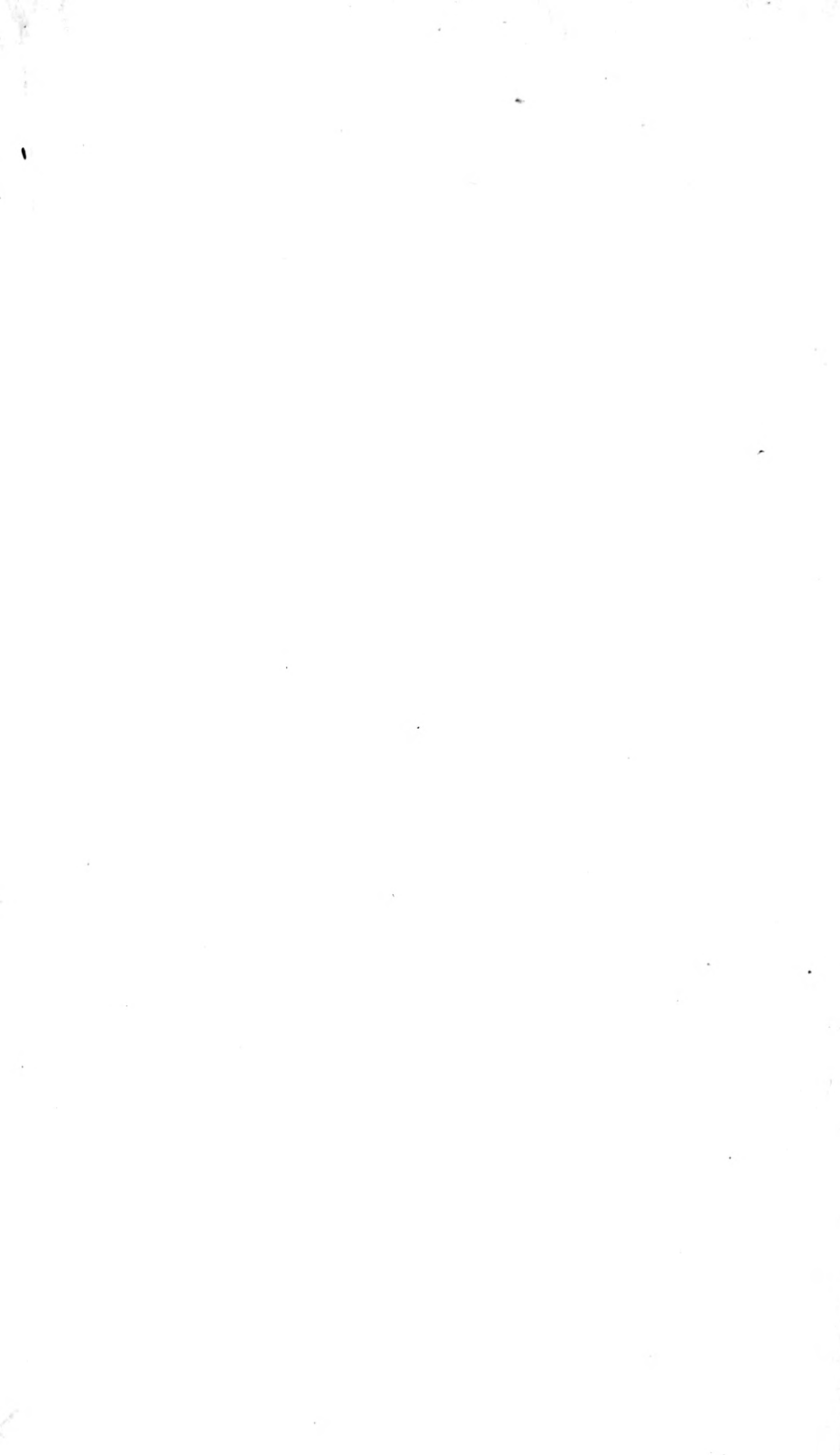


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U S Surgeon General's Office

61st CONGRESS }  
3d Session }

SENATE 8 April 1910 } DOCUMENT  
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REPORTS OF THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION

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STATEMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS SUB-  
MITTED BY SOCIETIES AND ORGANIZA-  
TIONS INTERESTED IN THE SUBJECT  
OF IMMIGRATION



PRESENTED BY MR. DILLINGHAM

DECEMBER 5, 1910.—Referred to the Committee on Immigration  
and ordered to be printed, with illustrations

WASHINGTON  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1911



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**THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION.**

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Senator WILLIAM P. DILLINGHAM,  
*Chairman.*  
Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE.  
Senator ASBURY C. LATIMER.<sup>a</sup>  
Senator ANSELM J. MCLAURIN.<sup>b</sup>  
Senator LE ROY PERCY.<sup>c</sup>

Representative BENJAMIN F. HOWELL.  
Representative WILLIAM S. BENNET.  
Representative JOHN L. BURNETT.  
Mr. CHARLES P. NEILL.  
Mr. JEREMIAH W. JENKS.  
Mr. WILLIAM R. WHEELER.

*Secretaries:*

MORTON E. CRANE.      W. W. HUSBAND.  
C. S. ATKINSON.

*Chief Statistician:*

FRED C. CROXTON.

---

*Extract from act of Congress of February 20, 1907, creating and defining the duties of the Immigration Commission.*

That a commission is hereby created, consisting of three Senators, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, and three Members of the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and three persons to be appointed by the President of the United States. Said commission shall make full inquiry, examination, and investigation, by subcommittee or otherwise, into the subject of immigration. For the purpose of said inquiry, examination, and investigation said commission is authorized to send for persons and papers, make all necessary travel, either in the United States or any foreign country, and, through the chairman of the commission, or any member thereof, to administer oaths and to examine witnesses and papers respecting all matters pertaining to the subject, and to employ necessary clerical and other assistance. Said commission shall report to Congress the conclusions reached by it, and make such recommendations as in its judgment may seem proper. Such sums of money as may be necessary for the said inquiry, examination, and investigation are hereby appropriated and authorized to be paid out of the "immigrant fund" on the certificate of the chairman of said commission, including all expenses of the commissioners, and a reasonable compensation, to be fixed by the President of the United States, for those members of the commission who are not Members of Congress; \* \* \*

---

<sup>a</sup> Died February 20, 1908.

<sup>b</sup> Appointed to succeed Mr. Latimer, February 25, 1908. Died December 22, 1909.

<sup>c</sup> Appointed to succeed Mr. McLaurin; March 16, 1910.



## LIST OF REPORTS OF THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION.

- Volumes 1 and 2. Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission, with Conclusions and Recommendations and Views of the Minority. (These volumes include the Commission's complete reports on the following subjects: Immigration Conditions in Hawaii; Immigration and Insanity; Immigrants in Charity Hospitals; Alien Seamen and Stowaways; Contract Labor and Induced and Assisted Immigration; The Greek Padrone System in the United States; Peonage.) (S. Doc. No. 747, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 3. Statistical Review of Immigration, 1819-1910—Distribution of Immigrants, 1850-1900. (S. Doc. No. 756, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 4. Emigration Conditions in Europe. (S. Doc. No. 748, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 5. Dictionary of Races or Peoples. (S. Doc. No. 662, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volumes 6 and 7. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 1, Bituminous Coal Mining. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volumes 8 and 9. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 2, Iron and Steel Manufacturing. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 10. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 3, Cotton Goods Manufacturing in the North Atlantic States—Pt. 4, Woolen and Worsted Goods Manufacturing. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 11. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 5, Silk Goods Manufacturing and Dyeing—Pt. 6, Clothing Manufacturing—Pt. 7, Collar, Cuff, and Shirt Manufacturing. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 12. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 8, Leather Manufacturing—Pt. 9, Boot and Shoe Manufacturing—Pt. 10, Glove Manufacturing. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 13. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 11, Slaughtering and Meat Packing. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 14. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 12, Glass Manufacturing—Pt. 13, Agricultural Implement and Vehicle Manufacturing. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 15. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 14, Cigar and Tobacco Manufacturing—Pt. 15, Furniture Manufacturing—Pt. 16, Sugar Refining. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 16. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 17, Copper Mining and Smelting—Pt. 18, Iron Ore Mining—Pt. 19, Anthracite Coal Mining—Pt. 20, Oil Refining. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 17. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 21, Diversified Industries, Vol. I. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 18. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 21, Diversified Industries, Vol. II—Pt. 22, The Floating Immigrant Labor Supply. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volumes 19 and 20. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 23, Summary Report on Immigrants in Manufacturing and Mining. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volumes 21 and 22. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 24, Recent Immigrants in Agriculture. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volumes 23-25. Immigrants in Industries: Pt. 25, Japanese and Other Immigrant Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States. (S. Doc. No. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volumes 26 and 27. Immigrants in Cities. (S. Doc. No. 338, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 28. Occupations of the First and Second Generations of Immigrants in the United States—Fecundity of Immigrant Women. (S. Doc. No. 282, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volumes 29-33. The Children of Immigrants in Schools. (S. Doc. No. 749, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volumes 34 and 35. Immigrants as Charity Seekers. (S. Doc. No. 665, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 36. Immigration and Crime. (S. Doc. No. 750, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 37. Steerage Conditions—Incorporation and Harboring of Women for Immoral Purposes—Immigrant Homes and Aid Societies—Immigrant Banks. (S. Doc. No. 753, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 38. Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants. (S. Doc. No. 208, 61st Cong., 2d sess.)
- Volume 39. Federal Immigration Legislation—Digest of Immigration Decisions—Steerage Legislation, 1819-1908—State Immigration and Alien Laws. (S. Doc. No. 758, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 40. The Immigration Situation in Other Countries: Canada—Australia—New Zealand—Argentina—Brazil. (S. Doc. No. 761, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 41. Statements and Recommendations Submitted by Societies and Organizations Interested in the Subject of Immigration. (S. Doc. No. 764, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)
- Volume 42. Index of Reports of the Immigration Commission. (S. Doc. No. 785, 61st Cong., 3d sess.)

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

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THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION,  
Washington, D. C., December 5, 1910.

*To the Sixty-first Congress:*

I have the honor to transmit herewith, on behalf of the Immigration Commission, a report entitled "Statements and Recommendations Submitted by Societies and Organizations Interested in the Subject of Immigration."

Respectfully,

WILLIAM P. DILLINGHAM,

*Chairman.*

NEW YORK  
JAN 10 1911  
Y. S. B. B.

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STATEMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS SUBMITTED BY  
SOCIETIES AND ORGANIZATIONS INTERESTED  
IN THE SUBJECT OF IMMIGRATION.

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## INTRODUCTORY.

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As explained in volume 1 of this report, the Commission's plan of work did not include hearings, in the ordinary meaning of that term. In some branches of the inquiry hearings were of necessity resorted to, but wherever it was practicable the Commission preferred that statements or arguments be submitted in writing rather than orally. In pursuance of this policy a considerable number of societies or organizations interested in various phases of the subject of immigration were invited to submit statements, recommendations, or arguments for the consideration of the Commission and for publication as a part of its report to the Congress. This invitation was confined to some of the more important societies whose work is substantially national in its scope. Among the organizations included were some which advocate the restriction of immigration, and some which are opposed to further restriction, while others exist only for the purpose of promoting the welfare of immigrants.

Organizations of the two classes first mentioned were asked to submit such arguments and recommendations as they might desire to bring to the attention of the Commission, while those of the class last referred to were requested to present some phases of the work in which they were engaged, the purpose being to promote a wider knowledge of the commendable efforts that are being made by such societies for the betterment of conditions among immigrants in the United States. The inquiry submitted to such organizations was in substance as follows:

The Immigration Commission, created under section 39 of the act of February 20, 1907, has for the past three years been engaged in studying various phases of the immigration problem, and its final report will be made to Congress early in December.

It is not the purpose of the Commission to hold hearings, but various organizations interested in the subject of immigration have been invited to prepare statements explaining their work and expressing their views relative to the matter under consideration. It is proposed to include these statements in the general report of the Commission, as it is believed that such information will be of value in a study of the immigration question.

Having some knowledge of work which is being done among immigrants by \_\_\_\_\_, the Commission would be glad to secure a statement concerning that work, with particular reference to the following points:

1. The origin and purpose of the organization.
2. Character and extent of work done.
3. Results.
4. What, in your opinion, can the National Government do to assist immigrants on their arrival at United States ports?
5. What, in your opinion, can the National Government do to promote the assimilation or Americanization of immigrants?
6. Any other phases of the question which you may care to discuss.

There was a very general response to the Commission's invitation and the various statements submitted are presented herewith in the order in which they were received.



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STATEMENT OF COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION FOR ALIENS,  
SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

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COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION FOR ALIENS.  
SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.  
*Washington, D. C., October 1, 1910.*

Hon. WILLIAM P. DILLINGHAM,  
*Chairman the Immigration Commission,*  
*Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter and to thank you for the opportunity you have given to the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution to place on file the results of its work during the past three years with the alien.

Respectfully,

JOHN H. MOORE, *Chairman.*

# STATEMENT OF COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION FOR ALIENS, SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

---

## I. ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THE SOCIETY'S WORK FOR IMMIGRANTS.

In the constitution of our society, under the heading of "Purposes and objects," will be found among other provisions the following: "To foster true patriotism and to maintain and extend the institutions of American freedom." In 1907, when the immigration to this country reached the unparalleled number of one million and a half, the Sons of the American Revolution felt that the time had come for them to take some action toward aiding the assimilation of this vast and motley horde. This question was taken up and discussed at the National Congress held at Denver in 1907, with the result that a committee on information for aliens was created. At the next meeting of the executive committee a plan was outlined and over one-half of the income of the society was appropriated to carry on the work.

## II. CHARACTER AND EXTENT OF WORK DONE.

A small leaflet was prepared, written in the most simple English, entitled "Information for immigrants concerning the United States, its opportunities, government, and institutions," a copy of which is appended and marked "Exhibit A."

This leaflet was translated and printed in the following languages: English, Italian, Yiddish, Polish, Magyar, Slovenian, Slovak, Croatian, Swedish, Greek, Bohemian German, Norwegian-Danish, and Lithuanian. It was copied entire in a large number of the daily papers throughout the country and by most of the papers printed in a foreign language.

Our State societies and chapters took the matter up and local committees were appointed to attend to its distribution.

Manufacturers, mining companies, employers of labor, settlement workers, and many patriotic societies became interested in the work, with the result that hundreds of thousands of the leaflets were distributed among the alien population. The night schools in several of our largest cities were very helpful, as the leaflet was both used for study and carried home, where it could be read by all members of the family.

Two years' work showed the need of further instructions; so a second leaflet was prepared and printed, entitled, "Naturalization of aliens in the United States—how to become citizens—what is required—rights and duties," a copy of which is appended, marked "Exhibit B."

This leaflet has been distributed in large numbers. It has not been printed in any foreign language, as our committee did not deem it

wise, in view of the fact that an alien must speak English to a certain extent before he can become naturalized.

### III. RESULTS.

We can only judge of the results obtained through this work by the reports we have received from our numerous State societies and chapters. Judging by them, we do not hesitate to state that the work has been very beneficial. The leaflets in most cases have been gratefully received and often have been sought for.

### IV. GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO ARRIVING IMMIGRANTS.

*What, in your opinion, can the National Government do to assist immigrants on their arrival at United States ports?*

After three years' cooperative work with the Division of Information of the Department of Commerce and Labor, we do not hesitate to state that its scope should be largely increased by the establishment of branch offices in the large cities similar to the one now in operation at New York, where the immigrants go upon their arrival at the seaboard. The tendency of the immigrant is to remain at the port where he lands. Anything that will induce him to go inland will be beneficial. At our seaports he is at the mercy of large numbers of intelligence offices, where he is often willfully defrauded and in many cases treated unmercifully. By increasing the scope of the Division of Information all this could be largely obliterated.

### V. ASSIMILATION OF IMMIGRANTS.

*What, in your opinion, can the National Government do to promote the assimilation or Americanization of immigrants?*

The Government taxes every immigrant \$4 before he is allowed to land. This sum is sufficient to permit the Government to do something for the immigrant after he lands. In our opinion the Government should do everything it can to induce the immigrant to leave our congested cities and spread out over the land. Where there are but a few immigrants they quickly become Americanized, and it is only a question of time when they become assimilated. We would most earnestly recommend for this purpose the establishment of branch offices of the Division of Information of the Department of Commerce and Labor in all our cities where large numbers of immigrants are landed; and, further, that branch offices of the same division be established at Chicago and St. Louis and later at some point in the South, like Atlanta.

We do not think it for the best that our Government should go as far as the German Government has gone in the establishment of intelligence offices, but we do think that our present plan of assisting the immigrant through the Division of Information of the Department of Commerce and Labor should be expanded and enlarged.

## EXHIBIT A.

## THE UNITED STATES—INFORMATION FOR IMMIGRANTS.\*

The person who leaves the land in which he was born and goes to another to make his home wants to know the truth about a number of things in the land to which he goes.

To give such information this is printed, not by the Government, nor by any set of men who are interested in availing themselves of your labor or seeking to get your money, but by a society which has for its object the teaching to all of a love of country and is composed of the descendants of the men to whom the United States owes its existence as a distinct Government. This society is called the Sons of the American Revolution.

The questions which most of those who come to the United States want to know something about are as follows:

1. What are the opportunities which are open to the foreigner to work for a salary or wages which will pay him well?
2. Is it or not true that anyone can become rich in this country?
3. What about the religion of this country?
4. Can children obtain a better education here than in the land from which I have come?
5. What is the liberty about which I have heard so much?
6. In a general way how is the country governed?
7. How far will it be possible for me or for my children to have something to do with the government of the country?

Here are the answers:

1. The people of the United States are all workers in one way or another. There is no noble class which does not work. Everyone who comes here to make his home is expected to work in one way or another. There is work to be done on the farms, in the mines, in the mills and factories, on the railroads, in the cities, and each and all of these will give you a fair compensation for the work you do. But you must not expect that you will be paid without working.

2. While there are many in this country who are rich, and who have become rich as the result of their own labor and saving, there are also many more who are poor and who always will be poor. The possibility of becoming rich is open to all, but that condition will come only as the result of labor and industry and habits of economy. It is therefore dependent upon yourself and on no one else whether you become rich or continue poor.

3. There is no state religion. That means that the Government does not pay for the support of any priests or ministers, and there is no tax laid upon the people to maintain any church. The country is a Christian country in the sense that the largest number of the people here believe in the religion of Christ, but anyone, Jew or Christian, is free to worship God according to the particular form of religion in which he believes, limited only to the extent that such worship does not involve immoral practices or make itself offensive to others.

4. There is no country in which it is as easy for the young to obtain an education. In most places all children between certain ages are required to attend school in order that they may learn, and as a rule the education can be obtained without cost, the expense of the schools being paid by the State, because the people of the United States believe that the better the children are educated the better citizens they will make, and the more able they will be to earn good wages and so take better care of themselves and their families.

5. Liberty does not mean that anyone can do whatever he pleases. No one is permitted to steal, kill, cheat, or defraud another. By liberty is meant that so long as a person obeys the laws of the country, which are made by the people, he is free to follow such calling as he chooses; to worship God in such form as he believes to be the best; to be protected in his person from assault by others or imprisonment by officials; and to be protected in the possession and enjoyment of any property which may be honestly his.

This country is one of law, and those laws are made by men chosen by the people, and everyone, rich or poor, high or low, powerful or weak, is governed

\* Prepared and caused to be distributed by the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution.

by the same law and protected by the same law. The President of this country must obey that law just the same as you will be required to obey it.

6. The country is governed by laws made by men chosen by the people. If those laws are unjust or oppressive, they can be changed by the same body which makes them, and since the men who frame the laws are chosen at short intervals, no unjust law is permitted to remain long in force. The President of the United States and the governors of the 45 States which make up the country are also chosen by the people. It is their duty to see that the laws which are made are faithfully carried out, but they have no power either to make, unmake, or alter the laws which the men chosen by the people for that purpose have made, nor can the President or governors turn out of office the men chosen to make the laws or prohibit them from meeting at the appointed times.

The courts are independent, both of the men who make the laws and of the President and governors. Some of the judges in them are chosen by the people and some are appointed by the President or governors of States. If anyone is wronged he goes to the courts for redress, and in most cases the question as to whether a wrong has been committed or not is heard and decided by 12 other citizens like himself, called the jury.

In a Government such as this there is less need for a large number of soldiers than in many others, and often you will not see a soldier for a whole year at a time, and except in very rare instances there is no service in the Army or Navy required of those who live here.

7. All of those who are born here are citizens of this country, and as such entitled to participate in the Government, to vote for officers, and to hold office. Those not born here can become citizens by being naturalized, and when a person is so naturalized he has all the rights of a citizen—is a citizen. To be naturalized a person must have lived in this country for five years, have a good moral character, be able to speak and understand our language, and have some general idea of our form of Government.

This is a great country to which you have come. It extends from where the snow and ice never entirely melt on the north to where frost is never known on the south, from an ocean on the east 3,000 miles to an ocean on the west. It has great lakes and rivers, high mountains, fertile plains and valleys. There are great stores of coal, iron, and natural oil. Almost every variety of fruits and grains is found in large quantities, and great mills and factories manufacture everything that is necessary for comfort. This is the land to which you have come. May you be worthy of it.

#### EXHIBIT B.

#### NATURALIZATION OF ALIENS IN THE UNITED STATES—HOW TO BECOME CITIZENS—WHAT IS REQUIRED—RIGHTS AND DUTIES.<sup>a</sup>

The object of this little paper is to tell those coming from foreign lands how they may become citizens of the United States. It will also tell something of the rights which come to those who do become citizens. It will not try to tell anyone how to vote, and it is not prepared by the Government or by any political agent. It is written by the direction of a society made up of the descendants of the men who made an American citizenship possible. This society is called the "Sons of the American Revolution."

There are many reasons why the foreign-born person who comes here should wish to become a citizen. Some of these are: (1) Because there are rights which are given to a citizen which are not given to one who is not a citizen. In nearly all the States only citizens are allowed to vote or to hold office; and in a country governed by the people it should be the aim of everyone to take part in the choosing of the men by whom the Government is to be carried on; (2) if a man is going to make a home for himself and his family here, if he is going to earn his living here, it is a duty to his family as well as to himself to take part, if he can, in the Government by which his rights and those of his family are to be cared for.

Everyone who is born in the United States is a citizen, whether his parents were born here or not, and whether they had become citizens of this country or not.

<sup>a</sup> Published by the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution.



A foreign-born person is made a citizen by a proceeding in court. There are a great many courts where this can be done, and one or more will be found in every State. When a court has once made a man a citizen, he is a citizen in every part of the country, and will be accepted as a citizen on producing the papers given him in the court when he is naturalized. If this paper is destroyed or lost, a copy can be had from the court which gave the paper which has been lost.

One who wishes to become a citizen will want to know what will be required by the court which he asks to naturalize him. There are several things about which he has to bring evidence before the judge. The evidence must be statements made under oath by two persons who are citizens. The person who wants to be naturalized must show in this way—

1. That he has lived in this country for at least five years. It is not necessary that he should have lived all of that time in the same city or town, but he must have lived in this country all of the five years, and one year in the State where he asks the court to make him a citizen. If he has lived part of the time here and part of the time in the old country, the court will refuse his application.

2. That he is a person of good moral character. This does not mean that he must have any particular religion, or even that he must be a member of a church. It does mean that he must be a person who behaves himself, who does not steal, or cheat, swindle, or assault other people. It means that persons who break the laws are not looked on here as persons who will be good citizens and fit to make laws for people who obey the laws.

3. Evidence must also be given to the court by the person who wishes to be made a citizen that he believes in the form of government of this country. No man can believe in a thing which he knows nothing about. A citizen by his vote helps to govern the United States. It is necessary, therefore, that one who wishes to become a citizen shall know the way this country is governed. So one who does not know how this country is governed is not a proper man to have a part in the governing of it. He would not know how to use the rights of a citizen properly. It is not enough to know that there was once a man by the name of George Washington or to know the name of the man who is President at a particular time. One who wants to be a citizen should know how the laws are made, how the men who make them are chosen, and what officers see that the laws are obeyed.

4. Anyone who believes that there should not be any government at all can not become a citizen. Anyone who teaches or believes it is right to kill or try to kill or shoot or stab a man for no reason except that he is an officer of the Government can not become a citizen. In this country the people choose their own officers and in most cases for not more than four years. The officer is a servant, not a master, of the people. If he abuses his office, or if he uses his office to abuse the people, he can be removed by the courts or the President or the governor of the State, or when his term ends the people can put some one else in his place. So there can be no excuse for trying to kill, shoot, or stab an officer because he is an officer.

5. To become a citizen a man must be able to speak the English language. He can become a citizen without this only when he is unable to talk at all, or when he has declared that he means to become a citizen and has settled on some of the land owned by the Government in the way the law provides.

At least two years before a foreigner applies to the court to make him a citizen he must go before the clerk of the court and swear to a written statement that he means to become a citizen of the United States, but this statement does not, by itself, make him a citizen of the United States. At the time he applies to the court to make him a citizen he must have resided within the United States for at least five years, and for one year immediately preceding such application in the State in which he makes application. A foreigner may go before the clerk of the court and swear to a written statement that he means to become a citizen of the United States at any time after he reaches the age of 18 years.

What are the results of being naturalized?

1. The naturalized citizen has the same rights in regard to property that one who is born here has; the same right to earn a living for himself and his family; to enjoy that which he has earned and which is justly his; the right to vote for the men who are to make the laws and the men who are to see that they are carried out. The naturalized citizen has just the same rights in the governing of the country as one who was born here.

2. He has the right to be appointed to any public position or employment for which he is fit, or to be chosen by the people to any office in the Government except that of President.

3. When a foreign-born man is naturalized, his wife, if she is a person who could herself be naturalized, and his children under 21 years of age become citizens also by his act, if they are in this country. They thus become entitled to the rights of citizens.

4. If a man has become a citizen of the United States and afterwards goes back to the old country on a visit, he will be protected by this Government from unlawful arrest or from being put in prison or punished unjustly. This does not mean that if he does wrong, or had done wrong before he came away, this Government would stop his being punished. It means that if he behaves as a good man, and had not done anything to be punished for before he left the old country, this Government will not let him be put in prison or punished without cause.

The United States expects its citizens to live in this country, to work here and earn a living; to support and educate their children here. So if a man, having been naturalized here, goes back to the old country, or to any other foreign country, within five years after he has been made a citizen, to live there permanently, he is no longer considered a citizen of this country and loses his rights as a citizen here.

Is it not a great thing that one who comes from another land can become a citizen here, and have a vote which will count just as much as that of the President himself? Is it not a great thing that each foreigner coming here can have every right that anyone born in this country can have?

Is it not worth your while by your behavior and industry to do your best to obtain this right for yourself and your family?

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STATEMENT OF JUNIOR ORDER OF AMERICAN MECHANICS.

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**LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.**

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**JUNIOR ORDER UNITED AMERICAN MECHANICS,**  
**OFFICE OF NATIONAL VICE COUNCILOR,**  
*Cincinnati, Ohio, October 1, 1910.*

**HON. WM. P. DILLINGHAM,**

*Chairman of the Immigration Commission,*  
*United States Senate,*  
*Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of September 26 I wish to state that the inclosed statements made before the Immigration and Naturalization Committee, at Washington, D. C., May 21, shall be considered as our statements for the National Council, Junior Order United American Mechanics, and the National Council, Daughters of America, before the Immigration Commission.

I wish to thank you for the courtesies shown us in this respect, and sincerely trust that you will give our statements very careful consideration.

Very respectfully, yours,

**JOHN J. WEITZEL.**

## STATEMENT OF JUNIOR ORDER UNITED AMERICAN MECHANICS.

### EXTRACTS FROM HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SIXTY-FIRST CONGRESS.

THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
*Saturday, May 21, 1910.*

The committee this day met, Hon. Benjamin F. Howell (chairman) presiding. Others present were: Representatives Burnett, Edwards, Johnson, and Sabath. The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, gentlemen.

Mr. WEITZEL. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I have the honor of presenting to you to-day the Rev. M. D. Lichliter, of Pennsylvania, the chaplain of the Junior Order United American Mechanics, who will address you in a general way on the subject of immigration, which this order had declared to be one of its principles.

I have now the honor and pleasure of introducing Reverend Lichliter.

#### STATEMENT OF REV. M. D. LICHLITER, HARRISBURG, PA.

Reverend LICHLITER. I will present the statement of our order in a general way, and I will be obliged for the courtesy of being permitted to present it without any cross-questioning, so as to preserve its continuity. As the gentleman, Mr. Weitzel, the national vice-councilor, has a statement to make and your time is precious, I ask that as a courtesy

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, at the request of the national legislative committee, all present here to-day and composed of Mr. E. C. Lafean, Mr. Reinhard Schwald, and Mr. John H. Noyes, and Mr. John J. Weitzel, representing the national board of officers, I appear before you to represent the Junior Order United American Mechanics. As an organization we are non-sectarian and nonpartisan, founded upon patriotism, love of country being the chief cornerstone. As with all associations of a fraternal character, we are mutually helpful to each other, our wives, and children. We stand prominently for the public-school system of America and oppose sectarian interference therewith.

The question of restricted immigration has been increasingly before our order for twenty years; in fact we were among the first to call the attention of the American Congress to the evils growing out of the "open-door" policy of the Government, resulting particularly from its recent changed character and by which the "undesirables" from foreign countries have been entering our portals by the millions.

I wish to state, by way of preface, that as an organization the Junior Order United American Mechanics is not opposed to the immigration idea. We believe in immigration—that there has been a need for it, that there is still room for more—but only of the better sort. Tracing ourselves back from three to five generations, we all find ourselves absorbed, through our progenitors, in the peoples of the Old World. These progenitors were moved by a common impulse and hope. The Constitution formed in the cabin of the *Mayflower* began, "In the name of God, amen. For the glory of God and the maintenance of the Christian faith." These words became the watchwords of the world's millions of men and women from other lands who voluntarily sought in the New World a home and freedom from oppression.

We needed them—our mighty domain then called for them to build our cities, run our industries, construct our railroads, and till our soil; but that public domain is now gone. No wonder Abraham Lincoln, in his Thanksgiving

proclamation of 1864, called upon the people of the land to thank God that "He has augmented our free population by immigration."

But, as Lord Beaconsfield once said in defending a change of national policy of England, "A good many things have happened since then." Every phase of the immigration problem has changed since the days of Lincoln, just as it has with regard to our forestry and conservation policy. The immigration of the present is not the immigration of forty years ago. The problem confronting us in this the opening of the second decade of the twentieth century is entirely different than at that time, because we are receiving, in the main, a different type of immigrant. We have rightly excluded the coolie. While with open arms our order welcomes our kith and kin and blood as that of forty years ago, we do protest against the admission of those who come into this country whose habits and manner of life tear down the standard of American life, of living, and of wages, and whose traits of character, formed under the condition under which they have existed as races for centuries, possessing a low order of intelligence and an inferior standard of life, renders it impossible, even if they had the desire, to maintain the highest ideals of American morality and citizenship.

In studying the early immigration to this country we learn that it was mostly composed of people of the Celtic and Teutonic blood. They came from that people who made the present civilization of the world and aided in building up the splendid national structure of the United States of America. These early immigrants came of their own initiative to better their condition, to free themselves from the Old World oppression, to find a home; and at once they became a part of this great country, settling in the rural districts, and were on the firing line and in the trenches when their presence was needed. They were the better part of the nations from which they came—morally, mentally, and physically; in the main they were intelligent, industrious, frugal, law respecting, and liberty loving, and as such assimilated with the native born with marvelous facility. They contributed to our statesmanship, to our literature, to our commerce, to our agriculture, and to all other avenues of industry. They belonged to that independent race of men of the Aryan blood who, when they left their homes in the Caucasus Mountains, came with the idea already embedded in their hearts and minds of the beauties of self-government. That ancient people were not governed by a monarchical form of government, as the present influx is. When a chief died, his son did not succeed him, but, instead, the candidates for the office of chief laid their shields upon the ground and the warriors, as electors, threw their swords into the shield of the man whom they wanted as ruler, and the one who had the greatest number of swords on his shield was declared the ruler or chief. This principle the Aryans brought from their mountain fastnesses. It was the same principle that worked in the blood of the American patriot when he stood in the trenches of Bunker Hill and suffered at Valley Forge. It was from this Aryan blood that immigration came previous to 1875. They did not come because they were assisted by others, they did not come because some one paid their passage to get them out of the old country, but they came because they wanted to be free. They came to get rid of the oppression of their old home. They came not at the behest of the agents of the steamship lines or the agent of the large American industries, sent over to buy labor as by auction, in the market, to drive out American labor from our great mills. No; they came at their own behest, and did not all settle down in the centers of American life to congest it, but struck out into the prairies and forest to build homes for themselves and families.

It is very interesting to study the comparison of the immigration that came three or four decades ago with the present influx of aliens. In 1820, from which date we have computation of the arrival of aliens, 8,385 souls came. In 1905, 1,026,499 landed on our shores, having passed through our wide-open gates. During this time and up to June 30, 1909, 26,856,723 have entered our portals. Up to 1877 the majority came from northern Europe and was of the Anglo-Saxon blood, mixed with the Celtic and Teutonic, which originally came from the Aryan race.

Let us notice by way of contrast the immigration of 1854 and 1905—fifty years of comparison. In 1854, 48,901 English, 4,605 Scotch, 101,606 Irish, 13,317 French, 215,000 Germans, and 3,531 Norwegians emigrated to America. During the same year 1,363 came from Italy and only 14 came from the vast Empire of Russia. Fifty years after England sent over only 26,218 souls; 6,153 came from Scotland, 35,000 from Ireland, and 40,000 from Germany, while on the other

hand Russia dumped on our shores 136,093 souls and Italy sent over 230,622 more. In 1905 Austria-Hungary furnished 206,000 persons. In 1854 not a single soul came from that country. Though late in starting to emigrate to America, from these three European countries more than 6,000,000 have entered our portals.

WE CAN NOT ASSIMILATE THIS NEW ENORMOUS INFLUX.

The baleful influence of such a low type of immigration on our civilization, labor, morals, and citizenship is patent to every observer. How much of this emigration in later years is undesirable is difficult to compute. Those who have made it a study differ in their estimates. But enough is shown, even by conservative estimates, that a large percentage of them should not have been permitted to enter.

A few years ago a member of the Immigration Commission, who studied the question carefully, stated that from 1890 to 1902 of the 5,000,000 immigrants that had entered our portals 4,000,000 of them should not have been permitted to enter. That estimate may be too large. But if the statements of other immigrant inspectors and the records of the Commissioner-General are correct, at least one-half are undesirable. The latest account I have is from a gentleman in New York, who studied the problem the past year, who stated that at least 225,000 that entered our gates were not desirable.

Taking the immigration for a year as a whole, a large per cent can not read nor write, thus filling this country with a vast army of illiterates. In 1907, according to the Annual Report of the Commissioner-General, 751,786 came to our country, of which 191,141 could neither read nor write. It has been computed that if the illiterates had been denied admission to this country—that is, those who could neither read nor write—from 1896 to 1907, 1,829,320 would have been denied admission. Add to this the great number of those who were undesirable because of their habits, customs, and criminal tendencies, what a vast host would have been excluded from our shores. To prevent the coming of this great army of illiterates and undesirables, we ask of you, gentlemen, a favorable consideration of the Hayes bill and Elvins bill now before you.

It is not what a man eats that makes him big and strong, but what his system assimilates. The boy thinks that the more he eats the sooner he will be a man; that the more potatoes, cabbage, etc., he takes down into his stomach the quicker he will arrive at the coveted period of maturity. That is a mistake. It is not so much what he eats, but what he assimilates; what his digestive apparatus will generate through his body that gives vigor to the blood and strength to the bones. The same principle is true in the body politic. It is not so much the number of immigrants this country receives that affects us, but the kind. This country has wonderful assimilating powers and can assimilate and distribute through its body politic a great army of worthy and industrious people and those of the high moral type. But it can not assimilate the mass of lower Europe and protect its high standard of morality and good order.

The tendency of later-day immigration is to go into the great centers, already congested, and add thereto an increasing danger to the peace and good order of the public domain. It is not necessary, before so intelligent a body of men, to give extended remarks on this phase of the problem, as you know that the vast number of immigrants settle in our cities and refuse to go out on the farms. I am perfectly familiar with the fact of the inability to get immigrants to go to the country, as I am connected with the department of agriculture of my own State, Pennsylvania, and have been in touch with a society in New York which has for its purpose the sending of or inducing immigrants to go to the farms in the country. They refuse to go, and when they do and their expenses are paid they soon tire of the work and leave the farmer in a few days, out of his money and a farm hand. Many who come from Italy were reared on farms, but farming is too slow for them when they arrive here; they prefer the centers of population and any other avenue of occupation rather than work on the farm.

It is clear to every observant citizen, it seems to me, when we take into consideration the vast hordes of undesirable aliens, approximating a million a year, that are coming to us, that something will happen; in fact, something has happened. The moral fiber of the nation has been weakened and its very life-blood vitiated by the influx of this tide of oriental scum. The Boston of to-day is not the Boston of 1775, when James Otis and Samuel Adams were the exponents of liberty. Local self-government has broken down, and Boston is now governed by two commissioners appointed by the governor. The New York of

to-day is not the New York when Washington landed from the ferry to take hold of the helm of the new Republic and guide safely through the breakers the first experiment of constitutional government on the globe. In fact, as is well known, none of our larger cities of to-day are the cities of forty years ago. The illiterate, the unclean, morally and physically, the un-American, the criminally inclined, yea, the lower classes of aliens form the dangerous portion of our municipalities, and are becoming a menace to our institutions.

The gravitation of undesirable immigrants into these large cities reenforces their slum population. These slum sections furnish the bulk of criminals before our police courts and the criminal tribunals. They are the hot beds of vice and seething pots of corruption. It is particularly the illiterate that is such a fertile field for the irresponsible agitator and corrupt boss. One who gave the matter investigation a few years ago stated that in Baltimore 77 per cent of the slum population was of foreign birth or parentage; in Chicago, 90 per cent; in Philadelphia, 91 per cent, and in New York, 95 per cent. It will be seen that the nationalities which constitute the larger per cent of the slum element in these and other cities are those drawn from the least desirable immigrant; two-thirds at least of it being contributed from eastern and southern Europe, and of this element the same sections of Europe furnish the larger number of illiterates, about 60 per cent, while all other countries—Scandinavia, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Ireland—furnish but 23 per cent of the illiterates of these slums, and native-born Americans contribute 7 per cent. When we consider this illiterate accession to the slums of the cities, we should recall the warning of that eminent writer and traveler, George William Curtis, "Let us beware how we water our lifeblood." That is, let us not unduly tax our assimilating powers. New York alone has a population at the present time of more than 500,000 Italians.

Visit the parks and groves near our municipalities in the summer time on the Sabbath and observe the desecrations of the Lord's day, and you will find that 97 per cent are foreigners. Take the statements of the officers of our police stations and judges of our courts, and we find that about 75 per cent tried for crimes are foreigners. The admissions to our almshouses and penal institutions has been on the increase since 1900. The most notorious criminals of the old countries find their way here, and soon are engaged in their red-handed deeds of wrongdoing. In some nations they even give a notorious criminal the option of going to prison or America, and he emigrates at once. Some countries find it cheaper and better to encourage such emigration and thus are getting rid of their dangerous element. The increase of pauperism in this country from aliens is a matter of importance to be considered. The reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration show a constant increase. One of these reports show in one year that 28 per cent of the number in our public institutions were foreigners, and that the gain in admissions for that year was 34 per cent.

Then there is another factor that enters into the problem, when we consider the segregation of the millions of undesirables, the lower order of immigrants into our great industrial centers—that of the menace to the peace and good order of our country in times of strikes or labor uprisings, when there is a dispute regarding the wages of the employees of the vast corporations. We need but recall the railroad riots of 1877 and the Homestead strike some years later.

My work was in the midst of those great disturbances, and I witnessed the destruction of the property of the railroad and city of Pittsburg in the disturbance of 1877, and the riotous scenes at Homestead. The wild scenes of carnage that occurred in 1877 was not brought about by the railroad employees, but by the slum element of the city, who seized the opportunity to burn and pillage, thereby entailing millions of damage which the taxpayers were compelled to pay. When the workingmen in the Homestead mills resisted the Pinkerton police, those who protected the mill were the better element of the workingmen; but when the Pinkerton's surrendered, they were treated with respect and courtesy, and were being conducted to the place of detention, quietly, when outside the works, there lined up 2,000 of the baser sort, who perpetrated upon the helpless prisoners shameful indignities, beating them, throwing dirt and sand into their faces, tripping them, and calling them by the vilest epithets, thus changing the sentiment of the country against the workingmen, and at the same time endangering the peace of the community to such an extent that the entire state national guard was called to encamp for two or three weeks in that unfortunate town.



Gentlemen, the influence of this dangerous class does not stop with the immediate sections where they segregate in such vast numbers. As the stream partakes of the same nature as the fountain head, so the stream of moral and civil contamination flows outwardly through the land until the farthest extremity of our domain feels the rancor of the disease that festers in our congested centers of population.

There are inducements held out to encourage immigration, and these might be enumerated as fourfold:

1. Those of governmental authority in the older European countries to induce to emigrate or transport those who are paupers, criminals, or otherwise undesirable and burdensome. I have in a word referred to this. It is a fact vouched by those who have given personal inspection to the matter that there are governments which encourage such emigration, and even have societies in which dues are paid to furnish a fund whereby paupers are transported to America; in fact, public moneys are used to transport such, claiming that it is cheaper to send their pauper poor to this country than to keep them in their own poor-houses.

2. The employment of agents representing great industries to visit the human markets of Europe to hire laborers for American mills and other industrial establishments. This is so patent and so frequently referred to by immigrant officials that it is only necessary to mention the fact. In eight times out of ten an immigrant on reaching this country has a job waiting him, even if there is no job for an American. Scores of instances have come under my own observation of such gross injustice done American workmen in the interest of an alien. I have seen our own people at the mill office asking for work, and were told there was no opening, when the next minute an Italian or Slav would come to the office, with the tag of shipment still on him and smell of steerage passage still on his clothes, who would get a job for the mere asking. I saw one day while standing on the wharf in New York a ferryboat filled with immigrants. I saw Italian padrone agents culling out the Italians and corraling them until more than 300 had been gotten together, where they were kicked and cuffed like cattle, when finally led by an agent and followed by another to bring up the rear, like driving a herd of cattle into the shambles, they were marched to the padrone headquarters where they were hired out to such parties who would pay the price for this cheap labor. The padrone agent generally gets from two to five dollars from each Italian and from two to three dollars from the firm who has bought them to install in his establishment at the expense of American laboring men.

3. Another inducement to encourage this mighty alien immigration is the oft-repeated story of the steamship companies which have their agents by the hundreds to cover such countries of Europe where there is the largest harvest of aliens to be obtained to ship steerage to America.

Upon this point the Commissioner-General of Immigration in his report of 1909, on pages 112 and 113, in giving the reasons for the "increased and increasing inflow of Iberic and Slavic people," says:

"But these do not afford what is believed to be the principal, the underlying explanation. The truth of the matter is that the peasants of the countries mentioned have for a number of years supplied a rich harvest to the promoter of immigration. The promoter is usually a steamship agent, employed on a commission basis, or a professional money lender, or a combination of the two. His only interest is wholly a selfish one of gaining his commission and collecting his usury. He is employed by the steamship lines, large and small, without scruple, and to the enormous profit of such lines. The more aliens they bring over the more there are to be carried back, if failure meets the tentative immigrant, and the more are likely to follow later if success is his lot. Whatever the outcome, it is a good commercial proposition for the steamship line. To say that the steamship lines are responsible, directly or indirectly, for this unnatural immigration is not the statement of a theory but of a fact, and of a fact that sometimes becomes, indeed, if it is not always, a crying shame."

In discussing further the evils growing out of "artificial induced" immigration, the Commissioner-General adds: "It may be asserted as a general rule that stimulated immigration is undesirable. As already stated, a large part of our immigration is known to be of that character."

The fact of the promotion of immigration by steamship companies has so frequently been brought to your attention, gentlemen, that I will not take your valuable time to make further reference to it, only so far, that their opposition

to this bill and similar bills is proof that they are in favor of a wide-open-gate policy. Surely the American workingman has the right to protection from this low-priced labor. And the only place these millions of workmen of our own race, kith, and blood can get protection is from our American statesmen composing our American Congress, of whom we are asking favorable consideration of the bill in question.

4. Another inducement that encourages such a large influx of aliens, especially from Italy, and to a lesser degree from Austria-Hungary, grows out of economic conditions. This is a phase of the immigration problem very lightly touched upon and not well understood. Italy is a very populous country, and is a little larger than the area of two New York States, and has 33,000,000 people. Twenty per cent own the entire country, 40 per cent are tenants, and the other 40 per cent are laborers, at 25 to 40 cents a day. Her public debt is more than twice as large as that of the United States, to pay the interest of which requires 42½ per cent of the taxes collected, and 23 per cent more is required to support the standing army. The tax is \$81 per capita, and to meet this taxation, or rather to increase the value of her resources, the governmental authorities encourage the emigration to America of her labor population where fortunes, so far as an Italian looks at it, are quickly made, the bulk of which money is returned to Italy. Fully 500,000 emigrate to the various countries in a year, and to facilitate this gigantic movement the Government has established an emigrant department, which differs from our immigrant bureau, whose chief object is to look after those who desire to come to us. The object of the Italian bureau of emigration is to send them out, and at the same time they are urged not to become American citizens; to remain loyal to the mother country, make all the money they can, save all they can, live just as cheaply as they can, and with their surplus return to their native land and put it in circulation for the betterment of the country, so as to make a larger resource for the nation and increase its taxable property.

The reports of the Commissioner-General show that this fact is true; that the vast majority of Italians and Hungarians do not come to stay, only so long as they can accumulate a good bank account, and then they depart. This is the reason that more men come than women. In one year out of 221,479 immigrants from Italy, only 38,000 were females—that is, the majority came not to make America their home. One year, in round numbers, 193,000 Italians came through our portals, and the same year 129,000 passed out for their old home. One of the managers of the Hamburg Line said that in 1904, 575,000 entered our country through Ellis Island and 359,000 passed out. The last report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration shows that during the calendar year of 1909, 751,786 immigrants emigrated to this country, and 192,449 nonimmigrants; and 225,802 aliens and 174,590 nonaliens departed. In the panic year of 1908, 714,165 immigrants and nonimmigrants left the country. Of this number belonging to the immigrant class, Italy sent to us 134,246, and there returned to their old home 214,212. Same year Austria-Hungary sent to us 171,798, and those who left us for their own country numbered 177,261. According to last report of the Commissioner-General for the year 1909, those who came from Slavic and Iberic races numbered 460,005 out of a grand total of immigrants for the year of 944,235.

There is another phase of this great problem of immigration that has not been referred to by those who have studied the question, its disastrous fruits in the times of America's industrial and financial depressions. In the years of the great industrial activity, as in 1905 and 1906, more than 2,300,000 immigrants passed our portals, but when the panic or industrial depression of 1907 and 1908 came upon our country, like locusts these millions ate up our substance and left hundreds of thousands of our American workingmen on the verge of want.

Some have charged the late depression to President Roosevelt; some to Wall street and the great moneyed corporations. How much either or all these were causes for the depression I know not; but one cause, however, has not been touched upon by apologists for that depression—the immigrant's drain upon the nation's medium of circulation—its money—which cause is twofold.

A few weeks ago there appeared before you representatives of the railroad employees of this country, and in that hearing there was brought to your attention the cost for a month upon which an Italian or Hungarian could subsist, and how much he could save out of his income. A few years ago I had opportunity to inquire into the same phase of the immigrant question and arrived at about the same conclusion, the amounts in figures differing but

slightly. The Bureau of Labor issued a pamphlet dealing with this problem. The results of that examination showed that in 89 gangs aggregating more than 1,500 men the average earnings was \$37.07 per man per month, while the cost for food per man for a month was \$5.30 and for shanty room and sundries \$1.49, leaving for each man a net surplus of \$30.27 a month.

Now, what had this to do with our late industrial depressions? Much, every way. First, the lack of the consumption of the products of the country, which meant the lack of outlay of money for same, was a drain upon the nation's wealth, because that surplus was kept from circulation. The American working man lives up to his income; hence his wages are kept in circulation, therefore keeping in good health the body politic.

But this drain from the lack of the consumption of the products of the nation with the \$30 stored away is insignificant compared with the amount of the savings for the month and year that are removed from our country to the Old World. Here is a decisive drain on the nation's wealth, it being estimated that \$200,000,000 is taken out in a year—\$75,000,000 to Italy alone, and as a compensation for this drain last year the immigrants brought with them but \$17,331,828.

President Roosevelt in his message of December 3, 1901, said:

"Not only must our labor be protected by the tariff, but it should also be protected so far as possible from the presence in the country of any laborers brought over by contract, or those who, coming freely, yet represent a standard of living so depressed that they can undersell our men in the labor market and drag them to a lower level. Our present immigration laws are unsatisfactory. There should be a comprehensive law enacted with the object of working three-fold improvement over our present system.

"First, We should aim to exclude absolutely not only all persons who are known to be believers in anarchistic principles or members of anarchistic societies, but also all persons who are of a low tendency or of unsavory reputation. This means that we should require a more thorough system of inspection abroad and a more rigid system of examination at our immigration ports, the former being especially necessary.

"The second object of a proper immigration law ought to be to secure by a careful and not merely perfunctory educational test, some intelligent capacity to appreciate American institutions and act sanely as American citizens.

"This would not keep out all anarchists, for many of them belong to the intelligent criminal classes. But it will do what is also in point; that is, tend to decrease the sum of ignorance, so potent in producing the envy, suspicion, malignant passion, and hatred of order, out of which anarchistic sentiment mentally springs.

"Finally, all persons should be excluded who are below a certain standard of economic fitness to enter our industrial fields as competitors with American labor.

"There should be proper proof of personal capacity to earn an American living and enough money to insure a decent start under American conditions. This would stop the influx of cheap labor and the resulting competition which gives rise to so much of bitterness in American industrial life, and it would dry up the spring of the pestilential social conditions in our great cities, where anarchistic organizations have their greatest possibility of growth.

"Both the educational and economic test in a wise immigration law should be designed to protect and elevate the great body politic and social. A very close supervision should be exercised over the steamship companies which mainly bring over the immigrant, and they should be held to a strict accountability for any infraction of the law."

Immigration into the United States for the year ending June 30, 1903, was 648,743.

President Roosevelt in his message of December 2, 1902, said:

"I again call your attention to the need of a proper immigration law, covering the points outlined in my message to you at the first of the session of the present Congress; substantially such a bill has already passed the House."

Immigration into the United States for the year ending June 30, 1903, was 857,046.

President Roosevelt in his message December 2, 1903, said:

"The need is to devise some system by which the undesirable immigrants shall be kept out entirely, while desirable immigrants are properly distributed throughout the country."

Immigration into the United States for the year ending June 30, 1904, was 812,870.

With this increase of immigration and the alarms already sounded by Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt, the American people became aroused and at conventions held in many places in the United States, strong resolutions for the restriction of immigration were adopted. The National Conference on Immigration held in New York City on December 6-7, 1905, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation, in a resolution unanimously adopted, declared—

“That the members of the national conference on immigration heartily endorse the wise suggestions of the President of the United States in his annual message to Congress regarding the enforcement and amendments of laws concerning immigration, and regarding an international conference to deal with the question.”

They urged upon Congress the speedy passage of the laws required to put such recommendations into effect.

Immigration into the United States for the year ending June 30, 1905, was 1,026,499.

President Roosevelt, in his message to Congress, December 5, 1905, said:

“The question of immigration is of vital interest to this country. In the year ending June 30, 1905, there came to the United States 1,026,000 alien immigrants. Moreover, a considerable proportion of it, probably a very large proportion, including most of the undesirable class, does not come here of its own initiative, but because of the activity of the agents of the great transportation companies. These agents are distributed throughout Europe, and by the offer of all kinds of inducements they wheedle and cajole many immigrants, often against their best interests, to come here. The most serious obstacle we have to encounter in the effort to secure a proper regulation of the immigration to these shores arises from the determined opposition of the foreign steamship lines who have no interest whatever in the matter save to increase the returns on their capital by carrying masses of immigrants hither in the steerage quarters of their ships.”

Immigration into the United States for the year ending June 10, 1906, was 1,100,736, and for the year ending June 30, 1907, 1,285,349.

On account of the panic in the fall of 1907 the news was spread all over southern Europe that many men were out of employment in the United States, and to this is due the fact that the immigration into the United States for the year ending June 30, 1908, was 732,870.

If 343,267 immigrants alarmed President McKinley, and if 487,918 immigrants in 1901 alarmed President Roosevelt and the laboring classes and patriotic people, then the large increase of immigration in more recent years should stir our entire citizenship to agitation and every legislative body in the nation to action.

During the month of March, 1909, the Ohio legislature (President Taft's State) passed the following resolution:

“Whereas the dumping of a million immigrants into the United States annually is a fact for which the world offers no precedent and is a menace to American institutions, the American home, and the American laborer; and

“Whereas there are now many bills before the Congress of the United States for the better regulation of immigration and the revision of the tariff; and

“Whereas the regulation of foreign immigration is a necessary supplement to the tariff, an essential element in the protection of America from ruinous competition by cheap labor at home, ruinous in our endeavor to establish an American industrial democracy; and

“Whereas a protective tariff without proper immigration regulation is a travesty on the industrial problem: Therefore be it

“Resolved by the general assembly of the State of Ohio, That we respectfully ask our Senators and Representatives in Congress to enact more stringent immigration laws to protect our people, both native-born and naturalized, against wholesale immigration from foreign lands.”

Similar resolutions were passed by other States.

The contention we make is that we should take care of our own people first. The argument is often made that this is a free country; that we should open our arms to everyone; that America should be the home for the downtrodden and the oppressed of all lands. Well, that is a very beautiful sentiment, one worthy of those who utter it; but my idea is that the true way to live, the true

way to push forward civilization, is to build up the best standards, not to tear them down. As was recently said on the floor of the United States Senate:

"It has long been our boast that America offers an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, and Liberty Enlightening the World stands beckoning such to our shores. It is time, Mr. President, that this sentiment should be relegated to the limbo of things to be forgotten, and give place to the more practical sentiment that our own must be provided for."

I believe that is our first duty as American citizens—to take care of our own families should be first before taking care of another's family; to care for our neighbors first before taking care of those who come to us, or want to come, who have no parity of feeling with us.

Self-defense is the first law of nature as well as of nations. If the Scriptural statement that the man who "careth not for his own household is worse than an infidel" is true, then the nation that permits its institutions and people to be endangered from any cause certainly, if that cause can be removed, is no less guilty of the violation of that sacred injunction, both from the standpoint of Christian and natural laws.

Charity begins at home, and while the United States has opened its gates to the earth's millions and offered an asylum to the oppressed, and a home for the unfortunate, still this great country has no right to carry its hospitality one step over the line where American institutions and American workingmen and the American standard of wages and living is brought into serious peril. Since 1900 from eight to nine millions of foreigners have entered our portals. No nation in human history every undertook to deal with such masses of alien population. The man must be a sentimentalist and an optimist beyond all bounds of reason who believes we can take such a load upon the national stomach that can not be assimilated, thereby threatening the life and health of the Republic.

This, gentlemen, is the nation's peril and crisis. The "new face at the door" is a significant fact. The fable of the camel, the tent, and the master is likely to become a reality. The face of this great camel is not only at the door, but the head and shoulders are within. How long will it be until the whole body will be within and the "dead line" is reached? It is the patriotic as well as Christian duty of our Congress to save this country from the bilge waters of foreign habits, vices, and influences.

The ancients dreamed of an island toward the setting sun, called Hesperides, a place where flowers sent forth their sweetest fragrance and where fruits ripened in every month of the year. That Hesperides is our Columbia, with its fertile valleys, its broad prairies, its golden gate, and its fair Southland. But an enemy hath entered the beautiful garden, and has gnarled its fruits and poisoned its flowers.

Troy was safe until Minerva induced its defenders to open its gates to admit the Trojan horse, when out of its belly came forth the instruments of Troy's destruction. Unrestricted immigration is the Trojan horse in our midst. From it comes our danger and ultimate destruction, unless the gates are closed against all "undesirables," so that the absorptive powers of this great nation may properly assimilate that which it has already on the national stomach.

Gentlemen, it is not necessary to enlarge on the statements I have made of facts cited, as you have them fully presented by the Commissioner-General of Immigration and the various commissions that have been studying this problem. The statements and data presented by those who are familiar with the subject, and who have studied the problem both here and abroad, should receive, as I believe they will, careful consideration from your honorable committee.

Before I sit down, there is another fact I wish to impress upon your minds. This organization I represent, with more than 400,000 members, is not the only one asking for restrictive measures at the hands of Congress. Scores of other organizations, associations, and societies are in harmony with our contention. Not only the native is asking for a restrictive measure, but naturalized and unnaturalized foreigners, who came here for a home and have made this their adopted country and are a part of our bone and sinew, are asking for such legislation to keep out the undesirable element from their own native countries. Again, a large number of labor unions of this country have taken decided grounds for proper restriction of immigration. This statement has the verification of Mr. John Mitchell, who was for years at the head of a great labor confederation. He has been and still is a representative of labor interests, and these unions are observing the importation of cheap and pauperized as well as

undesirable labor from Europe that is affecting the millions of American workmen.

Gentlemen, if we would keep our country in the place it has fully earned, that of the foremost republic, yea, the foremost nation of the earth, we must shield it from those baleful influences growing out of unrestricted immigration that soon or later will bring disaster to us. If we would have the mighty current of our national power move onward unchecked in the fulfillment of its great mission we must preserve our institutions, our people, and our citizenship from the corrupting and baleful influences of Europe's undesirable aliens, pouring in upon us at the rate of a million a year. Our grand Anglo-Saxon character must be preserved and the pure, unmixed blood flowing down from our Aryan progenitors must not be mingled with the Iberic race, composed of the lower types of the race. We should stand for a safe and sane policy of restriction. Let the world call that selfishness if it will; after all, "National selfishness is the highest type of patriotism," as declared on one occasion by a Member of the American Congress.

Gentlemen, in conclusion, I trust that the gravity of the situation confronting our country and the importance of the subject may be felt to such a degree that you will give it the most careful and thoughtful consideration. Immediate action to restrict immigration is necessary in order to protect our wage-earners against the vicious, criminal, pauper labor that is being permitted to enter our ports. We should maintain the high standard established by our American laborer. His right to such wages in order that he have a comfortable home, and a sufficient competency to enable him to educate his children and maintain his dignity as an American citizen, is unquestioned.

We look to you, gentlemen, for such legislation that will preserve and protect that standard of living and citizenship for which we contend.

I thank you, gentlemen, for your courtesy in listening to me.

**STATEMENT OF JOHN J. WEITZEL, ESQ., OF CINCINNATI, OHIO, NATIONAL VICE-COUNCILOR OF THE JUNIOR ORDER OF UNITED AMERICAN MECHANICS.**

Mr. WEITZEL. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I notice that the hour is half past 11, and so far as I am concerned, if it is agreeable to you gentlemen, I am willing to submit my statement to you and have it made a matter of record without reading it.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no objection. Without reading it, it will be printed.

