) That male laborers must produce certificates showing that during one year immediately preceding their emigration they have earned a certain wage, which must be a stated percentage of the average wage paid in America for the same kind of labor.

(8.) That adult males be subjected to a physical examination and strength test equivalent to that for Army recruits.

The Burnett bill, after a hot debate, passed the House on February 4, 1914, by a vote of 252 to 126, or exactly two to one, and found its way to the Senate Committee on Immigration. Its Chairman, Senator Smith, reported it favorably on March 19, not only with the Burnett and other House restrictive proposals, but with additional ones, such as the "psychopathic inferiority" clause.

Several months later the war broke out, and friends and foes of immigration dragged it into the Burnett bill discussion. As was to be expected, restrictionists, exclusionists, and Know-Nothings found reasons for closing the gates. Prof. J. W. Jenks declared that the war "would undoubtedly force the United States to make changes in its Immigration law to prevent this country being flooded with Europeans after peace has come," and favored our making treaties with European nations to limit the post-war influx. The American Federation of Labor, anticipating a great rush, urged Congress to enact the exclusion of illiterates.

That most liberals minimized this sentiment was indicated by the scarcity of reassuring utterances, until the Liberal Immigration league, in December, refuted the contentions of the restrictionists. It issued its arguments shortly before the Senate took up the Burnett bill, that there is really no valid reason for fearing the prospect of a large post-war immigration, if properly handled.

The liberals' reply was well timed. The Senate practically avoided the subject; but its desire to enact a law checking immigration was unalterable. After little discussion it passed the

Burnett bill on January 2 by 50 votes to 7, with the literacy test and several amendments which necessitated a conference. The conferees reported on January 9 a bill from which several of the "fancy exclusion schemes" had been struck out. The literacy test, the exclusion of political refugees, and the "constitutional psychopathic inferiority" provision were retained. In this final form the bill was passed by the Senate on January 14, without division, and by the House on January 15 (227 to 94). Mr. Wilson not only followed Mr. Taft's precedent in holding a hearing—but he, too, waited until the tenth day before he issued his veto message. In it he stated: "If the people of this country have made up their minds to limit the number of immigrants by arbitrary test * * * it is their privilege to do so. I am their servant and have no license to stand in their way. * * * Let the platforms of parties speak out on this policy, and the people pronounce their wish."

This places the question squarely in the hands of the electorate and introduces it as an important issue of the presidential campaign.

As soon as this message had been read before the House, Burnett moved to pass his bill over the veto. It was agreed to have this motion discussed one week later. Exclusion bitterness was not lacking during that period, and it was urged that the liberals wanted to "flood the country with cheap labor." The American Federation of Labor came out with scarehead, muck-raking bulletins. In the end, the Burnett motion failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote.

For all that, the vote in the House was one of the largest in the history of Congress. There were 261 ayes and 136 nays, or no less than 397 Representatives voting out of 423. This is but one fact among many indicating that the controversy over immigration restriction is one actively participated in by a much greater proportion of the American people than is generally believed—even by some of those engaged in it!

Mr. Burnett and the exclusionists did not lose heart. When the Sixty-fourth Congress convened in December, 1915, the same bill was re-introduced, and on March 30, the House passed it by 308 votes to 87. The liberals put up a strong fight, but there were new phases of the immigration problem which had taken hold of the public mind without being understood—questions of preparedness, "hyphenates," etc. As if the drastic restrictions of

the Burnett bill would increase the loyalty of our foreign-born population!

[This bill was finally passed by Congress in February 1917 over the second veto of President Wilson. It contains provisions for a literacy test.—Ed.]

NEED WE FEAR IMMIGRATION?

All prophecy right now can consist of little more than conjecture, and by the nature of conditions must be largely futile. This is particularly true of prophecies as to immigration, for we do not know what the policies of governments, including our own, will be, nor, more important still, what effect the war and its aftermath will have on the instincts and inclinations of those people who might be classed as potential immigrants to our country.

Shall our pre-war record of immigration be re-established or exceeded, or will, as some predict, the tide turn the other way and America become an emigrant instead of an immigrant nation? There is but one concrete, non-conjectural answer which is, "We do not know."

No doubt the effect of the war on the migration and distribution of people will be far-reaching but just how no one can in detail tell with any degree of precision.

One would have thought naturally that many Europeans would have endeavored to escape the actual fires of war by emigrating to America or other countries far from the war zone. Of course shipping and other conditions made emigration difficult. However, it would seem that the war tended to depress rather than to stimulate the instinct of migration among the peoples most vitally affected by the violence of the conflict.

Immigration to this country from Europe fell off tremendously as soon as the war began in 1914, and continued to decline more or less steadily until, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, there was but little net gain in our population from that source. In fact during that year only 110,618 immigrant aliens entered the United States from all sources, while 94,585 immigrant aliens left the country during the same period. This left a net gain of less than 18,000.

¹ By Anthony Caminetti; Commissioner general of Immigration. In the Forum. 61:343-8. March, 1919.

The decade preceding the opening of the European war gave us annually an average immigration exceeding one million and the net increase in population from immigration sources in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, was 769,276.

What Influences Immigration

SPEAKING broadly two considerations underlie nearly all alien immigration:

1. Social conditions.
2. Economic conditions.

The first brought about the founding and original development of our country.

The second accounted largely for the phenomenal growth in population characterizing the last fifty years of our history and upon which was builded our modern-day industrial greatness.

Whatever changes the war will cause, it may be assumed that the migration of peoples will continue to be influenced as heretofore by social and economic conditions, barring, of course, artificial restraints or inducements.

Therefore, immigration to the United States or emigration from the United States in coming years is apt to depend substantially on the social and economic conditions existing in this and those other countries whose citizens are admissible as immigrants.

Thus the effect of the war on immigration will be to a large extent, for some years, influenced by the political and economic changes caused or produced by the war.

Social Improvements Abroad Due to the War

It is probable that the war will produce great social improvements throughout most of Europe. The many reforms projected and the promise of land distribution to the masses in many countries where hitherto it has been held by the privileged few may retard the current that has been flowing towards us for generations; and yet, with all that, the average European is likely to continue to look upon our country as the great haven of freedom. And there is no doubt in my mind that many thousands will continue to seek refuge here for the same reasons, though they may not be so potent, as inspired the bulk of our early immigration.

Nothing but pure conjecture can be ventured as to the future

operation of the other chief moving force in the tide of immigration, i.e., economic conditions.

If European countries maintain the validity of their war obligations, taxes will in future years demand a tribute which few persons until lately believed any people could bear. Those burdens may be reduced somewhat through lessened expenditures on military establishments, more economical governments and more equitable distribution of the taxes, but that they will be far beyond those of anti-bellum days, then considered highly oppressive, is certain.

Yet we must realize that the citizens of a number of European countries, England of course is included in this statement, bore, during the past four years, burdens far weightier than any they can expect for the future; and that those burdens were accompanied in some ways by a degree of individual prosperity among the masses exceeding any they had ever enjoyed in peace times. That such prosperity was economically false, may be true; but the fact is that, despite the tremendous tax of active war, workmen in nearly all the countries involved enjoyed better wages, and more favorable wage margins, than they had been accustomed to.

While food conditions in Europe for the present are distressing and threaten much suffering, such is only a temporary or passing factor which will be removed as peace-time production gets under way.

We must remember also that the four years of war had great adverse effect on the populations of European countries. While emigration all but ceased, millions were killed or died from disease or wounds at the front, millions were incapacitated, millions of civilians died or were broken by the strains and privations of war, and the birth-rate dropped almost universally.

Then, also, it may be estimated that there is more work at hand in Europe for those who survive, or rather more work needing to be done than was the case before. All the vast destruction of war calls, at least potentially, for replacement and the deficits in the implements of peace-time commerce caused by the deflection of energies into the activities of war need to be replenished. Indeed, the outlook for the European workingman of the peasant class, barring the period of adjustment from war to peace, may be much better than it was before the war.

Despite the tremendous destruction caused by the war and the

huge debts incurred by the governments involved, and the consequent possible increase in taxation, it is not extravagant to imagine a post-war Europe offering to the potential immigrant attractions superior to those he had prior to 1914.

It is also true that the experience of war intensified the love of most Europeans for their native lands and gave added potency to the feeling of Auld Lang Syne. Many thousands who otherwise would have sought new lands will now find it difficult to break the bonds of blood and suffering which the war has added to the usual ties binding them to the environment of their fathers.

Large Immigration of Soldiery Possible

CONVERSELY, the conditions mentioned may inspire many to seek new scenes in which to try and forget the experiences they have known and witnessed; and this may also affect the millions of soldiers, most of whom—despite the heavy casualty lists—are strong and virile, and will be released from the armies to find new life niches wherever they can. The migratory spirit has ever been strong among veterans of wars. And the veterans of the Allied armies are likely to feel a veneration and respect for America even exceeding that always felt by the masses in Europe. Contact with our soldiers no doubt has enhanced their visions of American liberty, freedom and economic well-being even beyond the reports of fact and fancy which have ever made America a fairyland of promise to the peasantry of the Old World.

Of course immigrants will come.

Events only will indicate the comparative extent and duration of the movement. No doubt considerable more will come as soon as travel facilities are provided than arrived during the active war years, when as stated the net additions to our population from that source were negligible. Whether the tide will reach former proportions depends upon circumstances in this country and abroad.

Whatever may happen in the matter of volume, we may be assured that under existing laws there will be such an inspection that will cause to be debarred all those who cannot pass the prescribed tests. These will include not only all of those physically, mentally and morally not entitled to admission, but also that still more undesirable type commonly referred to as anarchists, who come for license rather than freedom.

Will the United States Become an Emigrant Nation?

The statement recently given public attention that the United States is in danger of becoming an emigrant nation, should not be taken seriously. No doubt many residents of this country of foreign nativity whose kin have suffered from the privations and horrors of war may visit the place of their birth to give comfort and aid to their loved ones; but in my opinion a large majority of them will return to the places in which they have prospered. No valid foundation has been found upon which to base the radical change predicted. Such statements have encouraged plans to bring in laborers, now prohibited by law, to fill the places of those who would become part of the emigrating classes.

Without now taking up the claim that more laborers will be needed, whether or not the prediction is verified, I desire to call attention to the fact that a supply exists in abundance in Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands and the Philippines. What better way could be found to build up these possessions or what more suitable plan be devised to bind them to us, to obtain their confidence, to secure their trade, and aid their development, than to engage a portion of their people in our industries on the mainland? We would benefit them immensely and also avoid the reappearance of a disturbing problem that it has been our hope, from economic and other viewpoints, had been settled more than a quarter of a century ago.

MILLIONS OF WAR-WEARY EUROPEANS, SAYS F. C. HOWE, WILL COME TO AMERICA ¹

Two months ago, Commissioner Howe admits, he held the opinion that, for a considerable time after the war, the United States would have to face problems of emigration rather than immigration. But the fact is beginning to become apparent, in his opinion, that Europe is on the verge of economic exhaustion. "She has lost her power to come back," temporarily at least, he says, and offers this analysis of the situation as it affects emigration:

"Europe can not now make loans for purposes of restoration and reconstruction. One feels almost inclined to say that she

¹ Literary Digest. 61:66-70. May 24, 1919.

can not even make plans toward these ends. The plans that are being made are falling entirely short of the means they should afford. I think that certainly in France, and quite probably in England, the programs that are being outlined work definitely, inescapably, toward reaction.

"This would mean, of course, that not only would conditions become what they were before, but they would wipe out much of the progress of recent years. That is a thing that the men who have waged this war would never stand for.

"The line of the record of immigration to this country follows with barometric fidelity the record of economic conditions here and abroad. You may tell by looking at this line when times are hard in Europe and good in America; when they are bad here and good, or comparatively good, there.

"I should say that a very small percentage of the immigrants of recent years, at least, have come here to find the political or religious freedom they were denied at home.

"Not fewer than 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 Europeans are eagerly looking toward America in these first after-the-war days for the economic freedom that seems impossible of achievement at home. If conditions were favorable the number might be found to be very much greater than this, but in spite of everything it is quite certainly not smaller.

"Conditions," he declared, "are not favorable. It is not possible for an immigrant to enter this country unless his passport has been viséed by the Government of the land he has left. It is extremely improbable that the Government of Europe will grant such approvals at his time, or for a considerable time to come. The reasons for this are numerous and varied. No European country has, as yet, put up the bars against emigration. What they may do is, of course, another thing. General Pétain's remark to me, . . . is suggestive of the attitude that may be taken. In my opinion it is not likely that there will be legislation until some significant movement becomes apparent. Legislative bars are not needed now. Means of transportation are so lacking that little else is required. The world's tonnage is at a desperately low mark. What is available must be used for a long time to come by the military authorities. What is not taken by them, and much of the rest as military demands decrease, will be needed for the transportation of foodstuffs and of raw materials.

"Only those who can show the best of reasons will be able to travel for months to come. This will be quite as true of east-

bound as of west-bound travel. It is only as conditions come back to normal, or as they reach some new basis of stability, that this situation will change. In the meantime the most unhappy of men, the most eager to find new homes, will have to possess their souls in what patience they may.