Mr. WEITZEL. Yes; I wish to state that I came here for the express purpose of making a denial of some of the statements that are contained in the public records, and for that reason and that reason alone I came here to present this paper.

Mr. BURNETT. Will you call attention briefly to the statements that you wish to deny, without going into the subject-matter of your paper there in detail?

Mr. WEITZEL. Yes, sir; I wish to call attention to the statement, according to page 472 of the printed hearings, where a member of the committee states that he is reliably informed that the Junior Order is the same as the old decadent A. P. A., and is merely operating under a new name.

Another charge, on page 365, says we are engaged in a particular propaganda, and I take it the person who made the statement believed he had been informed by what he considered as reliable authority; also that the Junior Order was an anti-Catholic organization. No doubt his information came from overzealous church enthusiasts, as, for instance, the editor of this paper here, the Morning Star, a Catholic weekly, who has several articles in the issue of April 23, 1910. I just quote some lines in one of those articles in my paper, and will not take the time to read them.

Mr. BURNETT. Your statement is that it is not anti-Catholic and is nonsectarian?

Mr. WEITZEL. Yes; that it is not anti-Catholic and is strictly nonsectarian, as stated by the Rev. Mr. Lichtner. We state that fact as beyond contradiction, and we challenge any statement to the contrary.

Mr. SABATH. I am willing that all of that should go in, but I would like to go over the article before it goes in.

Mr. BURNETT. Let it go into the printed record, and if any reply is desired, it can be made.

Mr. SABATH. Then let it go in. I have no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now stand adjourned.  
 (Thereupon, at 11.30 o'clock a. m., the committee adjourned.)  
 (Following is the statement filed by Mr. Weitzel:)

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, in the first place, as a member of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics and its national vice-councilor, and chairman of the national legislative committee of the Daughters of America, I beg to correct an impression conveyed to this committee by certain persons who have not only appeared here, but who have been elsewhere, quite misrepresenting the principles, objects, aims, and purposes of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics.

According to page 472 of the printed hearings, a member of this committee states that he has been "reliably informed" that the Junior Order "is the same as the old bigoted A. P. A." and is "merely operating under a new name." Another Congressman charges the order (p. 365) with engaging in a "particular propaganda," and I take it that he had been informed by what he considered "reliable authority" also that the Junior Order was an anti-Catholic organization. And, no doubt, his information came from some such overzealous church enthusiast as, for instance, the editor of the Morning Star, a Catholic weekly, who has several articles in his issue of April 23, 1910, from which I desire to quote a few lines. In one editorial, entitled "Catholics and the duty of the hour," everlastingly criticising President Roosevelt for the Vatican incident, there are, among others, the following sentences: "All this cry of anticlericals, Protestants, and Masonic orders of 'Down with the church,' 'Away with the Pope,' is bombast and nonsense. Knowing our strength, what have we to fear? See the strength of Free Masonry and anticlericals. Are we not more powerful than they? Cognizant that we are the heirs of all ages in truth and doctrine, and that ours is the only church founded by Jesus Christ, why should we hide our light under a bushel?" In another column reference is made to the Junior Order and Daughters of America, whose "avowed purpose" is editorially asserted to be "nothing else than a revival of the fierce war waged by the infamous A. P. A.'s some years ago against the Catholic Church."

There is no foundation in fact for such statements, and I am sure they do not represent either in the matter of Masonry, Protestantism, Roosevelt, or the Junior Order the sentiments and attitude by which the entire church would be judged.

Just as an instance and in order to show that such criticism is not general, and that the order is nonsectarian, I desire to call the committee's attention to the friendly feeling existing between and courtesies exchanged between three conventions of Catholics, Juniors, and Daughters of America which happened to meet in Canton, Ohio, September, 1906, partially set forth in the following newspaper account:

"CATHOLICS AND JUNIOR ORDER MINGLED—CINCINNATIANS FIGURED IN PLEASANT INCIDENT AT CANTON—COMPLIMENTARY VISIT BY PROTESTANTS IS RETURNED BY CATHOLICS—PRIEST SPEAKS IN COMPLIMENTARY TERMS OF SUPPOSED HOSTILE BODY.

"That America is the home of religious toleration, and Ohio and Cincinnati the State and city where it has reached its broadest meaning, was shown in an occurrence which was a beautiful feature of the sessions of the conventions of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics and of the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association, both of which were held in Canton Wednesday. Each convention had a large body of Cincinnati delegates, and a Cincinnati attorney, John J. Weitzel, was elected to the highest state office of the Junior Order, that of state councilor. \* \* \* Some members of the Catholic organization looked upon the Junior Order as an adjunct of the 'A. P. A.,' and many of the Junior Order honestly believed that the Catholics were un-American. The wholesome patriotism, which inspires both orders, despite the wide differences of religious belief, and a recognition of the error into which both had fallen led to a fraternalization between the two bodies of delegates at the Canton conventions which wiped out in the minds of both past bitterness.

"At the meeting of the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association Wednesday afternoon a committee of the Junior Order asked admittance to the hall, and extended a cordial greeting to their Catholic brethren, which was received by a rising vote. Immediately the Catholic association sent a committee to the Junior Order convention and returned the compliment. C. J. Fitzgerald, of

Cincinnati, was chairman of the Catholic committee. Delegates of both bodies then mingled in the best fraternal spirit and a veritable love feast ensued. In a sermon following the convention session at St. Johns Church, the Reverend Father McGuire commented upon the incident and declared that the friendly spirit between the two bodies showed that "the day of the sword and cannon had passed, and to-day and in the future the clash of ideas will be settled in a temperate way." \* \* \* (Times-Star, Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept. 14, 1906.)

The Junior Order is not an antireligionist society; it is no more anti-Catholic than the Knights of Pythias, Eiks, Odd Fellows, or the American Federation of Labor for that matter, every one of which have members of the Catholic faith and favor the enactment of more restrictive immigration laws. The Junior Order is a patriotic, fraternal, benevolent, and beneficiary organization, dating back almost a century. It cares for its sick, buries its dead, looks after their widows and orphans, provides insurance, stands for compulsory education, believes in freedom of conscience and liberty of worship, advocates good naturalization laws and the judicious restriction of undesirable immigration. Its motto, "Virtue, liberty, and patriotism," appeals to the very highest sentiment and to the very best in man.

In 1905-6, through its national legislative committee, the order joined in the general demand for a correction of the scandalous naturalization frauds and immigration evils that were continually shocking the public conscience, and so forcibly called attention to by President Roosevelt, who recommended strongly the enactment of the illiteracy test, a money requirement, and other restrictive measures, and who said in one of his annual messages to Congress:

"In the year ending June 30, 1905, there came to the United States 1,026,000 alien immigrants. Most of the undesirable class does not come here of its own initiative, but because of the activities of agents of transportation companies. These agents wheedle and cajole many immigrants, often against their own interests, to come here. The most serious obstacle we have to encounter in the effort to secure proper regulation of immigration to these shores arises from the detrimental opposition of foreign steamship lines, who have no interest whatever in the matter save to increase the returns on their capital by carrying masses of immigration hither in the steerage of their ships."

With the passage of a fairly good naturalization law and the enactment of an immigration law shutting out a few more of the very worst elements, and creating an investigating commission, the national council has not, as alleged before this committee, been carrying on any "particular propaganda" or engaged in any active campaign for the further restriction of immigration since that time; but in order not to be charged with leaving a wrong impression, I beg to say that this fall, with the final report of the commission assured, its national legislative committee will again respond to the wishes of the membership and try to assist in helping along the demand for such conservative and rational legislation as will, when once enacted, although bitterly opposed at the time of the demand, meet with the approval of practically every one of its opponents when the demanded legislation is once upon the statute books, just as all existing naturalization and immigration exclusion laws have been opposed at the time of their enactment only to later meet with approval.

The order is not opposed to all immigration at all. It is not opposed to foreigners already in this country at all merely because they are foreign born, but stands not only for taking care of and lending a helping hand to the strangers within our gates, but also stands for immigration legislation that will protect them as much as for legislation that will protect those that were born here, and principally because such legislation will tend to counteract the present profit-making selection of our immigrants and the present artificial stimulation of immigration traffic, in which there is the most money for the foreign steamship companies. As to distribution as a remedy we would quote President Roosevelt to the effect that distribution is merely a palliative and not a cure. It is advocated chiefly by the transportation interests financially interested in the promotion of immigration and because distribution and diversion would make more room for them to unload more immigrants if successfully carried out. We do not at all favor restrictive legislation simply because south-east European and western Asiatic countries send us almost exclusively Catholics and Jews, but it is for purely patriotic and protective reasons that we advocate such additional selective restrictive measures as a \$25 to \$50 money test, such as Canada has, and such an illiteracy test as Cape Colony, New Zealand, and Australia have, which, together with our being made by the



foreign steamships the cheapest country to reach, we believe to a large measure accounts for our being the only country with any considerable net foreign immigration.

Our desire for better immigration laws is not founded on any religious or other prejudice, foreign or native. That there are "immigration evils" demanding drastic action is a matter of official record. The first partial report of the Immigration Commission (H. Doc. No. 1489, 60th Cong.) states: "Many undeniably undesirable persons are admitted every year. There is a dangerous and apparently growing criminal element in the country due to immigration." And even says, "Many women are being regularly imported under conditions which amount to absolute slavery," etc.

It was Marcus Braun, a government inspector, who foreshadowed the commission's finding, and even discovered a secret contract between a foreign steamship company and a foreign government that provided for the dumping practically of so many thousand annually upon the United States, and who, according to House Document No. 384, Fifty-ninth Congress, reported officially of his foreign tour of inspection:

"I found a condition of things which convinced me beyond any doubt that some European governments, agencies, and private individuals are continuing to regard this country as the dumping ground for thousands of their undesirable people. These conditions, coupled with the arrogant and widespread assumption that this country is but an asset of a large number of Europeans, subject only to their desires and orders, is such that if universally known in this country would drive the blood of humiliation into the face of every good American and a description of which would defy the pen of a Macaulay."

Certainly Marcus Braun, a foreign-born investigator, can not be charged with bigotry or nativist or religious bias and prejudice. Neither can such a charge be lodged successfully against Ambassador Andrew D. White, Commissioner Bingham, Commissioner William Williams, Doctor Darlington, Theodore Roosevelt, or the United States Bureau of Immigration, whose words and expert opinions in the premises I beg to call to your attention.

Andrew D. White, our ambassador to Germany, wrote from Berlin April 19, 1905, to Mr. Josiah Flynt, as follows:

DEAR MR. FLYNT: AS you know, I consider the problems furnished by crime in the United States as of the most pressing importance. We are allowing a great and powerful criminal class to be developed, and while crime is held carefully in check in most European countries, and in them is steadily decreasing, with us it is more and more flourishing. It increases from year to year and in various ways asserts its power in society.

So well is this coming to be known by criminal classes of Europe that it is perfectly well understood here that they look upon the United States as a "happy hunting ground" and more and more seek it, to the detriment of our country and all that we hold most dear in it.

Yours, faithfully,

ANDREW D. WHITE.

In this connection I beg to say in passing that over one-fifth of all the alien felons now confined in our state and federal jails and prisons are illiterate, every one of whom and their offspring would have been excluded, as well as the Czolgosz family, by the illiteracy test.

There are two extracts from a previous report of the present commissioner of immigration at Ellis Island, Hon. William Williams, who handles the bulk of the present alien influx of from about a million to almost a million and a half aliens annually, that I beg to read. In his report, as practically in last year's report, he said:

"The laws do not reach a large body of immigrants who are generally undesirable, because unintelligent, of low vitality, of poor physique, able to perform only the cheapest kind of manual labor, desirous of locating almost exclusively in the cities, by their competition tending to reduce the standard of the wage-worker, and unfitted mentally or morally for good citizenship. I believe that at least 200,000 (and probably more) aliens came here who, although they may be able to earn a living, yet are not wanted, will be of no benefit to the country, and will, on the contrary, be a detriment, because their presence will tend to lower our standards. Their coming has been of benefit chiefly, if not only, to the transportation companies which brought them here.

"Relying on the views generally expressed by the intelligent press throughout the country, on those expressed by nine out of ten citizens, whether native

or foreign born, with whom one discusses the subject; on letters received from charitable and reformatory institutions in some eastern States, and upon official observation at Ellis Island, I would state without hesitation that the vast majority of American citizens wish to see steps taken to prevent these undesirable elements from landing on our shores. Attempts to take such steps will be opposed by powerful and selfish interests, and they will insist, among other things, on the value of immigration in the past and the enormous demand for labor, neither of them relevant as applicable to the particular question whether the undesirable immigrants shall be prevented from coming here. Europe, like every other part of the world, has millions of undesirable people whom she would be glad to part with, and strong agencies are constantly at work to send some of them here. Aliens have no inherent right whatever to come here, and we may and should take means, however radical and drastic, to keep out all below a certain physical and economic standard of fitness and all whose presence will tend to lower our standards of living and civilization."

Right in line with Commissioner William's opinion are the recommendations of the experts of the United States Immigration Bureau, as set forth in the last annual report (1909) of 244 pages. In the first place, we quite agree with what the bureau has to say on page 7 in regard to administration.

"An ideal administration of the immigration law would prevent the entry of undesirable aliens to such an extent that the provisions contemplating expulsion would seldom need to be invoked. Such standard is, like all ideals, difficult of attainment; but it can be more nearly approximated than at present, provided the foregoing suggestions are adopted and the law is strengthened, rounded out, and completed. The bureau believes in a strict administration, not only because it is best calculated to protect the country against undesirable immigration, but because of its humanitarian advantages. A rigid enforcement of the law, in the final analysis, is the most humane. If it becomes thoroughly understood by all that only certain well-defined desirable classes will be permitted to land on our shores, other classes will hesitate to apply, and the transportation companies will refuse to bring them."

In this connection I would like to urge upon the committee the serious consideration also of carrying out previous recommendations of the bureau to not only increase the fine upon steamships for bringing here dangerously diseased aliens, but to also extend it to the bringing here of any undesirable excluded by law, whose undesirability might have been ascertained at the time either of foreign embarkation or of purchase of ticket by a medical or other competent examination or investigation. It is a matter of common knowledge that the transportation interests pursue the course most profitable to them. Very few, if any, of them make any genuine effort to turn back undesirables. It is more profitable for them to occasionally pay the present fine and to deport those excluded than to reject them as the law requires at the foreign ports and thus save the hardships of deportation. Mr. Burnett, a member of this committee and a member of the commission, found the examination at Queens-town to be a farce—not to be an examination at all, I have been reliably informed. And only a month ago Commissioner Williams at Ellis Island issued another circular letter calling attention to the "wholly inadequate attention" paid abroad to and respect for our exclusion laws.

On page 111 and following the bureau calls attention to the sources of and inducements to immigration, pointing out how not only the quantity has increased recently, but the quality has changed, the number of deficient, dependents, and delinquents having increased by leaps and bounds, and resulted in Congress passing a series of acts excluding various classes, and thus entering upon a restrictive policy toward European immigration.

Among other things the report says:

"The bureau has repeatedly called attention to the interesting and important economic problem constituted by this increase in the influx of peoples so different racially from the original settlers of the country—peoples who, in their antecedents, ideas (political and social), and methods of life and thought are quite distinct from the Teutonic and Celtic stocks from which our immigration was for so many years derived. What will be the result of a continuance of this preponderance is a question which concerns every thoughtful patriotic American citizen. From our point of view, at least, heterogeneity in a matter of this kind is undesirable, homogeneity desirable. There can be but little homogeneity between the people of southern and eastern Europe and the real American."

The "explanation" for this enormous changed alien influx from countries of western Asia and eastern Europe is simply that "the peasants of the countries mentioned have supplied a rich harvest to the promoter of immigration"—the "steamship ticket agent." His interest is the wholly selfish one of gaining his commission and collecting his usury. He is employed by the steamship lines, large and small, without scruple, and to the enormous profit of such lines. To say that the steamship lines are responsible, directly or indirectly, for this unnatural immigration is not a statement of a theory, but of a fact, and of a fact that sometimes becomes, indeed, if it is not always, a crying shame. It has been proven to at least a moral certainty by statements that have been made to the bureau by its agents detailed abroad in past years, some of which have been quoted in previous reports. It has been demonstrated in both a moral and a legal sense by a report and accompanying documentary evidence submitted to the bureau during the past year by Contract Labor Inspector John Gruenberg, who spent several months in Europe and in this country in the conduct of a quiet but deep investigation covering the entire field of "artificially induced immigration."

The bureau is very clear in its attitude toward legislation. It says, page 5, "the bureau believes that the time has come for the adoption of some measures more restrictive," and has this to say about the literacy test and an increased head tax:

"There is considerable merit in each proposal; but do either or even both of them constitute a test sufficiently high or exacting to reach the said class above mentioned? If either a literacy test or an increased head tax, or the two combined, will partly effect that object, the adoption of such a measure obviously would be advisable."

Among the recommendations of the bureau, as set forth in its last annual report, are also the following:

"Persons economically undesirable; all male aliens between the ages of 16 and 50 unable to stand the army-recruiting test, because they are admitted to a share in our institutions and ought to be able to defend them if occasion should require."

These and other recommendations such as a new immigration act of 50 sections, to be found on pages 153 to 174 of the report, are to be found in H. R. 21588, introduced by Congressman Elvins, which, as well as H. R. 13404, introduced by Congressman Hayes, meet with great favor with not only the Junior Order and Daughters of America, but also the Hamilton County immigration bureau of Ohio, and would remedy, in our opinion, the conditions even called attention to by such a distinguished poet as Thomas Bailey Aldrich, of Boston, with which I beg to conclude, thanking you for the privilege and honor of being heard upon this important question:

#### UNGUARDED GATES.

Wide open and unguarded stand our gates,  
 And through them press a wild, a motley throng—  
 Men from the Volga and the Tartar steppes,  
 Featureless figures of the Hoang-Ho,  
 Malayan, Scythian, Teuton, Kelt, and Slav,  
 Flying the Old World's poverty and scorn;  
 These bringing with them unknown gods and rites,  
 Those tiger passions, here to stretch their claws.  
 In street and alley what strange tongues are these,  
 Accents of menace alien to our air,  
 Voices that once the tower of Babel knew!  
 O, Liberty, white goddess, is it well  
 To leave the gate unguarded? On thy breast  
 Fold sorrow's children, soothe the hurts of fate,  
 Lift the downtrodden, but with the hand of steel  
 Stay those who to thy sacred portals come  
 To waste the gift of freedom. Have a care  
 Lest from thy brow the clustered stars be torn  
 And trampled in the dust. For so of old  
 The thronging Goth and Vandal trampled Rome,  
 And where the temples of the Cæsars stood  
 The lean wolf unmolested made her lair.

The following table brings out an interesting fact:

Table comparing the immigration and emigration of certain other countries with that of the United States.

[Compiled from official immigration reports, consular reports, Monthly Bulletin of South American Republics, etc.]

Year.	United States.		Canada. <sup>a</sup>		Australia. <sup>b</sup>	
	Total alien arrivals.	Total alien departures. <sup>c</sup>	Alien arrivals direct from Old World.	Alien arrivals from or via United States.	Alien immigration.	Alien emigration.
1899.....	356,715	172,837	<sup>d</sup> 32,598	<sup>d</sup> 11,945	.....	.....
1900.....	514,207	206,351	15,352	8,543	.....	.....
1901.....	562,868	209,318	31,162	17,987	.....	.....
1902.....	730,798	220,103	40,991	26,388	274,105	243,507
1903.....	921,315	247,559	78,891	49,473	.....	.....
1904.....	840,714	332,019	85,101	45,229	.....	.....
1905.....	1,059,755	385,111	102,594	43,693	.....	.....
1906.....	1,166,353	356,257	<sup>e</sup> 54,780	<sup>e</sup> 30,971	.....	.....
1907.....	1,438,469	431,306	138,591	84,111	.....	.....
1908.....	924,695	714,828	174,849	87,620	.....	.....

Year.	Peru. <sup>f</sup>	Brazil. <sup>g</sup>		Argentina. <sup>h</sup>	
	Alien immigration.	Alien arrivals.	Alien departures.	Arrivals.	Departures.
1899.....	1,107	25,130	.....	111,083	62,241
1900.....	1,663	29,121	.....	105,902	55,417
1901.....	1,014	26,292	.....	125,951	80,251
1902.....	.....	.....	.....	96,080	79,427
1903.....	.....	18,161	36,410	112,671	74,427
1904.....	.....	27,751	32,179	161,078	66,597
1905.....	.....	.....	.....	221,622	82,772
1906.....	.....	27,147	.....	302,249	103,852
1907.....	.....	31,150	.....	257,924	138,063
1908.....	.....	48,216	28,457	.....	.....

<sup>a</sup> Canada has practically the same excluded classes as the United States, but its immigration laws give the governor in council the power to prohibit the landing of any specified class of aliens and of immigrants not coming by continuous journey upon through tickets purchased in their own country. Under this discretionary authority by orders in council, Hindoos, Asiatics not having \$200 in possession, immigrants coming via steamship lines unwilling to carry undesirables back free, certain aliens not having from \$25 to \$50 and ticket to destination, etc., are excluded.

<sup>b</sup> Australia, New Zealand, New South Wales, Natal, and Cape Colony have much better immigration laws than any other country, and exclude among others aliens unable to read and write at dictation 50 words in a European language or dialect.

<sup>c</sup> These particular statistics furnished voluntarily by the steamship companies, but required so to do beginning July 1, 1907, by Immigration act of February 20, 1907.

<sup>d</sup> First six months of 1900; change made from calendar to fiscal year.

<sup>e</sup> First nine months fiscal year 1906.

<sup>f</sup> Peru on May 14, 1909, excluded Chinese having less than 500 pounds in cash.

<sup>g</sup> Brazilian Review, March 9, 1909, gives these statistics for Rio de Janeiro, which like New York for the United States, receives about 80 per cent of the travel.

<sup>h</sup> Official report of minister of agriculture and director of immigration. The statistics include immigration "directa de ultramar" and "por via de Montevideo." Argentina has more available fertile public lands, offers greater inducements probably, etc., but has never attained a net immigration of over 198,337 (1907), which fell to 119,861 in 1908.

NOTE.—Panama has adopted the United States immigration laws and has prohibited the naturalization of Chinese, Syrians, and Turks. Mexico is now conducting an official investigation with a view to immigration legislation.

(At 12 o'clock the committee adjourned.)

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STATEMENT OF THE COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN.

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**LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.**

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THE COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN,  
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY,  
448 CENTRAL PARK WEST,  
*City of New York, October 8, 1910.*

The FEDERAL IMMIGRATION COMMISSION, *Washington, D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: I am inclosing the report that you desire from the Council of Jewish Women.

Very truly, yours,

SADIE AMERICAN,  
*Executive Secretary.*

## STATEMENT OF THE COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN.

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### ORIGIN.

1. The Council of Jewish Women had its origin in the World's Parliament of Religions, Chicago, 1893. Its purpose is set forth in the preamble and the objects in its constitution, as follows:

### PREAMBLE.

We, Jewish women, sincerely believing that a closer fellowship, a greater unity of thought and purpose, and a nobler accomplishment will result from a wide-spread organization, do therefore band ourselves together in a union of workers to further the best and highest interests of humanity in fields religious, philanthropic, and educational.

### OBJECT.

The purposes of this organization are: To further united efforts in behalf of Judaism by supplying means of study; by an organic union to bring about closer relations among Jewish women; to furnish a medium for interchange of thought and a means of communication and of prosecuting work of common interest; to further united efforts in the work of social betterment through religion, philanthropy, and education.

### WORK.

2. Its work is carried on by its branches or sections in 55 cities, directed by its national committees, as follows: Religion, religious school, philanthropy, education, peace arbitration, purity of the press, immigrant aid.

The committee on immigrant aid was organized in New York in 1904 and has now extended its work to 275 cities. It concerns itself primarily with the protection of young girls, giving them friendly aid and advice—not money. Wherever necessary it has established legal aid, medical aid, and information bureaus. It is a safeguard to the girls from port to destination, and guides them to the best Americanizing influences. The council has at each port of entry a woman who wears a badge "Committee of the Council of Jewish Women," who speaks several dialects and who acts as travelers' aid to women and girls traveling alone. Leaflets printed in English, German, and Yiddish are distributed to immigrant girls, warning them of the dangers that they may meet here and telling them that the council will advise and assist them. These leaflets are distributed at all European as well as American ports; and large placards (copies of the leaflet with the addresses) are about to be placed in the steerage of the ships of several of the largest steamship companies. The entire plan of work as outlined by the national committee on immigrant aid and the leaflets and bulletins that are distributed are appended to this report.

The council also seeks to protect insane and sick girls deported under our laws. The fate that has overtaken some of the insane girls returned to Russia is horrible beyond words, and the sending of these girls to their certain fate (especially those left without relatives on account of the pogroms, or those whose state is primarily due to the pogroms) must make one question the humanity of the twentieth century.

#### RESULT.

3. As results may be counted, the quicker Americanization of the immigrant girls in the best sense of the word. The prevention of very many falling into evil hands may be confidently asserted, while for many the work has prevented breakdown through discouragement.

But what has been a matter of the greatest surprise to us is to find that so large a percentage gain a foothold and a livelihood with no aid but that of friends, and that their wage is practically equal to that of the native girl. In an investigation made of 2,000 (in round numbers) the majority had increased their earning capacity from 25 to 50 per cent within a year after arrival.

We have learned that these girls bring energy, intelligence, high ideals—a capital which can but redound to the good of the country if we sufficiently safeguard them during their period of struggle and disillusionment in regard to what they imagine a free country offers.

#### ASSISTANCE TO IMMIGRANTS AT PORTS.

4. The immigrant is subject to exploitation from the moment he leaves his house. To prevent exploitation, or what to the immigrant appears like exploitation, is of the first importance; e. g., to the immigrant who in Europe can ride third or fourth class on the railroads, the present fares on our railroads are a hardship, and the difference in the accommodation offered compared with first-class travel, when the slight difference in price is taken into consideration, is a matter that should be given very serious consideration, looking to change, if possible. Lower fares would tend to take more persons away from the congested cities. The steamship lines plying between States, too, have conditions incompatible with the impression it is our duty to give as first impressions to immigrants, and the Government should insist upon a change.

Of utmost importance is the bringing to the immigrant the information often locked in a bureau of information, which he does not seek and of which many are to a great extent suspicious, as they are at first suspicious of everyone except their personal friends. Bulletins in the various languages might well be distributed at quarantine, certainly at the port itself, telling where labor is needed, etc.

Leaflets of explanation or warning would prevent much trouble; e. g., abroad a "notary" is a man of importance, and the immigrant clothes the American notary with the same garment of authority. Dishonest notaries take advantage of this mistaken idea. We desire to merely suggest the principle of taking information and help to the immigrant, instead of waiting until the unequal struggle or discouragement drives him to seek it, perhaps too late. We are not attempting to go into detail, but we believe it could be well worked out



in detail in many ways, and without interfering with State or city authorities, so that we believe a bureau of social service should be established which would work along these lines.

We believe that the system of licensing "runners," who now congregate about the entrances at Ellis Island and other ports, be abolished, and that the Government direct the immigrants to their final destination. In this way it would be impossible for immigrants to be left at wrong addresses or to be afflicted with petty graft. Immigrants sometimes are detained for weeks at the port, awaiting admission. It is advisable that here social workers be placed, whose duties are to teach and instruct in English, so that at least part of the time of these detained is employed.

Our experience with girls causes us to urge the establishment of inland stations of the Government, especially to afford the same protection for girls as is afforded at our port stations.

We suggest Chicago as an experiment station for two years, until the manner of work shall be fixed. The railroad centers are those that require careful attention, and all immigrants passing through a central point such as Chicago should have the protection of the Government as at the port. However, it appears of importance that they should not twice be subjected to the same examination, which might lead to unpleasantness and complication; but they should be passed at the inland station, if such be established.

As the immigrant is for three years subject to special laws, it would appear as though for these three years in our own interest the Federal Government should keep an eye on all that affects him, and by cooperation with city and State, or bringing pressure where needed, it should see that the treatment of the immigrant is, in all cases, such as to make him understand that a free country means absence of injustice, great or small, and that the "stranger within our gates" gets especial consideration and not the opposite. This could but tend to the making of citizens dutiful and loyal to such a government and country.

#### AMERICANIZATION.

5. The immigrants from many of the countries of Europe know little or nothing of night schools, settlements, clubs, etc. Our private institutions of a high class do not always reach them immediately on their arrival, and before false notions take possession of them. It is in order to reach them at once, and because we believe it will quicken a more thorough Americanization, that we suggest the printing and distribution by our Government of leaflets of information in the different languages in regard to night schools, in regard to our system of free schools; leaflets of explanation of some of our private institutions such as offer opportunities for classes and clubs and recreation, e. g., settlement, and every variety of similar institutions, which would tend at once to put the immigrant in touch with our best institutions and inspire confidence in the Government which shows so much consideration. Systematic courses of lectures in the language of the various classes of immigrants, under the auspices of the Government, dealing with such subjects as the different parts of the country where immigration is needed, our system of government, etc., would tend toward Americanization. Immigrants are citizens of the United States as well as of a city or

State, and the three might well cooperate in this work if it should appear to be not a Federal function alone.

Wherever it is possible for the Government to assist in establishing conditions and standards of life and living that shall be worthy of a free country there Americanization is hastened.

6. While not in the exact line of questions asked, I desire to call attention to the exploitation of men returning on cattle ships to Europe, who are left stranded with papers they imagine were tickets to their homes. We have tried to secure such papers so as to have actual facts, but have not yet procured them, but know of numbers of cases of the kind whom European societies were compelled to forward to their homes.

We also desire to call your attention to the responsibility of the steamship company in regard to the immigrant who is deported. It has come to our notice that aliens who have been deported for insanity or other causes have never reached their destination. A case that I desire to cite came up some months ago. A woman who had been in this country less than two years was deported for insanity. She left her husband and three children here. To this day she has not arrived at her destination in Russia, and every effort made to locate her by steamship company, Government, and private societies has been of no avail. The woman disappeared somewhere on the border line on her way to Russia, and no doubt will never reach her people.

#### WHITE-SLAVE TRAFFIC.

There should be registered at every port of entry the name and photograph of anyone convicted of bringing in girls for immoral purposes, and addresses given by them, as well as streets of unknown reputable districts in various cities.

Respectfully submitted.

SADIE AMERICAN,  
*Executive Secretary.*

#### EXHIBIT A.

#### PRINTED FORM.

#### COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN.

##### TO THE CORRESPONDENTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRANT AID FOR GIRLS.

We appreciate your expressed willingness to help in the work of the committee on immigrant aid. The inclosed inquiry blank is sent you in order that we may ascertain if a girl has arrived at her destination safely and is in good hands. It is not intended that an "investigation" should be made in any sense of charity, but that the girl should be visited in the same friendly spirit in which you would visit your neighbor.

In every case the girl herself must be seen and spoken to. It is not sufficient to see the person with whom she is supposed to be living. In order to serve its purpose the visit should be made to the girl within two days after the receipt of the inquiry blank, so that a reply may be sent to the inquirer within a week. If this is not done our work falls through, for it is very difficult to trace an immigrant after an interval, since very often she does not remain at the first address, and unless we know at once where she has gone and the kind of people with whom she is we will have no means of knowing if she is in good hands or whether she may have fallen into the hands of those from whom we must rescue her.

Every question on the blank is designed for a special purpose, and we ask you to help us by answering each question. We thus hope to secure an authoritative and accurate body of information as to the surroundings and work and the

living of our girls. Upon this body of information may then be based a more developed understanding of what may be needed in an adequate system of care for girls.

The purposes of the committee on immigrant aid are set forth in a leaflet, which it distributes to all girls on steamships and on their arrival at the port, as follows:

"The Council of Jewish Women greets and welcomes all Jewish girls and women and stands ready to give them friendly help, advice, or information in whatever way is needed. For this purpose a woman is stationed in every port of landing. We beg those who wish or need advice, information, or help to inquire immediately upon landing for the Council of Jewish Women. After landing, the council will be glad to assist girls to classes in English or in industrial training; to work, board, and lodging; to pleasant social evenings, amusement, and recreation, as well as to give aid and advice in sickness, trouble, or danger."

In the port cities the problem of reaching girls and knowing they are safe is comparatively simple of solution.

That we may offer the same friendly help to girls going to inland cities we have asked your cooperation. We ask you also to assist us in carrying out the purposes expressed in our leaflet, quoted above, and to introduce the immigrant girl to American institutions and to interpret them for her. She knows nothing of public schools or settlements or places where amusement, recreation, instruction, or employment may be given without any motive but that of sisterly help. She brings from her home, where the Jew is persecuted, suspicion of all such offers as hiding a motive inimical to her. She particularly fears the official, the representative, of the Government wherever he may be seen. Will you not interpret these institutions and officers to her, so that she may fully understand the best in our American life and may take advantage of its opportunities? We ask you not only to visit the girl for the first time, but also to keep in touch with her and to offer such friendly aid as may be called for either immediately upon her arrival, or later, if she may be facing difficulties which she can not herself solve. Thanking you for your cooperation and trusting that this statement will make clear our purpose and work, I am,

Faithfully, yours,

SADIE AMERICAN,  
 Chairman National Committee on Immigrant Aid,  
 448 Central Park West, New York City.

COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN.

NEW YORK SECTION.

Date of arrival			Case No.		
Steamer Name			Date Taken up		
			Section Chairman	Date	
Nativity	Age		Inquiry sent to	City Correspondent	
Married	No children	Ages B		Section	Date
Alone		G	Reply received from	City	
Single				City	Date
Child	Alone		Ticket Prep'd	By Whom	Money Brought
Destined to Name			Occupation	Lit.	
				Illit.	
Address			Tel. Postal	Ad. dec. Adv.	Det. Card corrected Baggage
Released to Name			Clothing Food		
Address			Investigated by	Date	O. K. F. V.
Temp. Det. No.	S. I. No.		Now with		
Sent to C. de H. Home	Date		Address		
Deported	Date	Cause	Remarks		
Reported to	H.S.I.A.S.	Date Cause			
	Chairman C.J.W.	Date Cause			

NOTE.—This form is printed in quadruplicate. The white card indicates arrivals; the buff, those excluded; the blue, special cases; and the red is marked F. V.

## EXHIBIT B.

## PLAN OF WORK OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRANT AID.\*

## COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRANT AID.

To do for immigrant girls what we would wish to have done for a member of our own family going to a foreign land to live sums up the motive for the work of the National Committee on Immigrant Aid. No work is more important, more far-reaching, nor does any give greater opportunity for the expression of true womanly service.

Thousands of girls come to our shores, driven from unholy Russia and other countries by conditions there, desiring to earn a living for themselves, and in the majority of cases to earn money for the folks at home. The immigrant is given much misinformation in regard to America before coming here, and on arrival is apt to get false notions of American ideals and standards and ways. We must correct this misinformation and help her by putting her in touch with the best of American life immediately upon her arrival, and the best of American life is expressed in our social and civic workers, in our schools and recreation centers, in our parks, playgrounds, and museums, in our teachers and lecturers, in settlements and similar institutions, not the least of which we count the sections of the Council of Jewish Women, which—some in their institutions, all through their regular committees and workers—carry out the work of this committee to protect, to prevent, to educate, to uplift.

Not only must these girls learn to know our customs, but also to interpret them. They must adapt themselves to new conditions—economic, industrial, social. They must learn to recognize pitfalls in their path and dangers in the guise of what seem legitimate amusements or legitimate means of procuring employment.

In all of these things it is our duty and it is a privilege to help them, and all of these things we are doing in some degree.

## SUMMARY OF THE WORK.

*European connections.*—Connections have been established with various European societies by which girls traveling to or from Europe are looked after, and especially the sick who are excluded on arrival or the insane who are deported have some one to look after them from the time they leave until the time they reach their destinations.

*Leaflet of information.*<sup>b</sup>—At the European ports a leaflet is being distributed through our correspondents abroad, to inform the girls that when they arrive on this side the Council of Jewish Women awaits and welcomes them and offers friendly aid and advice and information in whatever way needed.

It is sent direct to Russia and other countries by immigrants already here; it is again given to every girl who passes through our ports, and her attention is called to the addresses, especially in the inland cities.

*The work.*—The work naturally divides itself into—

- (a) Work at the port.
- (b) Work in the city itself.

In each of our ports of entry there is to-day a woman agent of the section of the port city who meets every steamer, and, speaking to the girls in their native tongue, offers and gives advice and aid, solving so far as she can the many difficulties that present themselves to anyone coming to a foreign land; she is also the means of protection against exploitation of whatsoever nature. The agent speaks Yiddish and several foreign languages, as well as English.

While the work is primarily for unmarried women, married women, especially if unaccompanied by their husbands, are addressed and helped when this is needed.

In addition, the name of every girl between 12 and 25 years of age who comes through the port is taken from the manifest sheet or detention card. She is then visited by the agent or volunteer to make sure that she is in a safe and proper home, and any necessary connections are made for her for employment, learning English, industrial training, amusement, and with the social workers.

\* Sixth triennial period, 1908-1911.

<sup>b</sup> See Exhibit C, p. 46.

In New York the number of arrivals is so great that it is possible only to visit special cases in their homes, but a postal card inviting girls to meetings on Tuesday and Thursday evenings is sent to all girls entering the port, and brings them and the council mutually in touch.

*Safeguarding.*—To know that girls have safely reached their destination and are in proper surroundings is most important. To make inquiry in regard to this is in itself a method of protection and prevention against evil-disposed persons.

By permission of the Government the name of every girl passing through any port to an inland city is taken from the manifest sheet or detention card, together with the name and address of the friend or relative to whom she is going. This information is sent on a specially prepared blank by the section of the port city to some correspondent in the city or town to which the girl goes; to the Committee on Immigrant Aid if there be a section in this city; to a correspondent if it be in a city or town where there is no section of the council. These correspondents visit the given address, making sure to see the girl herself, and make report back on the blank as to her surroundings, etc.; and they also offer her the same aid and advice as is given in the port cities by the agents of the council.

Where it is known that an immigrant girl goes from one city to another, the section committees inform each other.

The above summary as the basis of our work is given in order that the following detailed recommendations may be the better understood.

*The committee.*—The National Committee on Immigrant Aid is constituted somewhat differently from the other national committees, which consist of five members only. The Committee on Immigrant Aid has as its executive committee the national chairman, the president, and the chairmen of the local committees of the port cities and of Brooklyn, N. Y., and Washington, D. C. The executive committee is made up of these representatives, because they are within easy reach of each other for a conference meeting.

*Local committees.*—Each section is asked to appoint a chairman of the local Committee on Immigrant Aid, which chairman is, by virtue of her office, a member of the National Committee on Immigrant Aid.

Each section is asked to organize a local committee, consisting of a chairman, above mentioned, and as many members as the section deems necessary.

*Duties of the committee.*—The local committee shall be ready if notified of the coming of an immigrant girl or woman to see that she is properly met if necessary and that she reaches her destination in safety. It shall secure immediate information about anyone in regard to whom inquiry is made or reference asked, and return the inquiry blank with the necessary information within a week of its receipt. The committee should be ready at all times to cooperate with any traveler's aid agent or other person or association wishing to assist or assisting immigrants. It shall make all necessary provision for carrying out the plans of the national committee to bring the best American influences to the immigrant girl, and to do whatever may be called for to aid her.

*The immigrant.*—The immigration laws of the United States define an immigrant as one here less than three years. The work of our committee is intended to deal only with those who are technically immigrants; that is, here less than three years. The committee must of necessity work hand in hand with the committee on philanthropy, as the work may in some cases overlap. All here more than three years should be assisted or guided by the committee on philanthropy.

While the work of the committee is designed primarily for girls, it should be extended to women and their families, and if there is no other organization working for men, the work might well be extended to these, especially in connection with classes for English and aid and advice in difficulty and for employment.

#### A STUDY OF CONDITIONS.

In order that the work may be intelligently and effectively done, we urge—

A careful investigation and study of the conditions surrounding the immigrant girl in each city.

*Arrival.*—1. Find out the conditions of arrival.

(a) The hours at which immigrant trains come.

(b) The method by which a girl reaches her destination.

(c) Are additional facilities or safeguards necessary?

*Housing, etc.*—2. Under what conditions does the girl live?

(a) In an overcrowded room. Has she adequate sleeping accommodations? Are her sleeping quarters clean and sufficiently private?

(b) Is she with persons who can guide and guard her?

(c) Is she alone or with the relatives of a younger generation?

(d) Does she pay board? How much? How, where, and when does she get her meals? Are they sufficiently nourishing?

(e) Is she paying off a loan for her ticket?

In an investigation in regard to girls in moral or other difficulty it was discovered that more than 50 per cent had been living with younger relatives, by whom they were unwilling to be guided, a not unnatural feeling, especially where a girl is earning her own way.

The importance of seeing that a girl is living with older persons who may be able to exercise some control over her needs no insistence to any woman.

*Employment.*—3. Under what conditions is the girl employed?

(a) How does she secure employment; through her relatives and friends or through an agent?

(b) If the latter, does she pay a fee?

(c) Does she receive an adequate wage? Amount? Piece work? How much weekly? Amount for the year?

(d) Is she paid while learning; or, if taught for a few weeks, is she discharged instead of being given employment?

(e) What are the character and surroundings of the employment? Seasonal trade? Domestic service? Factory? Shop?

(f) What are the hours? Do they conform to the labor laws of the State? As to the girl herself, the following inquiries should be made:

(a) Age.

(b) Is employment satisfactory?

(c) What preparation has there been for it?

(d) Could better wages be earned in any other way? If so, help her either to training in her chosen occupation or to training for a better.

(e) Does she read or write English? If not, guide her to proper classes; and if there are none establish them.

These are but some simple suggested questions. Others will suggest themselves in the course of the work. It is needless to say that inquiry should be made in the course of conversation, and under no circumstances should there be a blank shown or filled in in the presence of a girl. Such methods always arouse antagonism.

To those willing to make a detailed inquiry the chairman will gladly give further advice. Inquiry blanks will be furnished when desired.

#### THE WORK ITSELF.

*Port cities.*—In all cases the chairman of the committee should familiarize herself by a day at the port with the system under which immigrants are admitted and of the meaning of purpose of each step, and should make the work of the council known to the commissioner of immigration at the port. She should explain its purpose and ask permission for the agent of the council to meet all vessels and to have access to the passengers as soon as they have passed the inspector and before discharge. She should also ask permission to have access to the manifest sheet and detention cards in order to secure the name of every girl passing through the port and of women unaccompanied by men, who should be visited at once, if in the city, or an inquiry blank sent out immediately, if passing through to another city.

*Salaried agent.*—The sections in the port cities should in all cases supply an agent to meet every steamer and to give whatever assistance is necessary in landing. It shall be her duty to solve the many small difficulties which arise on landing in a foreign country, e. g., arranging to free her baggage or to find a lost check, to aid in securing the speedy attendance of relatives or friends to whom she is destined, either by postal notice, telegram, deciphering or securing a better address, and in whatever way may seem wise. She shall, when necessary, by the same or similar methods, secure any money needed for a girl to proceed on her way, see that an affidavit is secured when needed, and, above all, she shall see that girls do not go with strangers whom they may have met. She shall explain to the girl why it is that she is detained, and a hundred other matters, the reason of which may be obscure to the girl and may arouse fear and misunderstanding in her.

Many persons, upon being questioned by the inspectors, give answers which they think are wanted or which they have been instructed to give before embarking, thinking it will more readily enable them to land. To unravel the actual facts and explain them is an important part of the work of the agent.

If the agent is at all suspicious of the person calling for the girl, she should report it to the inspector or commissioner, and should use every effort to prevent a girl going with a person who does not seem suitable and for the best interests of the girl.

The Government allows no unmarried girl to go to a man other than father, brother, or uncle, nor to land unless someone will vouch that she will not become a public charge. In each port city there should be a home, either conducted by the section or which cooperates with the section in receiving girls, to which, under arrangement with the commissioner, girls may be allowed to go. Otherwise they might be deported because the commissioner did not think the persons calling for them suitable or because they had no one to guarantee that they would not become a public charge.

The salaried agent should, under the direction of the committee, do the work for girls after landing, which is the same in the port cities as in

*Inland cities.*—Two things are of utmost importance:

1. To know or secure the safety of a girl.

2. To bring her as speedily as possible under the best American and Americanizing influences, not the least of which is learning English.

The committee of an inland city should be prepared to visit, immediately upon receipt of an inquiry, any immigrant girl, and to return the inquiry blanks, with full information, within a week to the sender.

*Visiting girls.*—In visiting the girls about whom inquiry is sent from the port city it is essential in every case to see the girl herself and not merely a relative or the person with whom she is boarding. This may entail several visits and may necessitate going in the evening, but the work is not adequately done unless the girl herself is spoken to.

It is most important that the Committee on Immigrant Aid do not investigate in the same sense that a charitable organization investigates. They should visit the girl in the same way in which they would visit some one recommended by a personal friend, without patronage and merely in a friendly spirit. If this is done, they will always be welcome.

The immigrant fears and suspects the unknown person and her motive. She is unaccustomed to having a stranger come to her from a purely friendly motive. Indeed, her innate suspicion has been the price of life and protection for her in the past and is not so readily shaken off; for this reason a visitor speaking Yiddish is preferable. Are not we ourselves in a foreign country more apt to appreciate meeting one speaking the language which we understand?

No section should consider that it is carrying out the plans of the national committee if it limits itself to answering inquiries.

The committees of inland cities should visit not only the girls whose names are sent them as passing through the port, but, as there may be other girls coming with their families who need the same aid, the Committee on Immigrant Aid in each city should endeavor to ascertain the name of every immigrant girl who arrives in the city. It can do this by making connections with congregations, lodges, chevras, and organizations among the immigrant people themselves, but it must be made clear that there is no offer of charity nor desire to force itself upon the girls, but merely a welcome and the friendly purpose of advising when advice is needed or desired.

*Study of friendly visiting.*—We recommend—

That each committee form a class for the purpose of studying the subject of friendly visiting. There are in each city expert workers in philanthropy who would be glad to help with suggestions, or experienced persons who could indicate why and where one sometimes fails even with the best intention. We must become familiar with the customs of the immigrant as well as teach them ours; the fact that we on our part do not understand their social customs any more than they understand ours often leads to mutual misinterpretation of motive.

*Permanent address.*—Each section of the council should have a permanent address where either the paid agent of the section or a volunteer committee may be found at stated times to meet with any immigrant girls who may call, where advice may be had, clubs or classes formed, etc. If the section maintains a

settlement, neighborhood house, or other similar institution, this would naturally be the permanent address and the place to which girls should be invited. In case, however, the section has no institution of its own, some other similar address should be given, but in no case should the address be connected with an alms-giving society, as it will keep away self-respecting girls and will tend to pauperize those who might misinterpret what is offered and take improper advantage.

*Learning English.*—As the immigrant girls come here for work rather than anything else, and as they can run a machine without understanding English, there is a tendency, except among the more alert, to think the learning of English not essential. The committee should endeavor to persuade every immigrant girl of the necessity not only of learning English, but of learning to speak it fluently and well. If there are suitable night classes conducted by the public schools or any existing institution the girls should be introduced to these classes.

*Special classes.*—It, however, often happens that an immigrant girl, either because she is too slow or too quick to learn, does not seem to be able to get along in the ordinary night school classes. For such girls, either the dull or the brighter, the committee should organize special classes when necessary and conduct them until the members of the classes are able to enter and take advantage of the regular night school classes. If there are no such classes the committee should itself conduct permanent classes; it might also conduct classes during those months in which there are no night schools.

In several sections the fact that the section has conducted special classes as an object lesson has brought about in some cases the extension and betterment of the teaching of immigrants, in some cases establishment of night schools for immigrants by the board of education.

Should there be no classes for men the committee on immigrant aid might well initiate such classes and not restrict its work to girls alone.

Even though a girl marries and is not compelled to work, the learning of English is most essential. If she does not learn it at once she is less and less likely to do so, with the consequence that, as her children grow up speaking English and being Americans, a bridge difficult to bridge is made between mother and children.

*Employment.*—The methods of work and the standards of speed abroad are different from those in this country. This makes it all the more difficult for a girl to adapt herself to conditions. Often she is not able to continue in the same kind of work which she did in the old country, and it becomes the special business of each committee, knowing the resources for employment in its own city, to make connections for the girl with the industry for which she is best fitted by temperament or training.

In many cases the girls are not wage-earners abroad, and in these cases help is all the more needed.

Efforts should be made, so far as possible, to avoid the seasonal trades and to place girls in industries in which there is an opportunity for advance and for increased earnings.

But in order to do this it is essential that the committee shall make a careful study of the various resources for employment in its city; that it shall visit employers, explain that they desire to place immigrant girls at work as speedily as possible and as well as possible, and ask these employers to accept girls sent by the committee.

It is the universal experience that girls seem to prefer the places which they themselves find. Therefore it is well for the committee to give the girls addresses of places to which they may themselves apply for work, and only to go with the girl when this is absolutely necessary. A reply postal card addressed to the employer and stating that a certain girl has been sent and asking him to reply whether he has accepted her or not will be found useful.

*Industrial training.*—Many of the girls who come are compelled to begin earning at the earliest possible moment and have not time to enter a school for trade or industrial training. Evening classes should be established for training in such trades and industries as open the greatest avenue of employment in each city, and girls should be persuaded to enter these. In addition, industrial classes for training in greater skill in whatever direction should be opened.

*Domestic training.*—A knowledge of how to maintain a household and of simple sewing is a necessity for every woman, however she may be earning her living, for it is to be expected that she will some time have to conduct a home, for which she should be prepared. Classes in domestic training and in sewing



should be established. The girls should be made to understand our American standards, and if willing to enter domestic service should be especially trained in whatever direction is best suited to the strength and ability of each.

Young girls under the working age should be entered in a trade school before starting as workers, wherever this is possible; thus they may avoid a long and unrepaid apprenticeship and may realize the value of skill.

*The educated immigrant girl.*—There are many girls, Russian in particular, who, with the utmost difficulty, have secured an education in university or gymnasium or its equivalent. They are not accustomed to working with their hands. Their education does not enable them to earn a living in this country; they, more than others, need help, because as a rule they are refined, delicate girls. It should be the duty of the committee to make a special effort to learn what these girls can or will do, and to enable them to enter such avenues of earning a livelihood as will bear with least pressure and suffering upon them.

*Employment agencies.*<sup>a</sup>—There are employment agencies catering entirely to immigrants, some of which are very good and some which are not. All agencies should be carefully investigated and girls sent only to those whose standing and conduct is absolutely above reproach. Girls should be told to avoid agencies which are not known to be first class, but care must be taken by the committee to make no statements which are not based on legally proven facts. Volunteers do not always realize how careful they must be.

*Homes.*—Many girls who come, come to young relatives. They lodge or board in some house more or less suitable. They have no older person to guide or guard them. Nothing is more important than that the committee, in order to safeguard and guide such girls, should have lists of private homes, simple in character, with a good woman presiding over them, to which girls can be sent for board and lodging, and the committee should see to it that the price is reasonable, that the place is clean, and that proper and adequate food is offered. The price which a girl can afford to pay will naturally depend upon her earnings, and if board and lodging can not be obtained for a price within her means every effort should be made to increase her earning capacity.

Where the number of girls is sufficient to warrant it, we recommend:

That a Home for Working Girls be established. We believe this need not be on an elaborate plan, but that a small flat or house may be taken at the beginning, which would in the course of time grow into a model boarding house.<sup>b</sup> In this the Committee on Immigrant Aid and the Committee on Philanthropy might well cooperate. Such a boarding house should be especially suited to the needs of those earning less than \$6 a week, and the board and lodging should never be more than \$3 or \$3.50.

*Recreation and amusement.*<sup>c</sup>—Settlements, educational institutes, schools as social centers have become so well known to us that we do not realize that they are unknown to the foreigner, and that a girl might pass by the door of such a place, day by day and night by night, without realizing that it offers her recreation and amusement, and what she may be craving in education or industrial training. Indeed she might be afraid of it, because in the country from which she came she was compelled to fear all such seeming allurements as hiding attempts at conversion or worse. In addition, the American girl, or the girl who is here for some time avoids the "greener."

It therefore becomes all the more essential that we shall interpret these social forces to the immigrant girl; that we shall make connections there for her and accustom her to making use of these resources. Special clubs and classes should be opened for immigrant girls, and as soon as her "greenness" has worn off she might enter into the clubs with others and a new group of immigrants be taken into the club.

The crowded quarters in which the girls live afford them no opportunity for home amusement; the wonderfully electric lighted streets of our day lure them, and all along these streets are dangers and pitfalls, dance halls which are bad, shows whose influence is bad, men and even women and other girls who in the guise of friends lead to the downward path. Against all of these girls should be warned, but the only effective warning is to replace the bad by the good, and to show that the real friend offers things as alluring and enjoyable as the false friend. Replace the ordinary "don'ts" which often serve but

<sup>a</sup> See Report of the Committee on Philanthropy, "Employment Agencies."

<sup>b</sup> See Report of Committee on Philanthropy, "Homes for Girls."

<sup>c</sup> Read *The Spirit of Youth*, by Jane Addams. The Macmillan Company, \$1.25.

to arouse curiosity or to send a girl in the very direction which is to be avoided by something more positive, such as excursions to art galleries, museums, or parks in the evenings or on days when the girls are free; by arranging for attendance at theaters and shows in the beginning not too far above the standards of the girls; by story-telling parties; and by generally giving them a good time such as we ourselves enjoy. Thus we can lead them, perhaps gradually, to something higher and nobler than they might otherwise secure.

Lectures in Yiddish on topics of American history, of industrial conditions, of labor laws, and also, and most important, of the laws of health and sanitation will also be found to be an effective way of interesting and gaining the confidence of the girls. As soon as they know enough English these lectures may well be given in English, but it is better to give the lectures in a language which they understand than not to give the girls the advantage of hearing them because we happen to think that they ought to understand English.

*Individual health.*—The strain of adapting themselves to new conditions, both industrial and social, the influence of overcrowding, sometimes the result of living in an infected room brings to some girls a temporary breakdown in health. The committee should be especially prepared to advise and help girls to proper medical advice, to a rest at some convalescent home if needed, and to a knowledge of how to keep themselves in good condition.

Cases of incipient tuberculosis should be looked after and the girls given an opportunity for a six months' rest in the country, their board being paid if necessary. An investment of this kind will repay itself by avoiding a much larger expenditure, not only of money, but in suffering. In the great majority of cases the infection is due entirely to conditions which we allow to exist here in America in tenement or shop.

Those matters of health which concern women only should particularly be dwelt upon, and girls safeguarded by knowledge of dangers as well as knowledge of how to keep themselves in good condition.

*Immigrants in public institutions.*—Immigrants who enter a public hospital, home, or institution of whatsoever kind within three years of their arrival are known as a "public charge," and under our immigration laws are subject to deportation if the breakdown is due to a cause prior to landing. Many cases of unnecessary suffering have been caused through ignorance of this fact. Often a short rest brings back normal health. Our immigrants should be placed, wherever possible, in a Jewish or private institution rather than in any public institution if they happen to be ill for a time. Oftentimes a family does not understand, and is able and willing to pay when necessary if matters are properly explained to them.

The committee should regularly visit all public institutions and speak with all immigrants who for any reason may be there, and by careful inquiry should ascertain the date and steamer upon which the immigrant came, and through what port, should visit the family to learn its circumstances, and should prevent deportation where this is possible under our laws.

The committee should especially visit the insane. Occasionally there will be found some unfortunate girl or women whose nervous system has been broken down by the terrible pogrom experiences. For the kind of help that can be given, see Report of Committee on Philanthropy on Care for the Insane. A few months' rest in a hospital for the insane often brings about complete recovery. Should any girl be so unfortunate as to be certified for deportation, a full record of her name, and the name and address of her relatives here and in Europe, the name of the steamer upon which she came, and the date of her arrival should be sent to the national chairman as soon as it is known that she will be deported. The exact date of her deportation and the steamer should be ascertained from the hospital superintendent and telegraphed to the national chairman, who will then make the proper connections for her safe guarding.

*Study of immigration.*—We recommend—

That each section take up the study of the whole question of immigration, reading the federal immigration law and having it interpreted to them by persons of an unbiased mind who are neither extreme restrictionists nor extreme antirestrictionists. One must never forget that, after all, this country is an asylum for the oppressed of the world, but not for criminals and others who, through their own lives and through their own fault, have rendered themselves unsuitable and undesirable subjects.

Every law is subject to the interpretation of those in charge of its administration, nor do laws always automatically enforce themselves; the interest and

watchfulness of the people is in many cases necessary for having the people's will carried out. Many volunteer workers do not understand this and think the law is enforced automatically, literally, or according to their interpretation of its wording. The whole question of immigration is a most complex one. The better informed our committees are on this subject, the more readily can they serve their country and their people, but they should not be misled by specious arguments in regard to restriction of immigration. Immigrants have brought to us much more than we give them. The chairman will always be glad to answer any questions put to her.

*Labor and compulsory-education laws.*—The committee should itself be familiar with the laws of the State governing the work of women and children, and also with the compulsory-education law. It should cooperate with the truant officers of the city and with the factory inspectors to see that the laws of the State are obeyed.

It should instruct and inform immigrants of so much of these laws as is essential to their well-being, but more especially that any child under 14 should not be allowed to work, but must be kept in school, and where there is an opportunity for trade training it is better to enable the child to take this training, that it may have a larger earning capacity, even if a scholarship may have to be given.

*Cooperation.*—We recommend—

Conference and cooperation with all workers or organizations who advise immigrants, whether they be Jewish or others.

*Trained workers.*—Volunteers can not always give the time for all of the service which is needed. We therefore recommend—

That in each city there be employed a trained worker for the work with immigrant girls and others. One trained worker in a section should be able to serve both the Committee on Immigrant Aid and the Committee on Philanthropy. She must, however, be able to speak Yiddish, but should in all cases have an American education (preferably with a training in philanthropy), and she must understand how to make connection for or to organize classes in English and industrial training, to secure leaders for these classes, to organize or conduct clubs, must know all the resources for employment and the social resources of the place. Any intelligent worker can learn these, if she will give her time and thought to it.

*American conditions.*—The national committee wishes to call attention to the fact that there are certain things which, though happening to an immigrant, yet are not the result of immigration. For example, if an immigrant girl is taken with tuberculosis because she happens to have been sufficiently unfortunate to have lived in an infected tenement house, this is really not a question of immigration, but is a question of conditions permitted to exist in our American municipalities.

If an immigrant girl is so unfortunate as to become the victim of some evil man who has traded on her credulity to put her to shame, this is not a question of immigration, but is again a purely local and American and social question, and we must be careful not to confuse the two.

Our immigrants bring us ideals, energy, and industry and are an asset to our country. It should be our special endeavor to conserve these forces, that they may indeed be forces for progress in America. We can do this by helping those who come to adapt themselves with all speed to the new conditions into which they enter, to come in contact with the best that American life holds, and thus to prevent their becoming the prey of any who would exploit them in the guise of friend, employer, or person offering employment, amusement, shelter, or what not. Mutual understanding of each other's ways, customs, and ideals is what is needed, mutual interpretation, mutual understanding—so will we all be enriched.

The chairman of the committee will be glad to advise with the local committees in regard to any question of detail. She begs that each section will feel it a duty to study the local conditions; to secure the means and opportunity for an English education for every immigrant who comes, as well as for understanding American institutions; to see that the best possible employment is given, and that no evil comes to anyone because the committee has omitted to offer help or to find the solution of a difficulty readily solved if properly studied.

Before the council entered upon this work it was there to be done, but it was the council which has initiated and developed this intersection system of protection, of prevention, and of aid. Let each one imagine herself in similar condition to our immigrant sisters and she will need no other spur to help in the work.

## SUBJECTS FOR PAPERS.

- The immigrant girl as an asset to the country.  
 What are the conditions under which the immigrant lives?  
 What dangers does American life present to the immigrant? What advantages?  
 How does the work and wage of the immigrant girl compare with that of the native-born?  
 Our duty to the immigrant girl.  
 How can we best interpret our American institutions to the immigrant girl?  
 Our duty to understand the customs and habits of the immigrant.  
 Is immigration or are American conditions responsible for failure in any direction in life?  
 The value of personal contact.  
 The friendly visitor versus investigation.  
 The necessity for mutual understanding of ideals, customs, and habits or ways.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

It is extremely difficult to give a bibliography of authoritative works on the subject of immigration, as there is so great variety of opinion. The reports of national and state commissions on immigration may well be read and should be carefully weighed. The indexes to the magazines will furnish numbers of articles on the subject.

The committee hopes in the course of the year to be able to prepare a bibliography.

Miss Sadie American, chairman, 448 Central Park West, New York City, N. Y.; Mrs. (Hugo) Pauline Rosenberg, Pittsburg, Pa.; Mrs. (Adolph) Hattie Kahn, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. (Gustav) Fredericke Salomon, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. (Otto) Sarah Kempner, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Miss Rose Sommerfield, New York City, N. Y.; Mrs. (M.) Babette M. Getz, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. (Cæsar) Marion L. Misch, Providence, R. I.; Mrs. (J. M.) Hortense Moses, Baltimore, Md.; Mrs. (Enoch) Bertha F. Raub, Pittsburg, Pa.; Mrs. (Ira L.) Bamberger, Brooklyn, secretary.

## EXHIBIT C.

## LEAFLET DISTRIBUTED AT EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN PORTS.

## COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN.

Welcome!

Willkommen!

ווילקאמען!

האלט דייעזע קארד פאר דער צייט ווען איהר וועט זי כרויכען.  
 ברענגט דייעזע קארד מיט אייך.

Man bittet dieses Blatt für künftigen Gebrauch aufzubewahren.  
 Bitte es mitzubringen.

Keep this leaflet for future use. Bring it with you.

The Council of Jewish Women greets and welcomes all Jewish girls and women, and stands ready to give them friendly help, advice, or information in whatever way is needed. For this purpose a woman is stationed in every port of landing.

We beg those who wish or need advice, information, or help, to inquire immediately upon landing for the Council of Jewish Women.

In New York (Ellis Island): Mrs. Betty Meierowitz.

In Philadelphia: Mrs. Shevell.

In Baltimore: Miss Neufeld.

In Boston: Mrs. Spitz.

After landing, the council will be glad to assist girls to classes in English or in industrial training, to work, board, and lodging, to pleasant social evenings,

amusement, and recreation, as well as to give aid and advice in sickness, trouble, or danger.

For any of the foregoing purposes please apply to the Council of Jewish Women.

(For addresses, see below.)

In cities for which no address is given write for information to Council of Jewish Women, 448 Central Park West, New York City.

#### WARNING.

Beware of those who give you addresses, offer you easy, well-paid work, or even marriage. There are many evil men and women who have in this way led girls to destruction. Always inquire in regard to these persons of the Council of Jewish Women, which will find out the truth for you and advise you.

Any immigrant girl coming to America who is found not to be virtuous, or who allows herself to be misled after coming, is at once sent back where she came from.

The law forbids children under 14 years old to work, and compels them to go to school.

#### ADDRESSES.

Albany, N. Y., Miss Esther Barnet, 251 Hamilton Street; Alexandria, Va., Mrs. Nathan Wollberg, 507 Caneum Street; Altoona, Pa., Mrs. Sol. Schoenfeld, 2502 Broad Avenue; Atlanta, Ga., Mrs. Caroline Eichberg, 352 Whitehall Street; Baltimore, Md., Daughters of Israel, 117 Asquith Street; Bloomington, Ill., Mrs. Albert Livingston, 701½ East Washington Street; Boston, Mass., Council of Jewish Women, Jewish People's Institute, 62 Chambers Street; Bradford, Pa., Miss Miriam Silberberg, 45 Congress Street; Brooklyn, N. Y., Council of Jewish Women, Miss Nettie Podell, 158 Hopkins Street; Buffalo, N. Y., Mrs. Israel Aaron, 748 Auburn Avenue; Charleston, S. C., Mrs. Isidor Blank, 9 Glebe Street; Chicago, Ill., Council of Jewish Women, Miss Viola Paradise, room 435, 160 Adams Street; Cincinnati, Ohio, The Jewish Settlement, 415 Clinton Street; Colorado Springs, Colo., Mrs. I. Schlesinger, 1201 North Nevada Avenue; Dayton, Ohio, Mrs. Schapiro, 733 Wayne Avenue; Elmira, N. Y., Mrs. B. Levy, West Water Street; Fort Worth, Tex., Mrs. A. M. Friend, 1214 East Belknap Street; Indianapolis, Ind., Miss Dora Jackson, 1137 North New Jersey Street; Kansas City, Mo., Council of Jewish Women, Admiral Boulevard and Harrison Street; Lafayette, Ind., Mrs. Isaac Born, 1308 South Street; Los Angeles, Cal., Mrs. I. Myers, 917A Court Street; Louisville, Ky., Mrs. Edwin H. Wehle, 2077 Sherwood Avenue; Marion, Ohio, Miss Jeannette Oppenheimer, South State Street; Milwaukee, Wis., Council of Jewish Women, 499 Fifth Street; Minneapolis, Minn., Mrs. Henry Weiskopf, 2440 Bryant Avenue S.; Mobile, Ala., Miss Hattie Newbrick, Monroe and Conception Streets; Montgomery, Ala., Mrs. B. Frank, 418 South Laurance Street; Nashville, Tenn., Mrs. Harry Weil, 1909 Division Street; New Orleans, La., Mrs. Paul L. Godchaux, 1237 Jackson Avenue; New York, N. Y., Council of Jewish Women, Educational Alliance, 197 East Broadway; Norfolk, Va., Mrs. S. Goodman, 322 Colonial Avenue, Ghent; Oil City, Pa., Mrs. Albert Ullman, Pearl Avenue; Philadelphia, Pa., Rebecca Gratz Home, 719 North Sixth Street; Pittsburg, Pa., Mrs. Henry Finkelpearl, 5006 Fifth Avenue; Portland, Oreg., Neighborhood House, 427 First Street; Providence, R. I., Mrs. George B. Brooks, 27 Mulberry Street; Richmond, Va., Mrs. Sam. Cohen, 10 East Grace Street; Rochester, N. Y., Mrs. S. Schifrin, 7 Oregon Street; St. Paul, Minn., Mrs. Max Frankel, 924 Hayne Avenue; San Antonio, Tex., Mrs. Eli Hertzberg, 521 West Macon Street; San Francisco, Cal., Mrs. Joseph Weissbein, 3473 Clay Street; Savannah, Ga., Mrs. L. W. Wortsman, 115 Gaston Street W.; Seattle, Wash., Council of Jewish Women, Mrs. Schwartz, 302 Seventeenth Avenue S.; Selma, Ala., Mrs. Morris Meyer, 639 Landerdale Street; Sioux City, Iowa, Miss Rose Galinsky, 912 Jennings Street; Syracuse, N. Y., Settlement Home,

623 Montgomery Street; Terre Haute, Ind., Mrs. A. Herz, 309 South Sixth Street; Toronto, Ontario, Canada, Jewish Working Girls' Club, 36 Walton Street; Tyler, Tex., Mrs. S. Bruck, 319 West Elm Street; Washington, D. C., The Friendly Inn, 628 Sixth Street NW.; Worcester, Mass., Mrs. J. M. Talamo, 102 Providence Street; Youngstown, Ohio, Mrs. M. Moyer, 243 Madison Avenue; Zanesville, Ohio, Mrs. Dolly C. Weinberg, 912 Maple Avenue.

Der Bund jüdischer Frauen (Council of Jewish Women) heisst alle jüdischen Mädchen und Frauen herzlich willkommen und gewährt ihnen unentgeltlich Rat, Auskunft und Hilfe in jeder Angelegenheit. Zu diesem Zweck sind Frauen an allen Hafentplätzen angestellt.

Diejenigen, die Rat, Auskunft oder Hilfe wünschen, werden gebeten, sich sofort by Ankunft des Schiffes an den Council of Jewish Women zu wenden. Vertreter sind:

In New York (Ellis Island): Frau Betty Meirowitz.

In Philadelphia: Frau Eva Shevell.

In Baltimore: Fräulein Neufeld.

In Boston: Frau Spitz.

Auch nach der Landung ist der Council of Jewish Women bereit, mit Rat und Tat zur Ausbildung in der englischen Sprache oder zur beruflichen Ausbildung behilflich zu sein. Ebenso weist der Bund jüdischer Frauen gern Arbeit und Wohnung, sowie Gelegenheit zu gesellschaftlichem Anschluss und Verkehr nach und gewährt Hilfe in Krankheit, Not oder Gefahr. In allen Fällen wende man sich an den Council of Jewish Women.

Anfragen sind zu richten: (Man siehe Adressen für verschiedene Städte, Seite below.)

In Städten für die keine Adresse angegeben ist, erbitte man eine Adresse vom Council of Jewish Women, 448 Central Park West, New York City.

#### WARNUNG.

Man hüthe sich vor Männern oder Frauen, welche Adressen geben, leichte, gutbezahlte Arbeit versprechen, oder sogar Heirat. Es sind viele schlechte Menschen, die auf dieser Weise Mädchen verführt und vernichtet haben.

Man wende sich sofort um Rat und Auskunft an den Council of Jewish Women.

Ein Immigrantinnen-Mädchen das nicht tugendhaft ist wird sofort von den Behörden zurückgeschickt, wo sie hergekommen, sowie auch ein Mädchen das sich in Amerika verführen lässt.

Gesetzlich ist es verboten, dass Kinder unter 14 Jahren arbeiten; dieselben sind gezwungen zur Schule zu gehen.

די קאנסיל פון אירישע פרויען (Council of Jewish Women) בעגריסט אלע אירישע פרויען און מיידעכענס און שטעהט פערטיג זיי צו געבן פריינדליכע הילפע, ראטה און אינפארמאציע ציין איבער אלעס וואס זיי קענען ברויכען. פיר ריעזען צוועק איז אין פרוי איינגעשטעלט ביי יעדען פארט וואו פרויען לאנדען.

מיר בעטען די יעניגע וואס פערלאנגען אדער ברויכען ראטה, אויסקנפסטע אדער הילפע גלייך נאכפערענגען ביים לאנדען נאך דער קאנסיל פון אירישע פרויען (Council of Jewish Women).

אין ניו יארק: עללים איילענד, פרעגען פאר מאדאם בעטטי מייעראוויטץ.

פילאדעלפיה (Philadelphia) מאדאם שעוועל.

באלטימאר (Baltimore) פריילין ניופעלד.

באסטאן (Boston) מאדאם ספיטץ.

נאך דעם לאנדען וועט די קאנסיל גערן העלפען מיידלעך צו קלאסען אין ענגליש אדער אין לערנען איין ארבייט. שאפען ארבייט, קאסט און קווארטיר, אנשטענדיגע סאציאלע

אווענדען, אמזירונג און ערהאלונג, אויך הילפע און ראטה אין פאל פון שלאפקייט און אנהערע געפאהרען.  
 פיר די אויבערדערמאהנטע צוועקען, ביטע זיך צו ווענדען צו: (קוקט נאך פיר ארעסעו אין דיא פערשיעדענע שטערט אויף זייטע — און —).

Council of Jewish Women, 448 Central Park West, New York City.

ווארנונג.

היט זיך פון פרעמדע און אונטעקאנטע וואס וועלען אייך פארלעגען ארעסען, פערשפרע-  
 כען אייך גוט בעצאהלטע און לייכטע ארבייט, אדער זאגאר א געלעגענהייט צום הייראטען.  
 עס גיבט פיעלע שלעכטע מיענער און פרויען וואס האבען אויף דויען וועג פערפיהרט מייד-  
 לעך און זיי צום גרעסטען אומגליק געבראכט. אימער פרעגט נאך אויף דיעזע לייטע בר-  
 די קאנסיל פון אדישע פרויען (Council of Jewish Women) וואס וועט פאר אייך אויסגעפינען  
 דעם אמת און אייך ראטהען אס-כעסטען.

יעדע איממיגראנט מיידעל וואס ווערט אויסגעפונען ביים לאנדען צו זיין ניש קיין עהר-  
 ליכעם פרויענצימער אדער וואס לאזט זיך אראכפיהרען פון עהרליכען וועג זאגאר שוין נאך  
 דעם לאנדען, ווערט גלייך צוריקגעשיקט צו פלאטץ פון וואנעט זי איז געקומען.  
 דאס געזעץ פערביט קינדער אונטער 14 יאהר צו געהען ארבייטען און צווינגט זיי צו  
 געהען אין שולע.

EXHIBIT D.

SCHEDULE FORMS.

1.

COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN.

NAME..... Street..... Section No....., New York.

Nativity .....	.....; age.....; literacy.....
Town or province.....	.....
Date of arrival.....	.....; Date of investigation.....; steamer.....
Nearest relative in country from which came.....	.....
Released to—manifest.....	.....
Released to—detention.....	.....
Released to—actual.....	.....
Now with.....	.....
Living conditions.....	House {Private..... } Flat {Front..... } Number of rooms..... {Tenement..... } {Rear..... } Family {Adults {Men..... } {Women..... } {Boys..... } {Girls..... } Ages.....
Cleanliness.....	.....
Number of lodgers.....	{Men..... } Rate of lodging..... {Kind and place of {Women..... } eating.....
Number of boarders.....	{Men..... } Rate of board..... {Number of meals per {Women..... } day.....
Sleeping accommodations.....	{Family room {Dark } Which..... {Light } Double bed..... Double room..... Single room.....
Object in coming.....	.....; prepaid? By whom.....
Employment—Abroad.....	.....; wage.....
Employment—Present.....	(Kind..... Where..... Wages.....; night work..... Hours..... Steady..... How obtained..... Spoke to.....
Remarks.....	.....

Investigator.

2.

## COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN.

## NEW YORK SECTION.

*Report of Agent, Immigration Station.*

Week or month ending \_\_\_\_\_ 190 .

	Bohemian.	Swiss.	Portuguese.	Greek.	Turkish.	Armenian.	German.	Hungarian.	Russian.	Gaelic.	French.	English.	Roumanian.	Total.	
Nationalities:															
Girls.....															
Women.....															
Children.....															
Occupations:															
Girls.....	Milliner.	Seamstress.	Cigar-maker.	Cigarette-maker.	Gloves.	Corsets.	Dresses.	Talloress.	Profession.	Factory.	Dress-maker.	Embroidery.	No occupation.	Total.	
Women.....															
	No.	L/t.	Ill.	C. de H. Home.	Manhat.	Brooklyn.	Oth. cit.	Hospital.	Prepaid tickets:					No.	No.
Single girls.....									Women.....						
Women.....									Girls.....						
Children.....									Children under 16.....						
Children alone.....									Total.....						
Total.....									Total.....						
									Money:						
									Amount brought.....						
									No. with.....						
									No. without.....						
									Total.....						



No.	No.	W.	G.	Ch.	Remarks.	No.
Discharged to: H. S. I. A. S.	Special Inquiry cases: Deferred.....				Methods: Telegrams sent..... Postals..... Advertisements..... Money secured..... Addresses deciphered..... Total.....	
	Deported.....					
	Admitted.....					
	Total.....					

Name.	National-ity.	Age.	Women.	Girls.	Cause.	Came with—	Came alone.	Returned with—	Remarks.
Deported No.:									
1.....									
2.....									
3.....									
4.....									
5.....									

Give name and date of each.

No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Reported to manager.....					
Reported to chairman.....					

No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	O. K.	N. F.
Number visited.....	Inquiries sent to other (Cities, Sections).....						
Number reported for F. V.....	Inquiries from other (Cities, Sections).....						

Jewish immigration, for week or month ending.....; women.....; men.....  
 Total number.....; girls.....; children.....  
 Remarks and recommendations (give the most interesting case of the week or month).....

(Signature).....  
 Agent.



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STATEMENT OF IMMIGRANTS' PROTECTIVE LEAGUE.

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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

IMMIGRANTS' PROTECTIVE LEAGUE,  
Chicago, Ill., October 12, 1910.

Senator W. P. DILLINGHAM,

*The Immigration Commission, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: In addition to the recommendations contained in our annual report already submitted to the Commission and to the statement of our work, presented by Judge Julian W. Mack to the Commission about a year ago,<sup>a</sup> the League for the Protection of Immigrants desires to call the attention of the Commission to the inclosed statements:

(1) With reference to the proposed establishment of a federal protective bureau for immigrants in Chicago.

Since the preparation of this statement the league has moved into a small building across the street from the Polk Street Station, where more than three times as many immigrants arrive as at any other station in Chicago. From July 23 to October 1 we have supervised the delivery of 728 immigrants who arrived at that station and were brought to us by the depot authorities. The experiences we have had in doing this work have greatly strengthened our conviction of the need of a central and official bureau, which would take care of the immigrants upon their arrival in Chicago. That the immigrants are almost uniformly exploited by the express and cabmen, and that these men are not of such a character that, unsupervised and uncontrolled, they can be trusted with the delivery of thousands of young women who come to Chicago ignorant of the language, can not be questioned. We have also during this time had ample proof that it is often impossible for their friends and relatives to find out when the immigrants will arrive in Chicago, or, if the information they receive from the ports indicates they are already here, what has become of them? The control of express and cabmen is, of course, the duty of the city, and we are taking measures to secure the enforcement of existing ordinances and the passage of a better one. But the city can hardly be expected to undertake the special protective measures which the immigrant's peculiar helplessness necessitates.

It is hardly necessary to point out that a Chicago office would be able to determine much more effectively than is possible at the ports whether immigrants are destined to proper persons or not.

(2) We have also had frequent complaints from immigrants of the fact that they are unable to purchase food during the journey to Chicago. The box of lunch which they are urged to purchase at Ellis Island often proves insufficient for a family, and as a result we have had women and young children who have not had anything for more than 24 hours. Some, not appreciating the distance they must travel, either buy no lunch or waste what they have purchased during the first days of the trip. It would seem to be very simple to require the railroads to give the immigrants an opportunity to buy hot soup or coffee at least once each day. This would prevent the very needless suffering which many of them now have to endure.

Respectfully submitted.

GRACE ABBOTT.

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<sup>a</sup> For report of hearing referred to see pp. 279 to 286.

## STATEMENT OF IMMIGRANTS' PROTECTIVE LEAGUE.

### I.

#### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FEDERAL PROTECTIVE BUREAU IN CHICAGO.

##### THE NEED OF SUCH A BUREAU.

Immigrants who come to New York, Boston, Baltimore, and the other ports of arrival are very carefully protected by the United States. The moral exploitation of the girls is rendered more difficult by a careful examination of the persons to whom they are released. But if the immigrant is bound for Chicago the situation is entirely different. He is carefully guarded by the Federal Government until he is placed on the train, when all responsibility is regarded as ended. The girl may be approached by anyone en route, she is sometimes put off at the wrong stations by careless officials, she is trusted upon her arrival in Chicago to expressmen who overcharge her and deliver her at wrong addresses. Under the present system it is practically impossible to trace an immigrant who left New York and never arrived at his Chicago address. Here are a few examples taken quite at random from the reports of our visitors which show the very dangerous position in which many immigrant women and boys are placed:

Rozalia Mazur, age 17, and Rozalia Zobek, age 22, Polish. Arrived on the steamer *York*, April 1, 1909. They were coming to a cousin, Joseph Zobek, 4509 Laflin Street, in Chicago. A visit to Mr. Zobek showed that the girls, though expected, had not arrived. Inquiry among others who came on the same boat showed that the girls had struck up an acquaintance with a man from Rochester en route and that he probably knew where they were. The commissioner at Ellis Island found on investigation that one ticket on that date had been sold to Rochester and two for Chicago had been used as far as Rochester. The girls had completely disappeared, and the commissioner was, of course, not responsible, since they had been placed on the train for Chicago.

Katrzyzna Bak, age 19, Polish, came in by way of Quebec, November 2, 1909, with a sister and friends, separated from them in changing at Detroit, spent one night in police station at Detroit, sent to Chicago next day, put off at South Chicago without money or the address of her brother, picked up by police, spent one night in South Chicago police station, one night in the Harrison Street Annex, and then sent to a hotel to wash dishes. Friends and relatives located by the league.

Murwege Rajetan, age 17, Hungarian, arrived in Chicago November 1, at night. Unable to find his friends. Brought to the office of the league November 2 by an officer from the Lake Street police station. Friends located and work found for him by the league on November 3.

Andras Dubscha, age 13, German, arrived on the *Necker*, October 17, 1909. Had address of brother, Harrison and Wisconsin Streets, Oak Park. Expressmen sent with boy reported that the brother had worked there but had left. Brought to office of the league by the officer at the Grand Central Station. Brother located by night, although he had moved three times since leaving Oak Park, keeping the steamship agent informed as to his changed address, because the agent had promised to notify him when his brother would arrive.

Sofia Zapat, age 18, Austrian Pole, came on steamship *Frederick der Grosse*, June 9, 1909. Left by expressman at night among total strangers at 29 Center avenue, instead of 291 Center avenue.

Ellen Fakey, age 21, Irish, came on the *Caronia*, June 3, 1909. Taken by expressman to the South Side; after some time he found her destination was the North Side, put her off the wagon, charging her \$4, and left her entirely without direction as to where she should go.

Emma Glasman, age 17, German, came on the *Ryndam*, September 22, 1909. Was approached by a man en route, badly frightened, and experienced some difficulty in getting away from him at the railroad station.

Kataryna Grace, age 18, Polish, came on the *Rhein*, March 25, 1909. Was not taken to the cousin who was expecting her. Located through the fact that expressmen who are given immigrant patronage at the Grand Central Station are required to keep addresses at which people are delivered each day. By visiting all these addresses the girl was finally found.

Sabina Snafetzka, aged 17, Polish, came on the *George Washington*, October 4, 1909. Taken by expressman at 3 a. m. to supposed address of her sister. Woman at that address refused to receive her, girl cried, and was taken in by saloon keeper next door; girl stayed in that saloon two days before her sister was found for her. Sister had in the meantime been making regular trips to the depot to meet the girl.

Naturally, the young women and men whom we find are the ones to whom nothing did happen, but they were for a short time in quite a dangerous position. From October 1, 1908, to February 1, 1910, of the women and girls whose names we have received from the various ports, we had succeeded in finding 4,762. We were compelled to give up 1,203, after inquiry at the address given and at neighborhood saloons, grocery stores, and steamship agents, while 734 were such impossible addresses that any attempt to find them seemed useless.

The immigrant man, while not in danger of moral exploitation, suffers from the same petty financial exploitation on the journey to Chicago as the girl, and whether he finds his relatives or friends is equally important in determining his success or failure during the critical period of his first year's residence in America.

This whole question of the treatment of the immigrants by the railway companies while in transit is one beyond the ability of any voluntary body. The adequacy of the equipment, the courtesy of officials, the careful deposit of immigrants at the destinations which they seek are problems which the Federal Government alone can adequately handle.

POWER AND OBLIGATION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO ESTABLISH  
SUCH A BUREAU.<sup>a</sup>

Federal action for the protection of alien immigrants should be considered from the point of view of present legislation and from the point of view of what is possible in the way of additional legislation.

(I) *The present legislation.*—The main reliance of those advocating the establishment of federal agencies for protecting immigrants is section 22 of the immigration act of 1907, which authorizes the Commissioner-General of Immigration to establish such regulations, not inconsistent with law, as he shall deem best calculated for protecting the United States and aliens migrating thereto from fraud and loss, and shall have authority to enter into contract for the support and relief of such aliens as may fall into distress or need public aid, all under the direction or with the approval of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. The same provision is found in the act of March 3, 1903, and also in the first federal act which undertook the regulation of immigration on a comprehensive scale, namely, the act of August 3, 1882. This latter act also established the immigrant fund, which was to be used in the care of immigrants arriving in the United States, for the relief of such as are in distress, and for the general purposes and expenses of carrying the act into effect. The act of 1882 further authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to enter into contracts with state commissions or boards to take charge of the local affairs of immigration in the ports of the State and to provide for the support and relief of such immigrants therein landing as may fall into distress or need public aid. The act of March 3, 1891, provided that all duties imposed and powers conferred by the act of August 3, 1882, upon state commissions, boards, etc., acting under contract with the Secretary of the Treasury should be performed and exercised by the inspection officers of the United States.

It thus appears that the protective provisions of the present immigration law have been prominent features of the federal legislation from the time when the Federal Government began to take control of the subject of immigration.

In view of the previous history of immigration legislation this was perfectly natural. Before the Federal Supreme Court, by a series of cases extending from the "passenger" case reported in 7 Howard to the "head-money" cases reported in 112 United States, had declared the levy of passenger taxes on the part of the States unconstitutional, the States, and especially the State of New York, had inaugurated a comprehensive system of legislation dealing with the immigrant problem. While in the beginning this legislation was largely of a restrictive character, designed to protect the State from the influx of paupers, in 1848, New York enacted an elaborate statute for the protection of immigrants. This statute established a strict control of immigrant boarding houses, runners, passenger and baggage agents, and provided for the appointment of persons for the purpose of advising immigrants and putting them on their guard against fraud and imposition. A further act of 1855 (chap. 474) required transportation

<sup>a</sup>This statement was prepared by Mr. Ernst Freund, author of the *Police Power* and professor of constitutional law in the University of Chicago Law School.

companies to furnish the mayors of different cities with a statement of the rates and charges for conveying immigrants; and a further act (act of 1868, chap. 793) placed the sale of passenger tickets to immigrants under the supervision of the commissioners of immigration. The state authorities in New York cooperated in this work with German and Irish societies for the protection of immigrants.

There was thus an elaborate state machinery which had for its principal purpose the guarding of the newly arrived immigrant from fraud and imposition—a system which was not confined to the city of New York, but extended to the cities in the interior of the State.

It may be presumed that the provision in the federal statutes recognizing the duty to guard the immigrant from fraud and loss was suggested by the similar functions of the state officials, and the power of the Secretary of the Treasury to contract with state authorities tended to preserve these functions.

When, in 1891, the Secretary of the Treasury was directed by the act of that year to act through the United States inspection officers instead of through the state boards and commissioners, the agencies and activity of the States were doomed to extinction, and practically the State of New York has abandoned its legislation for the protection of immigrants, since the growing federal action did not admit of a divided jurisdiction.

The history of immigration legislation thus briefly outlined clearly shows two things: In the first place, that the clause in the present law referring to the protection of the immigrant from fraud and loss is not an accidental or secondary matter, but embodies one of the vital policies of immigration legislation, and, in the second place, that the Federal Government, in emphasizing and constantly developing the restrictive features of this legislation, has allowed the equally important function of protection to fall into comparative insignificance and disuse.

In view of this and in view of the fact that federal legislation is responsible for the disappearance of the protective activity of the States, it may well be urged that a moral duty rests upon the Federal Government to reinstate the protective aspect of immigrant control in its proper place.

The present law seems to contain ample powers for this purpose which have not been properly developed. The power of the Secretary or Commissioner-General of Immigration to establish regulations for the protection of immigrants needs only that the necessary pecuniary funds be made available. Until last year the whole of the immigration fund was set apart for that purpose, and while this immigration fund no longer exists as such, it may still be urged with great justice that the money collected from immigrants should be treated as a trust fund to protect their legitimate interests. Nearly the whole of the administrative establishment for restrictive purposes has been built up without specific legislative authority. The same might be done for protective purposes.

(II) *The power to enact additional legislation.*—The power of Congress to enact legislation for the protection of immigrants may be placed on three grounds: First, the power to spend funds raised by taxation; second, the power over foreign and interstate commerce; third, the power over naturalization.



(1) The free disposal of funds from the Federal Treasury has rarely been seriously questioned and never been interfered with by the courts. It needs no argument to prove that money collected from immigrants may be used for protecting the interests of immigrants, and this power may be taken for granted.

(2) The power over foreign and interstate commerce is valuable in its application to transportation of immigrants from one State to another. Federal legislation for the control of immigrant trains, if such control should appear to be needful, is precisely analogous to the control exercised over immigrant vessels. Again it should be pointed out that the State of New York undertook to place such transportation under its supervision. State action of this character is of extremely doubtful validity, and the abandonment of this legislation by the State of New York was probably due to a realization of that fact. If such control is to be exercised, it must be under acts of Congress.

Where an immigrant is booked directly from a European point to some inland city, like Chicago, it is also quite in analogy to the treatment of foreign commerce in the matter of merchandise to regard the immigrant as arriving only when he gets to the place of his destination. This would furnish a further foundation for Federal legislation, if that were needed.

(3) *The power of naturalization.*—This matter has received very little consideration. I think it may well be contended that under the constitutional power to naturalize, aliens may in the first years of their residence be treated as potential candidates for citizenship, and be placed, so to speak, on probation, under Federal control. This view would permit the exercise of extensive power over aliens. As a matter of fact, the Federal Government at the present time claims and exercises the power to deport aliens. If this is to be looked upon in the light of a condition annexed to the admission of the alien to the country, surely conditions less far-reaching in character, relating to conduct, residence, occupation, or education, may likewise be imposed.

There is a large amount of Federal activity undeveloped at the present time which is possible under the existing laws if the necessary funds are made available. It may indeed be doubted whether much can be gained by enacting more specific directions looking toward Federal aid and protection to the immigrant. This is a matter which perhaps might be more wisely left to gradual growth under the guidance of administrative experience.

#### SEPARATION FROM THE DEPORTATION SERVICE.

It is unnecessary probably to urge that such a bureau should be altogether separate in function and in organization from the deportation service. The latter has for its main purpose the discovery of those aliens who are not to remain and, having largely the point of view of a prosecuting staff, is disqualified from rendering aid and protection.

#### CHICAGO THE LOGICAL PLACE FOR THE FIRST FEDERAL PROTECTIVE BUREAU.

Chicago is the logical place for the Federal Government to make its first experiment with such a bureau. The ports of arrival are already protected. After New York and Pennsylvania, Illinois re-

ceived the largest yearly increase to its population through immigration. Chicago is the great railway center of the United States, so that those who are going North and West must transfer in Chicago. It is estimated that approximately 25,000 immigrants come to Chicago annually, while approximately 50,000 pass through Chicago on the way to their ultimate destination. Other cities, like St. Louis, Cincinnati, and St. Paul, are less important distributing points. If the experiment succeeds in Chicago—that is, if the Chicago bureau is found to prevent or reduce the moral exploitation of immigrant women and the financial exploitation of both men and women—similar protective measures should be undertaken in other interior cities.

#### THE WORK OF THE BUREAU.

The work of the bureau would follow six main lines:

(I.) Checking up arrivals. (a) The immigration authorities in New York should send lists of passengers on outgoing trains, indicating nationality and particulars as to destination. These lists should then be checked up with the arrivals in Chicago. (b) The matter of getting off at suburban stations should receive consideration.

(II.) Giving advice and aid to arriving immigrants. (a) Federal inspectors and interpreters should be the first to meet the arriving passengers. (b) Runners, expressmen, and others soliciting the patronage of arriving immigrants should be made to conform to certain regulations as a condition to being admitted to the bureau.

(III.) Providing temporary accommodations for the following groups of immigrants: (a) Those who are passing through Chicago and are compelled to spend the night in the city. (b) Those who are to remain in Chicago, but whose relatives or friends have not been located. (c) Those who must be temporarily detained because of a suspicion that they have been induced to come for immoral or fraudulent purposes.

(IV.) Furnishing information to immigrants after arrival. (a) The federal bureau should keep lists of lodging houses and boarding houses, employment agencies, banks, notaries, aid societies, etc., which are reliable. (b) As a condition of being placed upon such lists the Government should require compliance with reasonable regulations as to manner in which their business is conducted, and should reserve the right to strike from the list if convinced that methods are not satisfactory.

(V.) Making systematic observation of the distribution of the immigrants and their economic and social conditions.

(VI.) Cooperating with state and local authorities and with private philanthropic agencies in combating all forms of exploitation of the immigrant.

(VII.) In connection with the work of the bureau, inspectors should accompany, either regularly or at irregular intervals, immigrant trains, both arriving and departing.

#### EQUIPMENT OF THE BUREAU.

The equipment of the bureau would include:

(I.) Inspectors. (a) Chief inspector. The bureau should be in charge of a man of intelligence, familiar with the problem as it presents itself in Chicago, which has become the great distributing cen-

ter for unskilled and casual labor and has therefore offered peculiar opportunity for fraud. (b) Assistant inspectors. The number would have to be determined by the volume of immigration. At present four during the spring and fall and two during the summer and winter would probably be needed. At least half of these should be women. The inspectors should also be competent interpreters.

(II.) A central office and receiving station. (a) Location. The bureau should be located convenient to the down-town district and the railway stations. (b) Provision for temporary care of immigrants. (1) Sleeping accommodations. Two large, airy rooms or wards, one for the accommodation of the women and the other of the men, should be provided. Immigrant trains usually arrive early in the morning, so that most of those who come find their relatives or friends or leave Chicago before night, but occasionally a belated train reaches the city at night, so that accommodations for about 300 would be needed. (2) Bathing facilities. Shower baths and opportunity "to wash up" should be provided. (3) Food. Arrangement should be made to provide simple, hot food at nominal rates. Most of the immigrants suffer very much on the journey to Chicago because they have little to eat except the bread they bring with them. (c) Other facilities. (1) A general waiting room, where the immigrant may be handed over to friends after proper identification. (2) A room for duly registered philanthropic organizations, to care for immigrants who are not met by expected friends.

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### EXHIBIT A.

#### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LEAGUE FOR THE PROTECTION OF IMMIGRANTS, 1909-10.

##### FOREWORD.

Those of us who have lived for many years in the Chicago settlements have keenly realized the need of some systematic and centralized effort on behalf of the immigrants living in Chicago. Every year we have heard of girls who did not arrive when their families expected them, and although their parents frantically met one train after another, the ultimate fate of the girls could never be discovered; we have constantly seen the exploitation of the newly arrived immigrant by his shrewd countrymen in league with the unscrupulous American; from time to time we have known children detained in New York and even deported, whose parents had no clear understanding of the difficulty.

The first year's work of the League for the Protection of Immigrants has shown that a central office is able not only to take care of the exceptional cases much more effectively than a settlement could do without its cooperation, but that new needs and possibilities are constantly discovered through this opportunity to treat as a whole the Chicago immigrant situation. The League for the Protection of Immigrants is fast proving to be one of the most effective instruments for social amelioration in Chicago.

HULL HOUSE, *March 3, 1910.*

JANE ADDAMS.

##### REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT.

The report of the director is so full and complete that it is necessary for me to add but little to it.

The work that the league is attempting to do is primarily that of first help to the immigrant. He arrives here bewildered, unacquainted with our language, habits, and customs, and a ready prey for the scoundrel. His entire

future loyalty and patriotism to the country that is going to be his home may be seriously affected by his first contact with its men and women. Not merely as a matter of humanity toward the brother and sister in need, but as a matter of duty to ourselves and to our own children is it important that the newcomers receive the best possible impression of those who are to be their fellow citizens. It has been often charged, and sometimes with truth, that the foreigner is a pliant tool in the hands of certain political workers and subservient to their oftentimes selfish ends; but the average citizen, forgetful of his own obligations, fails to consider the underlying causes of this situation when it does arise. He fails to appreciate that while he has been attending to his own personal interests someone else has given a welcoming hand to the newcomer, has been his adviser in time of need and trouble, and that in after years, when the newcomer has become an American citizen, his gratitude for favors rendered in time of greatest need makes this first friend the supreme authority for the new-made citizen, who acts upon his advice and suggestion in full confidence that they are for his own good.

It therefore behooves those whose interest in the development of their own country is pure and unselfish and whose humanity is broad enough to overlook the differences of race and creed and habits, themselves to extend this welcoming hand, to take measures to guard the foreigners against the perils to which they, more than the average man, are subject, and finally to open up to them opportunities for education and patriotic citizenship.

This has been the work of the league—welcoming the newcomers, seeing that they reach the homes to which they are destined, guarding them against wrongs at the railroad stations, labor employment agencies, and work camps, assisting them to secure work, advising and encouraging them to take advantage of the many cooperating educational opportunities that are furnished by our night schools, settlements, churches, Y. M. C. A., and other organizations, supplementing these when necessary, and as to the girls and women, protecting them from the perils of the white-slave trade and prostitution. Personal visits to stations and homes, conferences with the local, State, and national authorities, cooperation with other organizations, and especially with the police, have been some of the methods employed as the basis for the work. Studies of national groups, which are new elements in Chicago's population, such as the Bulgarians and Greeks; and of such problems as "Chicago's employment agencies and the immigrant worker" and "immigration and municipal policies," have been made by Miss Abbott. These have been published in the *American Journal of Sociology*, the *Survey*, and the proceedings of the National Municipal League in the Cincinnati conference for good city government.

As a result of the work done by Miss Abbott and our legislative committee, the laws governing employment agencies were amended and greatly improved at the last session of the legislature.

Much of this work must always be done by private philanthropic agencies such as this league. A large measure of assistance can, however, and in our judgment should, be rendered by the municipal, state, and federal authorities. For over a year we have had negotiations with the federal authorities in the endeavor to obtain, first, the names of all immigrants destined for Chicago, and, second, for the establishment of a federal bureau in this city to which such immigrants will come on arrival, supplemented by federal inspectors on the immigrant trains and matrons in the railroad stations. At such a bureau opportunity can be given to all philanthropic organizations under proper supervision to confer with the immigrant. There can be no question but that if the protecting hand of the Federal Government is on the man and woman after leaving Ellis Island and until he or she reaches the final destination, our report two years from now will not show, as does our present report, 20 per cent of the women destined to Chicago unaccounted for.

The Commercial Club of Chicago is about to take up this matter, and its members, when their interest is aroused to the importance of the subject, will undoubtedly be able to secure the establishment of such a bureau.

The North American Civic League for Immigrants is seeking some measure of cooperation, federation, or consolidation with this league. The importance of a national organization is fully recognized by us, and while there are difficulties involved in determining the best method of working together, the matter can beyond question be wisely worked out if left to the next executive board. I therefore recommend that this be done.

As the report of the budget committee will show, we shall require for the work of the next year at least \$8,000. The membership must be extended. Every organization interested in the immigrant should become a member of this central league, and thousands of citizens, both native and foreign born, who are alive to the importance of the question will, on proper representations, gladly contribute to the work.

Our heartiest thanks are due to our director, our secretary, the members of standing committees, and the visitors, through whose zealous and faithful work so much has been accomplished during the past year.

JULIAN W. MACK,  
*President.*

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

During the years 1907-8 the Woman's Trade Union League of Chicago organized a committee to visit newly arrived immigrant women and girls for the double purpose of helping them escape those dangers which threaten their moral well-being in a great city, and of giving them such information with regard to opportunities for employment as would induce them to enter the better organized rather than the congested trades. It was, however, soon discovered that the undertaking was beyond the abilities of the league, and an attempt was made to secure the cooperation of the railroads in order that they might supply matrons in the immigrant waiting rooms and distribute to the immigrants on their arrival such information printed in various languages as would enable them to avoid exploitation. It has not yet been possible, as the report of the director explains in detail, to secure this action on the part of the railroads, doubtless because the immigrant trains come at uncertain intervals and enter the various stations irregularly; and as there is no effective control exercised by the railroads or the city over the transfer agents, and as no reputable transfer company is responsible for the transportation to their destination of those immigrants who are expecting to stop in Chicago, the latter are frequently victimized by expressmen, runners for cheap lodging houses, corrupt labor agents, and others seeking their pecuniary and moral exploitation.

As more information was secured, those interested in this endeavor became convinced of the need of a protective agency for immigrant women and men, and in the spring of 1908, the League for the Protection of Immigrants was organized and incorporated under the laws of Illinois and established its headquarters in the business portion of the city. In the hope that through the agency of the league unprotected girls at least might be met on their arrival, an appeal was made for the help of the immigration authorities, and through the sympathetic cooperation of Secretary Straus the league was furnished from the various ports of entry, from October 1, 1908, until March 1, 1909, with the names and addresses of such girls as were destined for Chicago. The use to which this information has been put is explained by the director in her report. In many instances these girls have not needed any form of aid, but in some cases their situation has been found precarious in the extreme, and the offices of the league have been of the greatest assistance in rescuing them from perils from which there would probably have been no other avenue of escape.

A law has been provided in the Department of Commerce and Labor for the Division of Information and Employment looking to the "beneficial distribution" of foreign population, but "beneficial distribution" can not, of course, be accomplished until the individuals have been able to arrive in safety. It was therefore proposed to Secretary Straus that until the Division of Information and Employment was able to take over the entire work a bureau should be established in Chicago, separate from the deportation service, protective, rather than detective, in aim, under the direction of a man of tried honesty, executive ability, and intelligence with reference to local needs, and to the problems of foreign residents of Chicago. The desire for such protection was greatly strengthened by the decision of the Supreme Court, handed down on April 5, 1909, in accordance with which the legislation providing for the punishment by the Federal authorities of those who harbor immigrant women for immoral purposes is held invalid. Since little can be done by Federal punitive agencies, protective devices will have to be perfected. Women need the information and protection such a bureau could give in order to safeguard their virtue. Both men and women need it to avoid exploitation. The country is disadvantaged by the number of those who become sources of peril or burdens on its philanthropic resources.

The volume of immigration is now on the increase, the number of foreign girls and women now coming in is large, the dangers by which they are surrounded are easily met by intelligent and sympathetic help in the form of accurate information given immediately upon their arrival. The members of the league feel that the furnishing of this information given immediately upon their arrival is not beyond the proper function of the Federal Government, is not beyond the power already vested in the department by Congress, and would not require resources greater than those already at the disposal of the department. They have therefore during the year continued to urge their desire upon the attention of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor and upon the Commissioner-General of Immigration.

The following statement presents certain facts of interest with regard to the work of the past year:

(1) *Meetings.*—During the past year there have been four meetings of the trustees of the league. One of these, a special meeting, was called on May 8, 1909, at which Miss Addams presided, to take up the subject of the proposed change in the head tax of immigrants from \$4 to \$10. The second was the regular quarterly meeting, held May 22, 1909. The third was the quarterly meeting, held November 16, 1909, and the fourth a meeting held for the approval of reports on March 3, 1910.

There have been six meetings of the executive committee, besides several informal conferences.

(2) *Members.*—The membership of the league consists of 236 regular members and 36 organization members.

(3) *The workers of the league.*—The regular workers have consisted of the director, Miss Grace Abbott; three visitors paid by the league; one visitor among the members of the Greek colony, on half time for three months, paid by Hull House; one visitor paid partly by the Council of Jewish Women and partly by the league for special work among the Jewish girls; and such temporary helpers as have been required from time to time to gather small special groups of facts necessary to determine the immediate policy of the league. Of the efficiency and devotion and intelligence of these workers it is hardly my place to speak. It is, however, a privilege to testify to the enthusiasm with which they have performed their duties and the gracious and generous kindness which has characterized all of their relationships. If the work of the league among immigrant women can be said to have been peculiarly successful, one explanation is to be found in the very rare gifts for such work possessed by the workers by whom the director has been aided.

(4) *Committees.*—There have been five standing committees, each of which has rendered effective service: The committee on membership, of which Mrs. Tiffany Blake has been the chairman; on publicity, with Mr. Samuel N. Harper as the first chairman, succeeded by Prof. George H. Mead; on legislation, with Prof. Ernst Freund as chairman; on conferences, with Miss E. V. Rumsey as chairman; and on finance, with Mrs. Samuel Dauchy as chairman. Of the details of their work their own reports will speak.

(5) *Cooperation.*—Besides the many national organizations and the various clubs which have associated themselves with the league under the constitutional provision for membership, there has been special cooperation with the Council of Jewish Women and with the Eleanor Association and Juvenile Protective League in the conduct of an employment agency for the service of women and girls seeking other forms of employment than domestic service. This experiment, which ended with the month of February, was not a success. Its failure does not, however, prove the lack of need for such an undertaking, but rather the necessity of a more mature plan before attempting to execute it, and a more thorough collection of information with regard to opportunities of employment other than domestic service before starting upon the work of placing women. The results of this experiment will be of great service when it becomes possible to inaugurate another attempt.

(6) *Programme of work.*—At the last annual meeting the following programme of work was laid down:

1. To push vigorously the efforts of the league toward securing the reestablishment in Chicago of the protective bureau for which plans were outlined, in conference with federal officials, in the spring.

2. To continue the work of visiting and rendering assistance to newly arrived, unprotected women and girls, and as soon as practicable to undertake the same service for foreign boys who are suspected of being under the control of padrones.

3. To use every effort to secure better control of the private employment agencies in the city and a more efficient organization of the free employment agencies; and in order to accomplish this, to secure such additional evidence as seems necessary and prosecute a campaign for the amendment of the existing law.

4. To collect information as rapidly as practicable with reference to other agencies affording opportunity for the exploitation of immigrants, such as steamship agents and companies, cabmen and expressmen surrounding the railroad stations, and the proprietors of alleged banking institutions.

5. To cooperate with the organizations and officials engaged in the prevention and suppression of the white-slave traffic and of other wrongs, particularly affecting immigrants.

6. To undertake, whenever opportunity presents itself, to interpret to the community those problems which have special significance for any foreign group, so that practical aid may be more intelligently rendered and a more sympathetic understanding developed.

Attention should be called to the fact that items 2, 3, 5, and 6 have been fulfilled to perhaps an unexpected degree. Item 1 is still with us as an object of endeavor with reference to which, in spite of the delay, the league is not yet discouraged. In connection with item 4 there are still opportunities for investigation, and still the necessity of further endeavor in order to make all the railroad stations as safe as the safest, and to introduce greater order and honesty into the treatment of immigrants by steamship agents, cabmen, and expressmen, and alleged banking institutions.

(7) *The director.*—The secretary can not refrain from expressing her enthusiasm for the work of the director. She hopes that the league will make it possible for the director's time in the future to be set free, as far as possible, from the routine duties of the office, many of which could be adequately performed by another worker, and that she will be given the opportunity of making known the work and the needs of the league to as many groups and in as many communities as possible.

(8) *The needs of the league.*—These are apparent, as outlined by the president and by the director. They comprise a staff of workers increased by the addition of at least two women and one man; enlarged office facilities; provision for greater publicity and the undertaking of an educational programme, as outlined by the director, in the autumn, which will form the contribution of the league to the educational experiments being tried by the public schools and the social agencies of the city.

Respectfully submitted.

SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE, *Secretary.*

#### REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR.

#### *To the president and board of trustees of the League for the Protection of Immigrants:*

The work of the League for the Protection of Immigrants has followed the lines laid down in the statement of purposes in its constitution. In general, we have sought to discover and then to counteract those agencies and conditions which make for the moral or financial ruin of the immigrant. In doing this we have been extremely careful not to enter any field covered by an existing organization, and we have tried to select from all the things that might be done those which seemed after some investigation to be most needed. The work with the women had been begun by another association which asked us to take over and carry on the work. This has been continued and expanded. In addition to systematic and organized provision for women and girls, work in behalf of the men and boys, especially in connection with the casual labor problem, has been undertaken. Some investigation has also been done and a few special studies of certain of our foreign groups have been published.

To give an adequate idea of the actual work being done, it will be necessary to present a detailed review of each department of work, together with some discussion of the problems involved and the plans for the future which have been formulated.

#### *I. The work with immigrant girls.*

During the past year and a half the league has received from the various ports of arrival the names and addresses of the girls and women destined for Chicago. All of these newly arrived girls and women have been visited by

representatives of the league able to speak the language of the immigrant. Four, and part of the time five, women speaking the Slavic languages, German, French, Italian, and Greek, have been employed for this work. In these visits information has been accumulated in regard to the journey to Chicago, the depot situation, the past industrial experience of the girls, their occupation in Chicago, wages, hours of work, their living conditions, the price they pay for board, and whether they are contributing to the support of some one at home. On this basis the league's work for girls has been planned. Some statement or analysis of the facts ascertained with regard to these points may be of interest and value.

*The journey to Chicago.*—Much improvement in the methods of the inspection, detention, and release of immigrants at the various ports of arrival has been made in recent years. Because of more efficient organization of the service immigrants are now treated with humane consideration by government officials; moreover, runners from cheap hotels, expressmen, employment agents, and all those who might profit by their ignorance and dependence are denied access to them. The moral exploitation of the girl is guarded against by a careful examination of the person to whom she is released.

But, in contrast to these improvements made at the ports, there is, for the girl destined to Chicago, no corresponding protective machinery. She is carefully guarded by the Federal authorities until she is placed on the train, but the Government then considers that its responsibility is at an end. She may be approached by anyone en route. Through her own mistake or intention or the carelessness of railroad officials she may never reach Chicago.

At present it is practically impossible to trace the girls who leave New York, but who never reach their friends in this city. Sometimes we are able to reach some conclusion as to what became of them, but these conclusions only point to the necessity for some safeguarding of the journey. For example, two Polish girls, 17 and 22 years of age, whose experience before they started for America had been bounded by the limits of a small farm in Galicia, were coming to their cousin, who lived back of the yards in Chicago. Her name and address had been sent to us on one of our regular lists, and when one of the visitors of the league called at the house she found the cousin and the entire household much alarmed because the girls had not arrived. Inquiring of others who came on the same boat we found that the girls had become acquainted with a man from Rochester on the way over, and he was "looking out for them." The only information the commissioner at Ellis Island could give was that the girls had left there and that one ticket on that date had been sold to Rochester and two Chicago tickets had been used as far as Rochester. The girls had completely disappeared, and no one was responsible for their failure to arrive in Chicago.

Usually the girls we find are the ones to whom nothing did happen, although they may have been for a time in an extremely dangerous position. One 17-year-old girl was put off the train at South Chicago by mistake and wandered about for several hours at night. Finally a man offered to take her to her friends. He proved worthy of the confidence she had in his kindly intent, and she was conducted safely to the northwest side. Another girl, 19 years old, who came in by way of Quebec, became separated from her sister and friends at Detroit. She was taken to the police station for the night and in the morning continued her journey. She arrived at South Chicago without money or the address of her relatives. She spent a night in the South Chicago police station and another at the annex of the Harrison street police station. The police regarded it as impossible to find the girl's friends, so the matron of the annex found her work in a downtown hotel. A visitor for the league returning from South Chicago reported great excitement in one neighborhood over the fact that an immigrant girl had been lost at Detroit.

This report was connected with the story of the matron at the Harrison street annex, and a visit to the hotel proved the identity of the girl. Except for this she would have been alone in Chicago, ignorant of our language and the dangers of the city, with no one to turn to in case of sickness or unemployment.

Several girls have told of being approached on the trains and invited by strange men to get off at "some big city and see the town," but they wisely concluded to continue their journey without these gay excursions into the unknown.

National and even international attention has been drawn to the work of the United States district attorney in prosecuting so-called "white slavers" in



Chicago. Important as this work is it should not be the only remedy attempted. For in prosecutions we must, of necessity, wait until the girl has been ruined and no fine or penitentiary sentence inflicted upon the man or woman responsible for her downfall can undo for her or for society the damage that has been wrought. Some constructive preventive measures should be undertaken as well. First among these perhaps should be the guaranty to every immigrant girl of a safe arrival at her destination, even if it can be done only by making inland cities like Chicago ports of arrival for immigrants just as they are ports of entry for imported merchandise.

*Chicago's railroad stations.*—Any woman can understand the nervous apprehension which the immigrant girl must feel as she comes into one of Chicago's bewildering railroad stations, but very few realize how well grounded her fears are. Friends and relatives of those who come find it impossible to meet them because immigrant trains are sidetracked for all other kinds of traffic, so that no one can determine just when they will reach Chicago. Most of the immigrants arrive either at the Polk Street or Grand Central stations, and numerous visits have been made to these depots by representatives of the league. When on one occasion I attempted to meet an immigrant train that was to come on the Erie Railroad at the Polk Street station I understood better the stories the girls tell us. This train was due at 7.30 in the morning, but arrived shortly after 4 in the afternoon, and I had to make three trips to the station, although I telephoned each time before starting.

Several hundred immigrants got off the train. Many of them were very young, and one felt their disappointment as they peered eagerly and anxiously about for the father or sister or friend they expected to see. Those who were going north or west came out the main gate already ticketed by a representative of the Parmelee Company, and were transferred without any confusion, just as other travelers are. But those who were to remain in Chicago were directed into a small immigrant waiting room, which opens on Federal street. Here they were hastily sorted into groups and then pushed out the door into the midst of ten or twelve expressmen, who were crowding and pushing and quarreling over the division of spoils. In a short time the struggle was over and they had all been loaded into the waiting wagons. By this time it was almost dark, and I watched them drive away with many misgivings. For I remembered our little Irish girl who started on a wagon with a group of other immigrants for the South Side. After going some distance the expressman discovered she had a North Side address, so charging her \$4, he put her off the wagon and left her without any suggestion as to what she should do. And then, too, I remembered the Polish girl of 17 who was taken at 3 o'clock in the morning to the place where her sister was supposed to live. But the address was incorrect and the woman who lived there angrily refused to let her stay until morning. The girl had no money and wept disconsolately, when the expressman told her "nobody could find her sister if nobody knew her address, and that he wasn't going to take her back for nothing." The saloonkeeper next door finally offered her a refuge, and she lived with his family behind the saloon three days before her sister, who was making daily trips to the depot, was found.

The station master and police officers at the Grand Central Station feel a certain responsibility for the immigrants who come in at that station and have been eager to help us in our work. They require the expressman to bring back to the depot all those whose friends or relatives are not found, and from there they are referred to the league. Not long ago a 12-year-old German boy was brought to the office in this way. The policeman assured him that we would take good care of him, but he found it very hard to be brave when he faced the fact that he was hungry and without money and that his big brother, who had sent him his ticket and was going to look out for him, could not be found. While the boy was being cared for, a visitor for the league started out on the trail of the brother. He was found before night, although he had moved three times since he left the address in Oak Park, which his little brother had brought. The steamship agent had promised to notify him when the boy would arrive, and he had carefully kept the agent informed of the changes in his address.

Sometimes the grocery stores, saloons, steamship agents, and other neighborhood sources of information fail us. Not long ago a girl was brought to the office who had arrived in the city on Sunday afternoon and, because her friends could not be found, had been taken to the annex of the Harrison

street police station, and so had received her first initiation into Chicago life. She had the name and address of the girl friend who lived in Chicago and had promised to get her work written in the front of her prayer book, and could not understand its incorrectness. She tearfully insisted on accompanying the visitor on the search for her friend, and grew more discouraged as one clue after another was tried and failed. Finally the girl said that her friend worked in a bed-spring factory. Starting out on this the visitor found her in the third bed-spring factory they visited. The friend explained that her address was not as the prayer book showed, 110 Canal street, but 1110 Canal street.

If the United States immigration department would establish a protective bureau under the department of information and distribution this situation might be greatly improved. It is true that the railroad companies could by agreement put the business of delivering immigrants on the same responsible and efficient basis that the transfer business now is. But more than this is needed. There should be a central place in Chicago to which those who are expecting friends or relatives from Europe might go and learn whether they had come and to whom they had been released.

*Girls we have been unable to locate.*—During the year and a half since the league began its work we have received from the various ports the names of 734 women and girls who gave as their Chicago addresses streets and numbers so incorrect that it was useless even to attempt to find the girls, while 1,203 other girls whose addresses were apparently possible we were unable to locate. Two hundred and thirty-one of these 1,203 we found some trace of—the neighbors knew the people, they were expecting a sister or a cousin, but they had "moved away to Eighteenth street or the town of Lake." Of the 972 others nothing so definite as this could be learned. In 66 cases we found that the person named on the manifest as the one to whom the girl was destined lived at the address given, but knew nothing at all about the girl and said no immigrant had come to that address. In each of the cases the people seemed quite baffled by the use of their names, and inquiry among the neighbors showed that the people were well known and that no one had heard of any Polish, Bohemian, or Irish girl, as the case might be, coming to that neighborhood. The conclusion reached in all these cases was that there had been a fraudulent use of the names of these people.

Sometimes these facts are almost reversed. One girl of 19 years old was coming, she said, to a brother-in-law on North avenue. When a visitor for the league called at the number given, the woman who lived there told how an expressman had brought an immigrant girl to the house a few days previous, but as no one was expecting her, she suggested to the expressman that the "7" in the address the girl had looked like a "1," and he had better try that. So he had gone off with her, saying he would try the suggestion made. But at this number there was a blacksmith shop, and no one there could help with any information about the girl. An Irish girl 22 years old was coming to a sister on Fifty-first street. Here we learned that a girl had come looking for her sister, but the people who lived at the address the girl had knew nothing about the person she described. The girl was accompanied by a young man whom she said was a stranger to her, but was going to help her find her sister, and they went off together. Three German girls, 15, 16, and 17 years old, gave an address on South Clark street. Here the visitor found a business house and learned that the man whose name had been given had formerly been a member of the firm, but had been dead ten years, and that no one knew anything about the girls. A Polish girl gave an address on Ashland avenue. This proved to be a saloon, and, although we often find that the foreigner whose place of residence is uncertain uses the saloon as his permanent address and is well known to the proprietor, no one here knew anything about the girl or the man to whom she was coming. In this case the saloon keeper could not remember anything about this particular girl, as he said that the expressman often left a load of them at this saloon and some one always finally called for them. A good many gave the addresses of neighborhood steamship agents. This is especially true of the Italians, for whom the agent often serves as a banker, notary public, and official letter writer. Very often these agents assist us in locating the girl, but in 42 cases they did not know anything about the person whose name was given and said the girl's ticket had not been purchased from them.

A Polish girl, 16 years old, was coming to relatives on Ada street. When a visit was made at the address given we found that the girl had not arrived. From the commissioner at Ellis Island we learned that she had started on one

of two immigrant trains that had reached Chicago on the Baltimore and Ohio on December 12. The station master had addresses at which three of the girls whose relatives had not called for them on that day had been left, but no one of them proved to be the girl for whom we were looking. Notices were inserted in the two Polish dailies, but we have not yet found the girl, and her anxious relatives are wanting to know what we are going to do about it. And that is what we are still asking the federal authorities. Out of 1,935 girls, or to include our February figures, which would bring this report down to date, out of more than 2,000 girls that the league has been unable to locate a very large number are undoubtedly safely living with their friends, but from many cases that have come to our attention we are convinced that Chicago may well be alarmed at the number of these immigrant girls who are lost every year.