"My judgment is," he said, "that the situation will remain much as it is now for the next twelve months, if not for the next two years. The year 1921 may see the shifting under way, but until that time it is improbable that there will be any positive developments. In the meantime there will be an easing-off in this country. This is already under way, as a matter of fact. To begin with, the bars have been up against the homegoers for the past four years. Normally the number that returns to Europe from the United States each year is 300,000. This means that there are now 1,200,000 awaiting their chance. The uncertainties of war have undoubtedly increased this number very largely. Those who came from the subject lands of Austria and Hungary, for instance, have been shut off from practically all communication with their homes and their kin since the war began. Very naturally they are anxious to know what has transpired during these years of silence.

"Free Poland and free Bohemia," he said, "will call to thousands now in this country. Russia, in spite of all that has happened there to make it, as we see it, anything but a welcoming land, will call to many more. It is a curiosity of the Russian mind that to so many all that was needed to make Russia ideal was the removal of the Czar. He has been removed, and Russia the ideal awaits!

"There must be considered in addition the thousands who have been drawing war-time wages for so long. It has always been a factor in our alien problem that a certain number of those who come in may be counted upon to go back when they have amassed a satisfactory amount of money. This number is greater now than ever before. This is partly due to the fact that the homeward tide has been dammed up for so long—longer than it ever was before in our history. It is partly due to the fact that these people have earned such wages as they never dreamed of, even in America. It is partly due to the fact that such wages were earned by people who never before had the way opened to them.

"The combination of causes has resulted in a large altho indeterminate increase in these, homegoers. I have been told officially that there are three thousand Italians alone gathered in

New York from other cities awaiting passage abroad. One of the recent liners on which it was possible to obtain steerage passage could have, it is said, sold its entire space three times over, and actually did carry a company enormously greater than it had ever before taken on board."

It is possible, in Dr. Howe's opinion, that more than the usual number of these homegoers will remain in Europe, if it is possible for them to do so. Among most of them the desire is strong to buy a little piece of land and settle down upon it for the remainder of their lives. This land-hunger is fed by the expectation that much land in Europe will be nationalized, says the Commissioner:

"The feeling is prevalent that nationalization of the land is to be one of the sure results of this war. Even where there is not to be nationalization, the expectation is strong that the great estates will be broken up so that small holdings will become available, either through the necessity of the former owners or through governmental action. This is having its influence on hundreds, if not thousands. No one can say, of course, how many there are in this country now awaiting a chance to return to Europe, or how many more there may be when travel becomes easy. With the 1,200,000 that may be assumed to be ready, it is perhaps reasonable to believe that the number is not less than 2,000,000."

"But everything," Dr. Howe said again, "depends upon developments of the next twelve months. If Europe finds the means of reconstruction her men will stay with her very largely, for the work that must be done will mean such heavy demands that there will be nothing short of a labor vacuum. Her men will stay with her because, if necessary, they will be kept there. So far, however, Europe has neither found these means of reconstruction nor shown any convincing indications that she can find them. Her own people seem to be strongly of the opinion that she can not, and so they are turning their eyes toward the United States."

IMMIGRATION IN AUGUST, 1919¹

The following table, prepared by the Bureau of Immigration of the Department of Labor, shows the total number of immigrant aliens admitted into the United States in each fiscal year,

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*. 9:1645-6. November, 1919.

1915 to 1918, and in August, 1919, by nationality. The total departures of emigrant aliens in August, 1919, numbered 28,934.

Classified by nationality, the number of immigrant aliens admitted into the United States during specified periods and in August, 1919, was as follows:

IMMIGRANT ALIENS ADMITTED INTO THE UNITED STATES
DURING SPECIFIED PERIODS AND IN AUGUST, 1919,
BY NATIONALITY.

Nationality.	Year ending June 30—					August
	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1919
African (black)	5,660	4,576	7,971	5,706	5,823	663
Armenian	932	964	1,221	321	282	49
Bohemian and Moravian	1,651	642	327	74	105	19
Bulgarian, Serbian, Montenegrin	3,506	3,146	1,134	150	205	40
Chinese	2,469	2,239	1,843	1,576	1,697	97
Croatian and Slovenian	1,912	791	305	33	23	5
Cuban	3,402	3,442	3,428	1,179	1,169	195
Dalmatian, Bosnian, Herzegovinian	305	114	94	15	4	...
Dutch and Flemish	6,675	6,433	5,393	2,200	2,735	468
East Indian	82	80	69	61	68	5
English	38,662	36,168	32,246	12,980	26,880	3,801
Finnish	3,472	5,649	5,900	1,867	968	82
French	12,636	19,518	24,405	6,840	12,598	2,240
German	20,729	11,555	9,682	1,992	1,837	259
Greek	15,187	26,792	25,919	2,002	813	148
Hebrew	26,497	15,108	17,342	3,672	3,055	444
Irish	23,503	20,636	17,462	4,657	7,910	1,055
Italian (north)	10,660	4,905	3,796	1,074	1,236	424
Italian (south)	46,557	33,909	35,154	5,234	2,137	1,766
Japanese	8,609	8,711	8,925	10,168	10,056	616
Korean	146	154	194	149	77	1
Lithuanian	2,638	599	479	135	160	57
Magyar	3,604	981	434	32	52	8
Mexican	10,993	17,198	16,438	17,602	28,844	4,621
Pacific Islander	6	5	10	17	6	2
Polish	9,065	4,502	3,109	668	732	100
Portuguese	4,376	12,208	10,194	2,319	1,574	184
Roumanian	1,200	953	522	155	80	23
Russian	4,459	4,858	3,711	1,513	1,532	172
Ruthenian (Russniak)	2,933	1,365	1,211	49	103	23
Scandinavian	24,263	19,172	19,596	8,711	8,261	685
Scotch	14,310	13,515	13,350	5,204	10,364	1,210
Slovak	2,069	577	244	35	85	15
Spanish	5,705	9,259	15,019	7,909	4,224	474
Spanish-American	1,667	1,881	2,587	2,231	3,002	399
Syrian	1,767	676	976	210	231	53
Turkish	273	216	454	24	18	6
Welsh	1,390	983	793	278	608	86
West Indian (except Cuban)	823	948	1,369	732	1,223	60
Other peoples	1,877	3,388	2,097	314	247	33
Total	326,700	298,826	295,403	110,618	141,132	20,597

THE MOVEMENT OF IMMIGRANT AND EMIGRANT ALIENS¹

Owing to the emphasis which the public press has recently been laying upon the return movement of alien immigrants to their home countries, and the unfavorable effect of this movement upon the labor situation in the United States—to say nothing of the enormous sum-total of money which the home-going aliens are reported to be taking with them—the recently issued official figures of the United States Immigration Service, of incoming and outgoing immigrant and non-immigrant aliens during the month of May and during the eleven months of the past fiscal year ended with May, possess unusual interest. The figures are given in the following table

INWARD—MAY, 1919.

Immigrant aliens admitted	15,093
Non-immigrant aliens admitted	11,677
United States citizens arrived	8,949
Total	35,719
Year before	63,973

OUTWARD—MAY, 1919.

Emigrant aliens departed	17,800
Non-emigrant aliens departed	9,303
United States citizens departed	10,883
Total	37,986
Year before	50,458

INWARD—ELEVEN MONTHS ENDING MAY 31.

Immigrant aliens admitted	123,145
Non-immigrant aliens admitted	82,703
United States citizens arrived	84,546
Total	290,394
Year before	255,075

OUTWARD—ELEVEN MONTHS ENDING MAY 31.

Emigrant aliens departed	98,147
Non-emigrant aliens departed	82,785
United States citizens departed	208,084
Total	389,016
Year before	371,316

It will be noted in this table that the total number of emigrant aliens that actually departed,—i.e. returned permanently to their native countries,—from the United States during the month of May was only 17,800, as against 15,093 immigrant aliens admitted

¹ Economic World. n. s. 18:232. August 16, 1919.

to the United States—a net loss of 2,707 aliens to the country. For the eleven months ended May 31 the total number of departures of aliens returning to their home countries was 98,147 as contrasted with admissions of immigrant aliens to the United States to the number of 123,145—giving a balance of immigrant aliens admitted over returning aliens departed to the number of 24,998. In comparison with the pre-war years, of course, this net immigration of aliens into the United States is very small; but it is scarcely small enough to justify the extreme deductions that many have drawn from the natural return movement to the belligerent European countries especially, which has been chiefly induced by the long inability to visit parents and relatives and the long ignorance of the circumstances which such parents and relatives are compelled to face, now that the war is over.

THE RETURN MOVEMENT OF IMMIGRANTS TO THEIR HOME COUNTRIES ¹

That an unprecedentedly extensive return movement of alien immigrants in the United States to their home countries has been under way since shortly after the armistice was signed, and still continues in full flood, is a matter of undeniable fact. On the other hand, it is difficult to obtain as yet really convincing information as to the lengths to which the movement will go. Some official estimates on the subject have been made public, but these are after all hardly more than guesses. At the same time, the economic importance of the migration, from the point of view of the industry and agriculture of this country, gives interest to all observations about it coming from public officials who are in the way of obtaining first-hand data. In its "Economic and Financial Circular" for July, The National City Bank of New York summarizes the latest available information of this character, saying:

The return movement of immigrants is assuming large proportions, and is held in check only by want of steamer accommodations. Five thousand persons sailed from New York for Italy upon three steamers on one day of last week. In the month of May the total departures was 26,812, and in June they have been averaging 1,000 per day.

By the provisions of a law passed last year no alien or citizen

¹ Economic World. n.s. 18:86. July 19, 1919.

is allowed to leave the country without permission from the State Department, and they must pay their income taxes if they owe any. Over \$1,000,000 of these taxes have been collected as a result of the enforcement of the law. Director Stewart of the Investigation and Inspection Services of the Department of Labor states that the number of aliens planning to leave the United States for their own country as soon as conditions will permit, number approximately 1,300,000, and that they will carry with them an average of \$3,000 cash, which would give a grand total of nearly \$4,000,000,000 to be carried out of the United States by departing aliens during the coming year. This is probably an over-estimate of the average amount, if not of the number, but it indicates that the movement is at least of large consequence in the exchanges.

The statements made by Director Stewart are based upon investigations made up to June 1, in the sections where large foreign elements are found, notably the mining regions of Pennsylvania, the steel district of Illinois and Pennsylvania, the manufacturing district of New England and the great cities, notably New York and Chicago. He estimates that 35 per cent of the Russians are seeking to return to their country, 34 per cent of the Slovaks, 28 per cent of the Austro-Hungarians, 22 per cent of the Croatsians, 15 per cent of the Poles and 11 per cent of the Italians and Greeks. These aliens seeking to return to their native country are actuated in part by a desire to find and aid lost friends and relatives, also in the belief that they will find land cheaper than formerly, and that they will also find employment in re-establishing industries.

SUSPEND IMMIGRATION? WHAT OF INDUSTRY?¹

EMPLOYERS and civic bodies are likely to be heard on the subject of suspending immigration when the house committee on immigration begins consideration of the bills now pending. Local chambers of commerce have been making surveys and forwarding data to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. That body has not taken action in regard to any of the bills introduced in the house, but it is understood that the consensus of opinion among the members is that the legislation

¹ By A. J. Hain. Iron Trade Review. 65:757-63. September 18, 1919.

should be limited to the exclusion of undesirables. This opinion, it is said, is not based on any selfish grounds and does not proceed from any purpose to antagonize the American Federation of Labor, which is seeking to erect a barrier against foreign labor, but is based on the conclusion that if we are to increase our industrial operations we must have more men with which to do so and that it is contrary to American principles to shut out the honest law-abiding alien who seeks to establish his home in this country.

The National Federation of Construction Industries, Philadelphia, is now taking a poll of its members to determine their attitude on the question. The questions set forth on its ballots are:

Do you believe that the present immigration laws, as amended at the last session of Congress, with provisions for stringent literacy tests, ought to be given an opportunity for trial before further legislation is enacted?

Do you feel that with the marked emigration of labor, which has been going on during the past few months, it would be desirable to amend existing legislation to eliminate, or make less stringent, literacy tests?

Do you feel that it would be desirable for legislation to be enacted which would stop all immigration for a period of three or four years?

Are you now experiencing a labor shortage, either skilled or unskilled?

Do you expect that you will have a shortage of labor in the near future?

Compromise Measure Submitted

The last bill introduced in the house, Aug. 20, by Representative Johnson, of Washington, chairman of the House Committee on immigration, was prepared as a compromise, to represent the composite views of the members of the committee. It bars for two years all aliens except travelers, students, professional men, skilled labor and aliens who departed to aid the allies. Those who are admitted must make affidavits and procure passports. After the termination of the period of suspension an alien will be admitted when he has sworn to a statement:

That he is coming to the United States for the bona fide purpose of becoming a citizen.

That at the earliest possible moment he will learn the English language and become acquainted with the form of government

and the institutions of this country, and that he will obey the laws.

That he will register once each year until he becomes a citizen with the county clerk of the county wherein he may reside, or with an immigration officer designated.

That he understands and agrees that he may be deported for failure to register or to take the necessary steps to become a citizen of the United States.

An alien will not be entitled to citizenship unless he has continuously resided in the United States five years. If within one year from the date when he is first entitled to the privilege he fails to become a citizen he will be deported. An alien who fails to register is also subject to deportation.