The girls whom we succeeded in locating were as follows (classification is based on language) :

Poles (from Germany, Austria, and Russia)-----	2, 013
Russian, Roumanian, Austrian, and German Jews-----	682
English-speaking immigrants: Irish, 343; English, 37; Scotch, 7-----	387
German: German Empire, 119; Austria, 223; Russia, 28-----	370
Lithuanian-----	295
Slovak-----	294
Bohemian-----	279
Italian-----	191
Hungarians-----	69
Croatian-----	48
Austrians, not classified elsewhere-----	75
Russians-----	27
Greek-----	14
Other nationalities-----	18
<b>Total-----</b>	<b>4, 762</b>

Of the immigrant girls in Chicago, the English-speaking ones meet fewer difficulties and embarrassments than those to whom the language is a serious barrier. The German and Scandinavian girls are also well situated. This is probably due to the fact that immigration from northern Europe is older than immigration from eastern Europe. The girls, as a result, usually come to friends who are already well established and able to help them in finding work and becoming adjusted to their new surroundings. Very few of them are in debt when they arrive, and they do not have to send money back home for the support of the other members of the family or to enable a younger brother or sister to come to America. The Irish, Swedish, and German girl is well known to all of us, so I shall not undertake any discussion of the facts we have accumulated in regard to these girls, but I do want to say before passing to those who belong to the newer immigration from eastern and southern Europe that because these girls come to better material conditions we have no reason to believe they do not find any temptations and pitfalls in Chicago.

By far the largest number of girls and women who have come since the league began its work have been Poles from Russia, Austria, or Germany. Most of them were very young girls. Out of 2,013 located, 1,107 were between the ages of 16 and 20 and 751 between 20 and 30. Only 81 had parents in this country and 626 came to cousins or friends. Sometimes these friends have never known the girls at all. When they were discussing coming to America some one in the village suggested that they could stay when they first arrived with a brother, cousin, or friend of the speaker who was living in Chicago. In such cases, and often, too, when the girls have come to an uncle or aunt, after they get their first job and find a place to board all feeling of responsibility on the part of the relatives or friends is ended. As a result we have had young girls of 17 or 18 who were in most serious trouble and had absolutely no friend or relative in Chicago to go to for help.

A large number of the Polish girls come to relatives and friends who are intelligent, kind, fairly prosperous, and eager to make the girl's Americanization take the best possible course. Others come to conditions that are extremely dangerous. For example, a girl of 17 or 18 comes to some man who is her brother or her cousin. He lives in a three or four room flat with a group of 10 or 12 men, and because he is ignorant or careless of the danger to the girl he brings her to live with this group of men. The girl anticipates no danger,

but knowing that her whole mode of life is to undergo a great change in America we are fearful that some of the safeguards on which she relies will fail her. For this reason we have usually tried to induce a girl so situated to change from scrubbing in a restaurant on State street to scrubbing in the Presbyterian Hospital, where she would also live. This is, however, a very lonesome performance for the girl. She hates to leave the Polish district, where she has many friends, to do work where she sees and hears strange things and eats stranger food. As a result we have not been able to persuade many to move, because we had no alternative to offer. What we need are boarding clubs for Polish girls similar to those which are maintained for other working girls. They should be near the Polish districts and should be so conducted as not to require the girl to abandon all at once her old habits of life.

The Polish girls make a very sudden change in their mode of life when they come to America. More than one-half of those visited did farm work at home, one-eighth were servants, while some had followed one of the sewing trades, and a few were clerks, factory workers, and teachers. In Chicago about one-fifth of them work in hotels, restaurants, or hospitals, scrubbing or washing dishes from 10 to 15 hours a day and receive from \$4 to \$6 a week and two meals a day in payment. One hundred and eleven were at work in the stock yards when they were visited by the league's representative, and practically all of the others who came to that neighborhood expected to get work there in a short time. One hundred and ten found employment as servants, \$1 were at work in laundries, 67 in tobacco factories, while the remainder were in almost every kind of heavy factory work done in Chicago. From these figures it is evident that the Polish girls who come to America are doing the hard, ugly work at which the hours are long and the pay poor. That they suffer more in their first experience as wage-earners than the average American girl there can be little doubt. Because they are large, strong girls there is a popular belief that they can do work under which others would give way. But the belief is based on ignorance of what it costs the Polish girl to do this work. The outdoor life which she has led at home has been no preparation for the dull monotony of 12 hours at dishwashing in a subbasement kitchen in the loop district. Often indebted to some friend or relative who paid for her passage to America, the girl feels she has staked everything on the success of her work in Chicago. So she begins under a nervous pressure which is intensified by the general bewilderment any girl feels who is experiencing life in a city and as part of a great industry for the first time.

During the past month our visitors have been going to see the girls who have been here a year or more. These are common experiences. One girl 18 years old says she has worked in the stock yards since she came, earning from \$6 to \$10 a week. She is living with a brother and has saved enough money to send for a younger sister. She has learned very little English, but her living conditions have improved. She is well and happy and promises once more that she will go to the night school at the University of Chicago Settlement. Another 19-year-old girl found her first job in a restaurant washing dishes. Here she worked 14 hours a day for \$4 a week. This job she kept for five months when she secured a place where she works 11 hours a day and is paid \$5 a week. Her living conditions have not improved. She has had no time to attend night school and does not think she will ever be able to learn English. Hers is a very common case. The girls of all nationalities, when first visited, expect to learn English as a matter of course and are glad to be told of night schools in the neighborhood. But a year of work for 12 or 14 hours a day has often killed their ambition. "I can't do it; I'm too tired when I get home," or "I get home too late; classes begin at 7 or 7.30," and "No one talks English at the factory; I don't believe I'll ever learn," are the usual explanations.

More important than giving no time for night school, the long hours of work leave no leisure for recreation of any sort. At home the girls have been accustomed to out-of-door dances and sports. In Chicago, when Saturday night comes, the demand for some sort of excitement after a hard and uneventful week has become too strong to be ignored. But the danger is that because of her physical and nervous exhaustion and her demand for acute sense stimulation the girl will become an easy victim for the unscrupulous. The neighboring saloon keeper, alert to the business side of her needs and demands, is constantly seeking to attract her to the dance hall, which he conducts in the rear of his saloon. At its best such a dance adds to the nervous demoralization which began with the girl's overfatigue. At its worst it leaves her disgraced

and ruined. An extension of Chicago's admirable system of public parks and playgrounds is not enough to meet this situation. The girls must first be given sufficient leisure to enable them to enjoy the wholesome recreation and opportunities for self-advancement, which the city is offering them. In other words, when the present 10-hour law is sustained the next step must be taken and the girlhood of those who work in restaurants and in the stock yards, as well as those who work "in factories, laundries, and mechanical establishments" must be protected by the State.

Of the Jewish women and girls who came during the past year and a half, 613 were Russian. Most of them were unmarried and under 25 years of age. Four hundred and twelve had followed one of the sewing trades at home, and in Chicago the great majority are also employed at tailoring or dressmaking. Whatever their industrial experience in Russia may have been, the Jewish girls have never known the large, crowded workshop and the pace which piece-work always demands. Their wages range from \$1 to \$10 a week, but the usual pay is \$4 or \$4.50. Probably 90 per cent of them come on prepaid tickets, and they all expect to repay this loan and be able soon to send for some relative or friend.

The Jewish girl comes expecting to make America her permanent home, and she is therefore eager to learn English and become Americanized. More than any others, they attend night school and in a year they have made great progress. With them the danger is that they will suffer from a too rapid Americanization.

Under the guidance of Miss Paradise, whose employment has been made possible by the generous cooperation of the Council of Jewish Women, a club for the immigrant girls, named by themselves the American Welcome Club, has been meeting every week at the Chicago Hebrew Institute. The club has furnished its girls social diversion, has brought them into touch with night schools, and through an exchange of experiences some have secured better work.

There are no boarding houses among these people, but almost every family, no matter how small their little flat may be, has at least two or three boarders. This leads to serious overcrowding, which is dangerous to the immigrant girl. Some of them know this and are anxious to move, but do not want to leave the West Side, where they have entered classes at Hull House, the Hebrew Institute, or the Maxwell street settlement. I am very glad to say, however, that a number of Jewish women have undertaken to meet this need and a boarding club for Jewish girls will soon be opened on the West Side.

The Lithuanian girl confronts much the same problem in Chicago as the Polish. The league has visited 295 girls from that part of Russia, 107 of whom were from 16 to 20 years old, and 156 from 20 to 30. Like the Polish girls, more than one-half of the Lithuanians have done farm work at home, and in Chicago they too find employment principally in the stock yards, restaurants, and hotels of the city. In the homes to which they come serious congestion is often found and a single young girl occasionally lives alone with a group of men. It is well perhaps to remember that conditions which apparently seem dangerous do not prove to be so, and occasionally we have thought a girl would be well taken care of only to find later that the reverse was true.

One 15-year-old Lithuanian girl was brought to this country by her aunt. She was full of hope and ambition because her aunt had promised her that she should go to school in America. She found, however, that this aunt lived in the back of a saloon in one of the city's ugliest neighborhoods, and after one night of special terror she ran away. A Lithuanian woman, touched by the simple virtue of the child and appreciating her danger, took her in and refused to surrender her to her aunt. The league found the girl work in a nice family, where she seemed quite contented. But her disappointments had not made her forget her purpose in leaving home. With \$30 saved she left her place and entered the first grade of a neighboring public school, determined to have \$30 worth of education at least. Her money was soon exhausted, but the consumers' league gave her a ten weeks' scholarship, and we found her a place to work for her board. So she is now attending school and fulfilling her girlish ambition in coming to America.

In addition to the Poles, there are Bohemians, Slovaks, Croatians, Hungarians, Ruthenians, and a half a dozen other groups whose language and customs differ somewhat, coming from Austria-Hungary to Chicago every year. During the time that we have been visiting the girls the largest number of these have been Slovaks. Most of them join the great Slavic colony, which has

its center at Blue Island avenue and Eighteenth street, and is dominated by the Bohemians. Of the 294 Slovak girls located last year, over one-half had done housework at home, and only one-sixth farm work. In Chicago about one-half still do housework, and the others find employment at tailoring, in the stock yards, restaurants, laundries, and factories. Of the 294 girls, 23 must contribute regularly to the support of their parents at home, and 45 had to pay the person who advanced the money for their passage.

Two hundred and seventy-nine of the Bohemian girls who came to Chicago last year were located by our Bohemian visitor. Of these, 173 were under 20. With them, as with the other nationalities, most of the women who came are young, ambitious girls, who expect to make their way for themselves in what is still to them the New World. One-half of them, as of the Slovaks, said they had been servants in the old country, 26 had followed one of the sewing trades, while only 19 had done farm work. In the United States more of the Bohemians do housework than any other one occupation, but the number is smaller than at home. Most of the others follow some one of the sewing trades, a very few work in hotels, restaurants, and in the stockyards. Twenty-five of them must contribute to the support of some one in Bohemia, and 26 had to pay for their passage from their savings after they secured work in America. The Bohemian or Slovak girls who have worked in English-speaking families are, of course, more Americanized than those who have lived among their own people and worked in a factory. Still, the immigrant girl in the latter situation is usually safer than in the former. A too rapid Americanization is dangerous, and the girl who leaves her own people and eats strange American food, learns a new language and modifies her old-country clothes and manners often wrongly concludes that all her Old World ideals are to be abandoned and that in America she is to live under a very different moral code from the one her mother taught her.

Another group of girls who have been visited during the past year is the Italian. They are, of course, quite different from the Slavic women. One of the things one notices first is the greater diversity in age; more of them are married women with children or daughters who are coming to join their fathers instead of girls who expect, with the temporary assistance of some relative or friend, to become independent and self-supporting. Only 86 of the 191 Italian women and girls were found to be at work. The work they prefer is tailoring—home finishing—because their husbands or fathers object to their going away from home to work. A few were found picking and cracking nuts at home, while some were permitted to work in factories. In Italy more than one-half of the Italian women had not been what the census would call "gainfully employed," but 24 of them had done farm work, a few had been servants, dressmakers, and stone or wood carriers. The Italian woman is always accompanied by some male relative, and she usually has more money than the other women who come. Most of them are from southern Italy and are illiterate. In Chicago they are not allowed to attend night school, because the Italian does not want his daughter to go out unchaperoned. The league's visitors are usually cordially received by the Italian women, but they seldom come to the office for any sort of help. The men come on various missions, but the women practically not at all.

All the girls visited were advised about the neighborhood night schools and settlements, and many of them were taken by the visitors to these places. For 85 of them work was secured. For many their relatives and friends were located. Baggage containing the precious feather beds and clothes which the girls mourned as lost has been traced and found by the league. Sometimes a visit to a depot here has done this; sometimes several letters to New York have been necessary, and in two instances, where the baggage had really never started, it was only through the help of the secretaries at Hamburg and Rotterdam of the International Society for the Protection of Young Women that we were successful.

For the past year an employment agency for women and girls has been maintained by the Eleanor Association, the Juvenile Protective Association, and the League for the Protection of Immigrants. So far as the league was concerned, this was done in the hope that the agency would make a special effort to find work for the girls in places where there is a chance for advancement and where English is the language of the shop, and the conditions generally such that at the end of her first year's industrial experience the girl would be better off in every way than when she began. In addition to this it was

hoped that the agency would make some study of the field of employment for immigrant women and the trade training necessary for the more desirable openings. As equipped, the agency found it impossible to do all of this, and it has been abandoned, with the feeling on the part of those of us who are in contact with the girls that there is a very valuable work to be done in this connection.

## II. *The work with men.*

*The employment agency situation.*—In its investigation of the relation of the Chicago employment agency and the immigrant worker the conclusion was reached that, forced to obtain work through the private employment agent, the immigrant usually suffers in one of three ways: (1) He is overcharged for the services rendered; (2) the work obtained is not as represented by the agent in character, permanency, or remuneration; (3) he fails to get the work or the work lasts only a few days, leaving him at an enormous distance from the city market. To remedy the first the strengthening and consolidating of the three competing state free employment agencies was advocated in the hope that they will be able to handle the "gang work," which has been solely in the hands of the labor agents. As a result of its investigation and the publicity given its report the league was invited to meet with the secretary of the state bureau of labor, the inspector of private agencies in Chicago, and the legislative committee of the Employment Agents' Association of the city. At these conferences a bill was agreed upon which provided that contracts on which the immigrants are shipped out of Chicago to work on the railroads, in the lumber and ice camps, and the harvest fields shall be in the language understood by the immigrant and shall contain a full statement of the rate of wages, kind and permanency of the work, and the full name and address of the person authorizing his employment. This bill was passed at the last regular session of the legislature, and this spring for the first time the immigrant men will go out with a written agreement of a sort which will make the remedies for misrepresentation and fraud more available upon his return to Chicago. The league's bill providing for consolidating under one management the state employment agencies of Chicago was introduced into the house of representatives by Mr. Hull, but failed to pass, perhaps because as some one remarked, "It is so obviously the sensible and businesslike thing to do that no argument can be made in its behalf." It is certainly to be hoped that this will not permanently prevent its passage.

Chicago is a great center for casual labor, and the immigrant has in the past been able to secure these jobs in Chicago only through a private agent who was in the habit of overcharging him and dividing fees with contractors. No one thing is more bitterly complained of by Pole, Greek, Bulgarian, and Italian than the treatment he receives at the hands of these agents in Chicago. The immigrants themselves are powerless to correct these evils. Last April, when the agents were demanding \$12 and \$15 for jobs, we assisted the Bulgarians in arranging a protest meeting and trying to effect an organization which could deal directly with the railroad. About 1,200 men crowded into Bowen Hall at Hull House. The organization was formed, and almost the entire colony joined. They were able, however, to do little beyond making somewhat better terms with the agents than the other nationalities, because of their refusal to ship out for a few weeks at a time when men were in demand. Most of these Bulgarians worked in Montana and Wyoming last summer, and great numbers of them did not return to Chicago for the winter, but went to Portland and Seattle in the belief that the employment agents are under better control in those cities.

I am very glad to say that Mr. Cruden, chief inspector of agencies, has interested himself in this problem during the past winter, and has secured from certain railroads assurances that they would make it a condition in the contracts they make with the labor agents that the fees charged the men shall not be more than \$2, and that all division of fees by the labor agents with their employees will be prohibited. It will not be easy, however, for the railroads to see that these agreements are adhered to. The immigrant, because of his ignorance of English and his necessity for immediate employment, is at no time more helpless than when he offers himself in the labor market, and the honest employment agent finds him a great temptation and the unscrupulous one a great opportunity. For this reason the entire class of seasonal laborers should, as far as possible, be put out of all danger of such exploitation. This could be done if the state free employment agencies were so efficiently managed and so supported by public interest that the railroads and other large employers of casual

labor would be willing to place their contracts with the state agencies exclusively.

*Labor Camps.*—With the employment of the men put on a sounder basis, the problem of the protection of the immigrant casual laborer would by no means be solved. A little over a year ago we sent out an investigator to verify the complaints which had come to the office of a certain commissary company which is given the privilege of running the boarding camps by many of the railroads and construction companies. We found the men were very much overcharged for board, that they were paying \$4 a week for food equal in quality and amount to what can be secured at the Pittsburg Joe restaurants in Chicago for 10 cents a meal, and that there was the same overcharging for gloves, shirts, tobacco, and other supplies. In June, 1909, we also investigated complaints which came to the office of unsanitary housing and brutal treatment on the part of the boss in one of the camps near Chicago. We found the camp situated in a swamp, the freight cars which were fitted up with bunks were very much overcrowded, the cars filthy, and the entire camp without any provisions for the men to keep themselves clean or decent. Complaint was made of this condition, and this particular camp was abandoned.

Generally speaking, these camps are most demoralizing to the men. The work is hard and the life lonely. The man is away from his family and all normal, wholesome contact with society. At its best the effects upon the immigrant of this isolation and the seasonal character of the work might well be feared; but when to this is added dangerously unsanitary housing conditions, petty graft, and mistreatment, the friend of the immigrant may well become alarmed. The improvement of this situation is a matter of concern to the entire community, because these men make Chicago their headquarters in the winter and bring back with them, through no fault of their own, those diseases and vices which come with such living conditions. Moreover, after such experiences as many of these men suffer they return to warn their friends that whatever the hardships of the city may be the country is infinitely worse, and it becomes increasingly difficult to reduce congestion by a wise distribution throughout the agricultural regions. Some study has been made of these camps as far west as Montana by a student in the research department of the School of Civics and Philanthropy, but the field has been by no means covered. To accomplish any real improvement in this situation a wider knowledge of the facts is necessary, and, more than that, the league should be constantly in the field investigating complaints and calling the attention of railroad officials and the public generally to the need of a thorough reform of these camps.

*Other work for immigrant men and boys.*—The immigrant man who works in Chicago is also very often in need of the help of the league. Until they are able to speak some English skilled and unskilled alike usually find work only with a rather dishonest class of employers, who resort to various devices to defraud their men out of their wage claims. Once in trouble the immigrant usually suffers at the hands of shyster lawyers, who promise him the accomplishment of the impossible. For example, a young Italian was accused of murder. His mother, a widow, sold her little property and paid the lawyer who was to defend him \$1,000. This attorney, although he appeared at court, made, according to the judge and the prosecuting attorney, no attempt at defense. The woman's brother, who had lived for some years in the United States, but was at the time on a visit in Italy, came hurrying back to Chicago when he heard the boy had been convicted. He was eager to do anything to help his sister in her trouble, and proved an easy victim of a certain class of lawyers. He has paid retainers' fees to several men who had promised big things and done nothing at all. The league secured a return of most of the money he advanced; but in the experiences of this Italian man, who is by no means stupid, we learned how helpless the immigrant is in the hands of these lawyers.

Men and boys as well as women and girls are also unable to find their relatives or friends in Chicago, and so are in need of assistance.

Men also come to the office for translation of papers they have been asked to sign, for assistance in tracing lost baggage, and for help in determining why their families have been detained at Ellis Island, and in securing the refund on prepaid tickets which were not used between Ellis Island and Chicago, because those who were to use them were denied admission at the ports. Last summer we were able to help a skilled Hungarian mechanic who had escaped from what was virtually peonage in east Tennessee in bringing to Chicago his



family and household goods, which were held by the company. A good many men come asking for work. For some of these the league have been able to secure positions, and the others have been directed to the State agencies and those maintained by the various national or religious societies.

### III. *Cooperation with the national and religious organizations interested in immigrant work.*

Appreciating the value of an organization in which the recently naturalized and the American whose ancestors were immigrants three hundred years ago, in which all nationalities and all religions could unite in the common purpose of preventing the exploitation of the last arrival and in helping him to become adjusted to his new environment with the least possible loss to himself and the community, the various organizations who are doing any kind of work for immigrants in Chicago have been cordial in their cooperation with the league. No effort has been made to do anything more than to explain the purposes of the league and seek to work in harmony with these organizations. Twenty-eight foreign societies have, however, formally affiliated themselves with the league and contribute financially to its support.

The Council of Jewish Women has contributed one-half of the salary of a visitor and has been of great help in the work among the Jewish girls. The Polish National Alliance and the women's auxiliary to that organization are members of the league and have printed cards and leaflets in Polish, and looked after a number of families in need of special care and attention. Through the very efficient work of our Bohemian visitor, Mrs. Pavlik, 21 Bohemian lodges are members of our organization, and the Bohemian people generally have been friendly and helpful. The auxiliary to the Chicago Hebrew Institute is also a member and contributor to this work. The Swedish National Association, the Norwegian National League, the German Society of Chicago, the B'nai B'rith, Austro-Hungarian Benevolent Association, and the foreign consuls have all helped during the past year in some part of the league's work.

The editors of the Yiddish, Polish, Bohemian, Croatian, and Lithuanian papers in Chicago have also been interested in the work, and have helped in the location of relatives and friends of those we found stranded at the police or railway stations.

With organizations at work on the immigrant problem outside of Chicago the league has also cooperated. There has been an exchange of services with the following societies in New York: The Council of Jewish Women, the Slavonic Immigrant Society, the Labor Information Office for Italians, the Inter-Municipal Research League, and the Bohemian visitor at Ellis Island. In Baltimore with the Council of Jewish Women and the Austrian Benevolent Society, while in Europe the Ezra Society, the International Society for the Protection of Young Women, and the Catholic International Association for the Protection of Young Girls have been of assistance to us.

### IV. *Relation to other civic and social organizations.*

Among its other objects, the league has declared in its constitution that it aims "to apply the civic, social, and philanthropic resources of the city to the needs of foreigners in Chicago." In pursuance of this policy, cases which were found in the thousands of visits to newly arrived foreigners by the representatives of the league were reported to the department of health, the compulsory education department, the factory inspector, the inspector of employment agencies, the United States Immigration Department, the State employment agencies, the Legal Aid Society, the Juvenile Protective Association, the Visiting Nurses Association, the United Charities, the Babies Friendly Society, the settlements of Chicago, and to other philanthropic and civic organizations. To all of these and to the Consumer's League, the Women's Trade Union League, the station master and police officers at the Grand Central Railroad Station, the matrons and officers at the various police stations of the city, the Traveller's Aid, and to the Passavant and the St. Mary of Nazareth hospitals, and especially to the Home of the Friendless, the league is under special obligation for reporting cases to us and assisting us in caring for those under our protection.

### V. *Publications.*

It is the policy of the league to undertake whenever opportunity presents itself to make investigations of those problems which have special significance for

any foreign group, so that practical aid may be more intelligently rendered and a more sympathetic understanding developed. Three studies have been published with this end in view. The first, already referred to, was on the "Chicago employment agency and the immigrant worker," and appeared in the *Journal of Sociology*. In cooperation with the School of Civics and Philanthropy a study of the "Bulgarians—a new element in Chicago's immigration problem," appeared in the Survey, and another of the Greeks, made on the basis of material supplied by Hull House was published in the *Journal of Sociology*. The results of the first have already been spoken of. The last two have been of great value to the league because they brought us into direct and friendly connections with the people studied and furnished intelligent means of approach to them and their problems.

#### VI. Recommendations for the coming year.

(1) *Visiting immigrant girls.*—To put this part of the work on a proper basis two more visitors are needed, a Polish woman to devote her entire time to the girls of the Polish district on the northwest side and another to South Chicago. At the present time the four visitors employed are covering so much territory that it is impossible to visit the girls as soon after their arrival as is desirable, or to do the sort of intensive work that is needed in any district.

(2) *Work among the boys and groups of men.*—Chicago has large groups of foreigners in which there are few or no women at all. This is especially true of the Bulgarians and the Greeks. A large number of very young Greek boys often live together or with a group of men. There is good reason to believe that these boys often suffer at the hands of the older men of the community. To form clubs and classes among these men and boys, to bring them into touch with the social and civic resources of the city, as well as to protect the younger and weaker members of the group, the employment of an able man and such interpreters as he needs from time to time is necessary.

(3) *The casual labor problem.*—This is perhaps the most important to Chicago. To secure a better system of employing seasonal laborers for gang work and better conditions in the labor camps, a wider knowledge of present conditions is needed, but after such an investigation as would give this knowledge some one person is needed to follow up and investigate complaints. Mr. Mullenbach, whose long experience in the municipal lodging house has acquainted him with this problem, believes that no better work could be done by this league than to keep one man constantly in the field on this work.

(4) *Lectures for immigrants.*—Many of the older immigrants will never learn English, and with others it will be many years before they will understand it easily. Most of them have lived in the country, and here in Chicago they are having their first contact with the problems of city life. They need at once a knowledge of Chicago's water and milk; of its sanitary regulations, of the agencies that are organized for their exploitation, of naturalization, and those problems of municipal government in whose solution perhaps they as much as anyone else are concerned. The consent of Mrs. Young to give such lectures in the schools situated in our foreign neighborhoods was asked last November, and she expressed her willingness to arrange for us to have the use of the buildings to give these lectures. The use of the settlements and parks could also be secured. But some expense for advertising, slides, and in some cases for the payment of the man who would give the lecture would be necessary. Last November increased expenditure seemed unwise, so the plan was dropped, but I very much hope that this experiment can be tried during this coming year.

(5) *Special investigations.*—Special investigations of some of the particular problems which confront the league in its work should be made every year. The relation of private bankers, steamship agents, and notaries public to our foreign colonies needs special study. The possibility of maintaining night schools near some of the labor camps in Illinois is also something on which we have no information. Studies of particular groups such as those made of the Bulgarian and Greek colonies are most valuable in our work. The men or women regularly employed by the league can not make such investigations as these, and so to carry out its purpose of making these studies from time to time, some provision should be made for the employment of additional workers for short periods of time.

(6) *Cooperation with other organizations.*—The league has only just begun its work and is as yet not as widely known as it should be. It has seemed best

to us in the past to let its connections with other organizations grow naturally out of the work it has been doing, by following up every opportunity that came of cooperating with those who are doing any sort of social or civic work that touches the immigrant and his needs. Now that the work of the league is more definitely formulated it would seem wise to make some special effort to establish permanent relations with all these organizations.

(7) *Change in the location of the office.*—Ever since the work of the league has been really under way we have felt that an office building in the loop district was not the place for its headquarters. Last spring we tried to find a place near the Polk street or Grand Central stations where we could be housed on the first floor. Such a place, though, involved the payment of more rent, and so the plan was given up temporarily. We still think this the best location, but owing to the fact that we still hope a federal protective bureau will be opened in Chicago, and we would like, if possible, to be near this, we have no definite recommendation to make in this regard.

In closing this report, I am very glad to acknowledge that whatever of real value has been accomplished during the past year has been the result of the intelligent interest of the officers and executive committee of the league and the more than faithful service of its visitors.

Respectfully submitted.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Director.*

TREASURER'S REPORT.

[Statement from Jan. 1, 1909, to Jan. 1, 1910.]

*Receipts.*

Balance January 1, 1909.....	\$185. 27
Contributions.....	6, 335. 25
	6, 520. 52

*Disbursements.*

Salaries.....	\$4, 915. 70
Rent.....	390. 00
Office expenses.....	251. 59
Printing.....	131. 65
Eleanor employment agency.....	225. 00
	5, 913. 94
Balance January 1, 1910.....	606. 58
	6, 520. 52

Respectfully submitted.

CHARLES L. HUTCHINSON, *Treasurer.*

REPORT OF THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

*To the president and the board of trustees of the League for the Protection of Immigrants:*

The committee on legislation begs to report as follows: The league took an active interest in the movement for strengthening the law relating to the supervision of employment agencies in Illinois. It cooperated with the representatives of the Employment Agents' Association, and with the State officials in drawing up a bill to supersede the act of 1903. This bill passed the legislature and received the governor's signature on June 15, 1909.

Under the old law the unscrupulous agent was comparatively safe. Inspection was inadequate, the definitions of "employment agent" and "fees" were ambiguous, and the provisions in regard to receipts and contracts and the return of fees were insufficient to afford protection for the unsuspecting applicant for work. These defects have now been corrected. There is now a chief inspector of employment agencies, appointed by the governor, who receives a salary of \$3,600, and gives his entire time to the work, and may appoint one deputy inspector for every 50 licensed agents under his charge. Every man sent to work as a contract laborer outside of the city must be furnished a written statement, in a language he can understand, of the name and address of

the employer, nature of the work to be performed, wages offered, destination, terms of transportation, and probable duration of the work. The registration fees for looking up references is \$2; the other fees charged for work actually given are to be agreed upon in writing by the agent and the applicant for work. All fees and traveling expenses must be refunded if work of the character promised does not exist at the place to which the applicant is sent, and three-fifths of such fees if the work lasts less than a week. All claims against the agents are made assignable and may be enforced on the bond given by the agent. There are also better provisions for the hearing of complaints against the agents by the State board of labor commissioners, giving the agents the right to appeal to the courts on a writ of certiorari when their licenses are denied or revoked.

Amendments and compromises were made by the different interests before the bill was introduced, so that it became a law without encountering any opposition.

An effort was made to consolidate the three free employment offices established in Chicago under the act of 1903. Three offices operating independently of each other, to a certain extent competing with each other, none of them controlling the entire situation in the city, can not perform the function of public relief for unemployment to the best advantage.

A bill prepared under the auspices of the league provided for the establishment of one office in each city of 150,000 inhabitants or more, with power to establish branch offices conducted under the full control and responsibility of the main office. The bill was introduced in the legislature by Representative Hull, but was not reported out of the committee.

The fact that it proposed to displace existing officers was unfavorable to its progress. The correctness of the principle which it sought to carry out was conceded on all sides.

Respectfully submitted.

ERNST FREUND, *Chairman.*

#### REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE.

##### *To the president and the board of trustees:*

Conferences between the visitors and members of the league are held each Thursday at 2 o'clock at the office of the league. At these conferences the visitors report on the work of the preceding week and present the cases that need special attention. As a result employment has been found for some girls not quite fitted for the ordinary job open to the newly arrived immigrant. Many have been given special medical advice and a number who have been ill placed in hospitals to fit them to go back to their work. One young girl was removed from dangerous surroundings and a scholarship secured for her, as an education was her ambition. Slight Christmas cheer was provided for several newly arrived immigrant girls who were in specially destitute surroundings. One friend of the league has supplied baby clothing for several young mothers unable to provide for their babies. As a result of these conferences many other individual cases have been given special care.

The members of the league who have attended the conferences feel that they are a necessary part of the work as giving a most active interest in the work of the visitors and a keen realization of the necessity of this department of the work that the league is doing.

Respectfully submitted.

ELIZA V. RUMSEY, *Chairman.*

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STATEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF  
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

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THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE  
OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS,  
INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT,

*124 East Twenty-eighth Street, New York, October 14, 1910.*

HON. W. P. DILLINGHAM,

*Chairman the Immigration Commission,  
Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: I beg to submit the attached answers to Questions I, II, and III in your inquiry. Regarding Questions IV, V, and VI, I beg to say that it is not the practice of the Young Men's Christian Association, as an organization, to recommend or promote legislation governing conditions or policies, but to render its service in conformity with existing laws and conditions. Of course its secretaries acquire much information and as individuals have convictions upon all of these questions. Such information and individual opinion will be cheerfully placed at your disposal upon request.

In the meantime, I have pleasure in handing you herewith such a statement concerning Questions IV, V, and VI by one of the secretaries of this department, Dr. Peter Roberts, who is engaged in promoting the association's activities among immigrants.

Very truly, yours,

CHAS. R. TOWSON.

# STATEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS.

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## I. THE ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE'S WORK FOR IMMIGRANTS.

1. *Origin.*—The Pennsylvania State Association of Young Men's Christian Associations in its annual conference, held in Allentown, in 1907, passed the following recommendation:

"That we respectfully request the international committee to take up and carefully consider the problem of foreign immigration as related to the country as a whole, with a view to extending the work to other States, and that we assure it the hearty support and cordial sympathy of Pennsylvania in our work."

The recommendation was duly presented to the international committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, which in turn requested the industrial department to take up the work.

The industrial department complied with this request and employed a special secretary to give all his time to develop the work.

2. *Purpose.*—The Young Men's Christian Association's work for immigrants is an earnest effort to adjust the agencies of the association to meet the needs of the army of young men and boys coming to North America from foreign shores. The association neither induces persons to emigrate nor dissuades them from emigrating, but it does stand ready to help men who have made up their minds to come to the United States. Its purpose is to render all possible aid to the immigrant in transit from the ports of embarkation in Europe to his destination in North America and, when he has settled, to help him adjust his life to a new environment. The motive of the association's activity is a sense of Christian brotherhood; our ultimate purpose is to make the immigrant conform to the standard of Christian manhood, and yet it is not our purpose to proselyte men and boys who, by previous training and culture, happen to differ from us in faith and practice. We stand ready to help all men of all creeds, tongues, and races, and believe that every man can, if led aright, rise to the stature of manhood attained by American Christian civilization.

## II. CHARACTER AND EXTENT OF THE WORK.

1. *Character.*—(a) The association has representatives working among emigrants in the ports of embarkation in Europe. The agents aid the men going to North America by giving them cards of introduction to secretaries of associations at points of destination. The following is a sample of the card used:

"(Issued under the auspices of the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations. Offices for United Kingdom: 13 Russell Square, London, W. C., and 4 York Buildings, Edinburgh.)

*"To emigrants going to America.*

"When you arrive in America, we counsel you to address yourself to the Young Men's Christian Associations.

"The associations are generally known by the title of  
Y. M. C. A.

"On your arrival you will find secretaries of these associations with the four initials Y. M. C. A. distinctly written on their caps. You may address yourself to these men with all confidence.

"The Y. M. C. A. is to be found in every American city and gives good advice, free of charge, to all young men without exception who apply to them.

"In the Y. M. C. A. young men have the opportunity of fitting themselves for the requirements of American business life, of finding good lodgings, and of coming together with Christian young men.

"THE WORLD'S ALLIANCE OF  
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS,  
*"Office of the World's Committee, 3 Rue General-Dufour,  
Geneva (Switzerland)."*

(This card is issued in 26 different languages, and the secretaries who distribute them always explain their meaning and purpose.)

The secretaries at the ports in Europe also distribute literature specially prepared by the world's committee and the international committee. Two such pamphlets have been widely distributed, viz: "The Country to Which You Go," "How to Become a Citizen of the United States." These are to-day issued in four different languages, and our hope is that they will be issued in many more tongues. Samples of these pamphlets are inclosed. (Exhibit I.)

The agents also visit the hotels, the ships, etc., to aid the immigrants in every possible way.

The association has representatives also in the leading ports of landing on the Atlantic. These men aid the immigrants in various ways. They give them cards of introduction to secretaries at points of destination. The following is a sample of the card used:

NEW YORK, \_\_\_\_\_, 191 .

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE  
OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS,  
INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT,  
124 East 28th Street, New York City.

GENERAL SECRETARY, Y. M. C. A.,  
\_\_\_\_\_.

DEAR SIR: This will serve to introduce \_\_\_\_\_, who is locating in your city. We recommend him to your considerate attention and trust that your association will serve him in any way possible.

Fraternally, yours,

PETER ROBERTS,  
Per \_\_\_\_\_,  
*Immigration Secretary.*

We notify these secretaries of the coming of the immigrants, and in most cases they are invited in person or by letter to come to the



association and told, if of foreign tongue, how they can join a class to learn the English language.

(b) The agents working in the ports of landing render many other services to the immigrants, such as helping them to connect with friends, write letters and telegrams, explain some of their difficulties, console them in disappointments, direct them in perplexities, answer letters of inquiry, etc. They also distribute a pamphlet, "The Immigrant's Guide," which is printed in English, German, and Italian. Samples of the pamphlet are inclosed. (Exhibit II.)

(c) The secretaries of local associations inland also aid the immigrants. They help them find employment, direct them to a safe lodging place and boarding house, invite them to social gatherings in the building, offer them the privileges of the association, try to create around the young immigrant an atmosphere that is wholesome and refining, and surround him with companions that are safe.

(d) Besides this the local associations carry on a large educational work. The foreign-speaking immigrant wants a knowledge of English; the association organizes classes for this purpose. Many young men of foreign birth want to be naturalized; classes are formed and the candidates are prepared for the examination in naturalization. Most of the immigrants know nothing of the customs and institutions of the country; secretaries plan lectures on America, its resources, its geography, its people, its heroes, etc. These are generally illustrated by slides. The associations also plan health talks by prominent physicians on personal hygiene and social sanitation. Sometimes the physical director takes his crack team to the "sokol" hall in a foreign colony, and gives an exhibition. Entertainments, musicales, lectures, socials are planned, where the foreign born and home born meet to get better acquainted and to learn that they are members of the same community and have common interests. In a few instances Bible study has been tried, but the barrier of language has been thus far an insurmountable difficulty.

2. *Extent.*—Nine men give all or part time in European ports to help emigrants and to serve them. Six men give all or part time in landing ports in America to help the immigrants and to serve them. Educational work for immigrants was done last year by 220 associations in as many cities in the United States and Canada. The men organized into classes represented 42 different nationalities and numbered more than 10,000. Some of the work was done in association buildings, but most of it in centers outside of the buildings. The classes met in school buildings, halls, rented stores, club rooms, libraries, social settlements, mission halls, boarding houses, camps, and private houses. Our motto has been to take the school to the men.

Besides these efforts directly under association supervision, we have aided churches, missions, and social settlements to do work along educational and recreative lines.

### III. RESULTS.

The following ports in Europe are manned by representatives of the association—Liverpool, Southampton, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Havre, Hamburg, Libau, Genoa, and Naples. The nine men employed have helped thousands of emigrants coming to the United

States. The representatives stationed at Ellis Island and at Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore have been able to comfort and guide a large army of men entering the country.

Inland the 220 associations organized 650 classes for recent immigrants and aliens and the 10,000 scholars studying our language form a cordon stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Forty-two associations organized classes for the study of government to aid men desiring naturalization. Fifty centers gave popular lectures on patriotic, health, and economic subjects, and planned community meetings and amusements. We can not give definite figures regarding this work, but its extent may be judged from the fact that in Cambridge, Mass.; Pittsburg, Pa.; and New York City, more than 2,000 men were reached by these lectures in each city. Special secretaries to work among immigrants in each city are employed in New York, Pittsburg, Scranton, Wilmerding, Cleveland, Chicago, and other points.

Employers of labor commend our efforts to teach English to foreigners, and in many instances the "straw boss" is dispensed with and the foreman talks face to face with the workman. We have raised the wages of many by helping them to find themselves. Men who felt dissatisfied because they could not get a part in this Government are to-day citizens and feel grateful for the help given them by the association. Men have cleaned up, live a saner and better life, because they have been shown the better way either on canvas or by friendly advice; by suggestion or personal touch of association men. Some young men who came here with a load of illiteracy are to-day in professions because of the kindly and sympathetic work done by the association.

#### STATEMENT OF DR. PETER ROBERTS.

##### IV. GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO ARRIVING IMMIGRANTS.

*What, in your opinion, can the National Government do to assist immigrants on their arrival at United States ports?*

1. The efficiency of the employees of the Government at the ports of entry is great. They are limited because of lack of facilities. The quarters where the detained were kept in Philadelphia and Baltimore were deplorable. With the new buildings, now planned for these places, conditions will, undoubtedly, be better. The number of detained in Ellis Island leads to overcrowding in the detention rooms. This has a bad effect upon the immigrant. The rooms where they are detained are not well ventilated, and when peoples of all nationalities are crowded together the air is nauseous. The second-cabin passengers, when detained, are divided into kindred groups and given special rooms, i. e., the English-speaking are put together, so are the Scandinavians, the Italians, etc. But the steerage passengers, no matter what their nationality, are huddled together in one large room. If the number of detained continues at the present rate in Ellis Island, larger provision should be made for their comfort, and an effort ought to be made to divide them into kindred groups.

The temporary detained in Ellis Island could be made more comfortable in the open court, where they are detained, if an awning were

constructed in the open, under which the detained could find shelter from the rain and heat of the sun.

2. Some immigrants in their excitement lose their railroad tickets. If they can not find them they have to purchase others. This often entails hardships, if not positive suffering. Would it not be possible for the immigrant having through ticket to destination to have the fact that he is given a ticket to destination so recorded on his ship card or passport, so that the fact could be verified and the immigrant saved the expense of double fare?

3. There are 500 employees in Ellis Island, most of whom work every day in the year, including Sundays. This is not right to the employees, and it has a decided influence upon their minds, if not on their bodies. Men who work seven days in the week must have a supersupply of the milk of human kindness to preserve that equanimity and poise best suited to the duties they have to discharge. Under the strain of seven days' work the year round the wonder is that the men who come in direct contact with immigrants treat them as kindly and considerately as they do. Ellis Island should be closed on Sundays. This could be done if the steamship companies were given six months' notice of the fact, that they could arrange their schedules to meet the new regulation. The impression upon the immigrants would also be great—a million immigrants annually impressed with the fact that the National Government of the United States stands for six days' labor would be a contribution in favor of a day of rest, which is the necessary condition of national and social morality, which none could overestimate.

#### V. ASSIMILATION OF IMMIGRANTS.

*What, in your opinion, can the National Government do to promote the assimilation or Americanization of immigrants?*

1. By stimulating States to provide schools for immigrants who know not the English language. This should be done by donations from the immigration fund to States according to the magnitude of the work done by them for foreigners. Americanization of the foreigner will never take place until he knows the English language. The speech of a people is the best conveyer of its civilization and ideals, and the immigrants ought to have the best possible privilege to learn our speech as soon as they settle in the land. The National Government can stimulate this work by offering a per capita bonus to States that open schools where men may learn English for so many evenings each year.

2. By printing in the various languages the requirements for naturalization and distributing them among the immigrants. A knowledge of how to become an American citizen is the best stimulus to worthy men seeking that honor. The privileges and obligations of citizenship should also be brought to the attention of the immigrant, for the life of the democracy depends upon the intelligence of its foreign-born as well as its native-born citizens.

3. The courts having jurisdiction over naturalization should be wholly free to the applicant, and the cost incident to the process paid from the immigrant fund. The immigrants who want their nat-

uralization papers according to the requirements of the present law have to secure two witnesses, lose time to appear before court, and also pay an attorney's fee. Some of the aspirants for naturalization are out from \$10 to \$50. As long as this is the case thousands of worthy men will not become naturalized. They are a part of the community where they live and are interested in its welfare, but they can not have a voice in the regulation of its affairs. They would become citizens if the difficulties and the expense were less burdensome. As it is they are dissatisfied and are aliens in a country for which they would sacrifice their all. This is not a happy situation, and it is undemocratic to have large numbers of men in communities where they can not become an integral part of the Nation because of the difficulty of acquiring the rights of citizens.

4. The necessary number of courts having the right to confer naturalization upon immigrants and the necessary number of clerks to do the clerical work ought to be provided, so that the process could be facilitated to meet the need of applicants. It is not to the best interest of future United States citizens to have them vainly apply to court half a dozen times because of the inadequate force to do the work. The best material for citizenship resent such treatment and remain aliens.

5. The National Government can prepare a series of stereopticon talks upon America, its economic advantages, its institutions, its ideals, its place in the history of civilization, etc., which could be loaned to schools and incorporated institutions, for the purpose of imparting knowledge to immigrants what America stands for, what it has to offer them, what it demands of them, and why it is they should covet the privilege of being one of this Nation. The public schools are doing a fine work in enkindling the patriotism of the sons of immigrants, but we have neglected the father, and the result is that thousands of immigrant families are divided—the parents and children lamentably estranged. It is within the power of the National Government to enlighten the adult immigrant, and no better use could be made of a part of the immigration fund than in the preparation of lectures as above suggested, by which the hearts of the fathers and those of the children would be reconciled.

6. The pamphlet issued by the Department of Commerce and Labor, entitled "Information for immigrants," is too meager, and is not distributed widely enough. Ten lines of printed matter to inform a few immigrants what the National Government of the United States is doing in the matter of finding work for and directing immigrants to agricultural opportunities is unworthy of the Government of this great country. It is an apology for a work much needed. If this is done, the Government can afford to do it right. More explicit information should be given. The pamphlets should be distributed on board ships and in ports of landing. The information should be given all immigrants. Agents to carry out the promise of the Government should be located at every port of landing, and the important points of distribution, such as Pittsburg, Chicago, Philadelphia, Buffalo, etc. If this work of informing the immigrants is worth doing—and no one knowing the problem doubts it—let it be done on a scale worthy of the dignity of the United States and commensurate to the need.

## VI. OTHER PHASES OF THE QUESTION.

1. The burden of the enforcement of the contract-labor law now falls upon the immigrant—the one least able to endure its penalties. He loses both his passage money and from four to six weeks of his time. Most of these men are unskilled laborers and wholly ignorant of the intricacies of this law. They come with an honest desire to improve their economic conditions. Many of these poor people are excluded when the evidence of the inducement offered them to emigrate to the United States is such that no court would consider it for a moment. If the party inducing the immigrant to come is a person capable of carrying out a contract to employ the immigrant according to the spirit of the law, then he is amenable to prosecution because of violating the law. And this guilty party should be prosecuted, and when his guilt is established he should make good the loss sustained by the impoverished immigrant deported, who by the loss of money and time is reduced to poverty.

2. The exploitation of immigrants at points of distribution is one of the most serious evils to-day with which these innocent people have to contend. They are safe as long as they are in charge of the National Government; they are safe as long as they are in charge of the railroads; but as soon as they reach their destination and try to find the friend to whom they go, they are pounced upon by men who often take their baggage by force, thrust them willy-nilly into a vehicle, drive them whither they know not, and then charge them exorbitantly. Some means should be devised to protect the immigrant till he is really landed; i. e., until he is among his friends. If immigration rooms were opened in important points of distribution, and a man put in charge, proper protection could be given to most of these men.

3. The one thing the immigrant needs when he comes to the country is employment. It is also to the interest of the United States to have this man a producer as soon as he is landed. The effort now being made by the National Government to help this man is wholly inadequate, and if placed on a basis worthy of the Government would still fall short of the need. This being the case, would it not be well for the department of information to get in touch with the several national societies among foreign-born and reliable labor agencies, that it may better serve the immigrant in the matter of employment? It is a reflection upon our civilization to have a thousand men idle in Pittsburg and a crying need for their labor in Minnesota. The Government could obviate this anomaly and be of great service to immigrants, who are most helpless, because of their ignorance of English, among the toilers of America.

## EXHIBIT A.

HOW TO BECOME A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.<sup>a</sup>

America is a goodly country, where thousands of immigrants who are willing to work have found opportunities for material and social advancement. Its natural resources are boundless, no class distinctions are recognized, the sov-

<sup>a</sup> Issued by the Immigration Department, International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations.

foreign power rests in the hands of the people, and the rulers of the land are the servants of the people.

The form of government is republican, and is the achievement of eminent men who considered no sacrifice too great to establish a government by the people and for the people. The cost in personal sacrifice was great, and it is our richest inheritance from brave ancestors.

As soon as you land in the United States, the blessings and privileges incident to this form of government are yours. You can go where you choose and buy and sell wherever you will; you are free to talk and to act as you will so long as you do no injury to any one; you can worship where you will, and your property and person are protected by law; your rights are equal with those of every other person. These are some of the benefits of our country.

Nearly 5,500,000 foreign-born persons are voters in our country. These immigrants became voters by availing themselves of a principle, which the United States introduced in international affairs, of permitting natives of other countries to be naturalized. This door is open to you.

You need four qualifications:

1. Five years' residence.
2. Proof of landing.
3. A knowledge of English.
4. A law-abiding character.

#### FIVE YEARS' RESIDENCE.

Before any alien can become a citizen of the United States, he must reside in the country five years. At least two years prior to his naturalization (providing he is 18 years of age), he must declare, upon oath, before a court of record of the State or Territory of which he is a resident, that it is his intention to become a citizen of the United States. Not less than two nor more than seven years after his declaration of intention (if made after September 27, 1906) he must in person make and file a petition in writing, signed by himself, affirming that it is his intention to become a citizen and reside permanently in the United States.

He must also satisfy the court that he has resided at least one year within the State or Territory where such court is held, and declare on oath, in open court, that he will support the Constitution of the United States and that he absolutely and entirely renounces all foreign allegiance.

Many States confer the right to vote upon aliens six months after they have declared their intention to become citizens. The right to vote comes from the State, but the full privilege of citizenship can only be acquired by naturalization, which is the gift of the Nation.

#### PROOF OF LANDING.

The applicant for citizenship must satisfy the court that he has resided in the country for five years. This can be done by two credible witnesses, who are citizens of the United States, verifying by properly sworn affidavits attached to the petition, that they have personally known the applicant to be a resident of the United States at least five years continuously, and of the State or Territory at least one year.

If the landing occurred after September 27, 1906, there must be attached to the petition a certificate of landing to be obtained from the immigration officer in charge at the port where the applicant landed.

#### KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH.

The applicant must know the English language. The application to the court must be made in English, the declaration on oath in open court that he will support the Constitution of the United States must be made in English, whatever question the court will ask the candidate will be asked in English, and the answer from him must be in the same language. No alien can be naturalized who can not speak the English language, unless physically incapacitated to do so or unless at the same time he applies for homestead entry.

#### A LAW-ABIDING CHARACTER.

The United States is jealous of its honor; and while all men of moral character are welcomed into citizenship, the door is closed against those who are unworthy of the privileges the Republic offers.

The United States debars from citizenship all who do not believe in organized government and who believe in polygamy. The court that hears the application must be satisfied that during the five years immediately preceding the petition for citizenship the applicant has behaved as a man of good moral character, that he is attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and that he is well disposed to the good order and happiness of the country. This must be proved by the two witnesses to his petition.

No person will be admitted who believes in or is affiliated with any organization teaching opposition to organized government or who advocates or teaches the duty of unlawfully assaulting or killing any officer of any organized government because of his official character.

## EXHIBIT B.

### THE COUNTRY TO WHICH YOU GO.\*

The United States of America is made up of 46 States. Besides these there are two Territories, exclusive of the District of Columbia and Alaska.

The total area is, in round numbers, 3,500,000 square miles, and the population is more than 84,000,000, exclusive of the population of the Philippine Islands.

The area is about the same as that of all Europe, but the population is about one-fourth that of the Continent.

The 46 States form a Federation, and the Federal Government, having its capital at Washington, is supreme, and the President is the Executive of the Nation. Each State elects its own governor and other officers, passes laws regulating its own affairs, and provides its own judiciary. The State government is the most important and most extensive in its jurisdiction over the individual citizen. It makes nine out of ten of the laws by which the citizen is governed. Religious rights, education, the ballot, marriage and marriage relations, industry and business, all forms of corporations, property and contracts, and crime and pauperism within the State, are regulated by it.

Each of the two Territories is ruled by a governor and other officers who are appointed by the President of the United States. It has its own legislature, whose members are elected by the voters in the Territory. The legislature sends a Delegate to Congress, but he has not the right to vote. In many respects the organization of the Territory is otherwise very much like that of the State.

Each legislature of the States chooses two Senators, who compose the National Upper House or United States Senate. Each State also elects a number of Representatives, who compose the National Lower House or House of Representatives. These two bodies jointly are known as the Congress, the Senators representing the States and the Representatives the people at large. This is the Legislature of the United States and, together with the executive and judicial branches, forms the National Government which is over all the States and Territories.

The form of the Government of the United States is republican and a republic may be best defined as a "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people." The Chief Executive, the President of the United States, is elected by the people for a term of four years. The Executive Mansion, known as the White House, is located in the city of Washington, D. C.

Thus we have two sovereign powers: That of the State, regulating the relations of the citizens within its bounds, and that of the Nation, regulating the affairs of the Nation as a whole.

You thus come to a country that differs radically from the old monarchies of Europe. There is no Czar, no Emperor, no King, or Queen in the United States. The rulers are the servants of the people, elected by popular vote, and placed under oath to serve the people. The sovereign power rests with the people, and the discharge of this great function by the citizens of the United States makes

\* Issued by the Immigration Department, International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations.

it very important that each citizen should possess the intelligence necessary to decide what is for the best interests of the people in state and national affairs.

You, if you become a naturalized citizen of the United States, will fit yourself for this privilege by acquiring all the knowledge you can in order to be able to discharge the duties involved in voting. In this way you will be able to aid in the preservation and prosperity of that form of government that has made the United States great among the nations of the earth.

You will find many agencies ready to aid you in increasing your knowledge of the laws and institutions of the United States and in bettering your condition. Among them is the Young Men's Christian Association, which has been and is to-day a help to thousands of young people in this country. It can be a help to you in the following ways: Attractive reading rooms and libraries are provided. Night classes are organized for technical instruction in industrial and commercial branches, whereby young men are constantly aided to greater efficiency in their employment, and, as a consequence, their wages are increased.

Social gatherings are planned by associations, wherein the best people of the town assemble and, on a plane of perfect Christian fellowship, they meet each other and wish all well in the affairs of life. This gives the alien young man an opportunity to know and get acquainted with these people and spend a social evening in their company.

Young Men's Christian Associations have gymnasiums and athletic fields, where the body may be trained and developed under a physical director specially assigned to the work. Thus recreation becomes a pleasure, and the young men you meet are men of moral worth. Baths, swimming pools, recreation rooms, etc., are also provided.

Associations also conduct labor bureaus, where employment is secured for thousands of young men each year. Many employers are in the habit of sending to these bureaus for help, and the facilities offered by the association to procure work are second to none of the agencies of this class in the country.

An information bureau is also found in these associations, and at all of them the men in charge are always glad to put themselves at the service of those who apply for information as to boarding houses, local conditions, industrial conditions, etc.

The Young Men's Christian Association is a place of resort for young men. The atmosphere is charged with the best sentiment and permeated with the spirit of brotherhood. It affords opportunities for recreation and education. Its nonsectarian religious meetings appeal to men because of the spirit of unity and freedom from proselytism.

More than 1,900 Young Men's Christian Associations in this country do this work, and there are few cities of considerable size where an association is not found. As you enter a city you can not do better than find your way to the association, where you will be cordially welcomed and directed to a safe boarding house, and the secretary may be able to help you in many other ways. Use the card of introduction given you by the secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association at the landing place. If you happen to be without a card, use this pamphlet as a means of introduction.

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## EXHIBIT C.

### THE IMMIGRANT'S GUIDE.<sup>a</sup>

#### YOUR MONEY.

Take care of it. Trust no irresponsible person with it. Change it at the Government's money exchange office in Ellis Island. American coins are: a cent=half-penny; 5 cents=2½d.; 10 cents=5d.; 25 cents=1s.; 50 cents=2s. 1d.; 1 dollar=4s. 2d.

#### BAGGAGE.

You'll find your baggage in the baggage room. Aid the officers cheerfully to find it; don't get nervous, but keep your head. When your baggage is found

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<sup>a</sup> Issued by the Industrial Department, International Committee, Young Men's Christian Association, 125 East Twenty-eighth Street, New York City.



give it to the checker or agent, who will check it to the place where you go. Keep carefully the check the agent gives you, and don't worry about your baggage.

#### THE TRAIN.

Don't rush to the trains. Listen to the trainmen and do what they ask of you. On the train don't waste the water, for the supply is limited. Don't wander from the train when it stops in a station; you may be left behind. Be cheerful and give prompt and respectful answers to all officials who ask you questions.

#### WORK.

America is a country of workers. Immigrants willing to work hard are welcome. Take the first honest job you'll get and keep it until you get something better. Keep yourself respectable and clean. Don't tell the boss how to do his work. If you can't find work go to the Young Men's Christian Association and you may be helped.

#### HOME TIES.

You've left home, don't forget the old folks. Write home often. Let your friends know where you are and how you are getting along.

#### NEW FRIENDS.

Choose new friends carefully. Avoid the man who "knows it all." If you believe in Christ, the Ideal Friend, try to make friends of men who have the same ideal.

#### A NEW HOME.

Locate on the map the place to which you go. That will be your new home. Make it happy by living right. God is in America as well as in the homeland and His commandments are the same. Worship God; if there is no church of your choice in your town then go to some other. Join the Young Men's Christian Association.

#### DON'T GAMBLE.

You can't get rich quickly by gambling. You'll lose your money and be tempted to crime. Betting in every form is immoral. Don't try to get something for nothing. If you earn honest money see that you spend it honestly.

#### DRINK AND PURITY.

Shun intoxicants and lust. Drink leads to self-indulgence, disease, and death. Treat all women with respect. Avoid all persons of unclean lips and immoral lives.

#### IT HELPS.

The Young Men's Christian Association helped thousands of young men last year. It found work for many, helped others to good boarding houses and rooms, and assisted all who came under its influence to start right in a new country. You will do well to join the Young Men's Christian Association in the town where you settle and begin life in America in good company.

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### CONSIGLI AGLI IMMIGRANTI.<sup>a</sup>

#### IL VOSTRO DENARO.

Abbiate cura di esso. Non lo fidate a nessuno. Cambiatelo all' Ufficio di Cambiavalute del Governo a Ellis Island. Le monete americane sono: un cent=cinque centesimi; 5 cents=25 centesimi; 10 cents=50 centesimi; 25 cents=1.25 lire; 50 cents=2 lire e mezzo; 1 dollar=5 lire.

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<sup>a</sup> Dipartimento industriale. Comitato internazionale delle Associazioni dei Giovani cristiani, 124 East Twenty-eighth Street, New York City.

## BAGAGLIO.

Voi troverete il vostro bagaglio nella sala dei bagagli. Gli impiegati della dogana lo esamineranno. Aiutateli con piacere e non siate nervosi ma rimanete calmi. Quando essi hanno finito, date il bagaglio all' impiegato o all' agente che deve spedirlo al luogo dove voi andate. Conservate lo scontrino che l'agente vi dà e non vi date pensiero riguardo al vostro bagaglio.

## FERROVIA.

Non slanciatevi ai treni. Ascoltate i conduttori del treno e fate quello che essi vi domandano. Nel treno non sciupate l'acqua, la provvista è limitata. Non allontanatevi dal treno quando esso si ferma in una stazione: correte rischio di rimanere indietro. Siate di buon umore e date pronta e rispettosa risposta a tutti gli impiegati che vi interrogano.