On May 19, Representative Johnson introduced his original bill to suspend immigration for two years and to deport "any alien who believes in, practices, advocates, teaches, sanctions, or encourages the extortion of money or property or avenging grievances through threats of bodily injury or injury to property, or is a member affiliated with any organization that so practices . . ."

Would Require Registration

This bill proposed that within one month after it became effective all aliens be compelled to register. They would be required to register thereafter semiannually and renew their certificates of identification for four years. It was proposed to charge a fee for registration and the issuing of certificates, the fees to be reduced as the registrant submitted proof of his ability to read and write the English language and the acquirement of a "fair knowledge" of the American form of government. No fee would be charged after the alien became naturalized. The bill also provided for the provisional admission under bond of certain aliens whose records the government might desire to investigate.

Proposes to Limit Immigration

A bill was introduced by Representative Dillingham, Aug. 15, limiting the admission of aliens to 5 per cent of the number of their nationality already resident in the United States.

Representatives Raker and Lufkin introduced bills proposing to suspend immigration for four years, and Representative Harrison submitted a bill increasing this to five years. Other bills have been introduced to deport those aliens who proved disloyal

to the United States during the war, or who refused to fight for the United States on the ground of noncitizenship.

From the number of bills introduced it is evident that the United States is going to be more particular in the future as to what goes into the "melting pot." The literacy test, it is said, has not safeguarded the interests of the United States as fully as present demands require. The drawback to that legislation is that it has served to keep industrious men out of the country while offering no barrier to those of limited intelligence but infinite capacity for doing wrong.

So far as concerns the suspension of immigration, President Wilson has not expressed himself to Congress, but he has most emphatically declared in favor of continuing war-time restrictions against the admission of aliens with evil purposes. The exclusion of the criminal classes has been adopted as a national policy, but on the question of suspending all immigration there is much difference of opinion.

"Two versions of the immigration situation have been presented to our committee," says Representative Knutson, Republican whip, and a member of the immigration committee.

"One was that European countries, especially those in which fighting took place, will need the service of every able-bodied man in the task of rehabilitating the devastated regions. This demand should create working conditions and such attractive wages as to induce the workers to remain in their native lands.

"The second theory was that because of unsatisfactory living conditions in Europe there will be a tremendous exodus as soon as transportation facilities make it possible.

"Commissioner Howe originally took the first view of the situation. According to some of his more recent articles, however, he has revised his opinion and now expects to see our immigration stations jammed with applicants unless Congress decides to impose restrictions.

"As to the attitude of our committee, the majority members take the view that it is up to us to report out legislation that will prevent a glutting of the American labor market. I think a temporary period of suspension of immigration will be the inevitable result. This period may be fixed at two to four years."

A double barrier may be erected against the Europeans who may wish to come to the United States. England, France, Italy and Germany have taken measures to keep their workmen home. Laws, either proposed or in process of enactment, have been supplemented with associations to procure work and induce men to

remain. In May there was started in Germany the *Reichsstelle für deutsche Auswanderung und Rückwanderung* to work for the return of Germans now in other countries. All of these efforts combined with the increasing amount of work provided in foreign countries will have some effect in limiting immigration at least within the next few years, regardless of what action Congress may take.

CANADA TO RESTRICT IMMIGRATION¹

The old open-door policy in regard to immigration which has hitherto prevailed in the Dominion of Canada is now a thing of the past. The amendment to the Immigration Act, which was passed at the recent session of the Canadian House of Commons, provides the machinery for effectually putting up the bars against undesirable immigrants to the Dominion, and this legislation will go into effect before the end of the year.

The nine important changes in the immigration policy provide for:

(1) Extension of the prohibitive clauses to all, including Britishers—to exclude those suffering from diseases or bad habits, criminalism, folk of low mentality, etc.

(2) To establish such machinery as will see this exclusion efficiently and sufficiently applied.

(3) To extend the time for deporting aliens, if found to be undesirable, from three to five years.

(4) Greater responsibility in connection with the transportation of immigrants and increased penalties for not giving these facilities.

(5) The barring of all skilled and unskilled labor from Asia.

(6) To admit only such people as can be readily absorbed and assimilated.

(7) To secure farmers with some capital and farm help, male and female.

(8) To secure later settlers from among Imperial soldiers.

(9) To abolish, possibly, the head tax on Chinese and enter into an agreement with the Chinese Government to admit only limited numbers.

The announced policy of the government has been heartily approved by organized labor and the Great War Veterans, who

¹ By Owen E. McGillicuddy. *Review of Reviews*. 60:196. August, 1919.

contend that while the financial, transportation, and industrial problems demand an increase in population, the government should protect the welfare of the country and the future generations by making the present laws more stringent.

TO CLAP THE LID ON THE MELTING-POT¹

The most elaborate and most widely discussed plan for regulating immigration is that sponsored by the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation and advocated by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick before the House Committee on Immigration. The *Manchester Union*, *Boston Transcript*, *Springfield Republican*, *Indianapolis News*, and *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* all find something to commend in the Gulick plan and prefer it to the flat exclusion idea, but do not venture to guarantee its complete practicability. The chief points in the plan have been summarized in the newspapers as follows:

"1. The complete suspension of all labor immigration for a period of two years or longer.

"2. The regulation of all immigration thereafter on a percentage principle, with the application of this principle to each people or mother-tongue group separately, but impartially.

"3. The annual admission of from 5 to 15 per cent, (or 3 to 10 per cent.) of those of each people already naturalized, including the American-born children of that people as recorded in the 1920 census.

"4. The creation of an immigration commission to determine annually the rate within the specified limits, with power to admit or exclude labor under exceptional circumstances, to formulate plans for the distribution of immigration, and to deal with other specified and exceptional matters of importance, including the formulation of educational standards for naturalization.

"5. The sending of examining immigration officers to ports from which immigrants largely sail.

"6. The raising of standards of qualifications for citizenship and the extension of the privileges of naturalization to every one who qualifies.

"7. The separation of the citizenship of a wife from her husband.

¹ Literary Digest. 62:28-9. July 5, 1919.

"8. The repeal of all laws dealing specifically and differentially with the Chinese."

The Springfield *Republican* points out that under this plan—

"Restriction would be particularly rigid against immigration from south, central and east Europe. The maximum permissible immigration during a year under the proposed plan would be approximately 95,000 from Italy, compared with 285,000 in 1914 and 265,000 in 1913; from what was Austria-Hungary, 132,000, compared with 278,000 and 254,000; from Russia, 125,000, compared with 255,000 in 1914; and from Japan, 2,481, compared with 10,213 in 1918."

In an article in last week's *Annalist* (New York) Dr. Gulick asserts that his plan "will reduce the evils and dangers of Japanese immigration more effectively than does the present method of dealing with Japanese immigration." But, he continues:

"The immediate and outstanding advantage of the proposed percentage law arises from the way in which it enables us to regulate immigration from Europe.

"In place of the free immigration now permitted—20,000,000 might conceivably come to our shores in the next five years—this plan sets up a flexible standard which will admit only so many as we can hope to Americanize and employ. . . .

"These advantages are of paramount importance. And they will all be gained without race discrimination, East or West, and on a basis equally fair and friendly to all."

The plan thus defended by Dr. Gulick, who is an authority on, and a long time resident of, the Far East, finds its severest critics on the Pacific coast. The Spokane *Spokesman-Review* considers the proposal to naturalize Chinese, Japanese, and similar aliens already here thoroughly "objectionable." Victor S. McClatchy, editor of the Sacramento *Bee*, denounces the Gulick plan as Japanese propaganda and an attempt to secure for the Japanese what was denied them by the Paris Conference.

TO HALT IMMIGRATION ¹

The passage of such an anti-immigration measure as is now before Congress is demanded by such representative newspapers as the Boston *Christian Science Monitor*, the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, Grand Rapids *Herald*, St. Louis *Republic*, and Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*. The St. Louis paper's support of a drastic

¹ Literary Digest. 60:17-18. February 8, 1919.

limitation on immigration for the next few years is based upon its firm conviction that "Bolshevik fanatics should by all means be kept out." A citizen of Baltimore writes to *The Sun* of that city to say that in the first place "the total restriction of immigration would go a long way toward settling the question of giving our overseas boys employment." But, he adds,

"We could go still further and clinch the problem by deporting every German, pro-German, conscientious objector, Bolshevik, Industrial Worker of the World, and other disturbing elements out of our land. These elements have no use for America, except to live off the fat of the land, exploit themselves and their accursed doctrine, and strive to force them on a long-suffering people."

The Sun says editorially that not only should we keep out immigrants of the type just mentioned, but we should also "make certain that no interned aliens are allowed to remain, and that every alien now in jail for disloyalty shall be deported after his sentence expires"; and this "ought to include naturalized disloyalists like Berger, whose citizenship should be revoked."

But some object that a labor shortage may result from the proposed halt in the westward march of population. Attention is called by the Syracuse *Post-Standard* to the decline in immigration during the war. From 1,218,480 in 1914 it dropt to 300,000 in 1917 and 110,000 in 1918. *The Post-Standard* disagrees with labor leaders when it says that "with all that needs to be done after these years of delayed enterprise there should be places for all those who return from the war, and for a larger number of immigrants than we have been getting besides."

A Pennsylvania Congressman reports that coal operators and manufacturers in his State fear there will be an inadequate supply of the kind of labor they need if immigration is cut off. In Europe, according to some of the dispatches, the proposal for prohibiting immigration to the United States for the next few years is far from popular. Mr. George Nicoll Barnes, labor representative on the British peace delegation, says European labor would be strongly opposed to such a law. There have been reports that there are serious objections in Italy to any restriction on the entrance of Italians into the United States. But according to the New York *Evening Post*, Italy, as well as other countries in Europe, has an industrial program intended to remove the cause for emigration "by giving her workers what they formerly sought in America—good wages and decent living conditions."

AFFIRMATIVE DISCUSSION

THE VANISHING AMERICAN WAGE-EARNER¹

The native American wage-earner is rapidly disappearing. Along with him have also gone his working companions of former years, the English, Irish, Scotch, Swedes, Norwegians, and Germans. In their places have appeared the representatives of almost two score alien races from the south and east of Europe, and the Orient. Only one fifth of the workers in our mines and manufacturing plants to-day are native Americans. About one tenth of our wage-earners are the native-born children of parents from Great Britain and Ireland, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. More than three fifths of our great body of industrial workers are southern or eastern Europeans.

There is scarcely a city or town of any industrial importance east of the Mississippi, and north of the Ohio and Potomac rivers, which has not its immigrant colony, composed of members of the Italian, Magyar, and Slavic races. Practically the same situation exists in the mining states of the West. The Pacific coast, in addition to its Chinese, Japanese, and Hindoos, has also received its contingent of southern and eastern Europeans. Wherever there has been any industrial development—in the coal mines of Kansas and Oklahoma, the iron-ore mines of the Mesabi and Vermilion ranges of Minnesota, the furnaces and mills at Pueblo, Colorado, and Birmingham, Alabama, the packing-houses in Kansas City, South Omaha, and Fort Worth, the copper mines of Tennessee, the coal mines of Virginia, as well as in the mines and mills of the East—the Slav, the Hungarian, and the Italian have found a lodgment in the operating forces. As a rule, the extent of their employment decreases as industry moves westward, but even in the West these races are rapidly becoming predominant among the industrial workers. Their status is also not confined to the substratum of unskilled workmen, but they are found in all grades of the industrial scale,—with the

¹By W. Jett Lauck. In *Atlantic Monthly*. 110:691-6. November, 1912.

exception of the executive and the technical positions,—from the highest to the lowest occupations. A brief review of several basic industries will forcibly disclose the real significance of the recent racial substitutions in our mines and manufacturing establishments.

II

Only one fourth of the iron and steel workers of to-day are native Americans, and only one eighth are the descendants of the older skilled immigrant employees, who received their training in the mills and furnaces of Great Britain and Germany. Practically all of these are in the more responsible executive and technical occupations. The superintendents of our iron and steel manufacturing plants are unable to persuade the native Americans to enter the industry, and are wondering whom they will get to take the places of the foreman and skilled workers of the present generation. Three fifths of the employees of our furnaces and steel mills are of foreign birth. Two thirds of these immigrant workmen are southern and eastern Europeans of recent arrival in the United States. Polish, Magyar, and Slovak iron and steel workers, combined, equal in number the native Americans in the industry; and the North and South Italians, Lithuanians, Russians, and Croatians together outnumber the English, Irish, Scotch, and Germans. The operating forces of the industry until twenty years ago were exclusively composed of native Americans and older immigrants from Great Britain and Northern Europe. In the decade 1890-1900, southern and eastern Europeans found employment in the mills and furnaces, and the pressure of their competition has gradually driven out the members of races at first employed.

The displacement of the native American miner has been even more sudden and widespread than that of the iron and steel worker. Only one fifth of our bituminous coal miners are native Americans, and less than one tenth are of native birth and foreign parentage, the children, that is to say, of British and northern European immigrants. More than sixty per cent are foreign born. Three fourths of the immigrant employees are from the south and east of Europe, and among these the Italians, Poles, Slovaks, Croatians, and Lithuanians are numerically predominant.