## LAVORO.

L'America è il paese dei lavoranti. Gli immigranti volenterosi di lavorare molto sono benvenuti. Accettate il primo lavoro onesto che vi capita e tenetelo fino a che non trovate qualcosa di meglio. Tenetevi decente e pulito. Non provate d' insegnare al capo come il lavoro deve esser fatto. Se non potete trovare lavoro andate al Y. M. C. A. (Associazione dei Giovani cristiani) e potrete forse essere aiutato.

## LEGAMI DI FAMIGLIA.

Voi avete lasciato la casa, non dimenticate i vecchi. Scrivete a casa spesso. Fate sapere ai vostri amici dove voi siete e come la passate.

## AMICI NUOVI.

Scegliete i nuovi amici con attenzione. Evitate l'uomo che "Dice di saper tutto." Se voi credete in Cristo, l'amico ideale, cercate di farvi amici uomini che hanno il medesimo ideale.

## LA NUOVA DIMORA.

Cercate sulla carta geografica il posto al quale andate. Quello sarà la vostra nuova dimora. Fatela felice vivendo onestamente. Iddio è in America come al vostro paese e i Suoi comandamenti sono i medesimi. Pregate Iddio. Se non vi è chiesa del vostro culto nella vostra città, allora andate in altre chiese. Unitevi alla Associazione dei Giovani cristiani.

## NON GIUOCATE PER DENARO.

Non potete divenire subito ricco giocando per denaro. Voi perderete il vostro denaro e sarete tentato al delitto. La scommessa in ogni forma è immorale. Non provate ad avere qualche cosa per niente. Se voi guadagnate onesti denari guardate di spenderli onestamente.

## UBRIACHEZZA E PURITÀ.

L'eccessivo bere conduce al male. Trattate tutte le donne con rispetto. Evitate tutte le persone di cattivi costumi.

## AIUTI.

L'Associazione dei Giovani cristiani a aiutato 10,000 stranieri che non parlavano inglese l'anno passato. Esse si unirono in 600 centri dove s' insegnava loro l'inglese, e si dava loro lezioni sui diritti dei forestieri in America. 800 classi saranno in corso quest' anno. Voi potete essere aiutato in una di queste. Informatevi di quello che l'Associazione dei Giovani cristiani della città dove vi stabilite purò fare per voi.

**RATGEBER FÜR EINWANDERER.<sup>a</sup>****GELD.**

Seid vorsichtig mit Eurem Geld. Vertrauet es Niemandem an. Wechselt dasselbe in der staatlichen Wechselbank (Government's money exchange office) in Ellis Island.

Wert der Amerikanischen Geldstücke: 1 cent=4 pfennig; 5 cents=20 pfennig; 10 cents=40 pfennig; 25 cents=1 mark; 50 cents=2 mark; 1 dollar=4 mark.

**GEPACK.**

Euer Gepäck findet Ihr in dem Gepäckraum. Die Zollbeamten werden es untersuchen. Hilft ihnen bereitwilligst dabei. Werdet nicht nervös, sondern bleibt ruhig. Nach der Untersuchung des Gepäcks übergibt es dem Beamten der Gepäck-Annahme oder einem Agenten, welcher es nach dem Ort senden lässt, wohin Ihr geht. Bewahret den Gepäckschein gut auf, den Ihr vom Beamten erhaltet und macht Euch keine Sorgen um Euer Gepäck.

**EISENBAHN.**

Stürzt nicht auf den Zug los. Höret auf die Beamten und tut, was dieselben Euch sagen. Verbraucht nicht unnütz das Wasser im Zuge, das der Vorrat hieran beschränkt ist. Entfernet Euch nicht vom Zuge, wenn derselbe auf den Stationen hält, damit Ihr nicht zurückbleibt. Antwortet willig, korrekt und höflich auf alle Fragen der Bahnbeamten.

**ARBEIT.**

Amerika ist ein Land für Arbeiter. Einwanderer, welche fleißig arbeiten wollen, sind willkommen. Nehmet die erste ehrenhafte Stellung an die sich Euch bietet und behaltet sie, beis Ihr etwas besseres findet. Bleibet immer anständig und haltet Euch rein. Sagt Eurem Arbeitgeber nicht, wie er seine Arbeit tun soll. Wenn Ihr keine Arbeit finden könnt, so gehet zum, "Christlichen Verein junger Männer" (Y. M. C. A.) wo man Euch vielleicht helfen kann.

**DIE ALTE HEIMAT.**

Ihr habt Eure alte Heimat verlassen; aber vergesst nicht Eure alten Eltern. Schreibt oft nach Hause. Lasst Eure Freunde wissen, wo Ihr seid und wie es mit Euch geht.

**NEUE FREUNDE.**

Seid vorsichtig in der Wahl Eurer neuen Freunde. Meidet die Menschen die alles zu wissen behaupten. Wenn Ihr an Christus, den wahren Freund, glaubt, so versuchet Freunde zu finden, die denselben Glauben haben.

**DIE NEUE HEIMAT.**

Suchet auf der Landkarte den Ort auf, wohin Ihr gehen wollt. Dort wird Euer neues Heim sein. Macht es glücklich durch rechtschaffenes Leben. Gott ist in America, wie im Heimatlande und seine Gebote sind dieselben.

**SPIELT NICHT UM GELD.**

Ihr könnt durch Glückspiel nicht schnell reich werden. Ihr werdet Euer Geld verlieren und zum Verbrechen verleitet werden. Wetten in jeder Form ist unsittlich. Versuchet nicht Etwas für Nichts zu bekommen.

Wenn Ihr ehrlich Geld verdient habt, dann gebt es auch auf ehrliche Weise aus.

<sup>a</sup> Industrielle Abteilung. Internationales Komitee der Christlichen Vereine junger Männer, 124 East Twenty-eighth Street, New York City.

**TRUNK, KEUSCHHEIT.**

Meidet berausende Getränke und sinnliche Gelüste. Trunk führt zu Verweichlichung, Krankheit und Tod. Vermeidet alle Frauen mit unreinem Munde und unsittlicher Lebensweise.

**HÜLFE.**

Der "Christliche verein junger Männer" hat im letzten Jahre 10,000 Ausländern geholfen, die nicht englisch sprachen. Sie kamen zusammen in 600 Abteilungen, wo englisch gelehrt und Unterricht über die Rechte der Fremden in America erteilt wurde. Dieses Jahr giebt es 800 Klassen. In einer von diesen kann Euch geholfen werden. Erkündigt Euch danach, was der, "Christliche verein junger Männer" in dem Ort, an dem Ihr Euch ansiedelt, für Euch tun kann.

Bete zu Gott! Giebt es in dem neuen Ort keine Kirche nach Eurer Wahl, so gehet in eine andere Kirche. Werdet Mitglied des "Christlichen Vereins junger Männer."

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**STATEMENT OF THE NORTH AMERICAN CIVIC LEAGUE  
FOR IMMIGRANTS.**

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

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BOSTON, *October 14, 1910.*

HON. WILLIAM P. DILLINGHAM,  
*Chairman Immigration Commission, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: I beg to hand you herewith a statement regarding  
the work of the North American Civic League for Immigrants.

Very truly, yours,

D. CHAUNCEY BREWER,  
*President.*

# STATEMENT OF THE NORTH AMERICAN CIVIC LEAGUE FOR IMMIGRANTS.

## ORIGIN AND PURPOSE.

The North American Civic League for Immigrants was formed in the spring of 1908 as the result of a conference, held in New York, of representatives from the chief ports of entry. On the formation of the league it was voted that Boston, as the second port of entry, presenting in less confused form most of the problems existing in New York and less subject to adverse political and commercial influences, be made the center of the new movement and an experiment station in trying out methods of dealing with the problem.

The object of the league is to accomplish the civic betterment of the immigrant. To that end the league desires to serve as a clearing house for all societies interested in the welfare of the immigrant.

## CHARACTER AND EXTENT OF WORK DONE.

For the most part the work of the league consists in the following:

- (a) Agitation and organization—to the end that all Americans may become conversant with the situation and so conduct themselves as to hasten rather than hinder the assimilation of the immigrant.
- (b) Protection of the immigrant on his arrival in the country and en route to his ultimate destination.
- (c) Informing and advising the immigrant resident in the United States.
- (d) Education of the immigrant in civics and the English language.
- (e) Correlation and direction of the work of other organizations working in the same field, and cooperation with such societies.

The extent of this work may be summarized as follows:

(a) *Agitation and organization.*—Various meetings have been held for discussing the immigration situation and arousing interest in the problem. Committees or representatives to assist in carrying out the plans of the league have been secured in the following places:

Baltimore, Md.	Harrisburg, Pa.
Beverly, Mass.	Hartford, Conn.
Boston, Mass.	Haverhill, Mass.
Bridgeport, Conn.	Hazleton, Pa.
Chicago, Ill.	Lawrence, Mass.
Everett, Mass.	Los Angeles, Cal.
Fall River, Mass.	Lowell, Mass.
Fitchburg, Mass.	Lynn, Mass.
Great Barrington, Mass.	New Bedford, Mass.

New Britain, Conn.  
 New Haven, Conn.  
 New York, N. Y.  
 Newton, Mass.  
 North Adams, Mass.  
 Paterson, N. J.  
 Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Pittsfield, Mass.  
 Pottsville, Pa.

Providence, R. I.  
 Reading, Pa.  
 Salem, Mass.  
 Shenandoah, Pa.  
 Springfield, Mass.  
 St. Clair, Pa.  
 Waltham, Mass.  
 Williamstown, Mass.  
 Worcester, Mass.

(b) *Protection*.—In New York, Philadelphia, and Boston immigrant ships are met on their arrival by agents of the league, who advise and direct the immigrants and endeavor to see that they are protected from those who are seeking to exploit them. These agents of the league cooperate with the agents of other societies and, so far as possible, seek to correlate the activities of the various agents. In Boston thousands of Yiddish and Italian leaflets containing practical suggestions for newcomers of those races have been distributed to immigrants, who promised to retain the leaflet.

To perform similar service at the railway terminals arrangements have been made whereby the league is informed each day by telegram from the commissioner of immigration at the port of New York as to the number and race of immigrants passing through New York en route for Boston and by what route they will arrive in the latter city. At the South Terminal agents of the league meet the immigrant trains from New York and advise and direct the arriving immigrants. The New York committee of the league is advised by the Boston office of the departure for New York of immigrants passing through Boston, and agents of the New York committee of the league perform service similar to that of the Boston agents at the South Terminal in Boston.

(c) *Information and advice*.—Immigrants are invited to visit the offices of the league for information and advice. In Boston a special Italian branch is maintained, where an Italian secretary attends to the work among persons of his race. Immigrants in search of work, those seeking redress for injuries received at work, those desirous of advice regarding the taking out of naturalization papers—these come to the offices of the league and are directed and aided.

(d) *Education*.—The educational programme of the league aims primarily at cooperation with the public schools. The league provides illustrated lectures on civics for evening schools. The purposes of this part of the work are: (1) To attract the residents of a colony to the schoolhouse situated in their midst, with the intent of thus drawing them into class work. (2) To give regular pupils simple instruction in matters which have to do with their practical welfare or with which they should be familiar before they receive the franchise. During the year 1909-10 more than 40 of these lectures were given in Boston, while a few were delivered in other places. The programme for the winter of 1910-11 includes lectures in the following cities: Boston, Mass., Beverly, Mass., Elizabeth, N. J., Fitchburg, Mass., Lowell, Mass., Lynn, Mass., New Britain, Conn., New Haven, Conn., Meriden, Conn., Springfield, Mass., Quincy, Mass., Westerly, R. I.



In a number of other cities the matter is still under consideration by the school board.

Most of the lectures are based upon matter contained in the "Messages for newcomers," published by the league in English and foreign languages. These messages are in use in the public libraries of 28 cities and are also used in the evening schools of 6 cities.

(e) *Correlation and direction.*—In its endeavor to cooperate fully with other organizations the league has, in Boston, sent inquiries to or counseled with the following: The Good Government Association, the Young Travelers' Aid Society, the Associated Charities, the Children's Hospital, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the Suffolk Bar Association, Italian Immigrant Aid Society, the Italo Circolo Americano, the Unitarian Association, the Massachusetts General Hospital, the Young Men's Christian Union, the Catholic Charitable Society, the Legal Aid Society, the Jewish Federation, the Boston Missionary Society, the Young Men's Christian Association, the State Board of Charities, all the settlements.

At the South Terminal in Boston the league has been specially requested by the Young Travelers' Aid Society to use its utmost efforts to systematize the handling of immigrants arriving from New York via the Fall River and Providence lines.

As a step toward eventually serving as a clearing house for the various organizations dealing with immigration may be cited the action in Boston of all the organizations working among immigrants at the docks in cordially joining in a petition asking the Government to appoint the league as the representative of all in the new immigration stations to be erected in that city and the consent of the Government to assign space to the league in the immigration station when it is erected.

#### RESULTS.

The general results of the work of the league, so far as they are observable, are indicated in the preceding section.

#### GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO ARRIVING IMMIGRANTS.

(a) Subject to such reasonable objections as labor may prefer, we believe in information bureaus. Such bureaus, efficiently maintained by the National Government and assisted by the volunteer service of private organizations, would materially assist immigrants on their arrival in the United States.

(b) The printing and placing in steamships of the cards of the league (as was agreed to by Mr. Straus when Secretary of Commerce and Labor) would be an act of the National Government calculated to greatly assist the immigrant by informing him before his disembarking of a source of advice and help.

#### PROMOTION OF ASSIMILATION.

The National Government could promote assimilation by arranging for the printing and distribution of literature which would arouse the sympathetic interest of Americans and which would educate the immigrant. Beyond this, the inauguration of an efficient system of evening schools, where civics as well as other subjects should be taught, would greatly assist in the assimilation of the immigrant.



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STATEMENT OF THE IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE.

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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

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IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE,  
11 PEMBERTON SQUARE, BOSTON, MASS.,  
*October 25, 1910.*

Hon. W. P. DILLINGHAM,  
*Chairman the Immigration Commission,*  
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Replying to your courteous invitation of September 26, the Immigration Restriction League begs to inclose a statement of its views with an accompanying affidavit containing the views of a number of influential citizens. The league hopes that, in view of the fact that no public hearings are to be given, the entire affidavit can be printed in the commission's report. Permission to publish has been given by the writers of the exhibits. In view of the publication of a number of letters in the House hearings, coming from those interested in opposing restriction, the league feels that the letters herewith submitted, coming as they do from persons of whose attitude the league was previously ignorant, constitute a valuable index to the opinion of our most intelligent citizens.

Very truly, yours,

PRESCOTT F. HALL,  
*Secretary Executive Committee.*

## STATEMENT OF THE IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE.

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BOSTON, MASS., *October 24, 1910.*

*To the Immigration Commission:*

GENTLEMEN: The Immigration Restriction League, in response to your courteous invitation of September 26, begs leave to present briefly its views upon the present situation with reference to immigration and the immigration laws of this country.

The league believes that the present laws are inadequate and that further selection of immigration is necessary and desirable from (a) the social and moral standpoint, (b) the economic standpoint, (c) the eugenic standpoint.

The league recommends that—

1. A reading test for aliens of 15 years or over in any language or dialect the alien may choose.
2. An increase of the present head tax to at least \$10.
3. Requiring immigrants to be in possession of money for their support while securing employment; say, \$50 for single immigrants and heads of families and \$25 additional for a wife and each minor child.
4. Abolishing the existing provision for admitting immigrants on bond.
5. Increasing the fines on steamship companies to \$500 and extending the system of fines to all cases where the ineligibility of the alien could have been detected at embarkation by careful inspection.
6. Providing for the deportation of aliens without time limit, for causes, other than due to accident, whether arising prior to or subsequent to landing.

**MORE CAREFUL SELECTION NECESSARY FROM A SOCIAL AND MORAL STANDPOINT.**

(a) CRIME.

The census report on prisoners (1904) shows that a foreign-born white population 10 years of age and over, which in 1900 was 19.5 per cent of such general white population, furnished 23.7 per cent of the white prisoners; while the foreign-born juvenile white population, which in 1900 was 6.5 per cent of such general white population, furnished 9.4 per cent of the delinquents enumerated June 30, 1904, and 11 per cent of those committed during the year.

Of the total commitments in 1904 those of foreign birth or parentage constituted 39.7 per cent, while those of foreign parentage (practically those of foreign birth or parentage) constituted, in 1900, 27.5 per cent of the total population.

The report of the Commissioner-General for 1908 shows that the foreign-born population, which in 1900 was 13.6 per cent of the total population, furnished 15.6 per cent of all the criminals and over one-half of these had committed serious crimes. It also appears that in the years from 1904 to 1908 the alien criminals increased from 9,825 to 15,323, or over one-half, and twice in serious offenses.

The argument frequently made that these statistics do not allow for the greater proportion of mature aliens in the alien population has two answers: First, the figures given above show an even greater tendency to crime on the part of the juvenile foreign-born population. Second, there is no reason for allowing immigrants of criminal tendency to enter this country and be a burden upon our citizens, even if aliens as a whole can be shown to be no more criminal than natives. The league would approve any arrangements for foreign police or other certificates of good character for immigrants, but as about one-fifth of foreign-born criminals are illiterate and many crimes spring from poverty and a low social standard, it believes the illiteracy test and other legislation recommended would directly tend to weed out the criminal class. General Bingham, when police commissioner of New York City, said:

"There is another very important thing about this crime business. I don't want to say anything that would be indiscreet, but unquestionably the hordes of immigrants that are coming here have a good deal to do with crimes against women and children.

"You will notice that these particular crimes are done by fellows who can't talk the English language. It is this wave of immigration that brings to New York the hundreds of thousands of criminals who don't know what liberty means, and don't care; don't know our customs, can not speak the English language, and are in general the scum of Europe."

The Thirty-second Annual Report of the Board of City Magistrates of New York City (Manhattan and Bronx) shows 12,055 more cases tried in 1905 than 1904, chiefly of Italians, Greeks, and Russian Jews for violation of ordinances and an abnormal increase in serious and higher crimes.

In Elmira Reformatory in 1906, 60 per cent of the inmates were aliens; and in one class of 32, 22 had been in the United States less than one year. Of prisoners in Sing Sing, Clinton, and Auburn prisons in New York State in 1909, 37 per cent were foreign born, the foreign-born population of the State in 1900 being 26.1. (Annual Report of Superintendent of Prisons.)

#### (b) INSANITY AND DISEASE.

Census special reports, "Insane and Feeble-Minded in Hospitals and Institutions, 1904," page 20, shows that a white foreign-born population of 10 years old and over, which in 1900 was 19.5 per cent of such general white population, furnished 34.3 per cent of white insane persons in hospitals in 1904, and 29.8 per cent of the admissions to such hospitals during 1904.

The New York lunacy commission (report for 1905) shows an increase of 20 per cent in insanity in the State, largely due to immigration. In 1909 the commission stated that 45 per cent of the in-

sane were foreign-born out of a foreign-born population of less than 35 per cent for the State.

Dr. Thomas Darlington, health officer of New York City, states (North American Review, Dec. 21, 1906) that over 80 per cent of aliens certified as of poor physique or having physical defects were landed during the year at Ellis Island; that the 40 per cent of foreign-born school children in the city furnished 70 per cent of the defectives; and that of the admissions to the hospitals of New York City from 1885 to 1894, 64 per cent were foreign-born.

(c) PAUPERISM.

Census special reports, "Paupers in Almshouses, 1904," pages 16 to 18, shows that a foreign-born white population, which in 1900 was 15.3 per cent of the general white population, furnished 43.2 per cent of the white pauper population December 31, 1903, and 43 per cent of those admitted to the almshouses during 1904.

The native white paupers of foreign or mixed parentage admitted in 1904 were 26.8 per cent of the total paupers as compared with 19.4 per cent among the inmates enumerated December 31, 1903.

In 1890 the foreign whites contributed  $2\frac{1}{4}$  times as many male paupers per million of voting population as the native whites of native parentage, and those of foreign birth or parentage over 3 times as many.

In 1905 there were 50,000 foreign-born paupers in the State of New York alone, costing the State \$1,510,506 for their support.

(d) BONDS.

The league recommends abolishing or very much restricting the present provisions for admitting aliens on bonds. The State of Massachusetts tried this plan before the United States took charge of immigration and gave it up as absolutely unworkable. In 1909, of 443 persons certified as mentally or physically defective to such an extent that their ability to earn a living was interfered with, 242, or more than one-half, were admitted on bond.

The Commissioner General says (report for 1909, p. 115):

"As a general rule, to which there should be only rare exceptions it should be held unequivocally either that an alien is or that he is not admissible. A bond is by no means a complete protection against an alien's becoming a public charge. Many aliens change their name, rendering identification practically impossible, or remove from their original place of settlement, causing all account of the fact that a bond exists to be forgotten, or the bondsmen are or become irresponsible. Altogether the bonding system is very unsatisfactory."

Inquiries made at various times by the league have failed to discover a single case where a bond has been sued on. Whenever bonds for less than \$1,000 are accepted, proceedings would be deemed inadvisable, as the costs and expenses of suit might easily equal the amount of the bond.

(e) GENERALLY.

The league believes that, great as is the burden of aliens who fall into the definite classes known as the defectives and delinquents, there

is an even greater burden upon and danger to the community from the immigration of large numbers of aliens of low intelligence, poor physique, deficient in energy, ability, and thrift. Many of these have to be supported by public or private charity, are a menace to the public health, and generally lower the mental, moral, and physical average of our population. The league believes that a considerable portion of this class would be excluded by the legislation it proposes, as experience shows that poverty, ignorance, and incapacity in general go together. The statistics given above are but a few of those which might be cited, and which are doubtless well known to you already.

#### RESTRICTION NEEDED FROM AN ECONOMIC STANDPOINT.

It is likely that this topic will be quite fully treated by others. The league would call attention to the following: (1) That the true wealth of a country consists in the character of its institutions and of its people and not in the number of miles of its railways or the rapid exhaustion of its resources. (2) That what demand there is for free immigration has always come from employers who want to force wages down regardless of the effect upon the community. (3) That the immigration of cheap labor has just this effect, forcing the workman already here to lower his standard of living and often to lose his job. (4) That just so far as immigration of cheap labor injures the status of the native workingmen it prevents the immigration of efficient and desirable foreign workingmen, who will not come here to compete with cheap labor. (See House Doc. No. 384, 59th Cong., p. 34; House Hearings on Immigration, 61st Cong., p. 48.) Labor economically cheap is moreover never socially cheap.

Mr. John Mitchell said recently on this point:

"The standard of wages for both skilled and unskilled labor in the United States has been built up as a result of years and years of energetic effort, struggle, and sacrifice. When an immigrant without resources is compelled to accept work at less than the established wage rate, he not only displaces a man working at the higher rate, but his action threatens to destroy the whole schedule of wages in the industry in which he secures employment, because it not infrequently occurs that an employer will attempt to regulate wages on the basis of the lowest rate paid to any of the men in his employ. Any reduction in wages means a lowering of the standard of living, and the standard of living among a civilized people can not be lowered without lowering in the same ratio the physical standard and the intellectual and moral ideals of that people."

#### RESTRICTION NEEDED FROM A EUGENIC STANDPOINT.

Recent investigations in biology show that heredity is a far more important factor in the progress of any species than environment. Education can develop what is in an immigrant, but can not supply what is not there. Assuming what is by no means proved, that a mixed race is a better race, we should do as we do in breeding any other species than the human, viz, secure the best specimens to breed from. The same arguments which induce us to segregate



criminals and feeble-minded and thus prevent their breeding apply to excluding from our borders individuals whose multiplying here is likely to lower the average of our people. We should exercise at least as much care in admitting human beings as we exercise in relation to animals or insect pests or disease germs. Yet it is true that we are to-day actually taking more care in the selection, and in the examination for soundness and for health, of a Hereford bull or a South-down ewe, imported for the improvement of our cattle and sheep, than we are taking in the selection of the alien men and women who are coming here to be the fathers and mothers of future American children. We do not hesitate to prohibit the importation of cattle from a foreign country where a cattle disease is prevalent. It is only in very extreme cases that we have ever taken such a step in connection with the importation of aliens, yet there are certain parts of Europe from which all medical men and all biologists would agree that it would be better for the American race if no aliens at all were admitted.

We should see to it that the breeding of the human race in this country receives the attention which it so surely deserves. We should see to it that we are protected, not merely from the burden of supporting alien dependents, delinquents, and defectives, but from what George William Curtis called "that watering of the nation's lifeblood," which results from their breeding after admission.

A considerable proportion of immigrants now coming are from races and countries, or parts of countries, which have not progressed, but have been backward, downtrodden, and relatively useless for centuries. If these immigrants "have not had opportunities," it is because their races have not made the opportunities; for they have had all the time that any other races have had; in fact, often come from older civilizations. There is no reason to suppose that a change of location will result in a change of inborn tendencies.

The efforts of steamship agents result, moreover, in the immigration of many of the least desirable specimens of these backward races. Many of them would be excluded by the legislation the league proposes, leaving place and creating a demand for members of the progressive Baltic races to whose energy the present prosperity of our country is due.

The Commissioner-General (report for 1909, p. 111) says on this point:

"The bureau has repeatedly called attention to the interesting and important economic problem constituted by this increase in the influx of peoples so different racially from the original settlers of the country—people, who, in their antecedents, ideas, ideals (political and social), and methods of life and thought, are quite distinct from the Teutonic and Keltic stocks, from which our immigration was for so many years derived. What will be the result of a continuance of this preponderance is a question which concerns every thoughtful patriotic American citizen. From one point of view, at least, heterogeneity in a matter of this kind is undesirable, homogeneousness desirable. There can be but little homogeneity between the people of southern and eastern Europe and the real American. Several generations are required to produce assimilation, even under favorable circumstances.

“What is the explanation of this increased and still increasing influx of Iberic and Slavic people? Several facts may be stated in partial explanation—the poor conditions, political and social, of their native countries, the natural desire to better their condition, and the wish for liberty of thought and conscience that are to some extent inherent with all races of men. But these do not afford what is believed to be the principal, underlying explanation. The truth of the matter is that the peasants of the countries mentioned have for a number of years supplied a rich harvest to the promoter of immigration. The promoter is usually a steamship ticket agent, employed on a commission basis, or a professional money lender, or a combination of the two. His only interest is the wholly selfish one of gaining his commission and collecting his usury. He is employed by the steamship lines, large and small, without scruple, and to the enormous profit of such lines. The more aliens they bring over the more there are to be carried back if failure meets the tentative immigrant, and the more are likely to follow later if success is his lot. Whatever the outcome, it is a good commercial proposition for the steamship line. To say that the steamship lines are responsible, directly or indirectly, for this unnatural immigration is not a statement of a theory, but of a fact, and of a fact that sometimes becomes, indeed, if it is not always, a crying shame.”

The Commissioner-General refers (p. 112) to the reports of a special immigration inspector who studied the matter in Europe, and says the Immigration Bureau found “that all of the steamship lines engaged in bringing aliens from Europe to this country have persistently and systematically violated the law, both in its letter and spirit, by making use of every possible means to encourage the peasants of Europe to purchase tickets over their lines to this country.”

He also says (p. 113): “It may be asserted as a general rule that stimulated immigration is undesirable. As already stated, a large part of our immigration is known to be of that character.”

To the same effect Hon. William Williams, commissioner at New York, says (p. 133):

“I have already adverted to the easy-going character of our exclusion laws and stated that even their strict enforcement keeps out only the very bad elements of foreign countries. Between these elements and those that are a real benefit to the country (as so many of our immigrants are) there lies a class who may be quite able to earn a living here, but who in doing so tend to pull down our standards of living. \* \* \* I wish merely to emphasize, what must be known to every thinking person, that this class is coming here in considerable numbers and that we are making no effort to exclude it.

“Few people are bold enough to claim that we are in urgent need of any more immigrants who will crowd into the congested districts of our large cities. And yet this is where a large percentage of our immigrants now go and stay. At a time when portions of the West are crying for out-of-door labor, congestion in New York City may be increasing at the rate of many thousands per month. Another way of putting this is to say that much of our present immigration is not responsive to the legitimate demands for additional labor in the United States. I think this fact should be made known throughout

those sections of our country where many erroneously think that further restrictions of the right kind would increase the difficulties incident to obtaining labor for which there is a real demand. Quite the contrary is the case, for poor immigration tends to deter good immigrants from coming."

#### THE DEMAND FOR RESTRICTION.

The league would call attention to the fact that those pecuniarily interested in securing low-class immigration are in the nature of the case more inclined to make their wishes known and more insistent in doing so than the general public which does not wish such immigration. It would call attention, however, to the restrictive resolutions printed in the House committee hearings on immigration last winter (1909), representing the wishes of millions of our best and most intelligent citizens. It would also call special attention to the letters from representative men appended to the affidavit of the secretary of its executive committee presented herewith, showing an overwhelming sentiment in favor of more care in selecting our immigrants.

#### DISTRIBUTION.

Finally the league would express its earnest hope that the commission in its report will not permit attention to be diverted from the main point of needed restrictive legislation to questions of possible distribution of aliens after landing, and this for the following reasons:

1. Distribution, as President Roosevelt said in one of his messages, is only a palliative, and is only that if the undesirable are rigidly excluded.

2. Change of location from the Eastern States to other States will not change the character and tendencies of an immigrant even as much as the change from Europe. Unless the distribution is very wisely done, and possibly even then, the result will be the spreading of big slums over the country in the form of little slums.

3. Distribution on a scale adequate to the situation is too expensive.

4. Previous experiments show immigrants prefer the large cities and drift back there after distribution.

5. Unless adequate legislation rigidly excludes the undesirable from entering, distribution from the large seaports acts as a force pump to draw in even larger numbers, so that the situation might be even worse than at present. The steamship companies would, no doubt, be glad of a vacuum of this kind, and would see that the "pipe line," as Gen. F. A. Walker called it, was constantly in operation.

The league would call attention to the protests in the resolutions sent in to the House committee during 1909 against distribution schemes, especially to the South and West, and against the activities of the division of information, which, so far as they are operative at all, tend to stimulate immigration and are liable to create the impression among intending immigrants that this Government is running an employment bureau.

## IN GENERAL.

The league believes that whatever legislation is recommended should be both thoroughgoing and simple in its terms, and that as little discretion should be left to officials as possible. There are two reasons for this. First, it does away with changes in the character of administration based on the theories or sympathies of those administering the law, and thereby makes the law definite and uniform in its effect. Second, while any definite rule results in hardship in particular cases, requirements like the illiteracy test, the head tax, and the money test are certain, definite, and simple, equally within the knowledge of the steamship companies and of intending immigrants. Such definite tests would diminish the number of cases of hardship to immigrants who make the voyage only to find they are inadmissible. In many cases, also, the present doubt as to the admissibility of aliens would be removed if the proposed legislation were enacted and the aliens would not start for this country until they could pass the required tests. In other words, many possible cases of "poor physique" and "liable to become public charges" would be absolutely barred by the proposed legislation, while, if the alien had fitted himself to pass the proposed additional tests, he would be far less likely to be barred on the others.

Respectfully submitted.

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE,  
By **PRESCOTT F. HALL,**  
*Secretary Executive Committee.*

## EXHIBITS.

## AFFIDAVIT OF PRESCOTT F. HALL, SECRETARY TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE.

Prescott F. Hall, having been duly sworn, deposes and says that he is a resident of Brookline, Mass., and is and has been acting for a year past as secretary to the executive committee of the Immigration Restriction League, a national organization having its principal offices in Washington, D. C., and Boston, Mass., that, as such secretary, he sent out during February, March, and April, 1910, circular letters, in the form hereto annexed as Exhibit 1, to a list of representative men whose names are contained in the publication called "Who's Who in America;" that of the replies received, 375 favored further restriction of immigration and 28 were opposed to such further restriction; that of those favoring further restriction, 7, or 1.8 per cent, favored total exclusion; 307, or 81.1 per cent, favored an illiteracy test for immigrants; 218, or 58.1 per cent, favored an increase of the head tax, most of them to \$10 or more; 285, or 76 per cent, favored requiring immigrants to be in possession of a sum of money sufficient to support them for a reasonable period in which to seek employment; that among those favoring further restriction were the presidents of 20 colleges and universities, 38 lawyers, 126

educators, 55 authors, 48 doctors, 29 clergymen, 21 army and navy officers, 12 engineers, 11 jurists, 11 business men, 1 chemist, 1 inventor, 1 criminologist, 1 police commissioner; that among the replies received were those true copies of which are hereto annexed as Exhibits 2 to 54; that deponent had no knowledge beforehand, except in one or two cases, of the views of the persons written to, and that no suggestion was made or influence used to determine the form or contents of their replies.

PRESCOTT F. HALL.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

*Suffolk, ss:*

BOSTON, *June 22, 1910.*

Then personally appeared the above-named Prescott F. Hall, and made oath that the above statement by him subscribed is true.

Before me.

ARTHUR L. WOODMAN.  
*Notary Public.*

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LETTERS RESPECTING IMMIGRATION.

EXHIBIT 1.

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE,

*11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass., March 21, 1910.*

DEAR SIR: The Immigration Restriction League is a nonpolitical and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. Since 1894 it has led the agitation for the better enforcement of existing immigration laws and the enactment of needed legislation. It is opposed only to such immigration as lowers the mental, moral, and physical average of our people.

Immigration the coming year will again near the 1,000,000 mark. Of recent immigration, one-fourth over 14 years of age could not read or write in any language; three-fifths were of the Slavic and Iberic races of southern and eastern Europe; nearly one-third, including women and children, had no occupation; three-fifths were destined for only four States.

In 1908 the foreign-born population of 13.6 per cent furnished 15.6 per cent of the criminals, 20.8 per cent of the paupers, and 29.5 per cent of the insane. Between 1904 and 1908 the aliens in these institutions increased 34 per cent.

The league feels that facts like these show that the present laws governing the admission of aliens are inadequate to protect our social and political standards and institutions from deterioration. Those pecuniarily interested in lax immigration laws are strongly organized to influence legislation, while those who believe in a proper selection of the aliens coming to use are scattered. This letter is written with the purpose of getting in touch with those who agree with the attitude of the league.

We should much appreciate a letter from you, stating whether you favor—

1. Further selective tests for immigrants.
2. Obliging aliens to be able to read in some language.
3. Increasing the present head tax of \$4; and if so, to what amount?
4. Requiring immigrants to be in possession of an amount of money sufficient to support them while seeking work.

We should also be glad to have your views on this subject, outside of the questions noted above.

Very truly, yours,

PRESCOTT F. HALL,  
*Secretary of the Executive Committee.*

## EXHIBIT 2.

[Fred W. Atkinson, Ph. D., president Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn.]

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *March 22, 1910.*

PRESCOTT F. HALL, Esq.,

*11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR MR. HALL: I have been much interested in the immigration question and I wish to thank you for the opportunity to give my opinions.

1. I do favor further selective tests.
2. Every immigrant should be obliged to read in some language.
3. The present head tax is large enough in amount, provided there are adequate selective tests applied so that the "undesirable" shall be kept out.
4. An immigrant coming alone should have at least \$50. If he has a family, all adults should have an equal amount and the head of the family should be in possession of an additional \$25 for each minor.

Immigration of the desirable kind should be fostered in every way, but definite, discriminating, and drastic laws should protect "our social and political standards and institutions from deterioration." The present lax immigration is all wrong.

The Government might well increase its restrictive legislation and double or even treble the cost, if necessary, to assure its just and sure operation.

Living here in New York and realizing as I do the overcrowding of East Side, I wish it were possible to increase our rural and agricultural workers rather than permit our cities to become congested. The gains of immigration even now are greater than the losses, but heedless as we are as a nation we are not taking proper measures to minimize the losses.

Very truly, yours,

FRED W. ATKINSON.

## EXHIBIT 3.

[George C. Chase, D. D., LL. D., president Bates College.]

LEWISTON, ME., *February 24, 1910.*Mr. PRESCOTT F. HALL, *Secretary,**11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of February 22 I may say that I am in thorough sympathy with the aims of the Immigration Restriction League. I favor all four of the restrictions named by you. I do not need to comment upon them separately. In regard to a head tax it seems to me that \$10 would not be too large a tax. I shall be glad in any way that is open to me to cooperate with your league for the enactment of needed legislation.

Sincerely, yours,

GEORGE C. CHASE.

## EXHIBIT 4.

[George E. Fellows, Ph. D., LL. D., L. H. D., president University of Maine.]

ORONO, ME., *February 24, 1910.*

Mr. PRESCOTT F. HALL,

*11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: Your circular letter of February 22 is received. I very strongly favor all four of the suggestions for restricting immigration. So long as we were receiving large numbers of immigrants from Denmark, Norway, and Germany twenty-five or thirty years ago, most of them skilled in some industrial pursuit or good agricultural laborers, it was advantageous to the United States to have them come, but at present all skilled laborers are staying at home and we seem to be getting those who have not and do not desire to possess skill and those who become immediately a burden upon our own resources. I believe that if the money spent upon aliens in our prisons and insane hospitals could be devoted to the industrial training of such aliens as we have already with us, the results would be much better.

Yours, truly,

GEO. E. FELLOWS.

## EXHIBIT 5.

[Kenneth G. Matheson, LL. D., president Georgia School of Technology.]

ATLANTA, GA., *February 24, 1910.*IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE,  
*11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.*

GENTLEMEN: Replying to your letter of the 22d instant, I take pleasure in answering your questions, as follows:

1. I am strictly in favor of further selective tests for immigrants.
2. I am equally as much in favor of requiring aliens to be able to read in some language.
3. I think the present head tax of \$4 should be advanced to at least \$15, and I should be in favor of making it \$25.
4. I think immigrants should possess a sufficient amount of money to support them for a minimum of six months after landing in this country—the amount per month to be determined by a competent committee appointed for that purpose.

I am absolutely convinced that we should immediately take steps to limit immigration, as I believe the present tide of it is a menace to our country and its institutions. You can not quote me too strongly on this subject, and I shall be glad to assist in the work of your league to the extent of my limited ability.

Wishing you great success, very truly, yours,

K. G. MATHESON.

## EXHIBIT 6.

[James T. Young, Ph. D., director Wharton School of Finance, University of Pennsylvania.]

PHILADELPHIA, *March 22, 1910.*MR. PRESCOTT F. HALL,  
*11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.*

MY DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of the 21st, which has just arrived, I am strongly of the opinion that our immigration laws are in need of a radical revision. It is useless for us to profess that we are protecting the working classes so long as we open the gates wide to competition from European labor. I am, therefore, in favor of—

1. Further selective tests for immigrants.
3. Increasing the head tax to at least \$10.
4. Requiring immigrants to be in possession of an amount of money sufficient to support them while seeking work.

I would also suggest that you have some competent person investigate the influence of immigration upon union conditions, and circulate the results of the report among the labor unions of the country. A number of the labor leaders are now considering the question of immigration from this point of view and they might welcome a strong, clear presentation of the subject.

As to number 2, I have not enough facts at hand to express an opinion, but believe that an entire reorganization of our system of selecting immigrants should be at once effected with a view to raising the standard to the highest possible point.

Very truly, yours,

JAMES T. YOUNG.

## EXHIBIT 7.

[A. C. Cowperthwaite, M. D., Ph. D., LL. D., president Chicago Homeopathic Medical College, author of text-books.]

CHICAGO, *February 24, 1910.*PRESCOTT F. HALL, *Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: Yours under date of February 22, 1910, received, and in reply will say that I am in favor—

1. Of further selective tests for immigrants.
2. Of obliging aliens to be able to read in some language.
3. Of increasing the present head tax to at least \$50 per head.

4. And of requiring them to have sufficient money to support them while obtaining work.

In addition to this I will say that my wishes in regard to this matter are that alien immigration be entirely prohibited.

Very respectfully, yours,

A. C. COWPERTHWAIT.

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EXHIBIT 8.

[Charles M. Green, M. D., associate professor, Harvard Medical School.]

BOSTON, February 23, 1910.

PRESCOTT F. HALL, Esq.,

*Secretary of the Executive Committee,  
Immigration Restriction League.*

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of the 22d instant, I am most decidedly in favor of all reasonable effort to restrict immigration, and I am fully in sympathy with the attitude of the league toward this subject. From my extensive experience with the so-called hospital class, I am constantly reminded of the large proportion of undesirable immigrants we have in this city. An increasing proportion of those who seek free hospital care are foreign born, and a large proportion of the women have not learned our language in several years' residence. Our charities are receiving an increasing demand for help from the foreign born, and numbers have told me that they were better off in their home country; that they had not succeeded in bettering their condition here. It is a serious question how long we can submit to the gradually increasing cost of maintaining courts, hospitals, and asylums for aliens.

I certainly favor the four lines of work for the league which are enumerated at the close of your communication.

Very truly, yours,

CHARLES M. GREEN.

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EXHIBIT 9.

[Carlos MacDonald, M. D., President New York State Lunacy Commission for 7 years, and superintendent of New York State Hospital for Insane Criminals for 12 years.]

15 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET, NEW YORK,

March 1, 1910.

PRESCOTT F. HALL, Esq., *Secretary of Executive Committee,*

*Immigration Restriction League, 11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: Replying to your letter of February 22, 1910, I beg to say that I am in full sympathy with the purposes and work of the Immigration Restriction League in its efforts to secure a better enforcement of existing immigration laws, and the enactment of needed legislation for raising the mental, moral, and physical requirements of immigrants coming to our shores.

I am heartily in favor of further selective tests and of requiring aliens to be able to read and write, at least in their own language. I am also in favor of increasing the present head tax to \$20, and of requiring immigrants to be in possession of a sufficient sum of money to support them pending their obtainment of employment.

Having spent more than 25 years in the public service in the State of New York in connection with institutions for the insane and incidentally for those of the criminal classes, I may speak with some degree of authority respecting the evils of admitting to our country indiscriminately all classes of immigrants regardless of their social or mental or moral status. This is a practice which in the past has resulted in serious injury to the body politic. Observations made by me as president of the New York State Commission in Lunacy for a period of seven years, and as superintendent of the New York State Hospital for Insane Criminals during a period of twelve years, showed that about 50 per cent of the inmates of the state hospitals for the insane and of the hospital for insane criminals were of foreign birth, and I think this percentage would hold good with respect to the inmates of all of the charitable institutions for adults in the State of New York. These figures are suggestive and indicate clearly the



enormous burden put upon the taxpayers of this country for the support of mentally and physically defective individuals who filter into the United States largely through the port of New York.

Wishing your society every success in the prosecution of its work, I am,  
Very truly, yours,

CARLOS MACDONALD, M. D.

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EXHIBIT 10.

[Charles S. Potts, M. D., instructor, University of Pennsylvania; consulting physician, Hospital for Insane, Atlantic County, N. J.; neurologist to Philadelphia Hospital; professor neurology, Medico-Chirurgical College.]

PHILADELPHIA, *March 3, 1910.*

PRESCOTT F. HALL, *Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of 22d instant I will say that I am in favor of further restriction of immigration. From my observation the southern Italian and Russian Jew are no more desirable (possibly less) than the Chinese. In answer to your question I say (1) yes, (2) yes, (3) do not feel qualified to state, (4) yes.

Yours, sincerely,

CHAS. S. POTTS.

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EXHIBIT 11.

[Fayette C. Ewing, M. D., member of numerous medical societies; writer on medical subjects.]

ST. LOUIS, *February 24, 1910.*

P. F. HALL, Esq.,

*Secretary Immigration Restriction League, Boston.*

DEAR SIR: In reply to your circular letter I beg to say that I am heartily in favor of the objects enumerated by the Immigration Restriction League, and believe immigration as now practiced calculated to lower the tone and character of the national life.

Yours, sincerely,

FAYETTE C. EWING.

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EXHIBIT 12.

[John W. Langley, M. D., Ph. D.; ex-professor, United States Naval Academy, Western University of Pennsylvania, University of Michigan; professor, Case School of Applied Science; author of various scientific papers.]

ANN ARBOR, MICH., *February 28, 1910.*

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE.

*11 Pemberton square, Boston, Mass.*

GENTLEMEN: Replying to your circular letter of the 22d instant, I am in entire sympathy with the purposes of your organization, and have long felt that one of the greatest dangers to the Republic lay in the loose immigration laws and the degraded quality of a large proportion of the immigrants.

Thirty or forty years ago most of the newcomers were Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians, which were in the main good material, and assimilable under republican ideals; but in the last ten years there has been a large influx from southern and central Europe of an essentially unassimilable population, which shows its effect in a great increase of crimes of organized violence, notably in the Black Hand Sicilian Society.

Taking your numbered questions, I reply (1) yes, (2) yes, (3) increase head tax to \$10, (4) yes.

To which I will add, rigid enforcement of the naturalization probation period, and restriction of the vote to bona fide citizens.

Yours, truly,

DR. JOHN W. LANGLEY.

## EXHIBIT 13.

[Charles M. Tyler, A. M., D. D., professor emeritus, Cornell University.]

ITHACA, N. Y., *March 23, 1910.*

Secretary HALL.

DEAR SIR: Under the first:

(1) No person having been convicted of crime; no Sicilian or Italian belonging to the Mafia or Black Hand; no one who has written or spoken or acted in promotion of anarchical doctrine; no one afflicted with tuberculosis or having a taint of insanity. All these are not to be permitted to become citizens of the United States.

(2) Aliens must read and write their own language, and not to vote in United States until they can read the United States Constitution and only after five years of domicile.

(3) Tax of \$25 per head.

(4) Aliens to possess at least \$50 of ready money.

I am of opinion that even more stringent requirements should be adopted by our Government; but these are approximate, if hastily formed, opinions of the present writer.

Very truly, yours,

CHARLES MELLEN TYLER.

## EXHIBIT 14.

[John F. Woodhull, professor physical science, Teachers' College, Columbia University; author text books.]

NEW YORK, *March 22, 1910.*

Mr. PRESCOTT F. HALL, *Secretary,*  
11 Pemberton square, Boston, Mass.

DEAR SIR: I find myself in hearty accord with the position taken in your letter of yesterday.

In my judgment, immigration should be restricted to the end that criminals, paupers, and insane should not increase thereby, but encouraged to the end that useful citizens may be gained thereby. I should favor your four suggestions, but consider more radical measures necessary.

Very truly, yours,

JOHN F. WOODHULL.

## EXHIBIT 15.

[John A. H. Keith, president State Normal School.]

OSHKOSH, Wis., *February 24, 1910.*

Mr. PRESCOTT F. HALL,  
11 Pemberton square, Boston, Mass.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of February 22, relative to the restriction of immigration.

My reason for favoring restriction of immigration is that we are coming to a point in this country at which we are working, because of the increase of population and relatively long use of land, on a diminishing return. Successfully to cope with this situation requires intelligence, and therefore we ought not to take into our country from foreign lands nor allow to grow up in our country the youth of our own land in what might be called relative ignorance. With this preliminary, I shall answer the questions in your letter as stated:

(1) I favor further selective tests for immigrants, these selective tests, in general, to be along the lines of intelligence, freedom from disease and hereditary weaknesses, and the possession of the means of earning one's living.

(2) I most distinctly favor requiring aliens to read in some foreign language.

(3) The present head tax of \$4, I think, is high enough. The head tax, it seems to me, should be kept at the point which will pay the expenses of the enforcement of our laws.

(4) I favor the requiring of immigrants to have a minimum amount of money.

The inevitable drift of economic law, together with the modern means of transportation, is fast bringing us to the level of European countries. I believe it is possible, through intelligence, to avoid the characteristic poverty which has overtaken every great civilization of the world to date. The restriction of immigration is only one aspect of this fundamental problem.

Very truly, yours,

JOHN A. H. KEITH,

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EXHIBIT 16.

[George P. Garrison, Ph. D., professor, University of Texas; writer on historical subjects.]

AUSTIN, TEX., February 28, 1910.

MR. PRESCOTT F. HALL,  
Secretary Executive Committee,  
Immigration Restriction League,  
Boston, Mass.

DEAR SIR: I would answer the questions in your circular letter of the 22d as follows: (1) Yes; (2) yes; (3) no; (4) yes.

It is my opinion that we are entirely too lax in the admission of immigrants to the United States. While we have extraordinary facilities for renovating the humanity that has been worn out or corrupted by Old World conditions and for making good citizens out of the undesirable classes that Europe sends us, we seem now to be undertaking too much in that direction. The growing intensity of our own social problems and the evident working of the mischievous foreign factor in their production should warn us of the danger in our careless policy.

Very truly, yours,

GEORGE P. GARRISON.

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EXHIBIT 17.

[Edwin C. Bolles, D. D., LL. D.; ex-professor of microscopy; professor of history, Tufts College.]

APRIL 19, 1910.

MR. PRESCOTT F. HALL.

DEAR SIR: I have long been in sympathy with what I understand to be the motives and plans of the Immigration Restriction League, and have considered the politicians, who have refused the regulations the league asks for, as among the most dangerous enemies of the Republic. The greed of the steamship companies, the selfishness of those we elect to direct national affairs, the increase of poverty, crime, and taxation, which comes from this unchecked flow of immigration, make a very unpleasant picture for an American to contemplate.

I should probably answer the four questions exactly as you would, although I might not share your belief in a possible reform. The evil has gone so far that—thanks to our political system—we already see, not merely the survival, but also the controlling power of the unfit. If the American people, as now constituted, possessed the persistence, determination, and courage to carry on any reform campaign beyond the first spasmodic overture, I should have more hope.

I am, sincerely yours,

EDWIN C. BOLLES.

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EXHIBIT 18.

[Luther Burbank, naturalist, originator of new fruits and flowers.]

SANTA ROSA, CAL., March 7, 1910.

MR. PRESCOTT F. HALL,  
Secretary Executive Committee,  
Immigration Restriction League,  
Boston, Mass.

DEAR SIR: In reply to yours of February 22, although I have almost no time to entertain any subject from the outside of my regular business, yet for a

long time I have thought that there should be a more thorough sifting of foreign-born population which come to our shores, and that the present laws are wholly inadequate to protect our institutions from deterioration.

I go further and would say that there is not a greater disgrace existing in the world to-day than that our women should not be allowed to vote while foreigners, who know nothing of our Government or our institutions, who have no interest in them, and who pay no taxes, should be allowed to vote. That such a condition should exist in a civilized country is astounding beyond belief.

I am fully in sympathy with the four objects which you mention.

Faithfully yours,

LUTHER BURBANK.

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EXHIBIT 19.

[Rev. Thomas McCandless, Protestant Episcopal missionary at Ellis Island.]

NEW YORK CITY, *March 23, 1910.*

MY DEAR DR. VAN DE WATER: I have read with great interest the statement of the Immigration Restriction League, and heartily agree with its founders as to the necessity of checking the present influx of aliens. No one can see the ever-growing throngs of those arriving daily at Ellis Island, nine-tenths of them obviously below par, without ardently wishing that our country would shake off her apathy and give thought to the present danger.

As to the figures given in the league's statement, they are substantially correct. But even they do not tell the whole story. For great numbers of these people, who may never become inmates of public institutions nor be convicted of crime, are still the easy prey of grafters and politicians of their own races. And, just as a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, so civilization must be judged and ranked not according to its best, but its worst; not by its North-fields and its Chautauquas, but by its east sides and its little Italies.

There are two classes only that can look with approval on the present immigration—employers of cheap labor and politicians. And the sole reason why America is not yet awake to the evils of this problem is that so far its effects have been felt most keenly by the American without either money or a trade or profession. The American unskilled laborer, however worthy he may be as a man and as a citizen, is protected not against cheap labor competition, but against the danger of buying the products of cheap labor. It was a similarly mistaken policy that has made London the sink of misery and degradation that she is to-day.

With regard to the measures proposed to remedy this evil, everyone of them is good. But they are not drastic enough. Make the standards as high as justice will allow; heighten every barrier of requirement; and then make every alien who proves himself unworthy, whether within three or thirty years after landing, liable to deportation; at the same time raise the standard of citizenship. This would, in my opinion, help to solve the problem.

You may be interested in reading the inclosed copy of the commissioner's recent circular. It will show some of the difficulties of the problem.

I beg you will pardon what may seem my presumption in airing my "views."

Yours, respectfully,

THOMAS McCANDLESS.

[My letter to Dr. Van de Water was referred by him to Mr. McCandless, whose letter to Dr. Van de Water was sent to me as his reply to my letter.—P. F. HALL.]

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EXHIBIT 20.

[Hudson Maxim, inventor, mechanical engineer.]

BROOKLYN, *March 9, 1910.*

PRESCOTT F. HALL, Esq.,

*Secretary of Executive Committee,*

*Immigration Restriction League, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: In response to your inquiry as to my opinion respecting your suggested amendment to our immigration laws, I wish to say that I believe these

laws to be very inadequate. It is particularly absurd to enact such stringent laws for the exclusion of Orientals, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, we let in the very scum and offscourings of European nations.

We ought to have laws severe enough to exclude the criminal, the diseased, and the degenerate. They should not be admitted at any price. But the strong, healthy, and industrious should be admitted on easy terms. We need them.

Yours, faithfully,

HUDSON MAXIM.

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EXHIBIT 21.

[C. W. Abbot, jr., major, United States Army.]

WARREN, R. I., *March 22, 1910.*

Mr. PRESCOTT F. HALL,

*Secretary Executive Committee,*

*Immigration Restriction League,*

*11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: My father, Admiral Charles W. Abbot, United States Navy, to whom your circular letter of the 21st instant was addressed, is not living. As I am profoundly interested in the subject of immigration, and familiar with the statistics which show the percentage of criminals, paupers, and insane persons among aliens, I am convinced after much study and thought on the subject that the time has come when most drastic measures are absolutely necessary to prevent great harm to the future of our country. I would go even further, and say that our very existence is seriously threatened by the presence already of millions of people whom I believe we can never properly assimilate. I would therefore stop all immigration now, except in a very few cases of people of education and means, who for some special reason wish to come here to become bona fide citizens, and their reasons should be carefully inquired into and shown to be satisfactory. Such a course would, I know, work some hardship to relatives of those who have already immigrated, and of course the transportation companies would be seriously affected in their business, but the welfare of this country is of paramount importance, and no minor considerations should be allowed to affect a question of such far-reaching consequences. If we shut out all other countries we may save ourselves from direful complications with Japan in the future. I know that I preach methods almost revolutionary, but you will find that the military class in this country feel much as I do, realizing fully the unpreparedness of our country and the many causes which militate against effective preparation. I would therefore answer your four questions all in the way of making it as hard as possible for aliens in the future to get into this country. I am glad to have had an opportunity to express my views, although I know full well that they are not popular.

Very sincerely,

C. W. ABBOT, JR.

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EXHIBIT 22.

[Thomas M. Anderson, LL. D., LL. B., brigadier-general, United States Army.]

717 BOARD OF TRADE BUILDING, PORTLAND, OREG.,

*March 29, 1910.*

THE PRESIDENT OF THE IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE,

*Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: Referring to your circular of the 21st instant, I have the honor to state that I am in favor of free trade and material and a high protective tariff on men.

As a member of an educational committee of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, I prepared a monograph entitled "Instruction to immigrants." This stated in brief what we considered distinctive American principles and the duties of American citizenship. That booklet was issued about five years ago, and since then has been translated into several languages, and other booklets issued on the same line. As I am living on the Pacific coast I have not been able to follow up the work, but I have since been

impressed with the idea that we have equally important duty of Americanizing the Americans. In my experience as a reconstructing officer in the South, in my dealings with mobs and strikes, in my experience with our American Indians, and later with Filipino insurgents I have learned that the essential thing in dealing with discontented and submerged classes is to impress them with our disinterested honesty and to convince them that our Government "will first use all means to conciliate and then all means to crush." The immigrant must be made to understand that a republican government can and will enforce its laws as despotically as a monarchy, but I have found in my 40 years' experience as a soldier and my 10 years' experience of citizenship since retirement from active service that our politicians have not the courage to state this or to enforce it.

Now to answer your question—

1. I favor stricter selected tests with races not assimilated with ours. I would like to exclude the Russians, Slavs, Asiatics, Greeks, and southern Italians. Northern Italians I consider desirable. Poles and Magyars are liberty-loving and make splendid soldiers. So also do the Swedes, but I have found them inclined to socialism.

2. Aliens should be able to read their own language before admission and our language before naturalization.

3. The head tax should be made almost prohibitory.

4. Yes.

5. To exclude the Japanese by any legislation which does not apply to all white nations means an aggressive war against us. Are we prepared for it? We have on this coast only six armed cruisers against their powerful navy and 98 transports which can land an army of 120,000 veteran troops on this coast in less than three weeks. They have a million of veteran troops armed, organized, and equipped. We have on this coast only 10,000 regulars and 4,000 organized militia. How do you propose to solve this part of the problem? How can you arbitrate with a people who have different ethical standards than ours? They have on this coast 70,000 men of military age and 60,000 in Hawaii. What shall we do with these?

Very respectfully, yours,

THOMAS M. ANDERSON.

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EXHIBIT 23.

[G. W. Beaman, pay director, United States Navy, retired.]

58 LAKE VIEW AVENUE.  
Cambridge, Mass., March 25, 1910.

MR. PRESCOTT F. HALL,  
*Secretary Immigration Restriction League,*  
11 Pemberton Square, Boston.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your circular letter of 21st instant, I will state that I am in most cordial sympathy with the avowed objects of the Immigration Restriction League. In my judgment legislation of a restrictive character is yearly becoming more and more essential to the United States. The question deserves the sober consideration of our best minds. Replying in brief to your numbered interrogatories:

1. Probably yes; without more definite statement it is impossible to make specific response.

2. No; it seems to me that this restriction would exclude from the country bone and sinew of which we have great need, and likewise open the door for much half-baked material, more or less dangerous to the country. Per contra, I would not wish to discriminate against skilled labor.

3. Yes: to \$10, or even \$20.

4. Yes; to a certain limited amount. It seems to me that this restriction would be so difficult of satisfactory execution it would practically be little more than a "bluff" on the part of the Government.

Increased surveillance and inspection of immigrants at points of shipment would seem to be called for; and many other things.

Very truly,

G. W. BEAMAN.

## EXHIBIT 24.

[Parmenas T. Turnley, lieutenant colonel, United States Army, retired, lecturer.]

HIGHLAND PARK, ILL., *March 25, 1910.*

PRESCOTT F. HALL, Esq.,  
*Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: Thanks for your circular letter of the 23d instant in relation to the growing evil of immigration to this country, and for the information it gives, etc.

I am close to my eighty-ninth birthday, and have for 40 years of that time done all I could to restrict immigration and to better the class of people admitted. My days of labor are over, and I have pulled down the curtain of my little office and ceased from work. But I deprecate more and more the quantity and the quality of human spawn which the avarice and cupidity of our corrupt and decadent elective Government permits and even favors coming from other parts of the world. I most heartily favor all the restriction the league has done and is trying to do to prevent it.

I heartily favor every possible further test of fitness as suggested in your four specifications. I lost my teeth to bite some time ago, and now I have not even the voice to bark, so I must leave the work to others, with my prayers for more strength to their arms.

PARMENAS TAYLOR TURNLEY.

## EXHIBIT 25.

[John H. Upshur, senior rear-admiral, United States Navy, retired.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 16, 1910.*

DEAR SIR: Your letter of March 21, 1910, was forwarded to me in Bermuda, and I have just received it, and in reply I desire to state, first, that I am in entire sympathy with any movement tending to restrict—I like to have said stop altogether—any further immigration into this country for a hundred years.

Facile as is our Nation and Government, it seems to me impossible that we should be able to assimilate and digest the millions of human beings who are coming to us annually, the character of whom your letter of statistics describes. Our immigration, naturalization, and suffrage laws should be radically changed. An American-born citizen must be 21 years in the country before he can exercise all the rights of citizenship, whereas the low, the illiterate, and often the criminal from other shores in a very few years are given all the privileges of citizenship. I would suggest that no emigrant should be allowed to depart from abroad for the United States without a certificate from some duly authorized Government agent at the port of departure as to his physical and moral character, and this certificate to be strictly viscéd at the port of entry. The cost of such inspection would be small and worth to our country a hundredfold.

1. I do recommend the most rigid tests for immigrants.
2. They should be required to read in some language.
3. The present head tax should be made \$50 or more.
4. They should be provided with sufficient means to support themselves while seeking employment.

It is amazing that our national and State legislators should be blind to the great wrong we are inflicting on the present and future generations of our people. The steamship companies are vultures, with no more regard for the moral welfare of this Nation than the buzzard has for the vitals of a dying sheep. More money for us! is their cry, whatever the cost to the country. They scarcely know the word "patriotism."

Volumes might be written in condemnation of our present supineness and lax immigration laws. We are met on every hand by the argument, more labor is required to develop our latent resources. That may be, if the country must be developed in one night; but is it wise to do this at such tremendous sacrifice? In God's name, let us have increase of population by the incubation of Americans, and not hasten to welcome all the offscourings of foreign countries.

Very truly, yours,

JNO. H. UPSHUR.

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE,  
101 Tremont Street, Room 710, Boston, Mass.

## EXHIBIT 26.

[Samuel L. Woodward, brigadier-general, United States Army, retired.]

ST. LOUIS, Mo., *March 24, 1910.*

Mr. PRESCOTT F. HALL,

*Secretary, Immigration Restrictive League, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: Replying to your esteemed favor of the 21st instant, I am most heartily in accord with the purposes of the league and am decidedly in favor of the four proposed requirements as stated in your letter.

The country is certainly being rapidly overrun by the pauper, criminal, and scum element of southern Europe and Asia, and I think the matter should be made a "burning question" with Senators and Representatives.

Very respectfully,

S. L. WOODWARD.

## EXHIBIT 27.

[T. J. Bassett, D. D., Ph. D., for thirteen years principal of De Pauw University Academy.]

WEST LAFAYETTE, IND., *April 6, 1910.*

Mr. PRESCOTT F. HALL,

*Boston, Mass.*

MY DEAR SIR: Your circular letter of recent date is before me and contents noted with interest. The matter of which you write is of such great interest to every true American that no one with any knowledge of the facts and with any love of country can ignore them. For a good many years in university life, where I have spent thirty years, I have been a student of these and other problems connected with our national life, and ever with a growing apprehension. The dangers are such that only fools can afford to overlook them. The ignorant and criminal hordes which for several years have been flocking to our country from eastern and southern Europe are a great menace and require the most strenuous treatment. It is hard to interest our officials at Washington in these matters, as they are more anxious for party than for country. This does not, of course, apply to all, but to a far too large number of our lawmakers.

1. I am earnestly in favor of far more rigid, restrictive, and selective tests for all, especially those who come from Russia, Poland, and southern Italy.

2. Certainly an educational qualification should be made to apply. It should be more than merely an ability to read.

3. The present head tax should be increased to \$10.

4. No immigrant should be received who has less than \$100.

Several times I have crossed the Atlantic and noted the laxness of officials and the officiousness of the steamship companies.

Yours, for a better country,

T. J. BASSETT.

[Charles E. Cheney, D. D., Reformed Episcopal bishop.]

CHICAGO, ILL., *February 24, 1910.*

Mr. PRESCOTT F. HALL, *Secretary.*

DEAR SIR: I hail with delight any sane movement looking to a proper restriction of the deluge of ignorance and poverty to which our lax laws upon foreign immigration have opened the gates.

For years, both in public and private, I have been arguing that there was no peril to our institutions comparable with this. With regard to the specific methods to attain the desired result, I do not feel myself competent to formulate them; but I should be in full agreement with those suggested in your circular.

Sincerely, yours,

CHARLES EDWD. CHENEY.



## EXHIBIT 28.

[Samuel B. Adams, lawyer; city attorney of Savannah.]

SAVANNAH, GA., February 24, 1910.

MR. PRESCOTT F. HALL,  
 Secretary of the Executive Committee,  
 11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your favor of the 22d instant, I beg to say:

1. I favor further selective tests for immigrants.
2. I am in favor of obliging aliens to be able to read in some language.
3. I am in favor of increasing the present head tax of \$4 so that it shall be not less than \$10.
4. I am in favor of requiring immigrants to be in possession of an amount of money sufficient to support them while seeking work.

I am impressed very much with the necessity of further restrictions on immigration, and by the evils of our lax system. I thoroughly sympathize with the purpose of your league. If I had my way, I would not permit any alien who may hereafter come to the United States to hold office or vote until he had been here twenty-one years. I would not take the right away from those who have heretofore lawfully secured it, but I would restrict further right of citizenship as herein indicated. We have voters enough, and it is high time to restrict, and radically restrict, the right to vote and to hold office. I am entirely opposed to every form of religious proscription or discrimination, but I strongly favor laws on the line indicated in this letter.

Yours, very truly,

SAML. B. ADAMS.

## EXHIBIT 29.

[James F. Ailshie, LL. B., Ph. B., justice supreme court, Idaho.]

BOISE, IDAHO, April 8, 1910.

HON. PRESCOTT F. HALL, Secretary,  
 11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.

DEAR SIR: Your communication of March 21 stating the aims of the Immigration Restriction League and asking me certain questions as to my views on the subject is at hand.

I may say, in the first place, that I am heartily in favor of stricter immigration laws. Indeed, I can not see how anyone who is at all familiar with conditions as they now exist and who knows of the thousands of immigrants who are flocking to our shores every month, and the great percentage of crime and illiteracy they represent, would not be in favor of much more rigid restrictions and regulations on the subject of immigration. It seems to me that we ought to inquire into their ancestry and previous conduct and conditions much more fully than we do at present. We ought to be fully assured that the man who seeks admission to this country has not behind him a career of vice and crime, and we ought to know that he has not in fact been aided for that very reason to reach our shores. I fully agree with you that we ought to establish the test that the immigrant should be able to read in some language before he is admitted to this country. The law ought to also require that the immigrant have sufficient money to support him for a reasonable time after reaching this country, and it ought to so provide that he can not be supplied with the necessary money to make the showing by some friend who will immediately after his admission demand that he return the money and thereby leave him practically a pauper on our hands.

The two things, however, we ought to guard most strongly against in our immigration laws are, first, the admission of vice and crime, and, second, the admission of ignorance and illiteracy. We can not hope for any good to come from those qualities in immigrants, and we ought not to allow foreign countries to dump that class of their citizens on our shores.

Very respectfully, yours,

J. F. AILSHIE.

## EXHIBIT 30.

[Allen G. Braxton, lawyer and writer on legal subjects.]

RICHMOND, VA., March 25, 1910.

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE,

PRESCOTT F. HALL, Esq., *Secretary of Executive Committee,*  
11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of February 22, 1910, which I have read with much interest.

While I am not sufficiently informed to understand the practical details of the immigration regulations, I do not hesitate to indorse fully and heartily any movement which may check the deluge of undesirable immigration to which this country has for some time past been exposed.

When America was a young and thinly settled country the mere matter of increased population was an important consideration to us. But when a country is approaching a population of 100,000,000 souls, the normal birth rate will supply any increased population that need be particularly desired. For this reason it has seemed to me that there is no need of our encouraging immigration of any kind, but surely we should most vigorously prohibit all immigration of an undesirable kind.

For years past the Atlantic steamship lines have acted as a siphon to draw off, as it were, the sewage from the cesspools of Europe and discharge it into the choice places of America.

I am unalterably opposed to the introduction into this country, not only of paupers and criminals, but of those races which either can not be assimilated at all with us or else can not be assimilated without detriment to our own race.

Entertaining these views, I think I could readily answer in the affirmative your questions as to whether I would favor any one, or all, of the four methods of restricting immigration named in your letter of February 22, 1910.

In my judgment the greatest mistake that this or any other country ever made was the importation of negroes, and hundreds of years will doubtless elapse before the many questions arising out of the presence of that unfortunate race in this country will have been settled.

While there are doubtless no races in Europe or Asia as unassimilable with our race as the negroes are, yet in many cases it is only a difference in degree, and unless some check is put upon the unrestricted outpouring upon us of these individual degenerates and members of unassimilable races I believe that posterity will rise up to curse us for our folly or neglect.

Very truly, yours,

A. C. BRAXTON.

## EXHIBIT 31.

[Fenimore Chatterton, LL. B., ex-governor and ex-Senator; president Wyoming State Railway.]

CHEYENNE, WYO., April 23, 1910.

PRESCOTT F. HALL, Esq.,

*Secretary Executive Committee Immigration Restriction League,*  
Boston, Mass.

DEAR SIR: I take pleasure in replying to your four questions contained in your favor of the 18th instant.

Before answering your questions, I desire to state that I am in favor (1) of the absolute prohibition of immigration of any kind; but as this can not be had, I am in favor (2) of restricting immigration, under conditions set forth in my answers to your questions, to the English, Germans, Dutch, Swedes, Danes, and Swiss peoples. I favor absolute prohibition because the immigrants are beginning to form distinct and exclusive colonies according to nationality, thus retaining previous national ideas, and instead of breeding children with American ideas and love for American institutions are breeding foreigners, educated by foreigners within our midst. Again, our lands will be, are being, rapidly acquired by this element—only a resident of the public-land States really realizes this fact—and it will not be long before crowded conditions will exist and the deplorable European conditions of life will become apparent, and

our great-grandchildren, if not our grandchildren, will have none of the opportunities for a broad, generous, uplifting life, such as we of to-day enjoy.

It is time to restrict this wonderful territory of the United States, which the American people have subjugated and improved, for the exclusive benefit of a posterity bred by Americans, to be educated in conformity with American ideas and love of American institutions. We now have a sufficient breeding stock on hand; it is time to pay attention to breeding the best human being possible. Quality, not numbers, in humanity, as in beef, mutton, or pork, gives the high standard of the nation, as of the individual. We owe this to those for whose future existence we are, must under the existing conditions of progeniture be, responsible.

If absolute restriction can not be obtained, the next best thing would be a restrictions to the nationalities above named, because they constitute the best blood and citizenship of the old world, the blood from which the best citizenship in America to-day has been bred up.

Answering your questions, I most assuredly and emphatically favor—

1. Every possible selective test for immigrants which will restrict immigration to pure, healthy blood; sanity traced from a sane ancestry; previous good record for morality; intelligence sufficient to grasp and comprehend within a reasonable time the reason for, benefits of, and a love of our form of government and our social institutions resulting therefrom; and a trade or training along industrial lines which will qualify them to immediately enter upon a self-supporting, self-respecting, honest occupation under the conditions of life existing here.

2. Immigrants should certainly be required to possess sufficient education to read, write, and compute simple problems. We maintain an expensive compulsory educational system for our own children; why should we not require those who, having grown to manhood, seek the benefits of our country to come in as well equipped as we believe, and expend our money to attain and maintain, our native-born citizens should be? Next to breeding comes education.

3. It costs a great deal in many ways to perfect a native-born child into a useful and law-abiding citizen. It is necessarily somewhat expensive in diverse ways to transform an alien, speaking a foreign language and reared under entirely different circumstances and ideas of life and government, into a beneficial American citizen. Why should they not bear part of the expense? I think they should be required to read and write the English language and be taught the principles of our Government and social life. This should be compulsory, and the expense of it at least partially paid by the recipient of the great privileges sought by the immigrant. I therefore think the head tax should be increased to \$50, one-half for government revenue and one-half for educational purposes.

4. An immigrant certainly should have sufficient to support himself and any dependents until he secures remunerative employment. I think also agencies, under government supervision, should be established to see that the immigrants secured and accepted such employment.

I think a majority of American-born people in the West feel about as above set forth, but few, for business and political reasons, will openly express themselves. It is very important that the immigration should be restricted to the very best class of humanity. We ought not now seek to populate quickly every acre of space, but rather to preserve some of the opportunities for our descendants and not at this time give them away to the descendants of unsympathetic and unappreciative alien races.

Yours, truly,

F. CHATTERTON.

#### EXHIBIT 32.

[John Morris, lawyer; member commission for promotion of uniform legislation in United States.]

FORT WAYNE, IND., February 24, 1910.

MR. PRESCOTT F. HALL,

11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of February 22 asking me whether I am in favor of certain improvements in our immigration laws, so as to check the importation into this country of paupers, criminals, and degenerates of foreign countries. I certainly favor:

1. Further legislative tests for immigrants.

2. Obliging immigrants to be able to read and write in some language.
3. Increasing the present tax of \$4 to such an amount that only the better and well-to-do classes would seek admission.
4. Requiring immigrants to be in possession of a sum of money sufficient to support them while seeking work (at least one year).

In my opinion there is no greater menace to our Government than the wretched class of people we are collecting here from the scum of other countries.

Yours, truly,

JOHN MORRIS.

EXHIBIT 33.

[Nathan W. Littlefield, lawyer; ex-State senator; lecturer on political and historical subjects.]

PROVIDENCE, R. I., *February 23, 1910.*

PRESCOTT F. HALL, Esq.,

*11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: YOUR esteemed favor of the 22d instant is at hand, and replying to your questions I would say that I do favor further selective tests for immigrants. I consider that the present tests are entirely insufficient to protect the country from undesirable immigrants. I also think that aliens should be able to read in some language before they are admitted to this country. The evils of illiteracy and ignorance are so great and so dangerous, especially in a free republic like ours, where sooner or later (generally sooner) immigrants are admitted to citizenship, as to make it necessary to require a fair standard of intelligence and ability to read and understand some language through which they can acquire information that is absolutely necessary for good citizenship.

In order to effectively supervise the admission of immigrants it is necessary to have a thorough system of inspection in this country, and also abroad in the lands from which immigrants are coming to us, and to employ men of ability and good character in the service. To do this necessitates a large expenditure on the part of our Government, and this should be paid for, if not wholly, to a large extent, by the person who applies for citizenship. It seems to me that a head tax of \$10 is not so great as to be a hardship to a capable individual and is necessary to meet the requirements of such inspection as is needed. I think it is generally supposed that immigrants are required under our present laws to be in possession of a certain amount of money when arriving upon our shores, although such is not the case. In some cases it would seem to be necessary that immigrants should have considerable money in their possession when arriving to support them while seeking work. In other cases very little ready money would be necessary. I should favor, I think, a requirement of a moderate sum, which might be in the discretion of the inspectors or some properly constituted official, varied within certain limits. Perhaps it is not practical to do this, but it would seem as if a young, active, and capable man would not need so much ready money while he was looking for work as a middle-aged or elderly person. However that may be, I think that some safeguard should be provided at this point.

The Immigration Restriction League certainly is undertaking a work which will be of great value to this country not only in the present, but in the years to come. I do not think of any worthier object than that of your league. Certainly the improvement of the "mental, moral, and physical average of our people" is one of the most patriotic and necessary undertakings.

Very truly, yours,

NATHAN W. LITTLEFIELD.

EXHIBIT 34.

[John N. Pomeroy, LL. B., writer on legal subjects.]

SAN FRANCISCO, *March 1, 1910.*

PRESCOTT F. HALL, Esq.,

*Secretary Immigration Restriction League, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: YOUR interesting circular letter of February 22 is at hand. The facts stated therein are familiar to me. I favor the four remedies suggested by you.

I think, however, that these remedies at best are but palliatives. The East, it seems to me, must in time learn a lesson from the experience of the Pacific coast. We frankly admit, and always have admitted, that our fundamental objection to the immigration we wish to exclude is racial. That is, I take it, the real objection to the present tide of immigration on the Atlantic coast. It should be frankly acknowledged as the real objection.

I favor the extension of the Chinese-exclusion act to embrace all Asiatics, including subjects of the Turkish Empire. If it is impossible to secure by treaty a great reduction in the influx from southern Italy, Greece, the Balkan States, Austria, and Russia, I believe the same result can be reached through the steamship companies. The steamship "drummer," I understand, is the real cause of the present trouble. Exact of the companies a very large fine for each attempted violation of existing and proposed tests. Will not the assisted immigration business then speedily shrink to a fraction of its present volume?

I am aware of the difficulty of securing such legislation. The view which I would emphasize, since you are good enough to ask for my views on the general subject, is that the racial character of three-fifths of the present immigration is the matter of gravest concern. If we object to immigrant A on the score that he is a Hindoo or an Arab, is it logical to waive our objection on ascertaining that he can read his native tongue and has \$20 in his pocket?

Very truly, yours,

JOHN NORTON POMEROY.

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EXHIBIT 35.

[Robert F. Taylor, justice of supreme court, Florida.]

TALLAHASSEE, FLA., *March 24, 1910.*

Mr. PRESCOTT F. HALL,

*Secretary Immigration Restriction League,*

*11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: YOURS of the 21st instant just received, and in reply will say that for many years I have been of the opinion that our immigration and naturalization laws were entirely too loose in every direction. I believe it would be the part of wisdom to absolutely exclude from our shores certain nationalities, like, for instance, the Sicilians, who come here, breed discontent wherever they go, and who appear to be a race of assassins and criminals generally, with their "black hand" blackmailing habits. I believe that our institutions would be more permanently preserved if no foreigner were admitted unless he can read and write in some language, and unless he can show that in the country from which he comes he had some honest calling or occupation. I think it would be wise to increase the head tax to at least \$10, and I believe each immigrant or head of a family of immigrants should be required to be possessed of at least \$50 for his support here while seeking remunerative employment. In so far as our naturalization laws are concerned, I believe that, unless they are corked up considerably, that our Republic will live to regret it sadly. My theory is that even the well-educated foreigner of, say, 35 or 40 years, reared, as he has been, under the monarchical governments of the old world, after residing in America for 10 years, understands and appreciates less of the fundamental principles and spirit of our institutions than the average American boy of the age of 16 years; and yet this American boy is required to reside here for 21 years before he can exercise the right to vote; and I think that the foreigner should be subjected to the same residential probation, viz, 21 years, before being clothed with full-fledged citizenship, and if during such period he exhibited criminal propensities he should be excluded from naturalization altogether.

Very respectfully, yours,

R. F. TAYLOR.

## EXHIBIT 36.

[William A. Wood, corporation lawyer; ex-professor of economics; writer on economic subjects.]

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,  
March 23, 1910.

PRESCOTT F. HALL, Esq.,  
*Secretary Immigration Restriction League.*

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 21st instant is at hand. Your figures are impressive. For some time I have felt that immigration should be restricted, and am perhaps more radical in my views than the leaders of your league. I am in favor of the several items of your specific inquiry, and believe the head tax should be increased to \$10 at least, and possibly to \$25. I believe they (the immigrants) should be received on probation, having deposited with the authorities a sufficient amount to pay their return trip to the country of their previous habitation, and that any showing signs of being defective, delinquent, or permanently dependent should on such showing be deported at once. At the end of a proper period of probation the deposited money would be returned to the immigrant. I have no personal occasion to be interested in the matter of immigration, but hope your league will be effective in bringing about the restrictions you seem to favor.

Yours, very truly,

W. A. WOOD.

## EXHIBIT 37.

[C. A. Woods, associate justice, Supreme Court of South Carolina.]

MARION, S. C. March 24, 1910.

MR. PRESCOTT F. HALL,  
*Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: I take pleasure in answering your letter of the 21st as far as my information on the subject warrants me in expressing an opinion. With great earnestness I answer in the affirmative your questions Nos. 1, 2, and 4. As to No. 3, I believe that the head tax of \$4 should be increased, but I do not presume to say what the increase should be.

The vast immigration of the unworthy of other countries is, I believe, the great menace to our institutions, and some of the most difficult problems with which we have to deal would not have appeared in our social and political life but for the attempt to assimilate such a vast number of persons without any appreciation of those things which we regard most important in the national life.

Yours, truly,

C. A. WOODS.

## EXHIBIT 38.

[Daniel T. Wright, justice, Supreme Court, District of Columbia.]

MARCH 22, 1910.

PRESCOTT F. HALL,  
*Secretary, 11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiry of March 21. I experience no hesitation in expressing my opinion to be that a system of substantially unrestricted immigration is one of the greatest, if not the greatest menace to the continuing stability of American institutions. I believe that the social disturbances which have most seriously interfered with the equilibrium of economic conditions have found their greatest support to be derived from aliens within the land and the principles for the regulation of individual conduct that they have brought with them. I feel that the menace of this question has never received from the American people or from American statesmen the consideration which it deserves. I am therefore heartily and altogether in favor of further selective tests for immigrants. I think that no one should be received who does not at least equal in his advancement the characteristics of ordinary American citizen-

ship, and that therefore all immigrants should be able to read and write. I have no opinion about the propriety or impropriety of a head tax. Whether immigrants ought to be possessed of an amount of money sufficient to support them while seeking work is, in my judgment, a mere incidental question; its importance would dwindle to insignificance if an adequate system of selective tests were adopted.

Very respectfully, yours,

DANIEL T. WRIGHT.

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EXHIBIT 39.

[James N. Arnold, historian and genealogist.]

PROVIDENCE, R. I., *March 26, 1910.*

PRESCOTT F. HALL, Esq.

DEAR SIR: Your circular on immigration before me. You want my opinion, do you? Very well, here you have it square from the shoulder:

1. Yes; and only admit those in strict harmony spiritually and politically with us. Not one tied down or in any manner paying obedience to a foreign master in spiritual affairs to be on any condition while so controlled.

2. They should be able to read and write in at least their own language, and should know English before being allowed to vote.

3. Yes; put the price so high on the undesirables that it will keep them on the east side of the great brook.

4. They should be in good health, well clad, and capable of doing a good day's work at labor to which they are used.

Under all ordinary circumstances, they should be able to keep out of our poorhouses at least a decade.

There is too lax system in letting in such a scum of creation as we do. We at least should be as careful as the other nations. We could not send shiploads of paupers to Europe without being required to explain what we meant. I do not see under what rule we are bound to in any way support the poor of Europe. I sternly believe in looking to our own first, last, and all the time.

Finally, and in every case of an emigrant, if he wants to be one with us in every sense of the term and wants no strings or conditions attached, he is my own brother; if not, he is only my foreign brother.

Last, push your efforts; the more radical the better for me. Go the whole show and do not stand in the door. Mean business. Have no fear. Have courage to stand by your guns.

Yours, truly,

JAMES N. ARNOLD.

P. S.—I have no objection to good, wholesome, well-bred, well-disposed emigrants who honestly want to be one with us, but this ignorant, poverty, criminally disposed part I have no words to express my opposition to. Never have America a dumping ground for such garbage.

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EXHIBIT 40.

[Harlan H. Ballard, librarian Berkshire Athenaeum; organized Agassiz Association for Study of Nature; author; translator.]

PITTSFIELD, MASS., *March 23, 1910.*

PRESCOTT F. HALL,

*Secretary Executive Committee.*

DEAR SIR: Replying to your questions of March 21:

I am in favor of all immigration which tends to raise the standard of our population.

All of us excepting (perhaps) Indians are, or are descended from, "aliens."

I am opposed to excluding any immigrants on the sole ground of nationality.

There should, however, be selective tests. Entrance to these United States is neither an inherited nor an inalienable right.

No man should be admitted who is not qualified to become a citizen of any one of our States. Some of the States require educational tests before granting

suffrage—Massachusetts is one of them. I think no alien should be admitted to this country until he can read and write the English language to the extent required of a Massachusetts voter. This need not be exacted of minors or women, but all adult women and all minors over the age of 14 should be able to read and write some language.

All immigrants should be able-bodied, sound-minded, and of respectable character, vouched for by competent authority.

All immigrants should be able to become immediately self-supporting; and to this end should be permitted and encouraged to secure positions for work in advance of their coming.

There should be an entrance head tax of at least \$10.

Immigrants should be required to demonstrate the possession of at least \$100 for every adult male and \$200 for each adult female and \$300 for each minor child before admission. I am not insistent upon the precise sum, but it should be sufficient to insure their comfortable support. I think, too, that it would be well, if practicable, to have aliens admitted on probation for a period of five years, with a proviso that if at any previous time they should become dependent upon the public for support or be convicted of any crime or become insane, they may be deported to the place whence they came under due process of law.

But as deportation is always difficult, I would insist upon the strictest enforcement of present laws and the enactment of such additional restrictive legislation as may thoroughly safeguard the Nation.

Yours, respectfully,

HARLAN H. BALLARD.

EXHIBIT 41.

[Samuel G. W. Benjamin, author, artist; first United States minister to Persia.]

BURLINGTON, VT., March 26, 1910.

PRESCOTT F. HALL, Esq.,

*Executive Secretary Immigration Restriction League.*

DEAR SIR: I do not think it possible to overestimate the importance of Immigration Restriction League from the point of view of the welfare of our common country. Nor should there be any delay in extending the influence of the league and enforcing its power from one coast to the other through the entire Republic. Wherever there are ports of entry into our country there should be stationed faithful and sufficient guardians to oppose the admission of the ignorant and the criminal hordes which swarm to our borders and lower the quality and character of the millions who, unless checked, will undermine our institutions and corrupt the very people or nation for which those institutions were founded.

It is needless to state that I heartily approve your list of requirements to meet the demands of the present deplorable crisis, viz, further tests for immigrants; (2) obliging aliens to read; (3) increasing the present head tax of \$1; and (4) requiring immigrants to be in possession of money sufficient while in search of work.

In my opinion, the head tax should be at least doubled, and the means required to support the immigrant and his family while seeking work should be of larger average.

Having passed twenty-five or thirty years abroad among different races and seen much of their life and character, I should recommend discrimination in the percentage of immigrants allowed to enter from some of these foreign countries who are seeking the protection of the United States. But perhaps this would sometimes be difficult in practice. The Irish, the French from over our northern border, the English, the Germans, the Scandinavians, are probably better fitted to adapt themselves to the conditions in the United States than most other foreigners, one might maintain. The Portuguese might be included with these. The Italians, however gifted intellectually, have certain traits that unfit them for coming to our country for years to come because of certain traits known to all, that unfit them to receive the ballot or to be in any case recipients of American citizenship or to be residents here, at least until they have learned to appreciate and practice the first principles of civic law and order. As for the Asiatic races, however brilliant they may be in certain directions, they have never had any clear notion of self-government, as under-



stood by many of the Caucasian people of northern Europe, a matter of blood rather than education in its origin. There are good reasons why we should be very slow to admit them to citizenship in the United States, and we certainly do not or ought not to allow any large proportion of them in America. In admitting foreigners to this country give the preference to those who will most readily become fit to be useful citizens. Large numbers of immigrants settling here permanently, but excluded from full citizenship for the foregoing reasons, would be by no means desirable, and our interests, our ultimate national welfare demands strict regulations on this point. We exclude the Chinese and Japanese, who are or are preparing to become capable of a higher popular government than they have ever enjoyed. But there are many millions of foreigners already here or preparing to come who are in no sense better fitted than the Chinese for American citizenship. The only reason by which we can logically exclude the Chinese is their enormous population, which, if indiscriminately admitted to settlement in the United States, would soon double our population, and the loss to China be scarcely felt.

There is but slight danger that the governments whose subjects suffer such discrimination or exclusion would undertake to retaliate. We have an entire right to exclude any one we choose. They would lose too much by retaliation, and some, indeed, Germany, for example, would prefer either to keep her subjects at home or see them settling in South America, where she is doing her utmost to extend her commerce and influence, partly with the hope of outgoinizing the United States.

The greatest obstacles we have to meet in any efforts to reduce and regulate immigration to the United States are the veiled and secret efforts of politicians of the unscrupulous class which is greedy for votes and looks for them either by appeals to the pockets or the ignorance of foreigners who know nothing of our history or institutions and civic principles.

Another great hindrance is the united efforts or league of steamboat and railway lines who make enormous profits by the transportation of immigrants. It may not be always easy to bring home these facts; but the facts speak for themselves, however hard it may be to prove them in court and to provide the essential remedies. Steady, intelligent effort and determination will be necessary, but with those factors much may be ultimately accomplished, and it must be done or the entire character of our Nation will become rotten and go to the "demonition bowwows."

Our institutions have shown great elasticity and adaptability in assimilating these vast foreign hordes. But there must be a limit to such adaptability; that limit, in fact, has already been reached; it confronts us at this hour. The time has passed for sneering at those who look on this tremendous question with just apprehension.

One or two points I would respectfully suggest. One is that before the immigrant purchases his ticket he should not only be required to read at least in his own language from a book opened anywhere at random. He should also know how to write, and have some notion of our civic conditions.

Another point is that the number or proportion of immigrants permitted to land each year on our shores shall be made a matter of congressional legislation without regard to how many may wish to come.

Another point is that the religious faith of the immigrant shall have no influence in deciding his admission so long as he admits and lives according to the secular laws.

Another point is that the most thorough guaranties shall first be obtained that the proposed immigrant, whatever the sex, is affiliated with no form of anarchy or with any secret or open revolutionary societies endangering existing laws and constitutions. Any attempt to evade this regulation after landing in the United States shall result in immediate and permanent expulsion. Such regulation is as vital as the laws of hygiene.

A final point is that some means should be devised for a more equal distribution of the flood of immigration over the country, especially toward preventing the congestion of foreigners in our large cities. I think that some such provision may be arranged after some careful consideration.

I hope that these hastily written, and somewhat discursive paragraphs will be received with indulgence, for I am quite busy just now with certain matters, and also a little under the weather. Hence I have written *currente calamo* instead of taking more time to condense what I was encouraged to say in reply to your esteemed favor of March 21.

I am, dear sir, yours, respectfully,

S. G. W. BENJAMIN.

## EXHIBIT 42.

[Frank M. Bicknell, author.]

MALDEN, MASS., April 19, 1910.

Mr. PRESCOTT F. HALL.

DEAR SIR: In response to yours of yesterday, I would say that I am entirely in sympathy with the reforms aimed at by the Immigration Restriction League. No legislation could be too severe, no restrictive methods too drastic to suit me. I am in favor of anything that will save decent Americans from being governed, in our cities at least, by foreign criminals and peasants and their descendants. I would especially keep out foreigners who, coming from lands where they never have had any liberty whatever, feel privileged to indulge in every sort of license here, and, furthermore, to stir up all the trouble and discontent they can. I am in favor of the severest restrictive tests that can be devised; of obliging allens to give proof of having had at least a good common school education; of increasing the present head tax to any amount within reason, the more the better; of requiring immigrants to be well supplied with money, so that the danger of their becoming a charge on the public will be very remote; and also I should earnestly desire legislation that would positively prevent any immigrant from becoming a naturalized citizen until he had been in this country many more years than the law now requires, and until he could demonstrate clearly that he fully understood the duties of citizenship and could vote with intelligence and without being instructed by political bosses. I feel so strongly in this matter that, could I have my way, I would disfranchise all voters who have shown conspicuously that they are undesirable citizens. America should be governed by her good and not her bad citizens.

Very truly, yours,

FRANK M. BICKNELL.

## EXHIBIT 43.

[Henry H. Bennett, magazine writer and ornithologist.]

CHILlicothe, OHIO, April 11, 1910.

PRESCOTT F. HALL, Esq.,

*Secretary Executive Committee,**Immigration Restriction League, Boston, Mass.*

MY DEAR SIR: Replying to the league's letter of inquiry under date of the 21st March, relative to the further restriction of immigration, I beg to reply to the questions asked as follows:

1. I most certainly favor further selective tests for immigrants, making them especially searching along the lines of bodily freedom from disease, past record, and ability to be self-supporting.

2. Aliens should be able to read, preferably in their native language, and should be able to demonstrate that they understand what they read.

3. Head tax should be not less than \$10, as a further deterrent to pauper immigration.

4. Yes.

I am in favor of making the immigration laws far stricter than at present. Those proposing to become immigrants should present unimpeachable papers as to character, etc., to a duly appointed agent of the United States before being allowed passage by steamship lines. If possible, the final destination of immigrants should be known before passage, and also, if possible, measures should be devised to prevent congestion in cities.

Aliens, until naturalized, should be required to report at stated times to the authorities, city or county, giving present residence, occupation, etc. All possible means should be taken to check the immigration of the undesirable peoples of southern Europe.

Yours, very truly,

HENRY H. BENNETT.

## EXHIBIT 44.

[Gamaliel Bradford, jr., retired banker, author.]

WELLESLEY HILLS, MASS., April 21, 1910.

JAMES H. PATTEN, *Secretary Immigration Restriction League.*

DEAR SIR: In answer to your circular letter of the 18th, let me say that I view with the greatest apprehension the increasing flood of immigrants who swarm into this country in numbers far larger than we can properly absorb or initiate in the true working of our system of government, and I heartily approve of all the restrictions you propose, and more, if more are necessary, feeling, however, that what is probably required is rather a more rigid enforcement of laws already existing than the further enactment of others.

May I say a word on the general question. The theory of the advocates of unrestricted immigration is that the blessings of our free country ought to be extended to all men. They do not sufficiently consider that our system of government is as yet an immense experiment, conducted under enormous difficulties, and by no means assured of ultimate success. To further that success is the dearest wish of all those interested in the welfare of humanity, and nothing can endanger it more than the introduction of hordes of ignorant foreigners who do not understand our institutions and are often more anxious to overthrow them than to foster them. Therefore, I hold that the restriction of immigration is by no means a selfish expedient for self-preservation—though it may well be defended on this ground alone—but the true policy of a farsighted philanthropy.

Very truly, yours,

GAMALIEL BRADFORD, JR.

## EXHIBIT 45.

[Charles W. Burpee, editor for Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company; contributor to various periodicals.]

HARTFORD, February 23, 1910.

Mr. PRESCOTT F. HALL,

11 Pemberton Square, Boston.

DEAR SIR: I have yours of the 22d concerning the work of the Immigration Restriction League. I would give the following on the points you present:

1. Most emphatically further selective tests for immigrants.
2. Most emphatically obliging aliens to be obliged to read in some language.
3. Increasing the present head tax of \$4 to \$10.
4. Most emphatically requiring immigrants to be in possession of an amount of money sufficient to support them while seeking work.

As secretary of the Hartford Board of School Visitors, I find another feature which has not yet received the attention it ought. Our whole public-school system is seriously threatened. In Hartford we have as fine schools as there are anywhere in the matter of equipment and teachers. And yet, hundreds of parents who can ill afford it are taking their children out and putting them into private and less worthy schools. Why? Because they have found their children in schoolrooms sandwiched in between filthy, lousy, and diseased immigrant children. We can prevent the spread of serious contagion, and yet we find that many of the colds contracted by otherwise healthy children are contracted from children all around them in the schoolrooms who have colds from fall until spring. Of course they do. They have no proper apparel and trudge to school through deep slush, wearing only thin and holey shoes. When they get back home they receive no attention whatever, even where parents have the means to provide them with dry outfits. Altogether our regular schools are turning out worthy subjects for our out-door schools for tubercular pupils. Further, the better class of children are contracting adenoids and kindred complaints because of colds and like ailments they get from their associates in the school-room.

Another reason why ordinarily decent parents are removing their children from the public schools is that the children get all sorts of perverse ideas and vile language from the immigrant children. I have been observing this carefully the past year, and am surprised at what I find even in the most favorably located school district in the city. It often is said that our greatest help in

"assimilating" is in educating these children to be good citizens. No one can quarrel with that, but how about it when they come in such numbers as to drive from our schools the children of citizens already fairly good? This is not a theory, but a condition.

Very truly, yours,

CHARLES W. BURPEE.

EXHIBIT 46.

[Franklin W. Calkins, author.]

MAINE, MINN., *March 2, 1910.*

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of February 22, forwarded from New York, permit me to say that I favor immigration laws which shall demand of the newcomer—

1. That he be able, at 15 years of age or over, to read and write in the tongue which he speaks.

2. That he shall pass such examination in civil government as shall show that he has an intelligent idea of the nature of our Government and of the responsibilities he must assume in becoming a citizen.

3. A sworn declaration of his intention to become a citizen.

4. That he shall possess \$100 in cash or property to that assessed value.

There should be no head tax and no premium upon immigration.

With the above restrictions, together with necessary sanitary regulations, I should favor the open door, neither favoring Occident nor Orient.

If people of responsibility and intelligence wish to come to us to make their homes with us, they should be allowed to come. If they purpose to come here to support families or relatives abroad, they should be strictly debarred.

Immigration the purpose of which is to exploit our resources and to further increase the wealth of corporate holdings I would check, if necessary, at the muzzles of gatling guns.

We are dangerously near to the edge of revolution at this present moment.

Unless there shall be great wisdom shown soon in legislation, which shall protect the rights of all men and women in this Republic, we shall have a repetition of 1861.

No man can live in the West, as I am doing, and not be aware of the undercurrent of grim and determined resistance to the growth of monopoly.

Unless some great things be done for the protection of the people the flame of their wrath will in the end be consuming.

At the rate of 1,000,000 immigration per annum we are adding tinder to material that is already inflammable enough.

What we need, if anything, of foreign immigration, is sane, sober, responsible, and intelligent people.

This is quite a lengthy letter, but you have asked in behalf of the Immigration Restriction League for an expression of opinion, and as I have of late been made to feel deeply the obligation resting upon a citizen of the United States I have answered you.

Sincerely, yours,

FRANKLIN W. CALKINS.

EXHIBIT 47.

[John H. Dentson, D. D., contributor to Atlantic Monthly.]

WILLIAMSTOWN, *February 25, 1910.*

MR. PRESCOTT F. HALL.

DEAR SIR: I am not sufficiently familiar with the practical outcome of our present immigration laws to give an opinion on the best methods of restricting or sifting immigration. The one thing I am absolutely sure of is the necessity of drastic measures for securing both results. The fact is that no ordinary principles apply to this case. We are not dealing with immigration in any ordinary sense of the word, but with an inundation and a conquest. These foreign people have already dispossessed us of the control of our great cities. They are to be our rulers: we have been so carried away by the greed which sought to make money out of immigration, by false humanitarianism, and by

political schemes, that we have actually put our American institutions and the slowly developed American type which made those institutions possible, into imminent peril; we have given these people liberty to cumber the soil and destroy the tree of liberty.

The only thing that can save us now is severe sifting and restriction, combined with strenuous exertion to make the right of suffrage dependent upon a thorough course of instruction in American polity, history, and ideals. Such a course might be given in a simple, practical, yet thorough, manner, adapted to the minds of children, somewhat after the pattern of the George Republic.

At all events the most essential thing is a propaganda of true American citizenship given in the form of night schools, which should be the sine qua non of the right of suffrage. I wish American boys, too, could be compelled to accept the same conditions. Severe restriction and sifting and a powerful practical organ for assimilation to the soundest American type and ideal is the only thing that stands between us and Caesar, in my judgment.

Yours, truly,

JOHN H. DENISON.

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EXHIBIT 48.

[James Dinkins, author, banker.]

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *February 25, 1910.*

HON. PRESCOTT F. HALL,

*Secretary Executive Committee, Immigration Restriction League,*

*Boston, Mass.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have read your circular letter of February 22 upon the subject of immigration restriction with much interest and lasting impressions.

I believe this to be the most important question before the American people, political or social.

As a matter of fact, your purpose should appeal to every man and woman in the country, especially those who have children to rear.

We do not need statistics to show the injurious effects of pauper immigrants upon our people. Even our negroes are injured by contact with them, which has at this time almost destroyed the civilizing influences of our people in efforts to improve the negro. I can safely say that 90 per cent of the immigrants coming to this section are unable to read or write in any language and 95 per cent of them are thieves and anarchists. They come here like cattle in crowded stock cars, with hatred for every form of government or social restriction, and they transfer that hatred to our Government and to our high class of people.

It is the greatest menace to our progress, liberty, and happiness, and unless the restrictions you suggest are enacted and enforced we will soon become a nation of beggars and organ grinders. I favor all your suggestions and stand ready to do everything I am able to assist you in the laudable purpose. If you have a set intention of bringing before the legislatures of the different States a resolution or memorial to the General Government I shall thank you for the draft.

In the meantime, I am happy to be, with appreciation,

Yours, respectfully,

JAS. DINKINS.

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EXHIBIT 49.

[Edward S. Ellis, M. A., writer on historical subjects.]

UPPER MONTCLAIR, N. J., *February 23, 1910.*

PRESCOTT F. HALL, *Esquire.*

DEAR SIR: I am deeply in sympathy with the aims of the "Immigration Restriction League." I have believed for years, and said so in more than one of my published works, that among the most appalling perils that threaten the life of the Republic is unrestricted immigration. We are sowing seed whose crimson harvest will be as terrifying as that which, in God's own time, sprang from the introduction of slavery at Jamestown in 1619. The only way to meet

this menace, I suppose, is to rouse public sentiment. Among the seemingly practical means that have occurred to me would be the appointment of reliable agents to inspect immigrants before they are allowed to leave any foreign port and to hold the steamship companies rigidly responsible for any and all violations of regulations regarding the same. I favor provisions you propose, with the exception of the third. Unless the head tax were made prohibitive I doubt whether an increase would act as a deterrent and only serve to oppress the worthy with the unworthy. A Sicilian brigand or Blackhander would find little difficulty in paying for a "front seat" on our hospitable shores.

Very truly,

EDWARD S. ELLIS.

EXHIBIT 50.

[Charles F. Holder, author; for four years assistant curator of zoology, American Museum Natural History, New York; fellow, New York Academy Sciences; trustee of various educational institutions.]

475 BELLEFONTAINE AVENUE,  
Pasadena, Cal., March 2, 1910.

Mr. PRESCOTT F. HALL,  
*Secretary Executive Committee Immigration Restriction League,  
Pemberton Square, Boston.*

MY DEAR SIR: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 22d ultimo and in reply would say that I am very much interested in the question of the restriction of foreign immigration, as I conceive every citizen should be. It is vital.

(1) I do favor selective tests for immigrants, and (2) I should insist that all would-be immigrants should be able to read and write in their own language, and (3) I would insist that the income, or head tax, of every immigrant should be raised to at least \$50. I should also require that immigrants should not be admitted unless they had sufficient money to support themselves decently for at least six months.

I think you will find on investigation that the entire immigration question is in the hands of large transportation companies, who, solely for the passage money, have built up an extraordinary business in bringing over to this country all the citizens of various countries they can, who are in many cases undesirable and are in some cases practically aided by their own countries to come to America, and that this country undoubtedly has been for many years the dumping ground of Europe.

All our troubles, including anarchists and our dangerous cranks of many kinds, are mainly due to a lax system of immigration laws, and personally I am in favor of revising our laws in this connection and making them as strict as possible; not only this, but I believe that the Government should insist that the incoming horde of aliens should be divided up so that all parts of the country should receive its quota. In other words, I would have the governors of the various States consulted and the system so arranged that each State, from Vermont to California, should receive its share. At the present time California, Arizona, New Mexico, Washington, and Oregon have far below their normal population, labor is very scarce, and the same is true in Texas, where there is enough good land to support all Europe, but through our lax laws of immigration the great body of immigrants pours into New York and Chicago and other great cities, rendering them more and more foreign every year. We should not receive foreigners faster than we can assimilate them in any event.

If it is a fact that 1,000,000 people will enter the United States in 1910, one-fourth of whom over 14 years of age can not read or write in any language, and all are going to four cities, the outlook for America is certainly not very bright, and an outrage is being perpetrated on the Nation. No one should be allowed to come into this country without a fair education. All anarchists should be rounded up and sent back. If the authorities can not do this, I should be very glad to show them how.

Very truly, yours,

CHAS. F. HOLDER.

## EXHIBIT 51.

[Francis Lynde, writer, chiefly for magazines.]

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *March 14, 1910.*

DEAR SIR: A very considerable pressure of other things has prevented me from answering sooner your circular letter of February 22.

I am not entirely unfamiliar with the objects and work of the Immigration Restriction League, and I am heartily in agreement with the views set forth. Such being the case, I very gladly answer your communication categorically.

1. I do favor further selective tests for incoming aliens. The first of these tests should be, for all over school age, the ability to read and write in the mother tongue. For adult men there should be undoubted documentary evidence of former good citizenship in the fatherland; and for all there should be something more rigid than the present lax medical examination—an inquiry which should seek to exclude, so far as possible, the mental and moral, as well as the physical, degenerate.

2. Answered above.

3. I am not in favor of increasing the present head tax. Protection is the end to be sought, not the exclusion of the honest poor.

4. But most certainly immigrants should be required to land with sufficient money to support them while seeking employment. I do not feel competent to say what this sum should be. It should be large enough to be a guaranty of thrift on the part of the immigrant, but not so large as to exclude the worthy poor.

In all of these answers I am scarcely in accord with the people of my own section. The South has never had many of the aliens to deal with, and a greater infusion of worthy immigrants would doubtless be an advantage to us and might, perhaps, aid in the solution of the vexed problem of the races. But I have observed, as every thinking employer of labor must have observed, that the present system, which is based upon the widely opened door, tends to the debasement not only of the ignorant alien, but of the American as well. A few years ago, in the building of a Colorado railroad, I had an opportunity to observe the beautiful working of the padrone system, which is little less than a blot upon our civilization. The same system, in even worse forms, exists in the mines and in the larger industrial plants to-day. We can better it only in time and by a better selection of the incomers.

Count confidently upon any assistance that I may be able to render to bring about a better state of affairs.

Very truly, yours,

FRANCIS LYNDE.

Mr. PRESCOTT F. HALL,

*Secretary Executive Committee Immigration Restriction League,  
Boston, Mass.*

## EXHIBIT 52.

[Charles Major, lawyer, author.]

SHELBYVILLE, IND., *March 5, 1910.*

Mr. PRESCOTT F. HALL,

*Secretary Executive Committee of the  
Immigration Restriction League,  
Boston, Mass.*

DEAR SIR: In your letter of February 22 you ask me to answer the following questions:

1. Yes; as to health, history and heredity, education, and relationships.
2. Yes.
3. Yes; first, to prove a sincere desire for American citizenship; second, the Government is put to great cost each year by these immigrants, and they should pay for it.
4. Yes; an amount fixed on the cost of living in, say, New York perhaps six months.

If something is not done soon to stop this flood of unselected immigrants, the American citizen of 50 years hence will pray for an absolute monarchy, even with a bad autocrat, and we shall have added one more chapter to the already large book of evidence proving Talleyrand's hated aphorism: "A republic is a good form of government for a nation in its infancy." (I do not quote by the book, I fear.)

But the resultant political evils will be the least of our calamities. Heredity will tell the story of our greatest woes. It is like incunctating a whole nation of people with leprosy, that can be eradicated from the blood only by a racial lapse, through decades of time, to rejuvenating savagery.

A generation owes two great duties—one to itself and one to the future. We are guilty of the double crime of failing in both.

Very truly, yours,

CHARLES MAJOR.

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EXHIBIT 53.

[Carlos Martyn, D. D., author of historical and biographical works.]

NOROTON, CONN., *February 24, 1910.*

MR. PRESCOTT F. HALL.

DEAR SIR: Referring to your letter of inquiry re immigration, I would avow my belief that the time has come to exclude any individual or any class not desirable.

Time was when we needed workers. That time is past, and the needful thing now is to maintain or raise the tone of citizenship.

Formerly the immigration came mainly from countries in sympathy with our ideals; now it comes from ignorant and pauper and vicious sources. I would cry a halt all along the line and devote time and money and prayer to the assimilation and evangelization of the heterogeneous elements already here.

All aliens should be required to read and write in at least their native language.

All should come with a sufficient financial outfit not to become a public charge in the near future.

But my scheme would be a practical prohibition of immigration, save from selected quarters, for a decade or two, or till further notice.

Your friend,

CARLOS MARTYN.

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EXHIBIT 54.

[Charles Burr Todd, author, Journalist.]

CORONADO, FLA., *March 25, 1910.*

PRESCOTT HALL, Esq.,

*Secretary Executive Committee,*

*Immigration Restriction League.*

DEAR SIR: Yours of March 21 at hand. I am opposed to further immigration unless the immigrant can show (1) a clean bill of health; (2) a good common-school education; (3) possession of at least \$2,000 cash capital. The natural increase of our present population will in a few generations tax our food-producing resources to the limit. We are in a position to select, discriminate, and reject, and I think we should do it. This answers your four questions I think.

Very truly, yours,

CHARLES BURR TODD.



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STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, THE  
BOARD OF DELEGATES ON CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE  
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGRE-  
GATIONS, AND THE INDEPENDENT  
ORDER B'NAI B'RITH.

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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

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NEW YORK, November 7, 1910.

Senator W. P. DILLINGHAM,

*Chairman United States Immigration Commission,*

*Washington, D. C.*

SIR: In response to the invitation of the Immigration Commission to the American Jewish Committee, the Board of Delegates on Civil Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, we, the undersigned, acting on behalf of these organizations, beg to submit herewith the following recommendations, supplementary to and in amplification of the oral argument made at the hearing before the commission on December 4, 1909,<sup>a</sup> and the written recommendations submitted on July 9 last. by Dr. Cyrus Adler and the Hon. Simon Wolf, acting on behalf of the American Jewish Committee and the Board of Delegates, respectively. For convenience, the latter have been incorporated in the recommendations herewith presented.

Very respectfully,

For the American Jewish Committee:

MAYER SULZBERGER, Philadelphia,

JULIAN W. MACK, Chicago,

JACOB H. HOLLANDER, Baltimore,

ISAAC W. BERNHEIM, Louisville,

CYRUS ADLER, Philadelphia,

HARRY CUTLER, Providence, R. I.,

SAMUEL DORF, New York,

JUDAH L. MAGNES, New York,

LOUIS MARSHALL, New York,

JULIUS ROSENWALD, Chicago,

JACOB H. SCHIFF, New York,

ISADOR SOBEL, Erie, Pa.,

CYRUS L. SULZBERGER, New York,

*Executive Committee.*

For the Board of Delegates on Civil Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations:

SIMON WOLF, Washington, D. C., *Chairman,*

MAX J. KOHLER, New York,

ABRAM I. ELKUS, New York,

*Subcommittee.*

For the Independent Order B'nai B'rith:

SIMON WOLF, Resident Washington Member,

ADOLPH KRAUS, Chicago, *President,*

PHILIP STEIN, Chicago,

JACOB FURTH, St. Louis,

*Advisory Committee.*

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<sup>a</sup> For report of hearing see p. 265.

STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, THE BOARD OF DELEGATES ON CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS, AND THE INDEPENDENT ORDER B'NAI B'RITH.

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I.—EXISTING LAW IN THE MAIN SATISFACTORY.

The present law, except as to administrative details and desirable amendments hereinafter specified, is satisfactory, has been productive of great good, has resulted in the exclusion of those whose presence here might be injurious to the public weal, and has afforded our country the labor and enterprise which it required, and without which the development of our great industries and public works would be impeded. We desire to emphasize at this point that the immigration laws of the United States, except those dealing with Chinese (with which the present statement does not concern itself) have always been enacted to regulate immigration. They are designed to exclude those persons only who would inflict injury upon the body politic, either physically, mentally, or morally. They are peremptorily exclusive also of those who come within the definition of contract labor and those whose ticket or passage is paid for "by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign Government, either directly or indirectly." The earlier immigration policy of the United States was intended to encourage immigration. This policy has not been reversed nor is it conceived that such reversal is to be seriously considered. The act of 1868 (see p. 147 post) is a true expression of the settled national policy. No immigration law of the United States has ever been restrictive (except as already specified) but always regulative, and the statements made here and abroad to the contrary are practically without foundation. The head tax was not designed as a restrictive measure, but has always been intended to meet the cost of regulating immigration and caring for the immigrant.

II.—THE IMMIGRANT ENTITLED TO DUE PROCESS OF LAW.

1. *Immigrants arriving at United States ports are entitled to due process of law in form and in substance, on their application for admission. The present law (sec. 25) requires that decisions of boards of special inquiry shall be "rendered solely upon the evidence adduced before the board of special inquiry" in the presence of the immigrant or his counsel, so that the immigrant may know what he has to meet. Departures from this requirement to the prejudice of the immigrant are of frequent occurrence, and should be effectively prevented.*

*Argument.*—Recent judicial decisions establish the proposition that it is a denial of due process of law, which justifies judicial inter-

vention, if evidence is withheld by the Government from the examination of the immigrant or his counsel, but is nevertheless submitted to the reviewing body or is withheld by the immigration officials from consideration on appeal. (See *In re Can Pon*, 168 F. R., 479, C. C. A.; *Chin Yow v. U. S.*, 208 U. S., 8; *Hopkins v. Fachant*, 130 F. R., 838, C. C. A.; *Davies v. Manalies*, 179 F. R., 818, C. C. A.) And where conjecture is substituted for evidence. (*U. S. v. Wong Chong*, 92 F. R., 141, Coxe, J.) This departure from due process of law, both in hearings before boards of special inquiry and on appeal, is a matter of constant occurrence, to the prejudice of the immigrant who is kept ignorant of the evidence against him. Records on appeal which have been examined show that in numerous instances, members of the boards of special inquiry and commissioners of immigration attempt to decide cases on arbitrary assumptions where, contrary to law, facts to warrant them do not appear in the record sent up on appeal and which have in reality no bases in fact. A common illustration of the denial of due process of law is the assumption that the occupation of the applicant is or is not a "congested industry," so as to make it probable that he can not secure occupation in it after his arrival, the contract-labor provision preventing his securing a position before arrival. Frequently unwarranted assumptions are made that money actually deposited and offers to secure positions are "charity" and are not made bona fide. Courts recognize the necessary limitations upon their right to take judicial notice of matters in general, especially where the matter is not positively known or is in doubt or relates to a subject which is constantly changing. (See *Austin v. Texas*, 179 U. S., 343, 345; *American Sulphate Co. v. D. Gross Co.*, 157 F. R., 660, C. C. A.) It is accordingly of great importance that the immigrants be accorded due process of law with respect to all investigations relating to them.

2. *The right of the immigrant to counsel before boards of special inquiry should not be denied, and the hearings should be public as recommended by the Ellis Island Commission of 1903.*

*Argument.*—See Exhibit A for the recommendations of that Commission: and B, brief in the Matter of Hersch Skuratowski, Point VII, pp. 173-175.

3. *The methods of hearing appeals should be improved, including the granting of reasonable opportunity to the immigrant, first, to see the evidence, and, second, to offer new evidence and submit briefs.*

*Argument.*—Note facts involved in the group of cases in brief in the Matter of Hersch Skuratowski, Points VIII and IX, pp. 175 and 176, Exhibit B.

4. *The provisions of the act of 1891, reenacted in the present law (secs. 25 and 10), forbidding judicial review of the determinations of executive officers excluding immigrants, should be repealed in so far as they prevent judicial review of questions of law merely, but not of questions of fact.*

*Argument.*—No other class of cases is beyond judicial review, yet personal liberty is even more precious than property rights. A seri-

ous and anomalous situation arises when, as to protection of their most cherished rights, thousands of persons are put beyond the reach of the courts, particularly when there are presented serious questions of law affecting their rights, and when the executive tribunals deciding the cases act behind closed doors. Since revolutionary days, when the famous Massachusetts Bill of Rights was adopted, we have recognized that ours is a "government of laws, and not of men." Confusion, demoralization, and injustice are bound to result when executive action is made nonreviewable by the courts. There is no danger of the courts admitting persons really incompetent, nor even of their reviewing conflicting questions of fact previously determined against the immigrant by executive officers; the result would merely be to prevent illegal executive action and to make executive rulings conform to law.

- 5. *The Secretary of Commerce and Labor and the Attorney General should jointly prepare and publish a compilation of judicial decisions and opinions rendered by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor and his legal advisers, for the guidance of immigration inspectors and the public generally.*

*Argument.*—The purpose of this recommendation is to secure uniformity of action and correct determinations by immigration officials in accordance with law. Much uncertainty and confusion prevail among inspectors as to the proper interpretation of the law. Important authoritative decisions construing the statutes were handed down prior to the statute making administrative decisions nonreviewable, and there have been a few judicial decisions since then dealing with cases reviewable because of alleged denial of due process of law. There have also been authoritative rulings and opinions handed down by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor and his legal advisers (the Attorney General and the Solicitor of the department), but these are difficult of access and widely scattered. Moreover there have been various circulars and instructions issued by the subordinate immigration officials, the legality and correctness of which, as expositions of the law, have been challenged on behalf of immigrants, but the matters have not yet been determined by the courts. It is accordingly of great importance that such an authoritative compilation as above referred to be published and distributed among immigration officials and the public at large.

No such compilations have been issued since 1899, when the Treasury Department issued a "Digest of Immigration Laws and Decisions." This has long been out of print. The fact that for over 20 years the decisions of immigration officials have been practically nonreviewable by the courts makes it all the more important on the one hand properly to educate the Government officials who pass on nearly a million applications for entrance into the United States every year, and on the other hand to enable immigrants and their friends to ascertain, before embarkation for the United States, what the requirements of our laws are. The adoption of novel, constantly changing, and controverted theories of construction of the laws by subordinate immigration officials having coercive powers over their subordinates makes it all the more important to secure such official compilations to guide both Government officials and immigrants. In

fact, both section 1 of the immigration act of 1907, and the corresponding section of the act of 1903, provide that the money received from the head tax on immigrants should be employed in part to defray "the cost of reports of decisions of the Federal courts and digests thereof, for the use of the Commissioner General of Immigration." This, of course, also contemplated publication. This express mandate of Congress, so important to the interest of thousands, has been wholly ignored. An examination of many records of exclusions shows that an appreciable and increasing number of questionable exclusions is taking place. Instructions to inspectors, secretly issued, carelessly phrased, and of doubtful legality are no substitute for such authoritative publication.

More accurate information abroad as to the purport of our laws would deter many incompetent persons from embarking for the United States. It appears from the Government's records that during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, 65,000 persons abroad, after paying for their tickets in whole or in part, were refused passage for this country by reason of physical defects disclosed by the medical examination at the port of intended departure—five times as many as the total number of exclusions for all causes for the same period here. Such a compilation, published in various languages, would also greatly discourage the migration of persons incompetent on other than medical grounds. In fact, while the Immigration Bureau was a branch of the Treasury Department, immigration decisions were published as rendered in the weekly "Synopsis of Treasury Decisions," subsequently bound and issued in book form annually or semi-annually; even this has now ceased, though becoming more necessary day by day, as the laws are now administered by a different department. (See Hearings before Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, 61st Cong., 1 sess., pp. 348 to 352, 356 to 360, and *passim*, hereto annexed as Exhibit C. p. 182.)

6. *Appointments to boards of special inquiry should be made by the Department of Commerce and Labor and should not be limited to immigration inspectors. These officials should have adequate salaries in order to secure efficient service.*

*Argument.*—See, for examples, the facts developed and described in Exhibit B, Brief in the Matter of Hersh Skuratowski.