The low-paid and unskilled southern and eastern European

immigrants were first employed in the western Pennsylvania mines. With their advent, native workers and northern and western European employees were gradually displaced. Some went to the mining localities in the Middle West and Southwest, and some left the industry entirely to engage in other occupations. The native American and older immigrants, who remained in the Pennsylvania mines, were those who held or were advanced to more responsible positions, and the few who were left in the unskilled occupations were usually the inert and the unprogressive. The recent immigrants, after inundating western Pennsylvania, moved on to the Middle West, and the American miners and those of British extraction in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, are being steadily displaced by them. As in the case of the Pennsylvania mines, the older immigrants are leaving the industry or moving to the coal fields of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Colorado, where the competition of the southern and eastern European is less keenly felt.

Practically the same conditions with the same results have been brought about by the entrance of the southern and eastern European into the anthracite mines. The American and older immigrants, originally employed, have left the industry, or have migrated to the western coal and metalliferous mining fields, and those who remain are chiefly in the supervisory and responsible positions.

The recent immigrant industrial invasion has also extended to the iron-ore and copper mines. The great majority of iron-ore workers in the Birmingham district in Alabama are Negroes, the tide of recent immigration to the Southern States thus far having been very small. On the iron-ore ranges of Michigan and Minnesota, however, only about one eighth of the employees are native Americans. Three fourths are of foreign birth, the principal races represented being the Croatians, Finns, North and South Italians, Poles, Slovaks, Slovenians,¹ and Swedes. In the copper mines of Michigan and Tennessee the same preponderance of foreign-born employees exists. About one fifth of the workers in the copper mines are native Americans, and about one eighth were born in America; but their parents were born abroad. The great majority are Croatians, Finns, Poles, North Italians, Slovenians, and English. The Finns and the English were the original copper-mine workers, but they have been, and

¹ A people of south-western Hungary, related to the Croatians as the Slovaks are to the Bohemians. In the rate of immigration the Slovaks lead; next come the Hebrews, while the Slovenians rank third.—THE EDITORS.

are gradually being, displaced by the southern and eastern Europeans.

With the exception of a few Italians in the mills in New Orleans, there are no foreign-born textile operatives in the Southern States. The immense labor force called into existence by the demand for labor growing out of the extraordinary development of cotton-goods manufacturing in the South has been recruited from the native-born agricultural classes and mountaineers of that section. In New England, however, the situation is entirely different. There is scarcely a race from the south and east of Europe or the Orient which does not have its representatives among the employees of cotton, woolen, worsted, silk, hosiery, and knit-goods mills.

When the cotton mills were first started in New England, the looms and spindles were tended by the sons and daughters of the farmers who lived in the surrounding country. As the industry expanded, skilled and experienced operatives were attracted from England, Scotland, and Ireland. After 1850 the French-Canadians came in large numbers in response to the growing demand for operatives. These sources of labor-supply continued until 1890, when southern and eastern Europeans began to find employment in the mills. As their employment became more extensive, the immigration of English, Irish, Scotch, and French-Canadians declined, and during the past decade has practically ceased. Not only has this class of work-people stopped entering the mills, but those already employed have sought work elsewhere, and the southern and eastern European employees are now predominant.

The same condition of affairs prevails in the other branches of the textile industries,—woolen, worsted, silk, carpet, hosiery, and knit-goods manufacturing,—as in the cotton mills. The native Americans and older immigrant employees have been superseded by foreign-born operatives of recent arrival in the United States.

At the present time, the native Americans in the New England cotton mills scarcely make up one tenth of the total number of operatives employed. The proportion of native Americans in other branches of textile manufacturing, as compared with cotton goods, is slightly larger, but even then is exceedingly small. Only one seventh of the employees of our woolen and worsted mills and silk-dyeing establishments, and only one fifth of those in our silk mills and carpet factories, are of native birth, and of native fathers. About one operative out of each three workers in

hosiery and knit-goods establishments is a native American. Three out of every five operatives of cotton, woolen, worsted, and carpet mills are of foreign birth, and two out of three of these foreign-born wage-earners are of recent arrival from southern and eastern Europe and the Orient. Three out of every four operatives of dyeing establishments for silk goods are aliens.

The Poles, Greeks, Italians, Portuguese, and Lithuanians are the predominant races of recent immigration employed in our cotton, woolen, and worsted mills. In the spinning, weaving and dyeing of silk goods and carpets, and in the manufacture of hosiery and underwear, the North and South Italians, Magyars, and Poles are the leading races of recent arrival in the United States among the employees. Among the immigrants in all of these industries are also to be found considerable numbers of skilled operatives from England, Scotland, and Ireland, and from Germany. The French-Canadians form an important proportion, especially among the cotton and woolen mill operatives.

Such are the racial elements in the operating forces of our basic industries. Furthermore, this situation is typical of all the less important divisions of industry. The United States Immigration Commission included within the scope of its exhaustive investigations in all parts of the country more than forty of the leading branches of mining and manufacturing. Everywhere—in the manufacture of agricultural implements, cigars and tobacco, boots and shoes, clothing, furniture, glass, gloves, leather, petroleum, collars and cuffs, electrical supplies, machinery, locomotives, and a score of other industries—the same condition of affairs was found to exist. The native American occupied numerically a subordinate position among the wage-earners and, along with the representatives of older immigrant races from Great Britain, was being rapidly displaced by southern and eastern European employees, who had been securing employment in all kinds of mines and manufacturing establishments.

III

The southern and eastern European immigrant who has so extensively found employment in our mines and factories has had no industrial training abroad. He has also brought with him a low standard of living, and has been tractable and subservient. As a result, his competition has exposed the native American and older immigrant employees to unsafe or unsan-

itary working conditions, and has led to or continued the imposition of conditions of employments which the Americans and older immigrants have considered unsatisfactory and, in many cases, unbearable. Where the older employees have found unsafe or unsanitary working conditions prevailing, and have protested, the recent immigrant wage-earners, usually through ignorance of mining or other working methods, have manifested a willingness to accept the alleged unsatisfactory working conditions.

The southern and eastern European also, because of his tractability, necessitous condition, and low standards, has been inclined, as a rule, to acquiesce in the demand on the part of the employers for extra work or longer hours. The industrial workers have also accepted without protest the system of so-called company stores and houses, which prevails extensively in bituminous and anthracite coal, iron-ore, and copper mining, and other industrial localities.

The presence of the recent immigrant industrial worker has also brought about living conditions or a standard of life with which the native American and older immigrant employees have been unwilling, or have found it extremely difficult, to compete. The southern and eastern European wage-earner is usually single, or, if married, has left his wife and children abroad. He has no permanent interest in the community in which he lives or the industry in which he is employed. His main purpose is to live as cheaply as possible, and to save as much as he can. Consequently, he has adopted a group method of living known as the "boarding-boss" system. Under this plan, from eight to twenty men usually crowd together in a small apartment or house in order to reduce the per capita outlay for rent, and buy their own food and do their own cooking. The total cost of living ranges from eight to fifteen dollars per month for each member of the group. The impossibility of competition by the native American with such standards of living needs no discussion.

In addition to these conditions, brought about by the influx of southern and eastern European industrial workers, another factor, mainly psychological in its nature, but no less powerful in its effect, has been operative in the displacement of native Americans and older immigrant employees. In all industries, and in all industrial communities, a certain reproach has come to be associated with native American or older immigrant workmen who are engaged in the same occupations as the southern and eastern Europeans. This feeling on the part of the older em-

ployees is mainly due to the habits of life and conduct of recent immigrants, and to their ready acceptance of conditions; but it is also largely attributable to the conscious or unconscious antipathy, often arising from ignorance or prejudice, toward races of alien customs, institutions, and manner of thought.

The same psychological effect was produced upon the native Americans in all branches of industrial enterprise who first came into working contact with the older immigrants from Great Britain and northern Europe. In the decade 1840-1850, when the Irish immigrant girls were first employed in the New England cotton mills, the native women who had previously been the textile operatives protested; twenty years later the Irish girls, after they had become firmly fixed in the industry, rebelled because of the employment of French-Canadian girls in the spinning rooms, just as the French-Canadian women refuse to be brought into close working relations with the Polish and Italian women who are entering the cotton mills at the present time. Whatever may be the cause of this aversion of older employees to working by the side of the newer arrivals, the existence of the feeling has become one of the most potent causes of racial substitution in manufacturing and mining occupations.

IV

It is obvious that the advent within recent years of the southern and eastern European into American industrial life has been a matter of most serious consequence to the American workman, and the present-day competition of the same racial elements is of the greatest significance to the native-born and older immigrant wage-earners. The labor unions of the original employees, which should have been among the greatest factors in assimilating industrially the recent immigrant, and in educating him to American standards, in some industries—as for example bituminous coal mining in western Pennsylvania, or the cotton mills of New England—have been completely inundated, and wholly or partially destroyed by the sudden and overwhelming influx of southern and eastern Europeans. In other industries, where the competition of the immigrant of recent years has not been so directly felt, as in the glass industry, where skilled workmen were formerly necessary, the labor organizations are being weakened and undermined indirectly in other ways.

Everywhere improved machinery and mechanical processes

are eliminating the element of skill formerly required of employees, and are making it possible for the unskilled foreign-born workman to enter occupations which have hitherto been beyond his qualifications, because they required previous training or an extended apprenticeship. Formerly, in order to be a pick- or hand-miner a number of years of training was necessary. Now a machine does the work and unskilled workmen attend it. By means of the automatic loom and ring-spinning-frame an unskilled immigrant from the south or east of Europe may now become a proficient weaver or spinner within a few months. The former highly skilled work of blowing glass bottles, as well as window and plate glass, may now be done by machinery manned by foreign-born employees who have been in the United States less than three months and who, before their employment, had never seen a glass factory.

In all industries, the immigrant wage-earner, through the elimination of the requirements of skill and experience, is being brought directly into contact and working competition with the native American and older British or northern European wage-earner. Unless the latter can do something to elevate the standards of the recent immigrants, their competition in the higher occupations will be followed by as serious results as have already attended their invasion of the lower grades of the industrial scale.

Much has been written in the past decade relative to the social and political effects of recent immigration. The recent exhaustive investigation of the Federal Commission, however, has revealed the fact that these phases of the problem are comparatively of little import. The actual problem is found in the industrial effects of the recent alien influx. Existing legislation cannot settle this problem. Its solution is dependent upon a change in our present immigration policy.

WHY IMMIGRATION SHOULD BE RESTRICTED¹

There is one further step which is an absolutely essential part of the Americanization campaign. The problem is difficult enough, at best, to require all the energy, and time, and money that can be given to it. But no thorough Americanization can

¹ By Robert de C. Ward. In *Review of Reviews*. 59:512-16. May, 1919.

possibly be accomplished unless the numbers of incoming alien immigrants are kept within reasonable limits. It is an absolutely impossible task properly to (1) educate, (2) assimilate, (3) Americanize and (4) naturalize our foreign-born population if millions forever keep poring in. It is exactly like trying to keep a leaking boat bailed out without stopping the leak. To expect any reasonable success in this campaign, immigration must be restricted.

The balance of expert opinion on the question of our probable immigration in the years immediately ahead is that, as soon as ocean transportation is again fully established, there will be a far larger immigration than ever before. It is the opinion of American diplomatic and consular officers in Europe, and of competent correspondents who have recently traveled extensively abroad, that there is everywhere a more widespread desire than ever to "go to America." All the arguments which may be urged in favor of a decreased immigration, based on the need of labor for reconstruction and for agriculture abroad, collapse when we remember that the great magnet of "America" will continue to draw immigrants to this "promised land." Our part in feeding and caring for vast numbers of people abroad, and in helping to win the war as liberators of the oppressed, and as ready to sacrifice, if necessary, any number of lives and endless sums of money for an ideal, will prove new incentives.

Immigration is essentially a matter of economic conditions here and abroad. As the late Gen. Francis A. Walker so well put it, "the stream of immigration will flow on as long as there is any difference in economic level between the United States and the most degraded communities abroad." A recent writer after considerable study of the subject, has put the probable annual number of immigrants who will soon be coming here at 2,000,000. Be that as it may, the most enthusiastic believer in the success of the Americanization movement can hardly face the prospect of a steady annual immigration of even only several hundred thousands without doubt and discouragement. To hope to accomplish successful Americanization when the supply of aliens keeps up is to have an optimism "beyond all bounds of reason." A real restriction of immigration is a necessary and a logical part of the Americanization program.

Temporary Decrease Due to the War.

The effect of the war in temporarily diminishing the volume of immigration to the United States was, of course, expected.

From an annual immigration of nearly a million and a half during the fiscal years 1913 and 1914, and an annual net increase in alien population (i.e., deducting the numbers of those who returned to their own countries) of 800,000, the number of immigrant aliens fell to a little over 325,000 during the year ending June 30, 1915. In the fiscal years 1916 and 1917, about 300,000 came, while in the year ending June 30 last the number of immigrant aliens was only 110,000.

While 110,000 is a very small immigration as compared with the very much larger numbers in the years preceding the war, it is worth noting that these alien immigrants arrived at the rate of more than 2,000 a week and nearly 10,000 a month.

From July to November, 1918, the number of immigrant aliens was 45,909, and of non-immigrant aliens 30,456. How all these immigrants have managed to get here during wartime is a mystery. Obstacles innumerable have been in their way, yet they have kept coming. That they have done so, in spite of the difficulties, shows what is likely to happen on a vastly greater scale in the next few years, when transportation by rail and steamship is once more fully restored.

It has always been held by those who are concerned regarding the admission into the United States of mentally and physically defective aliens that, with a smaller number of alien arrivals, the work of inspection can be more effectively done, with the inevitable and greatly to be desired result that fewer undesirables will escape detection. Our experience during the war has borne out this view. The increase in the percentage of rejections during the past four years is to be ascribed, according to the Commissioner-General of Immigration, to two causes: first, a deterioration in the quality of immigration itself; and second, to more rigid inspection made possible by decreased numbers.

In the earlier days of the war there was a large emigration from the United States of men belonging to the various belligerent countries who went home to fight. The majority of these will naturally come back. As soon as transportation conditions become more normal, there will be a further considerable exodus from the United States of both men and women belonging to the nations which have been at war. These recent immigrants will go home to ascertain the fate of their relatives and friends; to see what has become of their family property, and to bring back with them to this country as many as possible of their families and friends still left abroad.

Proposed Measures of Restriction

The almost certain prospect of a greatly increased immigration closely following the ending of the war; the manifest injustice of exposing our returning soldiers and sailors to competition with the low-priced labor of Europe and of Western Asia, and the conviction that our present immigration law is selective rather than numerically restrictive, have naturally resulted in a widespread demand for immediate further legislation which shall really limit the numbers of our alien immigrants. During the Short Session of the Congress which ended on March 4, 1919, the Immigration Committee of the House of Representatives reported a bill (H. R. 15302, Union Calendar No. 359; Report No. 1015), suspending immigration for four years, with many exceptions in the cases of certain professional classes; the near relatives of aliens now in, or who have become citizens of the United States; aliens from Canada, Newfoundland, Cuba and Mexico; aliens who are refugees because of various kinds of persecution, and aliens admitted temporarily under regulations to be prescribed. No action was taken on this bill.

At the hearings which were given by the House Committee on Immigration, the bill was strongly advocated by the American Federation of Labor and by other organizations which stand for the maintenance of American wages and of American standards of living, and which, especially in view of demobilization and of the dangers of unemployment, wish to prevent, at least temporarily, the influx of large numbers of alien workers.

The line-up of the opponents of the bill was the same as in previous years. The old argument was used that there is already enough restriction, and it was urged that there should be more hearings, and further delay. Organizations from whose sympathies the hyphen has by no means been eliminated, and "interests" directly or indirectly concerned with cheap labor and with transportation, were represented among those who spoke against the pending measure. One of the opponents, representing certain labor bodies composed of recent immigrants, maintained that the more immigrants and the more other labor we have in this country, the higher will be the wages of the workers, and the higher will be the general standard of living!

Another bill, which was not reported (H. R. 11280), based on the conviction that one of the best tests of assimilation is the wish to become naturalized, limits the number of aliens to be ad-

mitted from any country in any year to from 20 to 50 per cent. of the persons born in such country who were naturalized at the date of the last census. The exact per cent. is to be fixed annually by the Secretary of Labor, with reference to existing labor conditions in the United States. The percentage plan has the merits of being more than a temporary "reconstruction" measure, and of being sufficiently elastic to respond to varying economic conditions.

That a further real restriction of immigration is necessary for the best interests of American labor, and for the proper assimilation and Americanization of our heterogeneous population, has long been obvious to the large majority of those, both Americans and foreigners, who have impartially studied our immigration problems.

IMMIGRATION STANDARDS AFTER THE WAR ¹

One of the knottiest problems which will have to be faced in the establishment of a world state or a league of nations will be the question of the movement of people. Under the national economy which has prevailed hitherto, every state has assumed its own right to determine what should be the constituents of its population so far as extrinsic contributions were concerned—in other words, the right to control immigration—and few states, with the exception of Japan, have questioned the legal or moral right of other states to make such a determination. On the other hand, few modern states have found it expedient to place limitations upon the movements of their own people within their own territory.

Whether the era of internationalism which is now dawning results in the formation of a world state, or in a more loosely coordinated league or federation of self-determining units, in either case there can be only two general alternatives as regards migrations. Either there will be a free right of passage over the entire territory included in the state domain, analogous to the present right of travel within a given country, or else restrictions must be placed by the central authority, or by the federated states in accordance with a common agreement and consent, with respect to boundaries broadly similar to those

¹ By Henry Pratt Fairchild. *Annals of the American Academy*, 81: 73-9. January, 1919.

which now separate existing nations. In the former case, there would be introduced the new principle of discrimination within a given jurisdiction; in the latter, the way would be left open to uncreditable bitterness, jealousy and dissension. Either solution is full of uncertainties and dangers.

It is the purpose of this paper to show that, great as are the difficulties of migration control under a world government, for the present the scientific and only safe course is to insist upon restrictions (so far as the United States, at least, is concerned) at least as rigorous as those which were in operation before the outbreak of the war. The demonstration of such a proposition calls for a matter-of-fact, impersonal analysis which seems at first to ignore the claims of humanitarianism and universal brotherhood, and yet is as fully legitimate as if the subject under discussion were the transplantation of fruit trees, or the control of river currents.

The ultimate goal of the present convulsion, the military phases of which have happily terminated, and the political and social phases of which have just begun, is the establishment of universal democracy. Democracy is composed of various elements, and is difficult of definition or description. But of its material elements there is no better embodiment and criterion than the standard of living of the common people. Where the standard of living of the people is high, relative to the general producing power of the territory, there democracy flourishes, by whatever name the government may be called. Where the masses live on a low plane of comfort, democracy languishes and dies, however great may be the tabulated wealth of that nation. Speaking of the world at large, if a higher standard does not result for the great bulk of mankind, all this blood will have been shed largely in vain. If there should result a general lowering of the standard over the entire globe it would be an unspeakable calamity, dwarfing all the untold horrors and losses of the conflict itself.

For the remainder of this discussion, let us lay to one side all question of the inferiority and superiority of racial stocks, and think only of the tangible values of material comfort and spiritual welfare, about which there can hardly be a difference of opinion. What is the obligation of the United States with reference to maintaining, and if possible raising, the standard of living of the great masses of mankind, of whatever race or affiliation?

The naive answer to this question might easily be that our duty is to share our blessings as liberally and impartially as may be with all those who care to participate in them, all the more so, since our losses in defense of democracy have been so trivial in comparison with those of our gallant Allies who have borne the burden of the conflict. If there were, before the war, hosts of conscientious, intelligent people who were ready to throw our doors wide open to "the down-trodden and oppressed of every land," there will be more now who will conceive it as the acme of national selfishness if we refuse asylum to the would-be refugees who will seek to escape the drudgery and hardships of the reconstruction period in Europe.

Let us set down certain basic considerations bearing upon the question, with reference to which there will be general agreement and which will clarify the more dubious steps of the argument. In the first place, there is little doubt that before the war the people of the United States enjoyed a higher standard of living than any other considerable nation. This was ours, not because of any special merit of our own, but because of the peculiarly fortunate conjunction of land, climate and historical development which has given us an unparalleled command over the sources of wealth. Our standard is rather in the nature of a free gift than an achievement. In the second place, it will hardly be denied that if the spirit of universal brotherhood is to dominate the world, those of us who have been fortunate enough to have our lot cast in this bountiful land must not seek to monopolize these blessings entirely for ourselves, just because we happen to be now in possession of them, or because the nation of which we are the constituent parts has "owned" them for a century and a half. Surely the modern thing the altruistic thing, the post-magnum-bellum thing to do is to share these benefits as unreservedly as possible, particularly with those suffering peoples with whom we have been so closely associated during a year and a half of war. The crucial question is whether or not we can best share them by allowing the individual representatives of those and other peoples free access to the land from which we draw our wealth and power.

No space need be devoted to a portrayal of the dire conditions which would result if large contingents of foreign labor should be admitted to this country within two or three years from the present date. It is painfully obvious that we shall have all that we can do to handle the problems of demobiliza-

tion of our own army, and readjustment of our industrial situation, without serious injury to our standards of wages and working conditions. Such an immigration as was normal during a busy year before the war would now be an intolerably complicating factor. Probably this will be prevented without any direct action by the use of shipping for other purposes, and other contributory forces. But if it should transpire that the current of immigration labor began to flow once more while our army was still being demobilized, such a current should certainly be checked by effective means, however drastic. The larger problem, however, has to do with the effects which may be expected to follow the resumption of immigration when peace conditions are measurably restored.

Modern immigration, as is recognized by all authorities, is largely an economic phenomenon, that is, it represents a search for a higher standard of living. Almost without exception, the countries which furnish large bodies of immigrants to the United States have a standard lower than ours, or at least the classes which emigrate have a lower standard than similar classes in this country. More than that, our general standard is so much higher than that of most foreign countries that our lowest economic classes have a standard above that of much higher classes in other lands. Immigration, therefore, represents the introduction of lower standards into a country of higher standards.

The immigration of foreign labor to the United States tends to lower the standard of living of our working classes. It numerically increases the supply of workers bidding for employment and therefore tends to lower the prevailing wage or at best prevent it from rising. This is a sufficiently serious influence, but if the immigrants were habituated to the same standard as the natives, so that the effect was exclusively numerical, the result would not be necessarily calamitous, especially in times of expanding industry when immigrants come most freely. Immigration, however, has an influence much more powerful and much much more disastrous, that is directly connected with the standard of living itself.

The introduction of a relatively small contingent of foreign labor into an industrial country may have a depressing effect upon the standard of living of the working people in that country out of all proportion to the numbers involved, provided that the immigrants are accustomed to a definitely lower standard than the natives. The process may be schematically described as

follows: Suppose that there is in the United States an industrial town centering about one great plant which is the economic backbone of the community. Suppose that this plant employs 10,000 people, the bulk of the wage-earners of the town. These workers are reasonably efficient, and receive wages sufficient to enable them to maintain their families in a fair degree of comfort. Say that the average daily wage runs about \$3.00. Into this town there comes some morning a group of 500 raw immigrants in charge of a labor importer. These foreigners are men not materially inferior in economic productiveness to the natives of the town. But they have previously lived in a country where the conditions of existence are so much inferior that their customary wage is the equivalent of only \$1.50 of American money. To receive a wage of \$2.00 a day would therefore enable them to raise their standard very decidedly, and they will snatch at the chance to work for such a wage. Immediately upon their arrival, the labor agent goes to the superintendent of the plant and offers him 500 laborers at \$2.00 apiece. The superintendent looks them over, becomes convinced that they can do the work approximately as well as his present workers and agrees to take them on. He then calls in his foremen, and together they select the 500 least efficient of the \$3.00 men, who are thereupon informed that they are to be discharged. Upon learning the reason, they protest that they have their homes and families in the town, they do not know where else to find employment, and rather than lose their jobs altogether they accept the wage offered to the foreigners. With a show of generosity, the superintendent offers to pay them \$2.25 a day, and they go back to their places. In the meantime the group of foreigners are still available. Therefore the next most inefficient group of 500 employes is selected, and the process repeated, with the same result. So it goes on, until eventually every one of the 10,000 original workers has had his pay reduced by fifty or seventy-five cents. At the same time, not one of the immigrants has been employed, and in the evening the group departs to try its luck elsewhere.

It goes without saying that in the complicated life of the nation at large the process does not go on so simply and mechanically as this. But exactly this principle is at work, however much its operation may be masked by contributory forces. There can be no doubt that the competition of laborers habituated to a lower standard is the most pernicious and insidious force which can attack the standard of living of the workers of a

modern industrial democracy. It has been well stated that there is a Gresham's law in the industrial world, whereby the poorer labor drives out the better, and the lower standard eliminates the higher.

There can be no question that free immigration of foreign labor thoroughly undermines the standards of our common people. The process was already beginning to tell disastrously before the war, and would be immeasurably augmented if immigration should again go on unchecked, now that there will be so much added incentive for the tax-burdened natives of European countries to seek this land.

The worst of the whole matter is that there is no limit to the process. The drawing off of a sufficient number of laborers from such countries as India and China to destroy our own standard would produce no appreciable benefit in those countries, for the simple reason that it would not reduce the pressure of population there, and therefore could not raise their standard. A million immigrants a year perpetually could easily be drawn from China without decreasing its population in the least. The logical outcome of free immigration of workingmen under modern conditions of competitive bargaining for labor, as General Walker pointed out long ago, is the reduction of the standard of living of all countries to one dead level, and that the level of the originally most degraded and backward of them all.

It needs no argument to show that the United States is not called upon to sacrifice her standard for the sake of mere unreasoning sentimentality. She would be most recreant to her trust if she did so. Standards of living once lost can hardly be regained. It is our duty as a nation, our duty to humanity in the highest sense of the word, to protect our standard, in order that it may serve as a model and goal for the striving democracies in other lands, and that we ourselves may be in a position to help those democracies to climb somewhere near to the plane of their ideals.

The question of immigration after the war is often stated as the problem of whether we need to protect ourselves against the dumping of cripples and incompetents from foreign sources. The real question is, how we may protect ourselves from the able-bodied workers of less fortunate lands. Paradoxical as it may seem, we have much less to fear from the man who cannot earn his living than from the man who can. This is a rich country, and we could well afford to support for

the rest of their lives thousands of the physical wrecks of war from England, France, Belgium, Italy, Greece, Russia and Serbia. It would be but a slight recognition of our debt to those countries who have paid so much dearer for the liberty of the world than we have if our military hospitals and cantonments were gradually transformed into homes for as many disabled victims as our Allies chose to send us (under proper government supervision to prevent abuse), while we taxed ourselves liberally for their life-long support and comfort. This would cost us nothing but money. But to permit the free transference of the labor from those countries to this under conditions which meant the disruption of our own standards would cost us our very life, and worst of all, would cost us our ability to be of real and permanent help to less fortunate lands.