7. *A circular letter issued by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, dated June 21, 1910, as to the provisions of the law concerning the detention of immigrants for hearings before boards of special inquiry has lately enormously increased the number of unjustified exclusions.*

*Argument.*—The law (sec. 24) provides that every alien who may not appear to the examining inspector at the port of arrival to be clearly and beyond a doubt entitled to land shall be detained for examination in relation thereto by a board of special inquiry. The purpose of this provision was merely to insure more careful and mature investigation and consideration of cases by a board of three than could be accorded by the hasty examination on the line by a

single inspector. The statute nowhere makes this rule as to proof of entry "clearly and beyond a doubt" applicable elsewhere than to the examining inspector "on the line;" on the contrary, after examination "on the line" a different rule applies. In fact, the courts have all emphatically and unmistakably held that aliens are entitled to the benefit of all reasonable doubt as to the right of entry, and that our immigration laws, like all laws in restraint of liberty, are to be fairly and liberally construed in favor of individual liberty. (*Moffat v. United States*, 128 F. R., 375, 378 C. C. A.; *Tsoi Sim v. United States*, 116 F. R., 920 C. C. A.; *Japanese Immigrant case*, 189 U. S., S. S. 100; *Lau Ow Bew v. U. S.*, 144 U. S., 47, 59; *Rodgers v. U. S.*, 152 F. R., 346, 350 C. C. A.; *In re Tong Tan*, 161 F. R., 618; *Aff. as to Can Pon* in 168 F. R., 479; *Botes v. Davis*, 173 F. R., 996; *Lieber's Hermeneutics* (3d ed.), pp. 128-129, 137; *Harten v. Goldstein*, 20 App. Div., 203, 206; *Am. & Eng. Ency. of Law* (2d ed.), vol. 26, pp. 646-648, 659, 661-662; *Coffin v. U. S.*, 156 U. S., 432.)

The circular letter in question emphasizes with much detail the necessity for proof before the inspector on the line as to the immigrant's being "clearly and beyond a doubt entitled to land," but makes no reference to the fact that such rule of proof does not apply before the board of special inquiry. Consequently many inspectors sitting on boards of special inquiry conceive it to be their duty in this capacity as well to exact proof clearly and beyond a doubt, in default of which they order deportation. Even if this oversight be inadvertent, it must be remembered that inspectors to whom the circulars were addressed are not lawyers, and the department has not rectified the oversight by a supplementary circular.

This circular is entirely too harsh and rigid, even as an exposition of the law of burden of proof to be borne by the alien, to secure admittance without detention for the hearing before the board of special inquiry. After a general statement as to alleged unauthorized leniency in primary inspection in the past, inspectors are instructed to make particular inquiry into any element of assistance in each case and as to the alien's occupation, his physical condition, his particular destination, the likelihood of his obtaining early employment at his occupation, the amount of funds at his command, etc., and the circular then goes on to say "the inspector must not leniently conjecture that the alien will be able to get along, but such fact must appear clearly and beyond a doubt." In view of the fact that the contract-labor provision expressly forbids aliens securing positions before coming over, it is in almost every case possible for an unlearned inspector to hold that the mere fact that a man has no position renders his ability to get one a mere matter of conjecture and that he may properly be held likely to become a public charge. By this process of reasoning he elevates a mere possibility of not getting work into a likelihood to become a public charge, whereas in a country like ours, where labor is needed, no capable, healthy person willing to work can rightfully be held likely to become a public charge. In this connection a very able editorial from the *New York Evening Post* of July 16, 1909, is very much in point:

Once a foreigner has shown that he is able-bodied, free from contagious diseases, and neither a criminal, an anarchist, nor polygamist, nor certain to become a public charge, he has made out a prima facie case for his admission.

As to the fear of letting in aliens to become public charges upon public charity, it seems to us that the provision of the law which orders such immigrants back within three years after their arrival should encourage clemency at Ellis Island, rather than harshness. If the immigrant who falls into pauperism can be gotten rid of within three years, why should our immigration officers speculate excessively upon the chances of an immigrant becoming a pauper? Here, again, he should be given the benefit of the doubt—given a chance to show that what this country offers its newcomers is not poverty, but a living.

Moreover, this circular is in the respects specified similar to one issued by Commissioner of Immigration Williams, of the port of New York, on June 15, 1909, in which in dealing with determinations as to entry, and not merely for detentions for the board of special inquiry, he instructed his subordinates:

It is necessary that the standard of inspection at Ellis Island be raised. Notice hereof is given publicity in order that the intending immigrants may be advised before embarkation that our immigration laws will be strictly enforced.

As pointed out above, the courts have established the rule of law that immigration acts must be fairly and reasonably construed in favor of immigrants and not rigidly and harshly against them.

The legal advisers of the Department of Commerce and Labor have on occasions decided adversely to the immigrant on points of law where they have themselves regarded their opinion as of doubtful validity, and this despite express recognition of inability to secure judicial review. A typical illustration of this is afforded by the remarks of the Solicitor of the Department of Commerce and Labor in decision No. 111, page 15, in the so-called "South Carolina Laborers' case."

*8. The assisted immigrant and prepaid ticket provisions of the statute (sec. 2) should be amended by omitting the confusing "burden of proof" provision. The provision should be recast so as to carry out the intent of the framers by confining it to contract labor cases and cases of immigrants whose passage has been prepaid by "corporations, associations, etc."*

*Argument.*—The committee of Congress which reported the original "assisted immigrant" provisions in 1891 (Report of Select Committee on Immigration, Jan. 14, 1891, 52d Cong., 2d sess., H. Rept. No. 3472, p. IV) said wisely:

Assisted immigration is of two kinds: Those assisted by friends from this side of the water is the best class of immigration, for they have relatives or friends here who will care for them in their untried surroundings. But the immigrant assisted from the other side usually has no friends here, and if any on the other side their chiefest interest is in getting rid of what is likely soon to become a burden. The assisted ticket immigrant should not be made an excluded class, but our experience has been so unfortunate that it is prudent to have him show affirmatively that he does not belong to one of the excluded classes.

The "assisted immigrant" provisions of the law are still based on this broad-minded premise. They merely aim to exclude undesirable persons brought over by contract-labor employers, seeking to secure cheap labor at the expense of home labor, and at scales of wages below our prevailing rates, and undesirables whose passage was paid by a foreign Government, corporation, etc. Again, the law



is merely regulative and only imposes the burden of proof upon the immigrant of affirmatively showing the right of entry, except where such employer of contract labor or foreign State or organization has paid for the ticket or passage in whole or in part.

The purpose of these provisions must be held in mind in arriving at their proper construction. Paupers, i. e., recipients of assistance for their support from the State or some division thereof are independently excluded, and the intent of the law is that in addition, persons unable to or barely able to support themselves abroad under normal conditions, and whose immigration was aided by foreign Governments or charitable organizations in the manner specified are questionable acquisitions. Such statutes, reasonably construed, do not forbid even the part payment of passage money of self-supporting persons overwhelmed by some sudden calamity, like the Sicilian earthquake or the present-day Russian persecution, or such forms of persecution as led to the Puritan settlement of New England, the Catholic settlement of Maryland, the Quaker settlement of Pennsylvania, or the Huguenot emigration to South Carolina. Much less do they forbid assistance rendered to victims of persecution, other than the payment of passage in whole or in part. The exodus of such unfortunates, suddenly and unwillingly compelled to seek new homes in a land of promise, does not, even *prima facie*, indicate likelihood to become a public charge. It would shock the American people, inexpressibly, however, to know that the unfortunate victims of the Sicilian earthquake were, in a number of instances, deported from our shores as "assisted immigrants" under a blundering administration of our laws, solely because they received some of the aid their sympathizing fellowmen rushed to tender to them in their terrible, sudden distress. Similarly, the able-bodied, industrious Jewish victims of Russia's fiendish fanaticism can not be lawfully excluded under existing law, even if they have been aided in paying their passage by sympathetic friends or charitable organizations. Much more is this true when such aid has not had any relation to payment of passage.

Jefferson, in his presidential message of 1801, established our American principle in the famous words:

Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe? \* \* \* Might not the general character and capabilities of a citizen be safely communicated to everyone manifesting a bona fide purpose of embarking his life and fortunes permanently with us \* \* \*?

This doctrine found a permanent place in our statute books at the close of a former "Know-Nothing" era, when Congress adopted a resolution still in force as section 1999 of the United States Revised Statutes,<sup>a</sup> which provides that—

the right of expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all people, indispensable to the enjoyment of the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and in the recognition of this principle, this Government has freely received emigrants from all nations and invested them with the rights of citizenship.

The circular of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, referred to above, was intended and has in fact led to many unwarranted exclusions on the score of "assisted immigration," in violation

<sup>a</sup> Act of July 27, 1868.

of these principles. Commissioner Williams's arbitrary circular letter of June 28, 1909 (see Exhibit B, p. 161), declared among other things that "in most cases it will be unsafe for immigrants to arrive with less than \$25 (besides railroad ticket to destination)" and that "immigrants must in addition of course, satisfy the authorities that they will not become charges, either on public or private charity." He defined his understanding of charity in the following extraordinary terms:

Gifts to destitute immigrants after arrival will not be considered in determining whether or not they are qualified to land; for except where such gifts are to those legally entitled to support (as wives, minor children, etc.), the recipients stand here as objects of "private charity." (See reprint in Report of Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1909, pp. 132-133.)

Similarly, assistance promised to immigrants by responsible philanthropists or societies (other than employers of contract labor) to be rendered after landing, is not merely not illegal, but must be considered in determining if they are "likely to become public charges." It is a serious misconstruction of the law to regard such assurances of relief as in themselves making immigrants likely to become charges on private or public charity.

The able editorial in the New York Evening Post (quoted above in part) in criticism of Mr. Williams's \$25 test, has broader applicability and is relevant also with respect to alleged "assisted immigrant" cases. It said:

The money test can never be anything but tentative. In incapable hands it may become an instrument of injustice. It might be fair to call for a small sum of money from the Italian immigrant in ordinary times; it would be unjust to exclude the refugee from stricken Calabria, or Messina, because he has nothing to show but his poor bundle of clothes. The victims of Russian massacres are entitled to greater consideration than the ordinary Russian immigrant. The Armenian refugee from Adana or Tarsus has claims upon us that rise above the twenty-five dollar rule.

The prepaid ticket provision of the law, the purpose of which is salutary, is, as indicated above, so loosely phrased as to create much hardship and injustice. The law is indefinite and uncertain as to what is meant by a "person whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another," and as to what is meant by the general term "who is assisted by others to come." In addition, it establishes a special burden of proof on the immigrant different from any other prohibitions of the statute. This is decidedly confusing, since the courts have held that the burden of proof is upon the immigrant in any event. In practice, inspectors frequently act on the assumption that the immigrant has a full knowledge of our immigration laws and regulations and must, without interrogation, at his own instance and despite his ignorance of our language and laws, satisfy the requirements of the law by proving affirmatively that he does not belong to one of the excluded classes, though information on the requirements of the law be made inaccessible to him by the inspectors' method of hearing, which often excludes counsel. Moreover, no such obligation as that to meet the special burden of proof ought to be thrust upon an immigrant intelligent enough to purchase his ticket here or have his relatives do so, instead of dealing with more irresponsible ticket agents and "runners" abroad.

9. *The provision of the law concerning likelihood to become a public charge should not be construed or modified so as to prevent the continuance of the established and salutary practice of permitting the heads of families to come to the United States, in order to establish themselves here as breadwinners and to provide homes for their families before sending for them from abroad.*

*Argument.*—The hardship attending the separation of members of families has attracted widespread attention. In efforts to prevent these hardships, immigration officials have recently adopted the practice of inquiring into the size and circumstances of the families of those male immigrants who leave their families abroad. In such cases, immigration officials (basing their actions presumably upon a desire to prevent the exclusion of the members of a family whose head has already emigrated or intends emigrating to the United States) are making these inquiries with a view to speculating as to whether or not the size or condition of the families abroad is likely to render them or the heads of the families coming here public charges. The authority to make such inquiries into matters outside of the jurisdiction of the United States, involving questions as to cost of living and assistance abroad, wholly beyond the possible range of knowledge of immigration officials is quite doubtful. (See *American Banana Co. v. United Fruit Co.*, 213 U. S., 347.) The history of immigration to this country demonstrates that in hundreds of thousands of cases the process has been for the male head of the family to come over first, to learn the conditions in the new country and prepare a home for his family. Any administrative regulations, or interpretations of the law which prevent this salutary process would be unnecessarily cruel and would result in great detriment to this country itself. Had such a practice been in vogue hitherto, it would have deprived this country of many of its most valuable and enterprising citizens. Hardships resulting from exclusions affecting separation of families can readily be avoided, first, by making the requirements of our laws better known, here and abroad, as suggested above, second, by requiring thorough examinations (physical and other) by steamship companies at the port of embarkation, and third, by the free exercise of the power to take bonds in all doubtful cases.

10. *The discretionary power under the statute (sec 26) lodged with the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to permit landing of immigrants "upon the giving of a suitable and proper bond or undertaking," should be freely exercised. Under present regulations this discretionary power is seldom availed of, though it is of great service in many cases and essential in others to avoid unwarranted hardships, if not cruelty.*

*Argument.*—Despite the comprehensive language of section 26 of the present act, giving the fullest discretionary power to the Secretary to admit immigrants under bonds, unless suffering from a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, the department rarely takes bonds, except to avoid separation of families. Cases accordingly arise involving the grossest hardship and oppression, but the courts have

declared themselves powerless to review the discretion of the department. (U. S. ex rel. Chanin v. Williams, 177 F. R., 629, C. C. A.) The right and wisdom of freely taking bonds in doubtful cases was strongly emphasized by the Government through Secretary Fairchild in an able opinion some years ago (Treasury Decision, No. 7698), and has also met with strong judicial approval (U. S. v. Lipkis, 56 Fed. Rep., 427). An adequate bond protects not merely the Government, but makes it to the surety's interest to prevent his charge from becoming a "public charge." The objection to bonds is placed chiefly upon the ground that sureties often are or become irresponsible. This is purely a matter of administration, as the law provides specifically that bonds may be taken by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor "in such amount and containing such conditions as he may prescribe."

It is further urged that bonded immigrants occasionally disappear or change their names, so that the liability of bondsmen can not be established. This extremely rare contingency might have weight under some circumstances, but it may be readily guarded against. For instance, one method would require a form of bond declaring a forfeiture, unless the alien periodically report, personally or otherwise, during a fixed time limit, to some designated government official. This objection also resolves itself, therefore, into a mere matter of efficient administration.

11. *The provision as to admission of children under 16 years of age unaccompanied by their parents has lately led to many oppressive and unwarranted exclusions and should be modified.*

*Argument.*—The law establishes as an excluded class—

all children under 16 years of age unaccompanied by one or both of their parents, at the discretion of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor or under such regulations as he may from time to time prescribe.

Under this statute the Secretary very properly established the rule that children shall not be permitted to enter the United States if it appears or the circumstances indicate that they are to be placed in forced or "padrone" servitude or in any employment unsuited to their years, which implied that in other cases they should be freely admitted. It is now the general practice to exclude such immigrants, even where the matters referred to in the Secretary's rule are affirmatively and satisfactorily disproved. In fact, Commissioner Williams, in a recent circular letter entitled "Information as to the Immigration Laws and Their Execution," says that—

all children under 16 unaccompanied by either parent will be held at Ellis Island for special investigation; and (a) where the parents are abroad they will, as a rule, be deported. If admitted at all, this will be only on bond, but the Secretary will not admit even on bond, except in instances presenting, in his opinion, special merit; (b) where it is claimed that the parents are in the United States such children will usually be held at Ellis Island until the parents have been heard from.

It is natural that under such instructions most children are certain to be excluded. This subject presents two features therefore: (1) The statute has vested the Secretary, not the commissioner, with power to regulate this matter by rule; and (2) the regulation established by the Secretary, pursuant to law, indicates that such children are eligible for entry except in the cases therein referred to.

The commissioner's rule obviously is inconsistent with the regulation and effects the deportation of young children who came over in reliance upon the Secretary's regulation and who are admissible pursuant to it. Another, though less important, question is whether it was intended to limit the admission of children to the extent the commissioner's rule attempts, in view of the hardships and dangers attending such exclusion, especially where young girls are involved.

12. *Boards of special inquiry and immigration officials in general should keep correct and full records of all detention cases coming before them; such records to be open at all times to inspection by parties in interest, who ought to have the right to make copies of the records.*

13. *Where decisions of the boards of special inquiry excluding immigrants are affirmed on appeal, the immigrant or his counsel should have at least 48 hours' notice prior to deportation.*

*Argument.*—Great hardship results from the common practice now prevailing of delaying determinations until immediately before the vessel sails on which the immigrant is to be deported. Relatives and friends are prevented even from bidding farewell to excluded persons, or from providing for their maintenance and comfort on the voyage. Moreover, efforts to make application for admission on bond after dismissal of appeals, which the law sanctions, are thus thwarted. Placing in the hands of men unlearned in the law a facile means of avoiding a review of decisions charged to be illegal and oppressive has been in many cases a temptation to which they have unfortunately yielded.

14. (a) *Medical examiners, in accordance with law, should report strictly upon the medical facts of each case, and should not include in their reports any other statement whatsoever.*

(b) *Physicians of the Marine-Hospital Service should be instructed in official circulars as to their duties, so as to prevent divided responsibility for deportations because of mental or physical defects.*

*Argument.*—At present, in very many cases, the physicians certify to trivial defects, such as the arbitrary estimate of 3 pounds underweight and the like, and to defects and noncontagious nor dangerous diseases having no relationship to the likelihood of the immigrant's becoming a public charge, particularly in the cases of women and children having others to support them. These certifications frequently take the form of sweeping generalizations unjustified in fact, like "lack of physical development," "lack of muscular development." They wholly ignore the physical and mental vigor of the immigrant from eastern Europe whose slight physique often is misleading to superficial observation. The medical inspectors, unless improperly instructed, in many cases would not assume the responsibility of reporting that the defect is such as to tend toward the immigrant's becoming a public charge. The boards of special inquiry, however, especially at present, are naturally greatly influenced by such certifications, which have little significance in fact. Under the present rigid and enhanced medical tests, there is no occasion for

the introduction of such doubtful expedients. The result is a responsibility for exclusions divided between the medical examiners and the boards of special inquiry, with actual responsibility upon neither.

(c) *The present statute making decisions of medical officers final, even as to alleged physical defect being likely to affect the immigrant's becoming a public charge, should be modified by making the decisions reviewable by appeal on such points.*

*Argument.*—Even under the theory of the present statute, the question whether alleged physical defect is likely to affect the immigrant's becoming a public charge is a quasi-judicial question and not really a medical one, and ought to be made reviewable on appeal. In addition to this, however, certain diseases, like trachoma, favus, etc., are classed as "loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases," while in point of fact there are stages of them easily curable and far from loathsome or dangerous. The indiscriminate use of terms applicable only to certain stages of a disease has been protested against by the medical world and often by the courts. (See *In re Di Simone*, 108 F. R., 942; *U. S. v. Nakashima*, 160 F. R., 842, C. C. A. See also articles on Trachoma by Dr. Alger in *N. Y. Med. Journal*, Apr. 9, 1904; by Dr. Nydegger, *U. S. Marine-Hospital Service*, *N. Y. Med. Journal*, Sept. 17, 1904; and by Dr. H. F. Hansell, in *N. Y. Med. Journal*, Mar. 16, 1907.) The Government's interests would not be jeopardized if appeal, even on those points, were permitted to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, who can be depended upon to protect the public interests against what are actually "loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases," and suspend ruling on admission pending treatment of the applicant in a hospital, governmental or otherwise, at the expense of the applicant or of his family.

15. *The exemption from exclusion under section 2 of the existing law of "persons convicted of an offense purely political, not involving moral turpitude," should be amended by the omission of the words "not involving moral turpitude."*

16. *The adoption in practice of such administrative reforms as are herein referred to will render it unnecessary to press the recommendation, tentatively made to this Commission, that the words of the present law "likely to become a public charge," be limited and defined.*

### III. GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO ARRIVING IMMIGRANTS.

1. *In answer to the inquiry, "What can the National Government do to assist immigrants on their arrival at United States ports?" we submit that by increasing the scope of the Government's own Information Division, and by Government cooperation with similar bureaus, maintained by States or by private charitable organizations, it can encourage immigrants to go to districts where they are most likely to prosper, and thus be judiciously distributed throughout the country.*

*Argument.*—The federal act of August 13, 1882, under which the National Government took over the regulation of the subject of immi-

gration, expressly provided that the head-tax collections should be paid into the United States Treasury, and constitute a fund to be called the "immigrant fund," to be used not merely "to defray the expense of regulating immigration," but also for "the care of immigrants arriving in the United States, [and] for the relief of such as are in distress;" and it further expressly authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to make contracts with State officials for the purpose, among others, of "providing for the support and relief of such immigrants therein landing as may fall into distress or need public aid." The obvious purpose of this provision was thus to compensate the seacoast States for the revenues which they were deprived of and which until then they had collected by a head tax on immigrants. These States had in part freely used these revenues for the benefit of immigrants falling into temporary distress after landing. (See *Edye v. Robertson*, 112 U. S., 580.) The statutes and judicial decisions of New York and Massachusetts show that the theory underlying these statutes was that, while people having an established residence in various countries or municipalities had a right to share in the "poor relief" funds of such localities, to tide them over periods of temporary distress, newly arrived immigrants had no such "established residence" and that it was accordingly fair and just to collect a head tax from immigrants and have such immigrant fund employed in part for the relief of immigrants requiring aid. In the administration of these laws, the States moreover recognized that individuals might suddenly and temporarily require a little public relief during hard times in case of sickness or other calamity, which did not make them paupers, and subject to the legal disabilities of paupers. (It is a striking contrast to this to note our present procedure by which the receipt of merely free hospital treatment, at the expense of State or city, within three years after their arrival by aliens ignorant of the consequences, is construed to justify their deportation on the theory of their having become paupers or public charges.) When, in 1891, the Federal Government provided for the appointment of its own officials to execute the immigration laws, abolishing the employment of state officials, much of the expense attached to the enforcement of these laws became a direct charge upon the Federal Government, and all subsidies or payments out of the immigrant fund to the States ceased. In fact, however, the States and subdivisions thereof continued to bear a portion of the expense arising from the care or relief of needy aliens, though the National Government ceased to contribute in reimbursement therefor. It was accordingly mere justice for the Government to establish an Information Division at its own expense, by section 40 of the act of 1907, "to promote a beneficial distribution of aliens admitted into the United States among the several States and Territories desiring immigration," and to concern itself to this extent at least with the progress of aliens after their landing and admission to this country.

This Information Division has already done admirable work, and it should be developed by the Government and not handicapped and embarrassed. The statute in question, moreover, in terms, contemplates governmental aid to similar State agencies. This should be further extended to include State and municipal immigration bureaus and the like. The Government should also cooperate with various

quasi public charitable organizations which render important public service in their efforts to advise immigrants as to place of settlement and facilities for getting work at prevailing rates, and in looking after them and affecting their distribution through the country. Such disinterested benevolent agencies are entitled to assistance and encouragement from the Government, as they render at their own expense quasi governmental service. As was so well said by Attorney-General Wickersham (27 Opinions, 497) :

It is certainly not against the policy of the law to send an agent into a foreign country to arrange for the transportation of aliens whose emigration has already been determined upon, and to secure their settlement in a section of the country where the industrial conditions are such that their presence is badly needed. As appears from an inspection of the reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration the most difficult problem in connection with the immigration question is to secure a proper distribution of the immigrants. \* \* \* Manifestly any plan which has in view a distribution of the alien immigrants among the rural population and to procure their services in the development of industries in which labor is deficient, and thus remove them from competition with American laborers in those vocations which are overcrowded, is in entire accord with the spirit of our immigration laws.

The work of the Galveston Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau is of practical interest in this connection. It aims at preventing the congestion of immigrants of the Jewish faith in the large northern and eastern cities by arranging for their distribution from Galveston throughout the West and Southwest, instead of going to New York and other northern and eastern cities. The work is based on the theory that the distribution would be best effected at the home of the immigrant, instead of from large American cities where relatives and friends can easily prevail upon them to remain. For this purpose, a number of immigrants, mainly men, sailed from Bremen to Galveston under the auspices of the Jewish Territorial Organization and the Galveston bureau, the Galveston committee and affiliated societies aiding them to find suitable work in their lines of occupation in the West and Southwest. The voyage is longer and more expensive, but the public-spirited interest of the bureau, through affiliated committees and societies, has succeeded in finding suitable positions for the immigrants after arrival, and has done noble work in distributing these immigrants, who would have otherwise landed and remained at the eastern ports.

Accordingly the Government and especially the Bureau of Immigration should cooperate with and aid the work of such organizations as the Galveston Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau and not hinder their beneficial activities. It should cooperate with and aid the work of such organizations as the Industrial Removal Office which has removed to the the interior of the country away from congested districts over 50,000 Jewish immigrants since 1901, and made them self-supporting workers in their various callings in the interior of substantially every State of the Union. (See the account of the society's activities in the argument of its former president, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, esq., Exhibit C, hearings before House Committee on Immigration, 61st Cong., 2d sess., pp. 290 et seq.) The Government should also encourage the work of fraternal organizations, like the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, which, through lodges and members scattered all over the country, have furthered the beneficent



work of the organizations mentioned. The Government should also cooperate with and aid such organizations as the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, which induces Jews to take up farming and aids them in that vocation, being in turn aided by the Baron de Hirsch Agricultural School, at Woodbine, N. J., and the Doylestown National Farm School, presided over by Rev. Dr. J. Krauskopf. The Baron de Hirsch Fund, in addition to subsidizing several of these organizations, maintains a free trade school for resident Jewish young men in New York City.

The Government should in like manner cooperate with and aid the work of such organizations, of all denominations and nationalities, as look after the housing and employment of immigrants and maintain agents at Ellis Island and elsewhere. It should also aid the various well-managed employment bureaus, maintained by commendable private charities. The Secretary might profitably convene from time to time, conferences of representatives of such organizations, as the Department has done in other matters, and advise with them as to measures calculated to advance their common ends, and secure their recommendations before making changes in the regulations or recommending amendments of the law. (See Report of N. Y. State Commission of Immigration, Mar. 3, 1909, Exhibit D, which made important recommendations along these lines.) These suggestions were in the main enacted into law by chapter 514 of the Laws of 1910, of the State of New York, establishing a bureau of industries and immigration. (See also the paper on "Protection of the Alien," by Miss Frances A. Kellor, formerly secretary of the North American Civic League for Immigrants, now the head of the N. Y. State bureau of immigration, in the recent publication of the Young Men's Christian Association Press, 1910, entitled "The Immigrant and the Community," Exhibit E.)

#### IV. ASSIMILATION OF IMMIGRANTS.

In answer to the inquiry: "What can the National Government do to promote the assimilation or Americanization of immigrants," we direct attention to the work of various Jewish organizations, referred to in the hearing before the House Committee on Immigration, Sixty-first Congress, second session, March 11, 1910, pages 296, 301-303, 305-306, 339, 344-346, 354, 363, which indicates that the Government can do much, both directly and through stimulating and aiding other organizations.

The United States Commissioner of Education should issue bulletins directing the attention of local education boards to the admirable results accomplished in the Americanization of children and adults by private philanthropy, notably, the Baron de Hirsch Fund, in maintaining special classes for immigrants, day and night. The Baron de Hirsch Fund has for nearly 20 years subsidized such classes at the Educational Alliance in New York, which have been so successful that the city has recognized their value and has now taken them over for the benefit of all denominations. This fund subsidizes similar classes in Boston, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburg, and Cleveland. Similarly, classes in civics and American history have been maintained by the

Educational Alliance in New York, and many other public and private organizations have engaged in similar work. The admirable results accomplished are not, however, as widely known as they should be, and it is within the province of the Government to promote such work by disseminating information concerning it. In the Territories it should itself establish similar classes.

Efforts at distribution, such as have already been referred to (pp. 152-155), will also hasten the accomplishment of this end, though in the larger so-called congested districts this work of Americanization and assimilation has been developed more fully than in less thickly populated sections. By an intelligent cooperation between the United States Information Division and the States, the importance of overcoming congestion in large cities and the best methods of doing so may also be emphasized. In fact, the New York City Board of Education, to aid in providing adequate facilities for the education of immigrant children, has just requested periodical information from the Federal immigration authorities as to the number, age, and prospective residence of alien children arriving at the port of New York. (See Exhibit D, Report of Commission on Immigration of State of New York, pp. 93-109.)

It ought, however, to be remembered that the great force for assimilation and Americanization is in the immigrants themselves. The Russian immigrants, for instance, have invariably cut loose from their oppressing native country and have come here determined to cast their lot with us. Their children are abnormally eager for our schooling, and it will be found that the only stimulus really required for them is sitting or even standing room in our schools. They have no wish to look back. Their eager anticipation is to become American citizens. Even the older people who acquire the English language with greater difficulty have already partially anglicized their native Yiddish.

#### V. CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, we desire to renew the opposition to sundry restrictive bills and amendments now before Congress, as explained by our representatives in the hearing before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization on March 11, 1910, and submitted herewith as Exhibit C.

For the reasons there stated, we, as American citizens, actuated by a desire to preserve the best traditions of this country as an asylum for the able-bodied citizens of other countries who suffer from oppression and persecution, and sincerely believing that the addition to our population of intelligent, industrious, and moral persons will greatly increase our national productiveness and general prosperity, emphatically oppose amendments to the law which—

- (1) Increase the head tax. (Exhibit C, pp. 182-251.)
- (2) Repeal or modify the bonding provisions. (Ibid., p. 182-251.)
- (3) Establish a literacy test. (Ibid., pp. 182-251.)
- (4) Prescribe physical examinations for immigrants, such as are prescribed for admission into the U. S. Army. (Ibid., p. 182-251.)
- (5) Establish a monetary requirement. (Ibid., p. 182-251.)
- (6) Require moral certificates for admission, particularly from Russian refugees. (Ibid., pp. 182-251.)

(7) Abolish the Information Division. (Exhibit C, pp. 182-251.)

(8) Establish as an excluded class persons found to be "economically undesirable" persons. (Ibid., pp. 182-251.)

(9) Require all aliens to secure registration certificates under heavy penalties. (Ibid., pp. 182-251.)

(10) Increase the period to five years (now three) within which deportations may be ordered on the ground of public charge. (Ibid., p. 182-251.)

(11) Establish a race or color test for admission of aliens contrary to the fundamental principles of our Government and in violation of treaty rights. (Ibid., pp. 182-251.)

## EXHIBIT A.

### EXTRACTS FROM REPORT OF THE COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT ON SEPTEMBER 16, 1903, TO INVESTIGATE THE CONDITION OF THE IMMIGRATION STATION AT ELLIS ISLAND.

[Pp. 22-25, and 36.]

\* \* \* \* \*

The system of special inquiry hereinbefore referred to is carried into effect by the operation of three or four boards of special inquiry. Under the act these boards of special inquiry are appointed by the commissioners of immigration at the various ports of arrival for the prompt determination of all cases of aliens detained at such ports under the provisions of the law. The boards consist of three members selected from such of the immigrant officials as the Commissioner-General of Immigration, with the approval of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, shall, from time to time, designate as qualified to serve. The boards are empowered under the act to determine whether an alien shall be allowed to land or shall be deported.

It is further provided, that all the hearings before the boards "shall be separate and apart from the public," but that the said boards shall keep complete and permanent records of their proceedings and of such testimony as may be produced before them. The decision of any two members of the board shall prevail and be final, but either the alien or any dissenting member of said board may appeal through the commissioner of immigration at the port of arrival and the Commissioner-General of Immigration to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, whose decision shall then be final; and the taking of such appeal shall be operative to stay any action in regard to the final disposal of the alien whose case is so appealed until the receipt by the commissioner of immigration at the port of arrival of such decision.

A great deal of the criticism made in regard to the operation of the immigration law has been directed to the special inquiry so conducted. It has been claimed that the requirement that the hearings shall be separate and apart from the public has placed immigrants ignorant of our language at a serious disadvantage, and even in other cases often caused an adverse decision because of the immigrant being unable to fully present his case to the board. The only persons now allowed to be present at such hearings are the board of inquiry, consisting of three inspectors, the interpreter, and the immigrant, besides such witnesses as the board may permit to be called. The steamship companies, although they have to meet the heavy penalty of bearing the expense of maintenance and of the deportation of the immigrant, are not allowed to be present at the inquiry. It is our opinion that a proper construction of the statute gives to the steamship lines a right to which it is now claimed they are not entitled. The use of the word "public" in connection with any court proceedings has never been held to exclude persons interested in the proceedings, and it is clear that the companies are not really prohibited under the law from having a representative at such hearings. Such a representative might be a person familiar with the treatment of the immigrants. It does not seem that there should be any objection to the admission of a proper representative of the party whose property is involved at the hearing.

A similar claim has been made with regard to the benevolent societies, and while it does not seem so clear that under the law they would be entitled to be present, as in the case of the steamship companies, it is hard to conceive why the persons directly interested in the immigrant should be excluded from such inquiry.

The Commission attended several times at the proceedings before the boards of inquiry and they saw no indication of a lack of appreciation of the responsibility resting upon the officers. Apparently the inspectors constituting the board were desirous of obtaining the fullest information in each case, and their

long experience in the performance of the duty enabled them to readily extract the necessary facts.

If the immigrant has been held for inquiry because of indications that he is likely to become a public charge the board of inquiry investigates his statements that relatives or friends will provide against the happening of such a contingency, and here arises a rather difficult situation in many cases. If the immigrant arrives with only a small amount of money, say \$10 or \$12, and is wholly without any means of obtaining employment, he is likely to be rejected because of the possibility of becoming a public charge. If, on the other hand, he states that he came to this country under a promise that he should have employment, he is likely to be rejected because of violation of the contract-labor laws.

If the board of inquiry is not immediately satisfied that the immigrant should be admitted, it is the practice for it to defer decision until further information is obtained. If after due consideration and one or more hearings the board determines that the immigrant shall be deported, appeal may be taken in the manner above described. This question of appeal is a very important one. There is so much involved in a sentence of deportation, such great hardship visited upon the immigrant, who in the majority of cases never has any design of offending against the laws of this country and has no reason to believe that any objection will be offered to his entry. If he deem himself aggrieved by an adverse decision of the board of special inquiry, he should know precisely what his remedy is and when the appeal to which he is entitled may be taken. The law at present provides merely that the alien or any dissenting member of the board may appeal, but is silent as to when it should be filed, when heard, and when decided. The published rules and regulations of the department under date of August 26, 1903, provide, by rule 7, that the immigrant who is denied admission shall be informed that he has a right of appeal therefrom, and the fact that he has been so informed shall be entered of record. This rule does not state when he shall be informed. Rule 8 provides that the notice of appeal shall be filed promptly, and rule 9 that after an appeal has been filed the record of the case, together with briefs, affidavits, and statements, should be forwarded to the Commissioner-General of Immigration within 36 hours after the filing of such notice. Considerable hardship and confusion have arisen from the uncertainty as to the time when appeal may be taken and also from the uncertainty as to the time when it has to be decided. The Commission was informed that there is another rule—of which it, however, was unable to obtain a copy—providing that appeal may be taken at any time prior to 12 hours from the time the ship on which the immigrant arrived is to leave port. If such a rule does exist, it is, perhaps, of but little value to an ignorant immigrant who does not know when the ship is likely to sail.

In the case of Alter Schmidt (Exhibit 41), the alien was deported, although he offered to file notice of appeal from the order of the board of special inquiry, on the ground that his appeal had not been taken promptly. In that particular case the Commission is of opinion that the appeal was not filed promptly, because it was not filed within three days from the time the order of deportation was entered. But, nevertheless, that immigrant presented his notice of appeal, as the Commission understands, more than seventeen hours before the ship that had brought him was expected to sail. The Commission, therefore, is of opinion that a time limit commencing on the day and hour on which the adverse decision was rendered should be set for the purpose of filing an appeal, say, forty-eight hours or seventy-two hours, and that notice of such time limit should also be given to the alien or his representatives.

Regarding the time within which decision should be rendered, the Commission learns that some contract-labor cases have remained undecided for months, at great expense to the steamship companies, which meanwhile have to pay for the support of the detained immigrant. Such delay certainly causes great hardship also to the immigrant himself. Hence a time limit within which appeals may be filed, heard, and determined should be prescribed.

Criticism has been made of the personnel of these boards of inquiry, it being claimed that the work was so important that only men of the very highest grade be employed, and that an official who is receiving a salary of only \$1,800 a year can not be expected to discharge the duties with a proper appreciation of the responsibilities involved.

\* \* \* \* \*

## RECOMMENDATIONS.

1. That the boards of special inquiry shall admit to their sessions the parties in interest, with opportunity to propound questions and produce witnesses, such parties in interest being the representatives of the transportation companies and the representatives of the immigrant.

\* \* \* \* \*

## EXHIBIT B.

## BRIEF FOR THE PETITIONER IN THE MATTER OF HERSCH SKURATOWSKI.

United States District Court, Southern District of New York.

*In the Matter of Hersch Skuratowski.*

[On habeas corpus and certiorari.]

Before Hon. Learned Hand, United States District Judge.

BRIEF FOR PETITIONER.<sup>a</sup>

The Government's preliminary objection having been overruled, that the habeas corpus proceedings are premature because an application for a rehearing had been made to Commissioner Williams, but not entertained, on behalf of petitioner, subsequent to the issuing of the writs but after the affirmance by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor of the decision of exclusion rendered by the board of special inquiry, we address ourselves to the Government's motion to dismiss this proceeding, based upon the petition and the return, material portions of which we have traversed. Upon this motion all the allegations of the petition are, of course, to be assumed to be true, except in so far as they are qualified, if at all, by allegations of fact, as distinguished from conclusions of law, in the return that have not been traversed. (*Kohl v. Lehlback*, 160 U. S., 293, 296; *Hopkins v. Fachant*, 130 Fed. Rep., 839, 843; *Bong v. Campbell Co.*, 214 U. S., 236, 248.)

Petitioner Hersch Skuratowski arrived at the port of New York on June 23, 1909, and is of Russian "nationality" and of the Caucasian "race" and of the Hebrew "religion." A hearing in his case took place before the board of special inquiry on June 28, 1909, which can not have consumed more than a few minutes, as another case in this same group of four was heard sixteen minutes after this Skuratowski hearing began, and there may have been hearings in intermediate cases. Petitioner showed that he is 29 years of age and is a male person, traveling alone, and a native of Russia. He has a wife and two children in Russia. He reads and writes, paid his own passage, is a butcher by trade, was never here before, and is going to his cousin, J. Silverman, and has \$2.75 in cash upon his person. He is also shown to have other relatives here, whose addresses, however, he did not have. He left his family in a house belonging to him, with a cow and farming implements and 15 rubles. His wife is a seamstress and is working as such. We are prepared to show that he attempted to give further evidence, but he was stopped before the board of special inquiry, which thoughtlessly confined him to answering such questions as they chose to put to him, and he was therefore prevented from showing that the property he had in Russia was of the value of approximately 6,000 rubles, about \$3,000, and could easily secure more cash. His relative, J. Silverman, was called as a witness, and showed that he was his cousin; that he himself has been here for about two years, and is a painter earning \$13 a week,

<sup>a</sup> After preparation of this brief, but before its submission to the court, Petitioner Skuratowski, as also the petitioners in the other three habeas corpus proceedings therein referred to, were all permitted to enter the United States by the United States immigration authorities while the proceedings were pending and before the adjourned court day had arrived and the habeas corpus proceedings accordingly abated.

July 24, 1909.

and has saved \$150, which he has in bank, and he stated that he would support his cousin and try to find employment for him.

The minutes of the board of special inquiry show at the top thereof that petitioner was classified and described before the said board as a "Russian Hebrew." The instructions, notices, advices, and statements previously given by Commissioner Williams to his subordinates on the board of special inquiry, and undoubtedly influencing their determination, will be referred to hereafter. At the close of the proceeding before the board, Inspector Newburn made the following motion: "The alien having but very little money in his possession, destined to his cousin, who is in no way legally bound to support him, I move his exclusion as likely to become a public charge," and an alternative motion was thereupon made by Inspector Murphy: "The witness appearing before the board in behalf of the alien promised to look out for him and secure him employment, and I therefore move to admit." Inspector Toner, the third member of the board, thereupon stated that he agreed with Inspector Newburn, and also voted to exclude, and petitioner was thereupon excluded and ordered deported.

It will be noticed that it affirmatively appears from this record that this petitioner had considerable property in Russia, which was wholly disregarded in considering the question whether he was likely to become a public charge. He appears to be young, able-bodied, having a vocation of his own, and has relatives here prepared to look out for him if necessary and secure employment for him. It further appears affirmatively that the evidence above recited was credited by the board and that the order of exclusion was based upon the application of the erroneous theory that though he had a relative here who was ready to support him, this was not to be considered, in view of the small amount of money in his possession, because such relative was "in no way legally bound to support him." (Compare circular letter of June 28, 1909, post.) The law does not even limit admission to persons who have relatives or friends here willing to secure employment for them and ready to help them if necessary, but the authorities are clear and uniform that persons may not be excluded on the ground that they are likely to become public charges unless by reason of age, lack of occupation or disability or the like. It affirmatively appears that such is the fact; there is no money requirement in the statute, and the absurdity of disregarding property obviously of a considerable amount not in the shape of cash left in Russia, and considering only the possession of cash here, is obvious.

Moreover, even if possession of relatives or friends here willing to look out for them should be regarded as a requirement, it is unreasonable and incorrect to say that their sworn agreement to do so should be disregarded because they are not legally bound to support the person, and it is obvious that this board proceeded on an entirely erroneous theory of law. It is apparent from the recommendation of the acting commissioner in this and other cases, as well as from other instructions and notices that we propose to offer in evidence, that this erroneous theory that relatives or friends must be found ready and willing to support immigrants having little cash on arrival, who are also legally obligated to do so, emanates from the commissioner, and that the members of the board of special inquiry were simply following his opinions.

Other material notices or instructions also influenced the board's determination, as we are ready to show. One was an instruction issued by Commissioner Williams to all the immigrant inspectors at Ellis Island, which appeared in the New York Tribune on June 5, 1909, stating that "it is necessary that the standard of inspection at Ellis Island be raised. Notice hereof is given publicity in order that intending immigrants may be advised before embarkation that our immigration laws will be strictly enforced." As shown hereafter, this notice also proceeds on an erroneous theory of law. The decision of the courts dealing with immigration matters hold that immigration laws, like other laws in derogation of individual liberty, must be not merely reasonably and fairly, but even liberally, construed and administered with reference to the alien's rights, and not "strictly" administered, and Mr. Williams had no right by his circular to declare, either, that the standard of inspection at Ellis Island must be raised. Moreover, the return contains a "notice" issued by him, dated June 28, reading as follows:

#### NOTICE CONCERNING INDIGENT IMMIGRANTS.

JUNE 28, 1909.

Certain steamship companies are bringing to this port many immigrants whose funds are manifestly inadequate for their proper support until such time as they are likely to obtain profitable employment. Such action is improper and

must cease. In the absence of a statutory provision, no hard and fast rule can be laid down as to the amount of money an immigrant must bring with him, but in most cases it will be unsafe for immigrants to arrive with less than \$25 (besides railroad ticket to destination), while in many instances they should have more. They must, in addition, of course satisfy the authorities that they will not become charges either on public or private charity. Only in instances deemed by the Government to be of exceptional merit will gifts to destitute immigrants after arrival be considered in determining whether or not they are qualified to land, for except where such gifts are to those legally entitled to support (as to wives, children, etc.), the recipients stand here as objects of private charity, and our statutes do not contemplate that such aliens shall enter the country.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS, *Commissioner*.

We are prepared to show that this was officially called to the attention of the members of the board of special inquiry to guide them in their determinations, and furthermore, we offer to show that even before this date—which was the very day when this case was decided by the board—statements of the same tenor had been made by Commissioner Williams, which reached his subordinates through newspapers and otherwise, in which the \$25 rule was not qualified as in the printed notice. We also offer to prove his issuance of other notices and directions with respect to the determination by inspectors of cases coming before them, but we reserve consideration of them till their precise contents are brought before the court by the taking of testimony.

The effect of the classification of petitioner on the minutes of the board of special inquiry as a "Russian Hebrew" will also be considered further, post (Point X).

We are also prepared to show that the hearing took place before the board under office rules and practices, the legality of which we challenge, pursuant to which not merely the public generally is excluded, as required by the statute, but counsel is denied to applicant, either to cross-examine or reexamine applicant before the board and introduce additional evidence and to be heard on the questions of law and fact involved, and, in fact, Commissioner Williams in his return avers "that in no case has an alien ever been represented by counsel before the board of special inquiry inquiring into the right of said alien to admission to the United States." We are prepared to show that an attorney stationed at Ellis Island was at hand, desirous and in duty bound to act as counsel for petitioner, but prevented from doing so by this rule and practice until after the determination of the board of special inquiry.

After the adverse determination of the board of special inquiry, on June 28, petitioner duly took an appeal pursuant to statute to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and on June 30 an attorney retained upon the said appeal duly wrote and mailed, properly addressed, a letter to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor requesting an opportunity to appear in person in support of said appeal and requesting that some day subsequent to July 6, if possible, be designated for that purpose. The letter in question referred to said attorney's retainer on behalf of 14 other persons, besides petitioner, more or less similarly circumstanced. Instead of fixing a time for such hearing, or at least affording some other substitute method for proper hearing on appeal, which counsel could thus have pursued, this letter, presumably through oversight, was left unanswered, and the next thing that counsel for petitioner knew concerning the matter was that notice was given that all the appeals had been dismissed without a hearing in fact by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor or any of his assistants. Had due process of law been accorded to petitioner upon the appeal his attorney would have been able to point out that grave errors of law and fact had been made in this case, hereafter considered, that the acting commissioner of immigration had unlawfully and improperly stated alleged facts in his letter of recommendation which were not before the board of special inquiry, to which the statute expressly limits the Secretary on appeal, and that evidence proffered was omitted, and that \$50 had been or was being deposited by relatives of petitioner for his use with the commissioner of immigration, and that his friends were prepared to give bond against his becoming a public charge in such reasonable amount as the Secretary might fix, pursuant to the express terms of the statute.

Rule VII of the immigration regulations requires the immigration officer in charge of the port of arrival to send with the record on appeal "his views thereon in writing," but the statute expressly confines the appeal to the evidence



passed upon by the board of special inquiry. In the present case, in violation of law, Acting Commissioner of Immigration Uhl, who made the recommendation in each of these cases, stated upon said appeal in said letter, an alleged fact which was not before the board of special inquiry, to wit: That petitioner's cousin "has no home to which to take the newly arrived man," so that he legally compelled the Secretary to consider matters adverse to petitioner which the terms of the statute precluded the Secretary's considering. Furthermore, he committed himself to the incorrect theory of law, above referred to, that the relative's sworn offer to assist is to be ignored because "in any event he (the relative) is not legally responsible to assist him." Subsequent to the determination of the appeal an effort was made to lay these facts before the acting commissioner general of immigration and the Acting Secretary of Commerce and Labor, but upon their pointing out that rehearings should be applied for to the commissioner of immigration, an effort was made to pursue such course. As all of the original 15 but the 4 men whose cases are now before this court on habeas had, unfortunately, been deported before such application could be entertained even, and as these 4 petitioners were already being placed upon a steamer for deportation, writs of habeas corpus and certiorari were sued out in this court, and it fortunately took jurisdiction before the applications for a rehearing could even be submitted to Mr. Williams.

As the return herein refers to several gentlemen, including the undersigned, as having been instrumental in the selection of an attorney to act on the appeal, it is but proper to explain that the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society interested itself in these cases from the start, and that its agent at Ellis Island, a member of the bar, would have been glad, as well as bound as a matter of duty, to have represented petitioner and these other men before the board of special inquiry at the original hearing had the right been accorded to be represented by counsel. After the exclusion in this and other cases arising about the time of the issuance of Mr. Williams's "Twenty-five dollar cash" circular, the present counsel and some other gentlemen interested in that society concluded that a review of the determinations at Ellis Island in some of these cases, which they deemed erroneous, was called for. Accordingly, they recommended the retainer of an attorney by relatives of these applicants to take the appeal in question to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and advised that an oral hearing upon these appeals in Washington on the part of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor should be asked for by the attorney and the matter be presented clearly before the Secretary, so that all the important questions of law and fact might be carefully considered and the commissioner's position might be clearly understood and refuted. Moreover, whenever, as in the present case, the circumstances justified it, it was advised that an offer be made to the Secretary on behalf of the relatives of petitioners or their friends to furnish bonds on appeal against their becoming public charges, and also to show the deposit of \$50 in cash for applicants in all cases in which their friends had made the same. We are ready, therefore, to show that the denial of the hearing on the appeal deprived the petitioner of all of these rights. It should also be added that at this meeting, held on June 30, counsel carefully scrutinized a summary of the records presented to them in various cases of exclusion, and advised, despite their sympathy, that no appeal should be taken in a number of cases in which there appeared to be some ground for believing that the applicants might become public charges; this could be done all the more freely, because it did not prevent applicants or their friends from securing counsel elsewhere. The society in question and its advisers have no wish to have a single person admitted into the United States who, under a correct construction of the laws, is likely to become a public charge or is otherwise debarred by our laws from entering, and therefore the cases were thus carefully sifted before recommending any appeals with respect to any of them.

As the Government has requested that we indicate in our argument the additional points, if any, arising in the other three proceedings, other than the Skurdatowski case, we will state that the evidence in the other cases is of substantially the same character, although concededly not quite as strong. Certain other questions do arise, however. One of the other petitioners, Nechemie Baitz—all four, in fact—was similarly classified as a Russian Hebrew, 33 years of age, and a tailor, and he also owns some property in Russia. His brother-in-law appeared as a witness for him and is a tailor earning from \$16 to \$20 a week; he has been here for about four years and has \$100 saved. He swore that he was ready to care for said applicant until he found something to do

and expects to get him a position where he himself is. Baitz was unanimously excluded from entering, however, as likely to become a public charge, though no reason was assigned, perhaps because of instructions understood to have been issued against specifying any grounds and making unnecessary motions. In his letter of recommendation in this case Acting Commissioner Uhl states that the new arrival intends to go "to a center which is already congested (this also applies to his trade)," which are matters which, even if true, were not before the board of special inquiry, and hence improper; but the daily papers report the remarkable fact that even the tailor's union has publicly passed resolutions showing that there is no congestion in their trade and that they are prepared for possible competition from such immigrants as the law permits, when reasonably enforced, to enter; so that Mr. Uhl was even wrong in his assertion of fact, though he had no authority nor qualification thus to testify himself and was not a witness before the board of special inquiry.

Another petitioner, Meyer Gelvot, is 28 years of age, and is also a tailor and paid his own passage, and his cousin, Louis Blach, testified that he is a baker earning \$15 a week and is willing to take him into his home and care for him until he finds work. This applicant testified that he had a father-in-law and brothers-in-law in Chicago, and affidavits from them as well as \$50 in cash were subsequently deposited for his benefit. As the affidavits had to come from Chicago, the hurried character of the hearing before the board of special inquiry precluded their consideration by the board. In his recommendation in this case, Acting Commissioner Uhl not merely violated the statute by incorporating alleged evidence in his report, which was not before the board of special inquiry, but usurped the jurisdiction exclusively vested in the medical officers by stating that this "alien does not present a robust appearance," contrary to the now conceded fact and the favorable medical report against physical defects (sec. 17).

Another petitioner, Gershon Farber, is 38 years of age and a baker, and left a house and \$5 rubles in Russia, his wife having, furthermore, a grocery store there. A friend of his, H. Belmonisky, appeared and testified in his behalf, stating that he would support him and secure for him some profitable employment. In his letter of recommendation in this case, Acting Commissioner Uhl referred to the \$50 deposited for him at the bureau in the following passage: "I do not consider that the fact of the receipt of charity (to wit, the \$50 deposited for his use) should change the decision." Here also Mr. Uhl, probably following Commissioner Williams's circular, not merely volunteers, contrary to law, evidence which was not before the board of special inquiry in describing this money as "the receipt of charity," but wholly ignores the fact that this man is affirmatively shown by the testimony to have considerable means in Russia, so that there would be no difficulty in his borrowing money, and there is here no evidence that this is a case of receiving charity, even if that were fatal.

It should, moreover, be remembered that it is merely because of the express provisions of our immigration laws against laborers coming here under contracts, that these people are compelled to come over without first securing positions, so that this is no circumstance against them. It should also be remembered that this \$25 circular was here applied retroactively to immigrants who had left their homes long before its issuance; there is no question but that in each of these cases these petitioners could have secured several times that amount of cash to bring along upon entry, had such rule been previously promulgated. It is this feature which makes these cases particularly harsh.

#### POINTS.

I.—While, in general, the determination of the immigration officers are not reviewable in the courts, under subsisting statutes, the courts have jurisdiction where "due process of law" has been denied by the executive officers, and the "due process of law" provisions of the fifth amendment to the Constitution are here invoked.

We do not ask the court to disregard the *Ju Toy* case (198 U. S., 253) nor the other cases applying the statutes making the determinations of the immigration officers in general nonreviewable, but in the *Ju Toy* case the court pointed out that it was not denied that all the proceedings before the department "have been in regular form" and that "no abuse of authority was shown." We are clearly within the authority of the later case of *Chin Yow v. U. S.*, 208 U. S., 8, in which jurisdiction on habeas was sustained in a Chinese immigra-

tion case, where the offer was made to show that "the petitioner arbitrarily was denied such a hearing and such an opportunity to prove his rights to enter the country as the statute meant that he should have; \* \* \* that the petitioner had been allowed nothing but the semblance of a hearing."

The court adds: "The decision of the department is final, but that is on the presupposition that the decision was after a hearing in good faith, however summary in form. \* \* \*. But unless and until it is proved to the satisfaction of the judge that a hearing properly so called was denied, the merits of the case are not open, and we may add, the denial of a hearing can not be established by proving that the decision was wrong."

As this court has just held in *In re D'Amato* (Hand, J., July 12, 1909), in the case of an alleged stowaway who was denied a hearing before the board of inquiry entirely—on the theory that the omission of his name from the ship's manifest conclusively proved that he was a stowaway—that he was entitled to a judicial hearing to show that he was no stowaway, on the principle of the *Chin Yow* case, we need not elaborate on this point, but content ourselves with claiming, as has just been held in that case, that a bona fide and fair administrative hearing is the right of an alien, as well as of an alleged American citizen, in line with scores of earlier cases, some of which are cited hereinafter under other points.

The *Chin Yow* case necessarily proceeded on the theory that the fifth amendment of the Constitution and the immigration laws secure to every "person" at least a right to such "due process of law" as administrative hearings require within the language "nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

See also *Case of the Japanese Immigrant*, 189 U. S., 86, at 100-101, and *In re Con Pon*, 168 Fed Rep., 479, 484 (C. C. A.).

(b) Moreover, our treaty with Russia specifically assures to all Russian subjects—and the "return" concedes that petitioner is one—all the rights to due process of law upon applications to enter, enjoyed even by an American citizen, by the first article of the treaty of 1832, providing—

"The inhabitants of their respective States shall mutually have liberty to enter the ports and places and rivers of the territories of each party, wherever foreign commerce is permitted. They shall be at liberty to sojourn and reside in all parts whatsoever of said territories, in order to attend to their affairs, and they shall enjoy, to that effect, the same security and protection as natives of the country wherein they reside on condition of their submitting to the laws and ordinances there prevailing, and particularly to the regulations in force concerning commerce."

Conceding that this does not exempt Russian subjects from the provisions of our immigration laws (the *Japanese Immigrant Case*, 189 U. S., 86, 97), we submit that it entitles them to "due process of law" upon applications to enter, like alleged American citizens.

As to what is "due process of law" we invoke the classical definition of Daniel Webster, by which judicial and administrative hearings have repeatedly been tested, which the Supreme Court adopted in the leading case of *Hurtado v. California*, 110 U. S., 516, 535: "Law is something more than mere will exerted as an act of power. It must be not a special rule for a particular person or a particular case, but, in the language of Mr. Webster, in his familiar definition, 'the general law, a law which hears before it condemns, which proceeds upon inquiry, and renders judgment only after trial.' \* \* \* Arbitrary power, enforcing its edicts to the injury of the persons and property of its subjects, is not law, whether manifested as the decree of a personal monarch or of an impersonal multitude."

So also in *The Japanese Immigrant case*, 189 U. S., 86, 100-101, the court held as to administrative hearings under our immigration laws: "But this court has never held, nor must we now be understood as holding, when executing the provisions of a statute involving the liberty of persons, may disregard the fundamental principles that inhere in 'due process of law' as understood at the adoption of the Constitution. One of these principles is that no person shall be deprived of his liberty without opportunity, at some time to be heard, before such officers, in respect of the matters upon which that liberty depends—not necessarily an opportunity upon a regular set occasion and according to the form of judicial procedure, but one that will secure the prompt, vigorous action contemplated by Congress, and at the same time be appropriate to the nature of the case upon which such officers are required to act."

See also *In re Con Pon*, 168 Fed. Rep. 479 (C. C. A.); *Stuart v. Palmer*, 74 N. Y., 183; *Hopkins v. Fachant*, 130 Fed. Rep. 839 (C. C. A.); *School of Magnetic Healing v. McAnnulty*, 187 U. S., 94; *Public Clearing House v. Coyne*, 194 U. S., 497.

II.—*If denial of due process of law be established on any one of the grounds alleged in the amended petition, the court itself, must hear the case, and decide for itself whether petitioner is in fact "likely to become a public charge."*

*Chin Yow v. U. S.*, supra.

*In re D'Amato*, supra.

Accordingly, jurisdiction is invoked on each and all of the various grounds hereinafter separately specified, each constituting, we submit, a denial of "due process of law" in the administrative hearings.

III.—*On the evidence before the board of special inquiry it had no jurisdiction to exclude, the evidence being reasonable and uncontradicted against the theory of "likelihood of petitioner's becoming a public charge" as those words have been construed by the courts.*

The courts have of course repeatedly defined the phrase "person likely to become a public charge" in authoritative decisions, and the act of 1907 must be construed as using the phrase in the same sense as the phrase was employed in the earlier acts. These cases hold authoritatively that a person can not be treated as likely to become a public charge merely because without any property if he is not disqualified by immaturity or old age, if he has a trade or occupation he is willing to follow, and has no physical, mental, or other defect; affirmative evidence tending to show probability to become a public charge must be forthcoming. Possession of relatives or friends prepared to look after him has not been considered a requirement in these cases, much less relatives legally obligated to do this, nor mere lack of money.