The foregoing discussion rests upon the assumption that in general the present economic system will prevail,—private ownership of capital, competitive wage-bargaining, individual responsibility for family living conditions, etc. What might happen under conditions of socialism, or a world-wide minimum wage is merely matter for conjecture—except that it is hard to conceive of any minimum wage which would not speedily break down under conditions of free immigration.

LABOR AND IMMIGRATION ¹

I believe that a carefully restrictive control of immigration is absolutely necessary to the establishment of the kind of industrial order already suggested. Not because there is no room or fruitful work in America for all the myriads who annually (in normal times) pass through its gates. The vast resources of this continent could sustain, given scientific cultivation of the land, and an economic distribution of the people, we know not how many times its present population. And not because the newcomers, from Europe at any rate, cannot be assimilated into American life and raised—where raising is in question—to American standards. The response to the American environment of the children of the foreign born, even of those whom we remissly suffer to be insulated in racial colonies, is a most remarkable phenomenon. But the true reason for restrictive control is

¹ From "Labor in the Changing World," by R. M. MacIver. p. 192-4. Copyrighted by E. P. Dutton & Co., 1919.

an economic one. The Report of the Immigration Commission provides much evidence to show that the low-skilled occupations into which the mass of immigrants enter are considerably overstocked. Too cheap labor is, like all cheap things, very expensive in the long run. Our society as a whole, as well as those directly concerned, suffers on account of the low standards, the overcrowding and the infection, the disorganization and the exploitation, which are the other side of too cheap labor. These evils cannot be avoided so long as unskilled myriads are allowed to flood the labor market. No standards can be maintained, no order can be built up in face of the competition of the immigrant-recruited reserves of unemployed. This indisputable fact is the true ground for restriction.

PROPOSED IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION ¹

It has been urged against this legislation that there will be no emigration from the war-stricken countries for several years on account of the need of workers there. If that be true, this bill can certainly do no harm.

But is it true?

Let that question be answered as to one country at least by a high Italian official. A few weeks ago a delegation from the Italian labor union came to this country from Italy. At the head of this delegation was Mr. Alceste De Ambris, a member of the Italian House of Deputies. In the December number of *Italy To-day*, a publication gotten out in New York by the Italian Bureau of Public Information in the United States, Mr De Ambris is quoted on page 50, as follows:

“Emigration of Italian labor after the war will be a necessity, and part of the function of the delegation is to help this emigration. Italy has an excess of 300,000 births over deaths annually, and these 300,000 must find an outlet. Industry in Italy has advanced and is making ever-increased demands on labor, but the increase is not equal to the supply. Italy has an excess of labor and it would benefit both the United States and Italy if this labor could be induced or would choose to come here.”

On page 51 he says:

“Although industry in Italy is entering a new era of aggrandizement, this development can not yet absorb Italy’s huge

¹ U. S. Immigration Service Bulletin. 1:9-12. February 1, 1919.

labor reserve. Emigration must take care of that; those who remain in Italy will have work at good wages, and bolshevism will go unheeded."

Mr. De Ambris was solicitous about preventing bolshevism in Italy, but he was not worried about the bolshevism likely to be produced here by having two men for every job.

What is said about the surplus in Italy may be said with equal force, and even greater force, as to some other countries.

The year before the war in Europe began 1,218,480 immigrants came to this country.

Those were mainly from the countries of southern and eastern Europe. During the war scarcely any came. If the war had not been on, the emigration from those countries during the past four and a half years, at the rate it had been making for the previous four years, would have been somewhat more than their loss by death in the war. Hence the depletion by death in the war leaves those countries about where they would have been left by emigration. Thus they will start anew.

Conditions in Russia will naturally cause many people from that country to seek homes elsewhere. If the Bolshevists are suppressed, they will be the ones who will come here to join their brethren, both foreign and native, in flaunting the red flag and teaching death to individuals and destruction to property.

Major LaGuardia in his testimony before the committee predicted a large immigration of Greeks, Syrians, and so on.

Capt. Johnson, Member of Congress from South Dakota, who had a most honorable career at the front in France and had the opportunity to investigate at first hand, predicted before the committee that large numbers of the worst classes will as soon as possible make a rush for America.

How soon will that be? Just as soon as the steamship companies can begin their transportation.

A more arrogant lot of outlaws never entered our ports than some of those steamship companies.

In proof of that fact it need only be stated that although only a little over 100,000 aliens came to this country during the last fiscal year, and many of them came across the Mexican border, yet fines to the amount of \$63,315 were levied on the steamship companies for flagrant violations of our immigration laws.

Again, it is urged that many aliens now here will return to their countries as soon as they can secure transportation. That is no doubt true; but nearly everyone of them will go back with the expectation of soon returning to this country and bringing some of his relatives with him.

This was admitted by one of the fairest and most intelligent witnesses that appeared before our committee against this bill. There were two cogent reasons which impelled the committee to favor this legislation. One is the unsettled labor conditions that are already beginning here, and that will no doubt grow worse as the soldiers from our armies are discharged and war workers are released.

Although less than one-fifth of our soldiers have been discharged, we are already hearing of the surplus of labor increasing in almost every section of the country.

A few weeks ago the Division of Employment Service of the Department of Labor reported a surplus in only a few States. Each day's report adds to that surplus, until to-day a majority of the States report such surplus.

In some cities riots are occurring from unemployment, and in a few cases unemployed discharged soldiers are engaging in those riots.

At Pittsburgh the employers of unorganized labor are cutting wages. Most of their employees are foreigners.

The workingman is barely making a support at present wages with the high cost of living prevailing. Then, how can he be expected to submit to a reduction of wages while the cost of what he has to buy to feed and clothe his family is so high, and in many cases going higher ?

Then will it not be a tragedy if we allow thousands of aliens to come to our shores to work for low wages and thereby secure the jobs that ought to go to the returning American soldiers and the war workers? The American Federation of Labor and the four brotherhoods of railroad workers are unanimously for this bill.

The writer of this report has heard from some large employers of labor who favor this legislation because they fear the confusion and irritation that will result from permitting a large influx of foreigners, many of whom bring the red flag in one hand and the bomb in the other.

Another reason that influenced the committee is the danger to political, moral, and material conditions in this country generally by the admission of thousands of revolutionists and Bolsheviks from foreign countries. War has intensified the spirit of lawlessness all over Europe and it will take years to eradicate it.

Conditions here may be composed and return to normal in two years if we are left alone, but in other countries it will take four or six or ten years to bring about that change, and certainly

during that period we ought to protect our own from European conditions.

It is impossible to keep our revolutionists and Bolshevists without keeping out substantially everybody. We have had a law excluding anarchists for years, and yet the war developed the fact that we had thousands of them in our midst. The far-famed melting pot has proven to a great degree a delusion and a snare. We feel that it is now time that we were beginning to look after those of our own household, rather than to open our ports to many who know nothing of our laws, our customs, our standards of living, and never intend to learn of them.

We have by our liberal immigration laws taken many who have proven that their hearts and their sympathies were not with us, and they were ready to strike their poison fangs into the bosom that warmed them.

Now, let us try for at least four years to close ranks and try to see "Who's who in America."

ALIENS LEAVING OUR SHORES IN LARGE NUMBERS¹

The situation has led a writer in the *New York Times* to point to one element in the situation "which is perhaps the most important of all, but it receives little or no consideration." This is the problem, "What would have happened if, during the century and a half of our national life, we had received no immigration?" The writer points to a school of economists who have reasoned from a "biological axiom" that as the rate of increase in population is determined solely by the supply of fertile land and food, therefore the twenty millions who have come to our shores "have prevented the birth of twenty millions of native-born Americans." Along this line the *Times* writer proceeds to say:

"In Colonial American families the birth-rate had been small before leaving Great Britain, but increased amazingly on American soil, all during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1751, when our population was about one million, Benjamin Franklin said that the immigrants who had produced this number were generally believed to have numbered less than eighty thousand—a gain of over twelve-fold in little more than a century. In some parts of the Colonies the people, without the aid of immi-

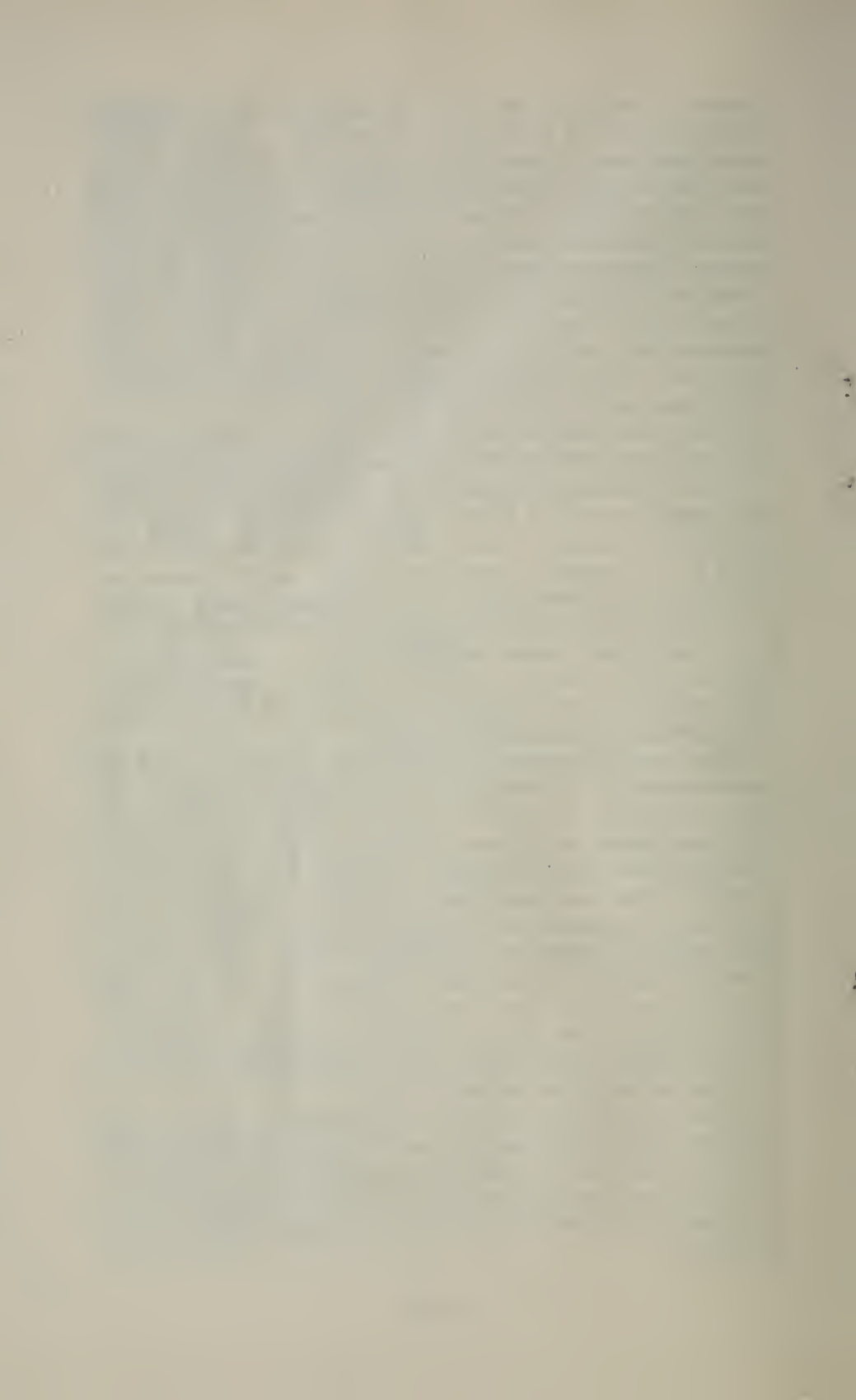
¹ *Literary Digest*. 62:96+. July 26, 1919.

gration, doubled in twenty-five years, and there were localities in which they doubled in less than twenty years. Up to 1820, the entire population of New England and of the regions settled from New England came from immigrants who numbered not over twenty thousand. These mainly arrived between 1620 and 1640, the immigration from 1640 to 1820 being virtually nil. Many writers, including Sydney G. Fisher, Edward Jarvis, and Gen. Francis Walker, have said that the subsequent checking in native growth came as a result of the great wave of immigration which began in 1820. If it had not been for this, they say, our total population, exclusively derived from the elder stock, would now be as great as, or even greater than, it is.

"This would have meant, of course, that our railways would have been built and our factories manned by American laborers. A doubt is permissible, in spite of the 'biological axiom,' whether they would have been forth-coming in sufficient numbers to accomplish the result we have to-day. A rise in the standards of living, to say nothing of increasing luxury, such as became inevitable with the development of the continent, would probably have acted as a check on the birth-rate. But the slowing down of our development might not have been an unmixed calamity. What we lost in the sum total of wealth we should probably have gained in a more equitable distribution of what we had—fewer swollen fortunes and less poverty.

"One result of recruiting our population from foreign peoples has been peculiarly unfortunate. For an English-speaking American to accept certain forms of hand-labor is to fall quite out of his natural sphere. Any form of brain-work, however humble or ill-paid, appears to be preferable. We have thus vast numbers of middle-class Americans living on salaries actually less than the wages of foreign hand-laborers. And among these middle-class people the birth-rate is alarmingly small. Above all, the unregulated influx of foreigners, ignorant of our ways, has brought a loss in the vigor and integrity of our native institutions. Bolshevism and socialism also very largely are the product of the people who have been welcomed by captains of industry intent on immediate material results.

"Our lofty sentiments and our materialism are alike wounded by the proposal to limit immigration by means of selective tests. But if the result is to convince our middle-class respectables of the dignity and worth of hand-labor and at the same time to guard the integrity of our free institutions, there will be a compensation."



NEGATIVE DISCUSSION

IMMIGRATION AND INTERNATIONALISM¹

When the Sixty-fifth Congress adjourned, on March 4, there was pending in that body a bill prohibiting immigration into the United States for four years. That bill, in consequence of the adjournment, is dead, but there is every reason for anticipating that an identical bill, or one with substantially equivalent provisions, will be introduced in the Senate or House when the new Congress convenes. When the proposal reappears, however, its supporters and opponents will have to take account of an argument which, while clearly enough foreshadowed at the time when the former measure was under consideration, was not sufficiently developed to make it a determining factor in the discussion. That argument is internationalism. It makes little difference whether or not President Wilson succeeds in carrying the country with him in support of the resolution of the Peace Conference, or whether the plan of a League of Nations to which the Senate will be asked to give its approval is the original scheme promulgated by the Peace Conference or a modified draft such as the newspapers are busily discussing. What has been set going in the world is the idea of international organization, international action for the furtherance of world happiness, and international comity; and it is in the light of this overshadowing idea that the question of immigration must eventually be judged.

Nothing will be gained, when the question again comes up, by reciting the familiar arguments for or against the restriction of immigration. If we leave out of the account the insane, the feeble-minded, the physically helpless, and those convicted of non-political offences—classes which each nation may properly be asked to care for for itself—the arguments in favor of restriction rest ultimately upon one or other of two grounds. The first is the assumption that every nation has the right, in the

¹ Nation. 108:540. April 12, 1919.

nature of things, to determine who shall or shall not enter or reside in its territory, and to keep the opportunities of its economic or social life to itself. The second is the assumption that the nations of the world are not equal, that some peoples are a "menace" to others, and that differences of race are an insurmountable barrier to economic assimilation or social equality. The first of these assumptions is at the bottom of every restriction of immigration which professes to protect American labor from foreign competition; the latter underlies every contemptuous reference to "foreigners" as of another and lower breed, every worked-up cry of alarm at the "menace" of "low-grade" labor from abroad, every restriction upon the entrance of Chinese or Japanese or upon their life while here.

It will be interesting to see how those who have been eagerly proclaiming their acceptance of Mr. Wilson's doctrines of democracy and human brotherhood, and who now appear to be at least as anxious that the world shall have a League of Nations as they are that it shall have a just and durable peace, will treat the subject of immigration when the question is once more before Congress and the country. As a matter of fact, neither of the assumptions just referred to squares with internationalism. We have objected to the Paris plan of a League of Nations because, among other things, it provides for a league of Governments and not for a league of peoples; because it has been framed in secret by a self-constituted group of titular heads of four great Powers, without consultation with the representatives of other Governments, neutral or belligerent, and without mandate even from their own people; because the Governments whose spokesmen have framed the League will dominate it; and because the special claims of right or privilege which in the past have either helped to set nations against one another or have negatived the idea of national equality are, apparently, to be respected and continued. This is no true internationalism, but only a novel scheme of inter-Allied nationalism; and from such ingenious devices for keeping up appearances the awakened peoples of the world have now turned away.

The bearing of this upon the particular question of immigration is clear. If Congress has comprehended the new international spirit which now everywhere pervades, and is genuinely in sympathy with it, it will have done with putting up the bars. Even the game of politics must, in the long run, be played fairly

if politics itself is not to be hopelessly discredited. The very idea of internationalism, and hence of every proper scheme of a League of Nations, implies the right of the citizens of every member of the League to unrestricted admission to the territory of every other member, and to equal freedom of residence or occupation therein; so only that they obey the law of the jurisdiction in which they happen to be, and contribute by physical or intellectual labor to the welfare of the community. Anything less than this belongs to the narrow and selfish nationalism which the world has outgrown.

The same is true with the assumption of inequality. Just as there can be no lasting federation of nations if the few that are strong are to dominate the many that are weak, so there can be no true internationalism if the right of free migration is to be denied or seriously curtailed. Of all the mockeries which have hindered the growth of a genuine international spirit in this country, those of "lower standards" and the "menace of cheap labor" have been among the worst. If all the descendants of foreigners who came to the United States in poverty, and who gladly took the first job they could find at any wages the employer would pay, were to be disfranchised, some exceptionally prominent American families would lose their voting privilege. To possess superior advantages and deny to others the opportunity of sharing in them; to hold in poverty, ignorance, and suffering, through oppressive conditions of employment, wretched housing, and poor schools, men and women of foreign birth whose labor is adding daily to our wealth; to lump together contemptuously as "foreigners" all whose native language is not English; or to determine the social worth of a man by the color of his skin, is not only snobbish and anti-social in the individual, but anti-international and socially destructive in the nation. Now that most of the nations of the earth and their colonies have been combining against a common enemy, and those which were fighting in the heat of the battle have gladly welcomed help from every quarter, it is time to abandon the unctuous pretence of national and racial superiority. It were better that internationalism should be condemned as a pernicious heresy, and the best-concocted plan of a League of Nations rejected without a dissenting vote, than that, having espoused the one and ratified the other, we should insult the weakest member of the new society of nations by denying to its people free admission to our shores.

WHAT RESTRICTION MEANS¹

First of all, the result of the war on the sources of American population. These sources are two, birth rate and immigration. Of the two, the first is the more weighty; but immigration has been a more considerable factor in the population of the United States than with any other country.

During the ten years preceding the war we received an average of almost exactly a million immigrants a year. A million a year had come to be looked upon as a sort of standard annual immigrant crop, and we counted on it unconsciously in all our business plans and forecasts of growth and expansion. Unquestionably, from a business point of view, it was by far the most valuable of our crops. We didn't list it as a crop as we did our corn and cotton and wheat and our annual ore output. But a crop it was nevertheless, and it cost us nothing. From a business and economic point of view, omitting for the present all social consideration, it was a gift from the gods. Europe bore all the expense of bearing the immigrant and raising him to maturity; he was delivered at our gates free of charge, a full-grown, able-bodied laborer. Valuable? Of course he was. In the South before the Civil War the less intelligent and far less capable slave had a market value of about a thousand dollars—the 1860 kind of dollars, and a dollar of 1860 was equal to about four of our present dollars of 1919. Our annual immigrant crop, in terms of our national wealth, was worth not less than two billion dollars, and that was twice the value of any of the other great crops that we boasted of.

This annual immigrant crop the war cut off from us. The number of immigrants who came to the United States in 1918 was just about one-tenth of normal; to be exact, 110,618. (And an undue proportion of these were of the less desirable sort, Mexicans, Japanese, West Indians. Whereas through the war our immigration from Europe practically ceased, from Mexico and Japan it actually increased.) This accumulated deficit of between four and five million laborers is probably the largest single factor in our present economic situation. Every business man must take account of it, must take account of it both on the side of lack of labor for production and on the side of diminished consumption.

¹ By Mark Sullivan. Reprinted from *Colliers* in the *Jewish Immigration Bulletin*. 9:6-7, 9-10. June, 1919.

What I have so far said about immigration is of the past. The next phase of the subject is within the field of conjecture. Will peace restore the flow of immigration into the United States? Will immigration recommence at all, and if it does will it come in anything like the pre-1914 rate of a million a year? While this question is in the future, the answer to it is one of the really big, physical factors that are to affect future business and economic conditions in this country.

On this question the only evidence that has actually developed so far is a disturbing and rather mysterious phenomenon. Not only has immigration from Europe to the United States failed to materialize since the armistice. That failure of the emigrants to come for the present and during the few months since the armistice is easy to explain. For one thing, there are no ships to bring them; every corner of every ship that can be found is crowded with American soldiers. For another thing, the Italian laborers who might be expected to be the first to come are not free to leave Italy; they are still in the army. The Italian Government has not yet demobilized its army. For that there are interesting reasons. Partly, Italy is moved by fear of the social disorders that may accompany her demobilization; partly, Italy has in some ways inherited the mantle of Germany. It is not that, however, that has any essential bearing on the question of future immigration into the United States. The disturbing phenomenon that is already apparent is this: European immigrants who are already in the United States and have been here for some time are now leaving us and returning to Europe. They are leaving in large numbers. The head of the immigration service of the United States tells me that:

"The alien exodus up to date is running about 18,000 a month. It is running to ship capacity. And back of those who can get away are many times that number (there being thousands waiting in New York) who are planning to go just as soon as they can secure passage. The exodus is confined to the Mediterranean because there is very little facility for persons to get back to central Europe. My own impression is that the exodus is going to be tremendously heavy."

This exodus of alien laborers, at a time when labor is scarce and well-paid, is one of the interesting phenomena of the present. It may turn out to be an important one. I don't know that its significance can be perfectly explained. I have been at some pains to try to discover the reasons for it, but I am not sure they

are clear. (Our ingenious propaganda) among the "wets" say it is due to Prohibition). One element in it is that these aliens are rich. During the past four years they have been earning extremely high wages, and they have acquired what is for them undreamed-of wealth. From their point of view they have become capitalists. Judged by the standard of life which they were accustomed to in Europe, and by the cost of living as they remember it in their old homes, they think they can retire. They do not know that in many parts of Europe the cost of living has become higher than in the United States. One other factor that influences them is their hope to acquire some land. They came to America because they couldn't get land in Europe. Now they have heard that revolution has broken up the old feudal estates. They have heard that it is now possible for them to get a little land in their old homes and they are going back to get it.

Whatever may be the significance of this present back flow of immigrants to their old homes in Europe, it is not necessarily final evidence on the bigger question of future emigration from Europe to the United States.

Shall We Destroy Wealth?

This larger question of whether immigration from Europe to the United States will ever be resumed on a large scale may be determined within a few months. It is just now to the front in Congress, and in Congress there is a strong sentiment toward forbidding it. Congress always has a strong sentiment in this direction. On several occasions in the past severe anti-immigration measures have been passed by Congress only to be vetoed by the President. President Wilson vetoed one and President Taft vetoed one. To vote against immigration always fits in with the prejudices of the majority of congressmen, and with the prevailing feeling of the majority of congressional districts throughout the country. A congressman can usually make a hit with the organized labor of his district by opposing immigration. Communities which are prevailing native American are usually prejudiced against immigration. The fact that a few immigrants are anarchists, or otherwise hold political or religious beliefs repugnant to Americans causes sweeping condemnation of all immigration. The conspicuous recurrence of foreign names in our present crusade against what is called Bolshevism tends to make the prejudice against immigration even more acute than usual.

But Congress ought to decide the matter on a basis of broader statesmanship than mere prejudice or panic because of a few crazy bomb throwers. Stated truly, the question before Congress and the country is this: Are we equal to the problem of distinguishing between desirable European immigrants and undesirable ones? Congress ought not to confess the futility which would answer "no" to that question, and it and the country ought to understand the economic significance of what they do.

Russia or the United States?

If Congress, in its impending decision, decides against immigration, that answer obviously will be final. If Congress does not give this kind of decision, then the answer as to future immigration will arise out of future conditions in Europe. The common assumption, and it is a true assumption, is that in practically every country in Europe, economic conditions will be such that large numbers of people will feel like leaving. The great burden that will press upon them, and which they will want to escape, is taxation. You can beat the devil of taxation around the stump as deviously and as energetically as you may, but it will still remain true that, at the end of the road, taxation comes out of work. And a superficial inquiry into the national debts of the countries of Europe makes you realize that in the immediate future the position of a laborer in Europe will be something like this: he will go to work in the morning and he will work to noon; by that time he will have earned enough to pay his taxes; what he earns during the rest of the day he can keep for himself. Under these conditions, it would seem probable that a laborer will be disposed to take his hat and move to some other country.

However, this weight of taxation will be neither so permanent nor so severe as is now commonly assumed. Statesmen can and will find ways of beating their national debts. Not that any of the debts are likely to be repudiated outright. But statesmen can, and have, inflated the currency. If a normal mark or franc or lira is worth 20 cents, and if, by one device or another, you cut it down to 10 cents, then you can pay your national debt with half the amount of real wealth. Moreover, if you lay an inheritance tax based on 50 per cent of a national debt, two generations will wipe it out. Finally, if the European countries cut out their standing armies and navies, the saving will go a long way toward paying the interest on the public debt. It is not taxation that will give the whole answer as to emigration from European countries.

The final answer, it seems to me, lies in the place where it is most possible to get cheap land. That place, in the fairly early future, is going to be Russia. Within five years Russia will have got a good government. She will have broken up her old system of feudal landholding, and will be what our great West was during most of the last century, the country, of cheap land and opportunity, the rainbow end of the emigrant's hope. If there is to be emigration out of the western countries of Europe, that emigration may flow, not to the United States, but to Russia. Russia, however, as a haven for immigrants from the rest of Europe will not be available until that unhappy country has settled down and got a stable government. In the meantime, in the immediate future, the United States can, if it chooses, adopt and practice policies which will be very apt to attract European immigrants here in large numbers.

Wanted: Millions of Workers

The United States is now in such a position of financial and economic dominance that we can do about what we please with respect to the rest of the world. That is to say, we can do what we please if we go about it thoughtfully, with business and statesmanship working hand in hand. On the one hand we can lend money and sell raw materials freely to Europe, and let the laborers stay over there and make goods, and we can keep our tariffs low so that the goods they make can come in here for sale. On the other hand, we can keep our money at home and make our tariff high, so that European labor will be led to come over here and work for us here at home. Which of the two policies is to prevail will be developed by time. In any event, whether we are to have immigration on a large scale is an important factor in our economic future. For a generation we have relied upon the immigrant to build our roads, to mine our coal, to dig our ore, to man our factories, to provide our domestic servants. If we don't get them, then most assuredly we shall have to get along without a good deal of the work they did for us, without a good deal of the comfort and convenience we have been accustomed to.

The result of our present deficit of what we call common labor is one of the most apparent aspects of our daily life. It is apparent in the scarcity of what we call domestic servants. It is apparent in the defective upkeep of our railroads, and even more so in the condition of our public roads. There is no physical need in this country just now so great as good roads. Hundreds

of thousands of miles of road which are now merely trails through the mud ought to be made into permanent highways adapted to automobile traffic in any kind of weather conditions.

And what I have said of roads applies in the same degree to that large group of operations which we call "public works." There is a great deal of activity throughout America just now. But what we are busy about, for the most part, is perishable goods, goods for immediate consumption. We are not, and for five years have not been, paying enough attention or indeed any measurable attention, to making additions to the permanent material basis on which our civilization rests.

We have not been building any new railroads, nor have we even been giving adequate upkeep to the railroads we have. The erection of buildings has been interdicted by the Government; we have not been building hospitals, schools, and the like. We cannot resume this kind of building, in the accustomed degree, without a large access of human hands. America in the near future could make profitable use of millions of workers, to build roads and bridges, to repair the railroads, to drain swamps, to build levees on the Mississippi, to reclaim land by irrigation. The degree in which we can take up that kind of permanent improvement will be limited by the available quantity of human beings to do the work.

Cheap Food: More Babies

There would be no need for emphasis on this aspect of the economic and business future of the country if one could hope that the loss which we shall suffer through the cutting off of immigration would be likely to be offset by our native birth rate. But birth rate is a process which consumes at least twenty years in producing an addition to our labor supply. Moreover, it is pretty certain that the native birth rate in the United States in the near future will be even lower than before. For one thing, it is the recent immigrants who have had the large families, and for five years immigration has been practically shut off. Furthermore, in the United States as well as in all Caucasian countries, the natural laws which govern birth rate will be working adversely. What those laws are cannot be stated with scientific accuracy, but we can take, as at least having the authority of an accepted treatise, the following from Buckle's "History of Civilization":

"The number of marriages annually contracted is determined, not by the temper and wishes of individuals, but by large general

facts over which individuals can exercise no authority. It is now known that marriages bear a fixed and definite relation to the price of corn. (By "corn" Buckle means what Americans call wheat.) In England the experience of a century has proved that instead of having any connection with personal feelings they are simply regulated by the average earnings of the great mass of the people. So that this immense social and religious institution is not only swayed but is completely controlled by the price of food and by the rate of wages."

What Buckle is talking about, you will recognize, is merely that familiar institution of the present day, the high cost of living. And if our birth rate in America during the immediate future is going to be determined by the cost of living, the conclusion is too obvious to be stated. The chief business of thoughtful statesmanship in the United States just now should be focused on measures to facilitate the production and distribution of food and make it less costly to the consumer; measures to change any conditions of industry which operate as deterrents to early marriage; measures which recognize that no kind of economic function, no kind of work that a woman can do is so valuable to society as the bearing of children; measures which recognize that to the individual there is no other career and no other satisfaction so durable or desirable as the founding of a family and the rearing of children—measures, in short, which look to more babies.

THE PROPOSAL TO SUSPEND IMMIGRATION¹

Manufacturers throughout the United States believe that the Burnett Bill, now pending in the House of Representatives, to prohibit immigration from any but contiguous lands for a period of four years, is neither wise nor in accord with the principles of our Government. They further believe such action will hamper the future expansion of industry and agricultural development in many sections. After the present period of uncertainty in business passes over, our manufacturing leaders believe the domestic supply of labor will not be adequate to meet our needs.

The bill is a direct confession of our national failure intelligently to arrange for proper supervision and distribution of arriving immigrants. A much better solution of the matter

¹ By Stephen C. Mason, President National Association of Manufacturers. In *American Industries* for February, 1919. p. 7.

would be the adoption of suitably restrictive legislation with immigrant distribution machinery on the new lines of Canada.

We have millions of acres of undeveloped lands in this country to which few, if any, of our returning 2,000,000 soldiers will emigrate. Why refuse admission to those immigrants from agricultural lands in Europe with these lands of our own still lying in disuse and our farmers badly in need of labor and the country in need of increased farm products? Furthermore, there are many industrial centers where the supply of unskilled labor is far below the demand, even now.

To shut off practically every avenue for new labor forces for the next four years is not squarely meeting an important problem of readjustment. It is creating possibly more grievous problems and conditions than those which it is sought to correct. We are weak, indeed, if, on the pretext of preventing the importation of one of Europe's war aggravated social diseases, known as rampant Bolshevism, the only remedy we can adopt is to prohibit the continued arrival of those still remaining healthy and vital forces of European labor which may come to our shores to escape the very social conditions in their own land which we, ourselves, dread.

The Burnett Bill is contrary to and in conflict with the avowed purpose of President Wilson to "make the world safe for democracy," through the medium of the League of Nations. Furthermore, it directly seeks to create a prohibitive labor tariff wall, so that while our Government leaders are proclaiming our ideals of "Democracy," an autocracy of labor may quietly be built up within our domain.

So far as that portion of our free institutions and form of government might apply to the immigrant, the Burnett Bill might logically contain the following clause as to purpose: "to extinguish the light in the hand of the Goddess of Liberty at the entrance to New York harbor for four years."

HUMAN CURRENTS OF THE WAR¹

Congress proposes to prohibit immigration during a period of four years after the signing of peace. Is a blanket measure of this character what we want and what we need? Yes—if we can now dispense with Europe's contribution to our material

¹ By Herbert Adams Gibbons. In *Everybody's* for July, 1919. p. 48-53.

development. No—if increase of population by immigration is still helpful to us. It is an error to think that prohibition for a limited time will save us from undesirable elements. After four years, the best and most energetic of the new migratory current will have found its way elsewhere. Would it not be wiser to permit immigration, but make our regulations more stringent?

We have always handled the problem of entry into the United States stupidly and illogically, annoying to ourselves and to the immigrants. The war has shown us the way, and provided us with the means of suppressing the absurdity of wholesale detention at Ellis Island. As a war measure, we are demanding a passport, with the visé of an American consular official, of every person who proposes to put foot on American soil. It is possible to continue this machinery after the war. We can limit the granting of visés to desirables. The applicant's desirability can best be determined by investigation on the spot in Europe.

The Parliaments of Great Britain and the British Dominions are as keenly alive as we are to the necessity of being ready for a strong migratory current from continental Europe. London has gone farther than Washington, and seems inclined to follow a path that will lead to tremendous consequences for Europe. It is proposed at Westminster to forbid enemy aliens to enter British territory for an indefinite period and to deport Germans, Austrians and Hungarians who are settled in the British Empire. If this proposal is carried out, other nations, notably Brazil, may follow the precedent set by the British. Deportation of Germans from British territory would create a forced migratory current as great as that which is already flowing out of Alsace-Lorraine and Prussian Poland. It is unlikely that the ousted Germans will find it possible to settle in their country of origin. Where will they go, and in what direction will the migratory current from Germany flow? Will public sentiment in America bar Germans and influence Central and South American countries to adopt the same policy? Upon the answer to these questions depends, in a very large measure, the influence of the war of 1914-1918 upon twentieth-century Europe. Nothing is more certain than that we can not bottle up, under adverse economic conditions, the eighty million Germans of Central Europe in a German state narrowed down to its ethnographical limits. Even if we gave back to Germany her colonies, they would not support a large white population. Do we not have to choose, then, between

sharing with the German race the development of Africa, the two Americas and Australia, and seeing the Germans overflow into Eastern Europe and Asia?

In December, 1914, in the office of a great electrical manufacturing concern of Berlin, I was interviewing one of the chief promoters in Germany of reapproachment with Great Britain. I had come to get his version of the causes of the war. "Why is Germany fighting?" he cried, jumping up from his desk. "I can put it in one sentence. We were nervous to the breaking-point over the Westward Ho! preparation of the Slavs." In expanding his thesis, the German explained the war by migratory currents. Russia was pressing Germany, so Germany had to press France and Belgium. Great Britain was afraid she would be pressed in turn. I suppose that if I had met this manufacturer-philosopher again after we had entered the war, he would have explained our intervention in the same way! Some Americans did. Were not we to be attacked next?

Would it be a strange ending for a war caused by German fear of a Slav migratory current westward, to have a German migratory current eastward? Not at all! The greatest wars in Europe were due to migratory currents from the east and north seeking a way out to the Atlantic and Mediterranean. We read that "civilization" was saved every time by the races of the west and south stemming the migratory current. The French claim today that they must go back to the Rhine, as they have done in the past, in order to prevent a renewal of German aggression. But the Eastern menace is relative. The Germans have gone eastward to stem the Slav tide. And at the time of her war with Japan did not Russia try to gain the sympathies of the world by claiming that her presence in Vladivostok and Port Arthur was essential to save Europe from the yellow peril?

"The world is not changed," says the pessimist with a sigh. "History repeats itself. Human nature is always the same." Platitudes! What is being said over and over again in Paris salons is, I am told, being said just as often on the other side of the Atlantic. Let us put over against them the words of Phillips Brooks, as much gospel truth to-day as when they were spoken a generation ago from a Boston pulpit. In the backward and forward movement of migratory currents in Europe, racial elements have been steadily absorbed or united to form increasingly larger political organisms. In the overflow to extra-European countries, new nations have been created. Racial antagonism and intense

nationalism are the aftermath of wars only to superficial observers who can not see farther than the end of their noses, only to opportunist statesmen who mistake passing symptoms for permanent conditions.

A mother once said to me: "I have come to dread the day my babies learn to walk." "Why?" I asked. "Because they can go away from me," she said. The *status quo* is a comfortable condition. But it exists in infancy and decrepitude. Between the beginning and the end of life, there is the migratory instinct. When this world of ours hears the trumpet of the Angel Gabriel, and not until then, shall we be in a position to no longer reckon with evolution.

NATIONAL LIBERAL IMMIGRATION LEAGUE¹

Resolutions adopted at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Manufacturers May 19-21, 1919

WHEREAS it was proposed by the Committee on Immigration of the House of Representatives of the 65th Congress to substantially prohibit immigration to the United States for a period of years and such proposal is likely to be renewed in the same terms, and

WHEREAS the information is not now available upon which to fairly determine whether the United States is likely to suffer an outflow or inflow from its population, but circumstantial evidence at hand strongly indicates the former is likely to occur and that a variety of causes may induce a severe drain amongst many elements of our foreign born population,

Therefore be it resolved that the National Association of Manufacturers in Convention assembled declares its belief that public interest requires that the Congress should consider the formulation of a just and socially sound immigration policy which, without denying admission to those whose presence is politically and economically desirable, will reject the diseased, the criminal, those likely to become dependent, or who by expressed belief or racial or national predisposition, are unlikely to be, or incapable of becoming qualified for citizenship; that any person, foreign or native born, who advocates or teaches the overthrow of this form of government by force or physical re-

sistance to its lawful authority should upon accusation and conviction upon such charge, forfeit his citizenship, or if an alien, be deported to the country whence he came, and subject to such restrictions the United States invites to its shores, as ever, the strong, the honest, the clean in mind who have faith in its institutions, adhere to them, and who desire to enjoy the privilege of its citizenship.

“Mr. President, it is important to remember that this stream of immigrants has been flowing into America since the early days of the seventeenth century. Those who favor this bill seem to forget that only the other day their ancestors were alien, the sons of England, France, Ireland, Italy, Scotland, Poland, Germany, Russia, and other lands; and though that stream of revivifying blood has ceased to flow into some sections of our country, it still continues to renew the energies and courage of the North and the West, as ever. Wherever he has gone schools have sprung up; industries have flourished; trade has increased; wealth has multiplied; prosperity has bloomed; and patriotism, peace, law, order, intelligence and happiness follow in his footsteps.”

—JAMES A. GALLIVAN, Representative in Congress from Massachusetts.

“Let the objectors to opening our gates to able bodied immigrants of good character reflect where our country would have been except for that invaluable element.”

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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