The leading case on the subject is *In re Feinknopf* (47 Fed. Rep., 447), where Judge Benedict held that petitioner, a man of 40, native of Austria, cabinet-maker by trade, who had exercised his trade for 25 years, had no family, had baggage with him worth \$20 and 50 cents in money, had been improperly held "likely to become a public charge" by the immigration authorities, and was entitled to be admitted through the court. Said Judge Benedict in this case, writing in 1891, after summarizing the above facts:

"Of course this testimony, if believed, would not warrant the conclusion that the petitioner was a person likely to become a public charge \* \* \*. The more reasonable conclusion seems to be that the statute, when providing that the immigrant shall be returned unless upon special inquiry he shows satisfactorily that he does not belong to one of the excluded classes, assumes that there was before the inspector, at least upon the preliminary inquiry, testimony adverse to the contention of the immigrant, affording foundation for the judgment that the immigrant was a person likely to become a public charge. The statute contemplates a determination adverse to the immigrant made by the inspection officer upon evidence, and that a determination so made shall be sufficient to authorize the detention and return of the immigrant when no credible testimony to the contrary is produced by the immigrant upon the special inquiry \* \* \*. I therefore conclude that, in order to a lawful detention and return of an alien immigrant as being a person likely to become a public charge by virtue of the act of 1891, there must be a determination by the inspection officer of the fact that the immigrant is likely to become a public charge, made upon competent evidence tending to show such to be the fact; and that as the inspector, in making a determination in this case upon inspection only, and without competent evidence, exceeded his authority, his order, not having been made in compliance with the statute, affords no legal ground for the detention of the relator."

In *In re Didirri* (48 Fed. Rep., 168) Judge Lacombe recognized the correctness of this decision, but held that it did not apply where there was any evidence, though conflicting, of disability. Judge Brown's opinions in *re Braemadar* (57 Fed. Rep., 774) and *In re O'Sullivan* (31 Fed. Rep., 447) were to the same effect as Judge Benedict's opinion, while in *U. S. v. Lipkis* (56 Fed. Rep., 427) he held that no bond even against liability to become a public charge should be exacted merely because of possession of but little money. He said:

"When an able-bodied workman comes to the country who is able to take care of himself and his family and is likely to procure remunerative work in

his trade, it is not the practice to require a bond from him merely because he may have but little ready money and upon the mere possibility that he may meet with some accident that may make him a cripple and thus render him and his family a public charge. For at the time of arrival he is not likely to become a public charge; his health, capacity for work, and the probability that he will obtain work furnish ordinary and sufficient security, in the ordinary course of things, against any such liability."

Since then the practice of taking bonds where there is affirmative evidence of disability, sustained by Judge Brown in this case, was affirmatively authorized by section 26 of the immigration act of 1907 in the discretion of the Secretary of Commerce.

Probably the tersest utterance on the subject, is, however, to be found in the able report of the Ellis Island Commission appointed by President Roosevelt, consisting of A. von Briesen, chairman, Lee K. Frankel, Hon. Eugene A. Philbin, T. W. Hynes, and Ralph Trautman. Under date of November 11, 1903, this commission unanimously reported:

"The true test is not the amount of money they bring, though it is often an important factor, but the ability to earn a living by securing remunerative work."

The language of the Supreme Court in *Henderson v. Wickham*, 92 U. S., 259, in condemning as unconstitutional a State statute exacting a bond for all arriving immigrants, is also suggestive; there reference was made to the immigrant "who brings to aid the industry of the country a stout heart and a strong arm."

And again: "In addition to the wealth which some of them bring, they bring still more largely the labor which we need to till our soil, build our railroads, and develop the latent resources of the country in its minerals, its manufactures, and its agriculture."

The courts have repeatedly held that the general rule is here also applicable that if there was no evidence of any disability present under the statute as thus construed, there is no jurisdiction even to decide against the petitioner and he is entitled to discharge on habeas corpus. (In *re* Day, 27 Fed. Rep., 678, 680-681; In *re* Feinknopf, supra; In *re* O'Sullivan, supra; *Sternaman v. Peck*, 80 Fed. Rep., 883 (C. C. A. and cases there cited); *School of Magnetic Healing v. McAnnulty*, 187 U. S., 94; *Pub. Clearing House v. Coyne*, 194 U. S., 497.)

The exercise of official discretion arises only where some affirmative defect is shown which might result in making the alien a public charge. Mere absence of cash is no such defect.

The courts have distinguished general immigration cases from those involving Chinese coming here from China, claiming to have been born here, the uncontradicted testimony being there often assumed to be improbable. (*Rogers v. U. S.*, 152 Fed. Rep., 346, 352; *Gonzales v. Williams*, 192 U. S., 16.)

It is submitted that this rule of reviewability by the courts is still applicable, despite the act of 1894 and section 25 of the act of 1907, but in any event this presents a convenient method of considering the judicial decisions upon this statutory phrase, "person likely to become a public charge," which has not been altered, and which unquestionably require, we submit, a judicial determination upon the facts here involved that these applicants are not likely to become public charges, if the court's jurisdiction to decide the question for itself is established, on any of the various grounds on which its jurisdiction is invoked because of the lack of "due process of law" in the administrative hearings.

IV.—*The record shows that the board of special inquiry credited the testimony of petitioner and his cousin, but proceeded on the illegal and erroneous theory that his relative or friend not being legally obligated to support him till he found a position, such sworn offer is to be disregarded.*

This ruling is based upon an erroneous theory of law, which the courts have jurisdiction to review. (*Exp. Watchhorn*, 160 Fed. Rep., 1014 (Ward, J.); *U. S. v. Wong Chong*, 92 Fed. Rep., 141 (Coxe, J.); *Gonzales v. Williams*, 192 U. S., 115, as explained in *U. S. v. Sing Tuck*, 194 U. S., 161, at 168; In *re* Tang Tun, 161 Fed. Rep., 618; 168 Fed. Rep., 488; 214 U. S., 523; In *re* Kornmehl, 87 Fed. Rep., 314 (Lacombe, J.); *Exp. Fong Yim*, 134 Fed. Rep., 838 (Holt, J.); *Exp. NG. Quong Ming*, 135 Fed. Rep., 378 (Holt, J.).)

Its erroneous character is well shown by the decision of Judge Brown in a case dealing with immature aliens not able to provide for themselves. In *re Day*, supra, where he said: "By the expression 'unable to take care of themselves without becoming a public charge' the law does not intend an inability having reference to the passenger's personal efforts alone. Such a construction would exclude every child from our shores, since no child by his personal efforts alone can take care of himself. All the means of care or support that are provided for the passenger and are available for his benefit must be taken into account. The law intends those only that are likely to 'become a charge,' because they can neither take care of themselves nor are under the charge or protection of any other person who by natural relation or by assumed responsibility furnishes reasonable assurance that they will not become a public charge upon the public."

V.—*Notices and directions of a far-reaching character, the legality of which we challenge, constraining the board of special inquiry, were issued by Commissioner Williams, so that the court must take jurisdiction, as the determinations were based upon illegal orders and regulations and not made merely under the statute. The retroactive character of these regulations makes them all the more unjust and oppressive.*

That illegal orders and regulations constraining the board in its determination confer jurisdiction upon the courts to review on habeas corpus, notwithstanding the act of 1894 and the present act, is well settled. (*In re Kornmehl*, 87 Fed. Rep., 315 (Lacombe, J.); *Lee Gon Yung v. U. S.*, 185 U. S., 306; *Hurtado v. California*, supra; *Chin Yow v. U. S.*, supra.)

Said Lacombe, J., in the *Kornmehl* case: "The concluding clause (of the return), however, would seem to indicate that the inspectors rendered their decision not because examination of the facts led their minds to such conclusion, but because they felt constrained to render such a decision because of some instructions from the Treasury department \* \* \*. This instruction seems to be wholly unwarranted by any provision of the statute \* \* \*. Rules and regulations may be made to carry out the statutes and facilitate the exclusion and return of persons belonging to the classes whose immigration Congress has forbidden, but no mere rule of the department can operate to exclude persons not belonging to one or the other of the classes named in the statutes \* \* \*."

"The alien is entitled to the honest decision of the inspection officers, wholly untrammelled by any instructions not authorized by the statutes. The return in this case indicates that there has been no such decision in this case. Therefore the finality which the statute accords to a proper decision of the inspection officers is not a bar to inquiry here into the facts."

See also cases ante, pages 13, 14, 22 *In re Monaco*, 86 F. R., 117; *U. S. v. Nakashima*, 160 F. R., 842 (C. C. A.); *In re Murnane*, 39 F. R., 99; *In re Berjanski*, 47 F. R. 445; where illegal rules or conduct on the part of the immigration officials were held to give the courts jurisdiction on habeas corpus.

(b) It is, of course, well settled that departmental regulations even can not enlarge or restrict the statute, Congress alone having legislative power. (*Cases supra*; *Morrill v. Jones*, 106 U. S., 466; *Campbell v. U. S.*, 107 U. S., 407; *Williamson v. U. S.*, 207 U. S., 425.)

(c) Only reasonable regulations in any event are valid. (*In re Kornmehl* and other cases, supra; *Lee Gong Yung v. U. S.*, 185 U. S., 306, 307.)

(d) In fact Commissioner Williams has by express terms of the statute (sec. 23 of the act of 1907) "duties \* \* \* of an administrative character" only, and, unlike the Secretary, has no authority whatever to issue general orders, notices, instructions, etc.

Various regulations which he has promulgated, the legality of which we challenge, will now be considered, which were responsible for the decisions of the board of special inquiry, to whom we are prepared to show they were communicated. Of course they do not lose their character of "instructions" and "regulations," coercing—even though unintentionally—the boards of special inquiry because not all are directed to them, for we are prepared to show that they were brought officially to their attention. The fact that the \$25 circular as printed was addressed to the steamship companies and not to the inspectors will not avail to remove the case from the authorities just considered, just as in *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, 118 U. S., 356, the device of concealing the anti-Chinese character of the ordinance there involved did not prevent the Supreme

Court from penetrating the covering and condemning the unconstitutional administration of the ordinance there involved. We concede that Mr. Williams did not intend to merely evade these authorities by a device, and give him credit for the laudable intention of trying to prevent hardship by thus bringing pressure to bear upon the steamship companies before embarkation.

(e) The illegal character of the \$25 circular dated June 28, 1909, included in the return.

We propose to show that already prior to the issuance of this printed notice its purport was communicated by Commissioner Williams to the press and the inspectors. It is dated the very date these decisions were made, and presumably even its limitations and qualifications, such as they were, were not then known to the board. Taking the circular even as printed, however, we submit that there is no doubt that it constituted an unauthorized assumption of legislative and judicial authority inconsistent with the acts of Congress concerning immigration.

(1) It declares that "in most cases it will be unsafe for immigrants to arrive with less than \$25, besides railroad tickets to destination."

Congress has not established any money qualification applicable to all or to "most cases." On the contrary, it was asked to pass such a law, and included provision for it in House bills reported April 9, 1906, and May 29, 1906, but the bill reported with House Report No. 4912, on June 11, 1906, intentionally and expressly eliminated the same, providing instead, as substitute, section 39 in the act of 1907, as adopted finally, for the appointment of an immigration commission. What Congress after mature deliberation declined to do, Mr. Williams now does in effect by his own circular. Nor should the far-reaching and sweeping character of this proposed requirement be overlooked. In his annual report for the year ending June 30, 1908, the Secretary of Commerce and Labor points out that "the total amount of money actually shown to immigration officers by arriving aliens was \$17,794,226, an average of \$23 per capita."

Accordingly, Commissioner Williams is practically challenging the right of entry of a majority of the arriving aliens, nearly 800,000 in number during the fiscal year in question. How little bearing "cash on hand" at arrival has on likelihood to become a public charge, and how little cause there is to fear this danger, is indicated by the circumstances that the Commissioner-General's Report for the year in question (pp. 18-19) shows that the total number of persons deported during the fiscal year in question for all causes existing at time of entry was only 1,955, while only 18 were deported because at entry likely to have become public charges (apart from physical defects cases and apart from five professional beggars and two paupers), the merest infinitesimal fraction of 1 per cent of the entries for the year. Of course, as the very cases here in question show, cash brought along has little relationship to actual means, especially where the aliens have left their families temporarily at home, and have so much cause to fear that they will be despoiled by Russian officials or others on the journey, and can get money from relatives and friends here on arrival.

(2) The blunder, moreover, of treating and describing as "indigent immigrants" not merely in the caption to this circular, but also in the "recommendations" of the commissioner to the Secretary on appeal, all persons who have not \$25 cash with them on landing, wholly regardless of what other property they have, either at home or here, or how much more they could at any time realize or borrow, upon their other possessions, requires no further comment. Petitioner's case illustrates this.

(3) Nor is the requirement that the aliens must also have "besides, railroad tickets to destination," valid. The supposed "destination" is taken from the manifest of the vessel, presumably, and may be incorrect, may have been changed or reconsidered, possibly because of the advice of the Government's own "information bureau," to go West or elsewhere, for instance, and a requirement of "railroad tickets to destinations" is, accordingly, not merely unauthorized by law, but may work hardship and injustice.

(4) The circular notice further provides that the aliens must, "in addition, of course, satisfy the authorities that they will not become charges either on public or private charity;" it will be noticed, therefore, that the commissioner treats this money requirement as one to be exacted, in addition to proof that they will not become public or private charges, and has therefore inserted in

his order a new and independent ground for exclusion, in addition to likelihood of becoming public charges.

(5) The requirement that the immigrant shall not be likely to become a charge on "private" charity, as distinguished from "public charge," is a further assumption of legislative authority, inconsistent with the statute. We deny that liability to become a charge upon "private charity" is tantamount to such charge upon "public charity;" but this notice clearly shows upon its face that a new and incorrect definition even of "private charity" has been formulated by the commissioner. It says that "gifts to destitute immigrants after arrival" (will not) be considered in determining whether or not they are qualified to land; for, except where such gifts are to those legally entitled to support (as to wives, minor children, etc.), the recipients stand here as objects of "private charity." As thus defined, it is utterly unreasonable to say that persons receiving even "gifts" of money from relatives and friends are "objects of private charity," and "likely to become a public charge." To merely paraphrase the statement shows how far from correct is the claim that persons receiving gifts, even of money, from friends or relatives other than those legally obligated to support them, are "likely to become public charges." If such receipt at any time of money be regarded as constituting "liability to become a public charge" millions of our citizens might be similarly, unfairly, characterized! The evidence before the board of special inquiry and the commissioner's and acting commissioner's recommendation in these four cases and others show that any money secured by applicants, even where embarkation took place abroad long prior to this circular, is conclusively and irrefutably regarded without inquiry as a "gift" and the "receipt of private charity!" Petitioner has 6,000 rubles' worth of property in Russia; the evidence showed the board that he had considerable property there, the value of which, under the mandate of this circular, they properly did not even take the trouble to ascertain, yet the board assumes that his nonpossession of appreciable cash on arrival makes him likely to become a public charge, despite his relatives' sworn readiness to look out for him and obtain a position for him, and the acting commissioner's "recommendation" shows that he also confines the inquiry to the amount of cash in applicant's possession on arrival, disregarding his property in Russia, and in the Farber case, where there was also property left in Russia and the deposit of \$50 after entry was considered, Acting Commissioner Uhl comments on this, without a particle of evidence as to the source and character of this deposit, saying: "I do not consider that the fact of the receipt of charity should change this decision. This case is similar to a number of those transmitted yesterday."

What possible justification is there for saying that these payments were not loans which may have, for instance, been amply secured? What evidence is such loan, for instance, of liability to become a public charge? And what reason is there for assuming that this money is not repayment of a debt due the immigrant?

(6) Moreover, the attempt to disregard sworn promises of assistance, even if they could be assumed to be "gifts," on the bare ground that they are not legally enforceable, is, as we have seen supra (Point IV) directly inconsistent with the decisions of the court. In fact, it is within the power of the Secretary to make them legally enforceable in proper cases—even if they are not so already, on the theory of an estoppel—by exacting a satisfactory bond under section 26 of the act.

(7) The right, moreover, to disregard any assets which the immigrant possessed at time of entry, whether by gift of friends made subsequent to the arrival of the vessel or not, is unauthorized usurpation of legislative authority not justified by the statute.

(8) Nor does the circumstance that in some selected cases—aliens excluded under this circular are given another, better, chance—before the newly created appellate board of inquiry overcome its illegal consequences.

(f) The circular instruction to inspectors of June 5.

This letter of the commissioner, addressed to all immigrant inspectors, is also illegal. It not merely informs them of the commissioner's unjustified and sweeping assumption that prior conditions were such that "it is necessary that the standard of inspection at Ellis Island be raised," but it gives notice that "our immigration law will be strictly enforced." The well-settled rule of law, however, applicable to the immigration laws as well as to all other laws in derogation of personal liberty, is that they must be fairly and reasonably con-



strued and administered, and in fact liberally toward the incoming aliens, and not "strictly enforced." (*Moffett v. U. S.*, 128 F. R., 375, 378 (C. C. A.); *Tsoi Sim v. U. S.*, 116 Fed Rep., 920 (C. C. A.); *The Japanese Immigrant Case*, 189 U. S., 86, 100-101 (quoted p. 16 ante); *Lau Ow Bew v. U. S.*, 144 U. S., 47, 59; *Rogers v. U. S.*, 152 F. R., 346, 350 (C. C. A.); *In re Tang Tun*, 161 F. R., 618, aff'd. as to *Con Pon* in 168 F. R., 479; *Lieber's Hermeneutics* (3d ed.), pp. 128-129, 137; *Martin v. Goldstein*, 20 App. Div., 203, 206; *Am. & Eng. Ency. of Law*, vol. 26, pp. 661-662, 659, 646-648 (2d ed.).)

Professor Lieber well says (pp. 128-129):

"Yet it is necessary to remember well that, in general, nothing is so favorable to that great essential of all civil liberty, the protection of individual rights, as close interpretation and construction. Most laws lose in their protective power, in the common intercourse of men (which is the most important because of daily and hourly occurrence) according as they are loosely interpreted. Several surprising decisions of the English courts exist which were, indeed, the consequence of an apparently literal interpretation. Verdicts, even, are not wanting which evidently defeated the object of the law, in consequence of adhering to its mere letter; yet I do not hesitate to avow my firm belief that England owes her civil liberty and that civic spirit, so common in the whole country compared to many others, to no circumstance in a higher degree than to the habitually close construction of her laws. On the other hand, the laws of the European continent were, for a long time, loosely interpreted, and construed according to the effects and presumed motives of the legislator, etc., whenever there was a question of right between the individual and those who possessed the power, or the same law was differently interpreted on different occasions.

"The result of our considerations will then be that we ought to adhere to close construction as long as we can; but we must not forget that the 'letter killeth,' and an enlarged construction becomes necessary when the relations of things enlarge or change. We ought to be careful, however, not to misjudge our own times; for every one who is desirous of justifying an extravagant construction does it on the ground that the case is of a peculiar character and the present time a crisis. Every demagogue, tyrant, or selfish man, in public or private life, resorts to this argument to palliate unwarranted acts before others' or his own conscience. However delicate the subject may be, the truth of what has been said is nevertheless apparent; and, to be safe in this particular we must return to one of the first principles, that without good faith and conscientiousness there is no true interpretation or construction possible.

"(p. 137.) Yet nothing contributes more to the substantial protection of individual liberty than a habitually close interpretation and construction."

Said the Circuit Court of Appeals in the *Moffett* case:

"All these acts, as was the act in regard to contract labor (act Feb. 26, 1885, chap. 164, 23 State, 332; U. S. Comp. St., 1901, p. 1290), are highly penal in their character, and should be so construed as to bring within their condemnation only those who are shown, by direct terms and positive averments and clear proof, to be embraced within the terms of the law. They should not be so construed as to include cases which, although within the letter, are not within the spirit of the law. All laws should receive a sensible construction. General terms contained therein should be so limited in their application as not to lead to injustice, oppression, or absurd consequences. (*Tsoi Sim v. U. S.*, 116 Fed. Rep., 920, 926; 54 C. C. A., 154, and authorities there cited.)"

This erroneous direction is similar to a charge in a criminal case that the plaintiff need not prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt, for instance, or not by a fair preponderance of evidence in a civil case (*Coffin v. U. S.*, 156 U. S., 432), or that the presumption of innocence shall be disregarded.

(g) This is particularly true, because as was ably pointed out editorially in the *Evening Post*—which together with nearly all the other New York daily papers opposed this \$25 circular—inasmuch as there is a right to deport within three years, applications for entry should be liberally viewed in this respect.

In the very able and suggestive editorial in question in the *New York Evening Post* on July 16, it is said:

"But it is not too much to insist that in dealing with our enormous alien masses, the application of any general rule should be qualified by the principle that the immigrant shall receive the benefit of every doubt. Once a foreigner has shown that he is able-bodied, free from contagious disease, and neither a criminal, anarchist, nor polygamist, nor certain to become a public charge, he has made out a prima facie case for his admission.

"The money test can never be anything but tentative. In incapable hands, it may become an instrument of injustice \* \* \*. As for the fear of letting in aliens to become public charges upon public charity, it seems to us that the provision of the law which orders such immigrants back within three years after their arrival, should encourage clemency at Ellis Island, rather than harshness. If the immigrant who falls into pauperism can be gotten rid of within three years, why should our immigration officers speculate excessively upon the chances of an immigrant becoming a pauper? Here again he should be given the benefit of the doubt—given a chance to show that what this country offers its newcomers is not poverty, but a living."

(h) Moreover the \$25 circular was given a retroactive construction, the petitioner having left his home long before its promulgation, and could easily have brought this money with him otherwise. Even statutes will be construed by the courts so as to avoid hardship resulting from making them retroactive (*U. S. v. Jung Ah Lung*, 124 U. S., 621).

VI.—*The board of special inquiry were not free agents in view of the situation on Ellis Island.*

It appears that Commissioner Williams has issued a whole series of regulations, orders, and notices, the legality of which we challenge, which his subordinates have in fact followed; it is easily demonstrable that these are inconsistent with the former practices of the inspectors.

In *re Kornmehl*, 87 Fed. Rep., 315, and other cases cited ante, show that the theory of the statute is that the members of the board of special inquiry should exercise their own free and untrammelled judgment. As the statute makes the Commissioner of Immigration a purely administrative officer, his effort to "declare" the law is itself usurpation of authority. In fact, in his return, Commissioner Williams concedes that he "has considered it not only his right, but his sworn duty under the law, to see to it that all officials charged with the duty of passing upon the qualification of aliens applying for admission to the United States understand the immigration laws of the United States," but inasmuch as his "notices" and "instructions" clearly indicate that the commissioner himself in some matters misconstrues the statutes, the result is that he has been inculcating illegal and erroneous principles of law in his subordinates, principles that they must have felt constrained to follow, and that despite his allegation that he has explained to them that "it is their duty under the law to consider and decide all cases coming before them for their consideration and decision according to their own best judgment."

That they have followed his erroneous theories, affirmatively appears from their decisions. That they are constrained so to do further appears from the circumstance that he has power under the statute to designate those who are to sit on the board of special inquiry with the increase of salary therefrom arising and can indirectly at least secure their promotion, demotion, or removal. We propose to show that, though acting in good faith, he has caused numerous changes of personnel to be made among the inspectors, and has announced that he has recommended extensive further changes, comprising, according to the public prints, from 50 to 300 further changes, which he has notoriously been considering for weeks, his proposed demotions and removals being presumably based upon alleged "lack of capacity," arising from failure to construe and administer the law as he himself, erroneously we believe, expounds it. Under such conditions, inspectors are obviously influenced into deciding cases in accordance with Commissioner Williams's erroneous views, under supposed penalty of removal or demotion, and are not free agents.

The determination of such biased, interested, coerced inspectors is not "due process of law." (*Oakley v. Aspinall*, 3 New York, 547; *McLaughry v. U. S.*, 186 U. S., 49, 67; *Chambers v. Clearwater*, 1 Keyes, 310; *People v. Haas*, 105 App. Div., 119; *Chy Lung v. Freeman*, 92 U. S., 275; In *re Tang Tun*, 161 Fed. Rep., 618; *People v. Trustees Saratoga Springs*, 4 App. Div., 399; *Stockwell v. Township*, 22 Mich., 341; 18 L. R. A., 367-368 and note; *McGuire v. Blount*, 191 U. S., 573; *Moran v. Dollingham*, 174 U. S., 153; *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, 118 U. S., 356; *People ex rel. Croker v. Sturgis*, 91 App. Div., 286, 290, 301; *People v. Board of Police Commissioners*, 155 N. Y., 40; *People ex rel. Clark v. Roosevelt*, 168 N. Y., 490.)

The power of the immigration authorities can not be delegated. In *re Murane*, 39 F. R., 99. *Lacombe, J.*

Even the collector could not overrule his subordinates, the immigration officials. (In re Bucciarelle, 45 F. R., 462, Wallace, J.; In re Palagona, 38 F. R., 580, Lacombe, J.)

See also In re Kornmehl, supra.

We do not challenge Mr. Williams's good faith, nor his desire to do his duty conscientiously. We submit, however, that the proper way to teach the inspectors the law and their duties thereunder is to prepare for them a compilation of authoritative decisions by the courts and by the Secretary, as has been done by a number of other government bureaus.

VII.—*Counsel was improperly denied before the board of special inquiry and on appeal.*

It appears that counsel was prevented from representing these petitioners by the prevailing practice, excluding all persons except applicant, his witnesses and the government officials. As the Secretary's regulations (Rule 18) expressly recognize the right to some form of representation by attorneys, it is unnecessary to argue whether such right should or should not be accorded; the established procedure concededly afforded a right to counsel.

Under the provisions of the statute (sec. 25): "All hearings before boards shall be separate and apart from the public, but the said boards shall keep a complete permanent record of their proceedings and of all such testimony as may be produced before them."

It is a clear error of law in the procedure in these cases to assume that the requirement "hearings separate and apart from the public" was designed to exclude even applicant's attorney or representative. The fact that the statute says that the board shall keep a complete record of "all such testimony as may be produced before them," and treats the burden of proof as on applicant, and does not say "which the board shall take," indicates clearly that the alien is also entitled intelligently, to wit, by counsel, to adduce evidence and be appraised of the evidence relied upon by the Government. The fact that the appeal is expressly limited to the evidence adduced before the board makes this still clearer.

Nor is this a new question. The eminent gentlemen, including several prominent lawyers, who constituted the Ellis Island commission of 1903 said on this point:

"A great deal of the criticism made in regard to the operation of the immigration law has been directed to the special inquiry so conducted. It has been claimed that the requirement that the hearings shall be separate and apart from the public has placed the immigrants ignorant of our language at a serious disadvantage, and even in other cases, often caused an adverse decision because of the immigrant being unable to fully present his case to the board. The only persons now allowed to be present at such hearings are the board of inquiry, consisting of three inspectors, the interpreter, and the immigrant, besides such witnesses as the board may permit to be called \* \* \*. The use of the word 'public' in connection with any court proceedings has never been held to exclude persons interested in the proceedings and it is clear that the companies are not really prohibited under the law from having a representative present at such hearings. Such a representative might be a person familiar with the treatment of the immigrants. It does not seem that there should be any objection to the admission of a proper representative of the party whose property is involved at the hearing."

The recommendation of the Commission on the subject was:

"That the boards of special inquiry shall admit to their sessions the parties in interest, with opportunity to propound questions and produce witnesses, such parties in interest being the representatives of the transportation companies and the representatives of the immigrant."

It had been supposed that the promulgation of the rule recognizing the right to an attorney in these cases had obviated this abuse, and that counsel would be freely permitted to be present, at least after examination of the applicant, with right to reexamine him, after seeing or hearing his testimony, and then adducing further evidence, but this is still denied in practice at Ellis Island, and is a denial of "due process of law."

(b) The similar provisions of the Chinese exclusion acts and regulations have been construed as authorizing counsel to see the proof and adduce evidence for use on appeal at least, though the right to attorney is not so necessary there

at the original hearing, which does not take place before a quasi judicial tribunal like the "Board of Special Inquiry," and because new evidence is not there limited on appeal to that adduced at the original hearing. There, rule 7 also provided for examinations "separate and apart from the public," the statute saying nothing as to the character and form of the examination. Said the Supreme Court of the Chinese exclusion hearings in *U. S. v. Sing Tuck*, 194 U. S., 161, 169:

"But it is said that if, under the circumstances, the question of citizenship could be left to the final decision of an executive officer, the Chinese regulations made under the statutes by the Department of Commerce and Labor are such that they do not allow a citizen due process of law, and the same argument is urged in favor of the right to decline to take any part in such proceedings from the outset. The rules objected to require the officer to prevent communication with the parties other than by officials under his control, and to have them examined promptly touching their right to admission. The examination is to be apart from the public, in the presence of the Government officials and such witnesses only as the examining officer shall designate. This last is the provision especially stigmatized. It is said that the parties are allowed to produce only such witnesses as are designated by the officer. But that is a plain perversion of the meaning of the words. If the witnesses referred to are not merely witnesses to the examination, if they are witnesses in the cause, still the provision only excludes such witnesses at the discretion of the officer pending the examination of the party concerned—a natural precaution in this class of cases, the reasonableness of which does not need to be explained. It is common in ordinary trials. No right is given to the officer to exercise any control or choice as to the witnesses to be heard, and no such choice was attempted in fact. On the contrary, the parties were told that if they could produce two witnesses who knew that they had the right to enter, their testimony would be taken and carefully considered, and various other attempts were made to induce the suggestion of any evidence or help to establish the parties' case, but they stood mute. The separate examination is another reasonable precaution, and it is required to take place promptly to avoid the hardship of a long detention. In case of appeal counsel are permitted to examine the evidence, rule 7, and it is implied that new evidence, briefs, affidavits, and statements may be submitted, all of which can be forwarded with the appeal. (Rule 9.) The whole scheme is intended to give as fair a chance to prove a right to enter the country as the necessarily summary character of the proceedings will permit."

See opinion of Justices Brewer and Peckham in that and the *Ju Toy* cases, holding even that procedure unjust and oppressive.

In general immigration cases, where the statute contemplates that all the evidence shall be adduced before a quasi judicial tribunal, which is in turn required by the law to act promptly and where there is no right to submit new evidence on appeal as in Chinese cases, the denial of counsel before the board, after a private examination "on the line," is necessarily in effect a denial of a fair hearing.

The right to counsel, even in administrative hearings of this kind, is an essential of "due process of law." (*Murdock v. Trustees Phillip Academy*, 12 Pick., 244, 263 (Shaw, Ch. J.); *People ex rel. Van Hise v. Police Commr.*, 58 Hun., 224; *People ex rel. Ellet v. Flood*, 64 App. Div., 209; *People ex rel. Smith v. Phisterer*, 66 App. Div., 52.)

So also in *Hightower v. Hawthorne*, 12 Fed. Cases, 6478b, the court well said:

"To deny the party the right to appear by attorney is at once shutting out from him that source of opinion and that exercise of his legal right which would enable him to make a just and fair defense to the suit brought against him."

Of course, where aliens not familiar with the English language are concerned, this becomes of even greater importance.

The right intelligently to adduce evidence in his own behalf before the board is most important. (*Chin Yow v. U. S.*, 208 U. S., 8; *People ex rel. Black v. Whitmore*, 27 New York Week. Dig., 213; *People ex rel. McCormack v. French*, 3 New York Supp., 341.)

So also is the right of cross-examination. (*People ex rel. Fallon v. Wright*, 7 App. Div., 185; *affd.* 150 New York, 444.)

A day in court is a matter of right, whether the court be judicial or administrative. (*Hopkins v. Fachant*, 130 Fed. Rep., 842 (C. C. A.); *In re Tang Tun* (supra).)

(b) Moreover, the practice, perhaps due to a misunderstanding of the Commissioner's instructions, pursuant to which immigrants have been prevented from telegraphing or communicating with relatives or friends in general, has resulted in a most serious denial of due process of law.

VIII.—*A hearing on appeal was wholly denied, a substantial hearing, and not merely a formal one.*

It is, of course, well established that the statutory right to an appeal may not be denied or frittered away, and that if that be done, the court on habeas corpus must grant that due process of law which the statute contemplates should have been given already at the administrative hearing. (In re Monaco, 86 F. R., 117 (Lacombe, J.); U. S. v. Nakashima, 160 F. R., 842 (C. C. A.); Rodgers v. U. S., 152 F. R. 348, 349 (C. C. A.); In re Con Pon, 168 F. R., 479, 484 (C. C. A.); The Japanese immigrant case, 189 U. S., 86 at 100-101; Chin Yow v. U. S., 208 U. S., 8; Hopkins v. Fachant, 130 F. R., 839, 842 (C. C. A.)

While the statute gives a right to appeal, including the right to counsel, emphasized in the regulations, the failure of the Acting Secretary of Commerce and Labor, doubtless inadvertently, either to grant or refuse the desired oral argument, or to afford any substitute method of hearing, and his act in deciding these 15 cases without affording any hearing whatever of appellant's counsel, oral or written, was, we submit, clearly a denial of due process of law.

We are prepared to show that it had been arranged on this hearing before the Secretary to argue the important questions of law and fact involved; to prove the illegal character of the notices issued by Mr. Williams; to show that \$50 had been or was being deposited in these cases by friends of each immigrant; to offer to give bond, if necessary, under section 26—which the Secretary alone can authorize—and to ask for a rehearing to adduce further evidence under rule 7, if necessary. Each and all of these rights was denied by the failure to accord a hearing.

Moreover, as indicated in U. S. v. Lipkis, 56 F. R., 427, it is the duty of the Secretary, when passing upon appeals under the statute, either to grant or refuse authority to give bond under section 26 in cases where he affirms orders of exclusion, because likely to become public charges. Until he affirms an order of exclusion there seems to be no occasion or even authority for asking leave for giving a bond. If the application be delayed till after decision of the appeal, the alien is likely to be deported, as eleven of these unfortunates were, before the application could even be made to him, in view of the requirements of the statute and the regulations for speedy action.

It requires, we submit, no argument to show that here due process of law in the shape of a hearing on appeal was wholly denied, doubtless because the request for the same was not submitted by the department to the proper officer. The result has been that there obviously was no real hearing on appeal.

IX.—*Due process of law was further denied because evidence was excluded on the appeal by the Commissioner, and illegal evidence adverse to petitioner, which had not been before the board of special inquiry, was included by him.*

(1) Where counsel is denied before the board of special inquiry and the hearings are as perfunctory as those here involved, it is not strange that that took place here also, which was present in the Chin Yow case, a refusal to take evidence actually offered.

We are prepared to show that petitioner attempted to testify before the board of special inquiry that he had 6,000 rubles' worth of property in Russia and could easily borrow much more than \$50 cash upon the security of his own property, but that the board of special inquiry silenced him, permitting him only to answer such questions as they chose to put to him. And that where the law even puts the burden of proof upon him!

(2) Nor has the Commissioner authority to withhold evidence from the record on appeal favorable to the alien, offered on behalf of such applicant, even if the same was not before the board of special inquiry, for the Secretary may consider it in determining whether to order a rehearing or not, or whether to take a bond. Here the fact that \$50 in money was deposited with the bureau itself in these cases was withheld in several instances, the additional evidence from Gelvot's Chicago relatives was not forwarded, etc. (Blease v. Garlington, 92 U. S., 1.)

There is, moreover, a distinction on the immigrant's appeal between new evidence favorable to him, proper for consideration on his application for a rehearing or to give bond, and ex parte evidence against him.

(3) It has already been pointed out that the Acting Commissioner, in violation of the statute (sec. 25), submitted as facts in his letter of recommendation matter that was not before the board of special inquiry, though very prejudicial. It affirmatively appears that some of this matter was pure assumption, such as the statement as to petitioner's cousin having no home of his own; that another's \$50 was "the receipt of charity;" another's occupation was "congested," and also that in another case he usurped the exclusive authority of the medical officers and reported an alleged physical defect which their report did not note. All this is a denial of due process of law. (In re Tang Yun, 161 Fed. Rep., 618; U. S. v. Wong Chung, 92 Fed. Rep., 14 (Coxe, J.). In re Di Simone, 108 Fed. Rep., 942, and other cases cited ante.)

X.—*There was an unconstitutional classification and discrimination against the petitioner before the board of special inquiry both as to his Russian nationality and his Hebrew religion, in violation of the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution of the United States.*

In each of these cases the testimony before the board of special inquiry included in the return describes each of the petitioners as a Russian Hebrew. No possible authority for such course can be assigned, and the only tenable view is that the board of special inquiry illegally and without authority took into consideration the fact, which they spread upon their minutes, that applicant is a Russian Hebrew. The question will presently be considered whether the requirements of the statute as to what the manifest of the vessel shall contain with respect to the immigrant's nationality and race could by any reasonable construction be regarded as warranting a classification upon the manifest as Hebrew, but we are now dealing with hearings before a quasi-judicial tribunal, which is not supposed to have the manifest before it, but, on the contrary, is obligated by law itself to take evidence to be "produced and recorded before them;" the hearsay statements of the ship's manifest made by the officials of the vessel are wholly incompetent before the board.

It is submitted that the case is governed by the very able opinion of Judge Cullen in *Brink v. Stratton*, 176 New York, 150, 156-162, where he held on behalf of a majority of the Court of Appeals that it was reversible error and a violation of the religious liberty clauses of the Constitution to permit a witness in a judicial proceeding to be interrogated as to whether he is an agnostic or not. No proof was furnished that such inquiry into the witness's religious belief was in fact prejudicial or biased the jury; it sufficed to make the proceedings illegal that the witness' religion had been inquired into.

So also in *Sax v. Drake*, 69 Iowa, 760, 762, where an effort was made in the brief of counsel to prejudice the court by characterizing certain of the parties as "the sharpest clothing dealers among the Jewish merchants of Ottumwa, Iowa," the court said:

"The counsel do not, of course, claim that in this court one rule of law is to be applied in determining the rights of Jews and a different one in determining other persons' rights. But the remark justifies the inference that the counsel supposed that the members of this court were not Jews and possibly had a prejudice against them; and possibly, if they had, were not above being influenced by such prejudice. We would probably be justified in striking the whole argument from the files as containing a remark disrespectful to the court, but we think best merely to say that the remark meets with our disapprobation."

Judge Story, in his *Commentaries on the Constitution*, section 1879, well says: "The Catholic and Protestant, the Calvinist and the Armenian, the Jew and the infidel may sit down at the common table of the national councils without any inquisition into their faith or mode of worship."

So also Judge Cooley, in his *Constitutional Limitations*, seventh edition, pages 677-678, well says:

"The state is not to inquire into or take notice of religious belief when the citizen performs his duty to the state and to his fellows and is guilty of no breach of public morals or public decorum."

In the Annual Report of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor for 1907, in urging that our Chinese exclusion laws be recast, so as to confine exclusion to Chinese laborers, and not merely make specified classes of nonlaborers exempt,

notwithstanding the fact that treaties between the United States and China were claimed to justify such classification, it was well said by the Secretary:

"Laws so framed can only be regarded as involving a discrimination on account of race, and it is needless to point out that discriminations on account of race, color, previous condition or religion are alike opposed to the principles of the Republic and to the spirit of its institutions."

See also David Dudley Field's *American Progress in Jurisprudence*; Judge Baldwin, *Modern Political Institutions* (pp. 15-25, 246-247); Straus, *Religious Liberty in the United States*; and *Reynolds v. United States* (98 U. S., 145, 165-167).

As in cases dealing with disqualification of judges because of relationship to litigants or pecuniary interest, there is a conclusive presumption that the relationship creates illegal partiality and bias. (See *Oakley v. Aspinwall*, 3 N. Y., 547, 550, approved by the court in *McClaghry v. Demming*, 186 U. S., 49, 67.)

Accordingly, we content ourselves with resting upon this illegal classification and such inferences as to bias as arise from these extraordinary decisions themselves. We, in fact, expressly disclaim any intention of charging Mr. Williams with religious prejudice, and do not propose to prove affirmatively that any immigration official entertains such views. We must, however, not ignore facts of human nature such as these: that things foreign to our own conceptions produce at least a subconscious feeling, and that we may entertain prejudices of which we have no distinct consciousness. Every person called on to judge, however fair and honest he may be, must avoid the hearing of evidence which can throw no light on the issue before him, but which can stir up latent prejudice.

There is no excuse for opening the door to race or religious prejudice whenever it may exist, by making such inquiry in a judicial or quasi-judicial tribunal into applicant's religion or nationality.

(b) It is, however, contended by the Government that the provisions of the statute (section 12 of the act of February 20, 1907), that the manifest of the vessel shall specify both the nationality and the race of the alien, requires classification of Hebrew subjects of foreign countries as Hebrews, and that the manifest was simply blindly followed in giving the case a title before the board of special inquiry.

But attention has already been called to the fact that whether such statistical information may or may not be lawfully gathered through the manifest, it in no way justifies making such classification before the board of special inquiry. Nor is the circumstance that it is claimed by the Government that Hebrew is both the name of the race and the religion of the Jew any justification for making such classification.

The first amendment of the Constitution provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishing of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof" and the fifth amendment guarantees against deprivation of life, liberty, and property without due process of law.

If it should be conceded that Hebrew is the name both of the religion and the race, nevertheless, we invoke the principle against the construction of the statute contended for by the Government, arising from any classification of Hebrews that a construction be given which eliminates all doubts as to unconstitutionality, rather than one which might open the door to such grave constitutional objection (*United States v. Del. & Hud. Rwy. Co.*, 213 U. S., 366).

(c) In fact, however, it should be observed that the requirement of the statute with respect to a specification of race as well as nationality is a comparatively new one, dating from section 12 of the act of March 3, 1903. Previously the act of March 3, 1893, had been in force, which required a specification merely of nationality. The court will take judicial notice, as indicated in the return herein, that through some blunder the immigration statistics of the Government, long before the act of 1903 was passed and beginning about 1899, had included Hebrews as a race, when, of course, no one will even argue that the requirement that the nationality of the alien should be given, justified or authorized this, and when other religious communicants were not thus classified. (See also Departmental Immigration Regulation, Statistical Rule XI, which is erroneous.) The former erroneous practice has simply been continued, though there have been protests from time to time from Jewish residents of the United States who did not want color, even, to be given to the argument that they had any nationality or race other than that of the country which made them citizens.

In using the word race in the acts of 1903 and 1907 the intent of Congress was clear. It was used in the former of two definitions of the term which we quote from the Century Dictionary, and simply called for a classification as Caucasian, Mongolian, or Negro—white, yellow, or black. The Century Dictionary gives the following definition of race, among others:

1. "An ethnical stock; a great division of mankind having in common certain distinguishing physical peculiarities, and thus a comprehensive class appearing to be derived from a distinct primitive source, as the Caucasian race, the Mongolian race, the Negro race."

2. "A tribal or national stock; a division or subdivision of one of the great racial stocks of mankind, distinguished by minor peculiarities, as the Celtic race; the Finnish race is a branch of the Mongolian; the English, French, and Spaniards are mixed races."

All that was intended was to have in addition to nationality, a classification into Caucasian, Mongolian, and Negro races made, and it is, of course, universally conceded that the Jews are Caucasians.

(d) The purpose of such classification is also apparent. Our statutes, ever since section 15 of the act of July 5, 1884 (23 Stat., 115), was passed, have dealt with members of one race in a discriminatory manner, regardless of the nationality of its members. The act of 1884 made Chinese persons expressly subject to its provision, no matter what their nationality might be, doubtless in view of the fact that many Chinese might be expected to come who were naturalized or born in the British Colony of Hong Kong or of other European nationality. (See in re Ah Lung, 18 F. R., 28, Field, J.; Wong Kim Ark case, 169 U. S., 649, 701-702.) Inasmuch as our statutes subjected Chinese persons to a distinct code of laws with respect to right of entry and turned them over to different and distinct tribunals, to pass upon their right of entry, and prescribed different obligations on the part of officers of vessels with respect to treating them than other aliens, the manifest was to describe persons as of the Mongolian race when they were such, and others either simply as non-Mongolian or as Caucasian, or Negro. This is also in keeping with our naturalization laws which distinguish between the white, black, and yellow races. (In re Ah Yup, 5 Sawyer, 155; in re Saito, 62 F. R., 126; in re Rodriguez, 81 F. R., 337; Wong Kim Ark case, supra.)

(e) Any other construction would lead to absurdity; for in the present involved and conflicting condition with respect to anthropological studies, scarcely two authorities can be found who will classify subjects of particular nations alike with respect to race, and certainly no such expert knowledge was assumed by Congress to be in the possession of the ship's officers or the petty immigration officials.

(f) Moreover, it will be observed that every alien coming over here, in theory of law, has both a nationality and a race, and with respect to the great majority of them, under any other construction than that we contend for, the terms would be synonymous and the whole matter of race mere surplusage.

(g) Nor are other aliens classified in any way with respect to their religion; nor commonly subdivided as to race, this being an anomaly with respect to the Government's treatment of Hebrews.

(h) As this is a question of great importance, because it is calculated to open the door to hateful religious discrimination, we beg to refer to some expert opinions, which were submitted in 1903 to the Department of Commerce by the Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, of which the Hon. Simon Wolf is chairman, which body, together with the American Jewish Committee, since formed, oppose this classification. We cite the following opinions, from the report of the former board, dated January, 1904. Judge Sulzberger, of Philadelphia, says on this point:

"I am unaware of any authority conferred on the officials of the United States to inquire into the religious belief of any person. I am equally unaware of any use of the word race in our Constitution or laws except to designate marked physical diversity of color, such as the red or Indian race, the yellow or Mongolian, the black or African. No one, I think, will contend that the Jews belong to any other than the group called Caucasian, which doubtless includes many varieties or subraces. Into the distinctions between them I do not think there is any legal warrant or practical use, or even theoretical capacity, to inquire. The test among them has been, not subrace, but nationality. The Empires of Russia, Austria, Germany, Britain, the Republic of France, the Kingdoms of Spain, Italy, and Portugal, each contains several subraces, the



definite ascertainment of which is extremely difficult, and has, I think, no obvious or direct relation to the functions of government.

"I am of opinion, therefore, that in the sense in which the word race is used in our legislation, the Jews are not a race, but that the latter term is applied to them chiefly as a periphrastic method of denoting their religion.

"The several nationalities of persons of the Jewish faith are just as easily ascertained as those of the same nationalities who hold to other faiths."

Mr. Wolf said:

"I have never for a moment swerved from the opinion that, first, the Jew at present has no nationality other than that to which he has sworn allegiance, and to which he owes obedience; second, the Jew as an immigrant should not be classified as belonging to a race, because he does not land as a Jew, but comes as a native of the country in which he was born; third, that if this question is to be treated from a scientific or ethnological standpoint, then all immigrants should be treated uniformly so as to give the benefit of classification to the world at large; fourth, but that if the classification is religious, then I most solemnly protest, as it is contrary to the spirit and genius of our institutions, and the Government is assuming functions that were never contemplated in the Constitution of the United States, the administrative functions are political and not religious."

Dr. Cyrus Adler, then assistant secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, said:

"Assuming for the moment that a race is an ethnical stock, a great division of mankind having in common certain distinguishing physical peculiarities appearing to be derived from a distinct primitive source, I should say that in this sense the Jews were not, strictly speaking, a race."

Rev. Dr. E. G. Hirsch, of Chicago, said:

"Are non-Jews classified according to race? Are Germans numbered as Slavonic, Teutonic, Gallic—for the modern German presents these varieties in many cases? Are the subjects of the King of England classified as Anglo-Saxons, Scotch, Celtic, Gaelic, etc.? If the Department holds that the Jews constitute a nationality, it is clearly wrong. The Russian Jews are, or ought to be, Russians. Do the authorities go to the length of classifying Jewish Germans as Jews? If they do they ignore the German Constitution, and our own as well. I know that when I was naturalized I had to forswear allegiance, not to our hypothetical king of Palestine, but to the Grand Duke of Luxemburg, whose subject by birth I was, and under whose Government, by law, distinctions between Jew, non-Jew, heathen, Catholic, Protestant are explicitly and constitutionally prohibited. Fight the good fight! You put us all under great obligations. This classification may not be intended as a piece of anti-Semitic chicanery, but it resembles it very closely."

Moreover, the Department of Commerce and Labor intimated that it was informed that our State Department had been in the habit of thus classifying the Hebrews as a race. Accordingly Mr. Wolf wrote to Secretary Hay in September, 1903, and in reply received the following letter from Acting Secretary Adee:

"The Department is in receipt of your letter of September 2, stating that you are informed by the Department of Commerce and Labor that this Department holds that the Jewish people belong to a race, and asking how the Department arrives at this conclusion. In reply you are informed that the Department has not expressed an opinion on the subject for the reason that no question has arisen before it requiring an authoritative determination of the point. On the contrary, this Government has opposed the contention of Russia and other countries that the treatment of Jews by them was founded on racial, and not on religious, grounds. The extraordinary conservation of the unity of the Jewish people through the vicissitudes of many centuries, and in the face of wide dispersion, may not inaptly create an impression in many minds that their cohesion is of racial character, and casual expression may have been given to this idea, but without design or competency to fix their ethnological standing among the races of the world, and still less to assign to them a national position.

"The views of our agents abroad, as developed in their correspondence with this Department, may be found in the volumes of Foreign Relations of the United States."

It is thus apparent that in no true sense, as used in our immigration laws, is there any warrant for classifying the Hebrews as a "race," whether this classification was intended to denote race merely as distinguished from religion or not.

(i) Even as to the question whether the Hebrews are a race in the narrower signification of the word, as, for instance, it is defined in the second definition quoted above from the Century Dictionary, the weight of scientific authority is against the Government's contention. Prof. W. Z. Ripley, for instance, our leading American authority, says on the question in his valuable work, *The Races of Europe*, after considering the various factors involved (p. 400): "Our final conclusion, then, is this. It is paradoxical, yet true, we affirm. The Jews are not a race, but only a people, after all." See to the same effect Dr. M. Fishberg's studies, *Material for the Physical Anthropology of the Eastern European Jews*, and his papers on *The Jews—A Study of Race and Environment*, in the *Popular Science Monthly*, September, 1906, et seq. See also collection of arguments pro and con in articles chiefly by Prof. Joseph Jacobs in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, on "Anthropology," "Purity of Race," "Types." But even conceding for argument that in some sense the Jews are a race, the term as used in this statute does not refer to them as such.

(j) Moreover, it is also objectionable for the board to discriminate against aliens (other possibly than Chinese or Japanese) because of their nationality, and accordingly it was also a denial of due process of law to emphasize petitioner's Russian nationality before the board of special inquiry. (See *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, 118 U. S., 356.)

As is well said by the court in that leading case:

"Class legislation, discriminating against some and favoring others, is prohibited. \* \* \*

"Though the law itself be fair on its face and impartial in appearance, yet if it is applied and administered by public authority with an evil eye and an unequal hand so as practically to make unjust and illegal discriminations between persons in similar circumstances, material to their rights, the denial of equal justice is still within the prohibition of the Constitution.

"The fact of this discrimination is admitted. No reason for it is shown, and the conclusion can not be resisted that no reason for it exists except hostility to the race and nationality to which the petitioners belong, and which in the eye of the law is not justified. The discrimination is therefore illegal, and the public administration which enforces it is a denial of the equal protection of the laws and a violation of the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution. The imprisonment of the petitioners is therefore illegal, and they must be discharged."

While it may be true in appropriate cases that the board of special inquiry is bound as a matter of law to consider applicant's nationality—not race nor religion—in order to ascertain whether under some special treaties, for instance, with such country, he is not entitled to special rights and privileges, there is certainly no right to consider questions of supposed superiority of persons of any particular nationality, race, or religion, with respect to right of entry, in passing upon applications for admission.

It is true that immigration officials, high or low, may have some notions of their own as to the superiority of particular nationalities over others, however wild and unjustified said ideas may be, but our law does not permit them to speculate upon those points, in passing upon applications to enter. In fact, in this connection it is probable that their eyes might be opened by the perusal of the very valuable and suggestive paper contributed by Prof. Edward A. Ross on "The Causes of Race Superiority" to the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, volume 18, 1901, in the course of which he says:

"We Americans who have so often seen the children of underfed, stunted, scrub immigrants match the native American in brain and brawn, in wit and grit, ought to realize how much the superior effectiveness of the latter is due to social conditions."

The same is true of Prof. Josiah Royce's statements in his valuable recent study on *Race Questions and Provincialism and other American Problems*, in the course of which he says:

"The true lesson which Japan teaches us to-day is that it is somewhat hard to find out, by looking at the features of a man's face or at the color of his skin or even at the reports of travelers who visit his land, what it is of which his race is really capable. Perhaps the Japanese are not of the right race; but we now admit that as long as we merely judged them by their race and by mere appearance we were judging them ignorantly and falsely. This, I say, has been a most interesting lesson in the fallibility of some of our race judgments."

And also :

"Let an individual man alone and he will feel antipathies for certain other human beings very much as any young child does—namely, quite capriciously—quite as he will also feel all sorts of capricious likings for people. But train a man first to give names to his antipathies and then to regard the antipathies thus named as sacred merely because they have a name, and then you get the phenomena of racial hatred, of religious hatred, of class hatred, and so on indefinitely. Such trained hatreds are peculiarly pathetic and peculiarly deceitful because they combine in such a subtle way the elemental vehemence of the hatred that a child may feel for a stranger, or a cat for a dog, with the appearance of dignity and solemnity and even of duty which a name gives. Such antipathies will always play their part in human history. But what we can do about them is to try not to be fooled by them, not to take them too seriously because of their mere name. We can remember that they are childish phenomena in our lives, phenomena on a level with a dread of snakes or of mice, phenomena which we share with the cats and with the dogs, not noble phenomena, but caprices of our complex nature."

See also the able study written by Prof. John B. McMaster on "The Riotous Career of the Know-Nothings" in his work *With the Fathers*.

(k) Moreover, if we refuse entry to subjects of Russia and other countries entitled under our treaties to enter, not merely in violation of law, but even in denial of due process of law for determining right of entry, what standing will we have to protest against discriminations by such foreign countries against American citizens of particular creeds whose rights arise under the same treaties? And in what international complications may we in particular cases involve ourselves by such an illegal course?

(e) But even conceding that for purposes of its own, scientific or economic, there were legal or constitutional justification for distinguishing immigrants as Hebrews or Russians, Basques, Celts, Mohammedans, Anglo-Saxons, Buddhists or Walloons, this would not advance one step the contention that the facts so conjectured or ascertained have any legal value in determining human rights before the law. In the forum of science statistics, theories, and hypotheses are useful and, perhaps, necessary. In the law fundamental human rights are fixed so definitely that they are statable in axioms which we hold to be self-evident and incapable of contradiction. They are *presumptiones juris et de jure*.

That tribunals must be fair and impartial, that they shall hear both sides, that evidence must be pertinent and relevant to the issue, these all belong to the class of irrefutable legal truths.

However useful or necessary it may be to the economist or the anthropologist to investigate the movement of Hebrews in faith (or call it race, if you will) from Russia to the United States, such movement, whether powerful or weak, has no bearing on the question of the rights of any individual. An immigrant from Russia stands before our law as a human being of Russian nationality and has all the rights of a human being, not only under general international law and that particular international law which is embodied in treaties with the nation of which he is a citizen or subject, but he has also rights under our own Constitution and laws in addition thereto, because our national dignity demands that we shall administer our own laws and not those of other sovereignties.

For instance, it may be the policy of the Russian Government to differentiate between its subjects according to a classification of its own by races, subraces, or religions. Policies such as these constitute the material on which nations are judged by the civilized world. By common consent of western civilization the judgment rendered is that such policies are degrading to the nation that enforces them and unfit it for equal rank among enlightened nations.

Nevertheless the exigencies of national life demand that we who stand among the enlightened nations shall treat with others of lower rank concerning things which involve the policies condemned by the civilized world.

It is manifestly impossible to contend that we should in such matters abandon our own Constitution and laws and the ideas they inculcate, in favor of views which belong to an earlier stage of mankind's development, and which have become abhorrent to nations in our stage.

Respectfully submitted.

MAX J. KOHLER,  
ABRAM I. ELKUS,  
*Of Counsel for Petitioner.*

## EXHIBIT C.

## EXTRACTS FROM HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SIXTY-FIRST CONGRESS.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.*Friday, March 11, 1910.*

The committee met at 10.40 o'clock a. m., Hon. William S. Bennet presiding. Others present were Representatives Adair, Goldfogle, Moore, of Texas, Sabbath, O'Connell, Küstermann, Burnett, Edwards, Moore, of Pennsylvania, and Elvins.

Mr. BENNET. This is a hearing on the House bill, arranged at the request of Judge Goldfogle, of the committee, and the speakers, unless there is objection on the part of the committee, will be called by the Judge in the order he desires.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Mr. Simon Wolf, of Washington, may be first heard.

## STATEMENT OF SIMON WOLF, ESQ., OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I appear this morning representing two large constituencies, and Mr. Kohler and Mr. Elkus, of New York, have joined forces with me in representing these organizations. There is also a list of names that I have handed up, representing the American Jewish committee, consisting of Mr. Marshall, Doctor Adler, Mr. Cyrus Sulzberger, and Mr. Henry Cutler, of Providence, R. I. All of these gentlemen will have something to say, in regard not only to the pending bills, but to the general subject involving immigration from the earliest period of our country's history, and the practical effect it has had, and in regard to what has been accomplished by the legislation on the statute books, and the administration under the rules and regulations as made by the Department of Commerce and Labor.

I want it understood right in the inception that we are here, in common with all others, as American citizens. Our most sincere desire is to do that which will contribute most to the welfare of all, to uphold everything that is sacred and loyal in our institutions, to the end that the immigrants coming here, and for whom, to a certain extent, we are responsible, as far as our own coreligionists are concerned, shall be a blessing in the future as they have been a source of prosperity in the past.

I do not intend to take up the time of any of the speakers, or to dilate upon subjects that they have made a special study of. I wish to simply state that naturally I am very much interested in a subject of which I form a component part. I am an immigrant myself, and with the American committee there is a splendid object lesson in the person of Mr. Henry Cutler, a member of the Rhode Island legislature, and who has by dint of energy and great resourcefulness swung himself to the very head, not only in mercantile affairs, but in all affairs that appertain to the welfare of our country.

It would be carrying coals to Newcastle to tell an intelligent body of American Members of Congress what immigration has been. I only wish to emphasize that as far as I am concerned, and as far as those whom I represent and those who are represented by other members of the different organizations are concerned, they have but one ambition, and that is to aid the Government in the proper administration of just laws, and, at the same time, to aid the incoming immigrant to become a loyal, self-supporting, intelligent, and patriotic American citizen.

I wish to say one particular word in regard to the bureau of information, which I believe is provided for in section 40 in the present immigration law. That bureau, for some reason or another, has been somewhat crippled within the last six months by misunderstanding and misconception as to the scope of its work. Mr. Sulzberger will speak more at length on that subject, as far as his experience with removal work is concerned.

Mr. ADAIR. Will the gentleman pardon an interruption just there?

Mr. WOLF. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADAIR. The gentleman has stated that he represents some certain society, and that other gentlemen from New York represent another society. In order that we may understand what those societies are, I would like to have the gentleman state what societies he has reference to.

Mr. WOLF. I have handed the list to the clerk. Mr. Kohler and Mr. Elkus represent the board of delegates of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. I also represent the great order of B'nai B'rith, of which I am the resident member. There is also Rabbi Abram Simon, of this city, who is also a member of the board. These other gentlemen represent the American Jewish committee. I understand there are other gentlemen here to speak for themselves later.

I simply wish to state further that this bureau of information has done a vast amount of work, and good work. I came in contact with it, as I go annually to the city of Atlanta to attend a meeting of the orphan's home, of which I am a visitor. I have come in contact with people whom that bureau has sent, not only in Atlanta, but in Savannah, and in other cities in the Southwest. The bureau has, in my opinion, been the best creation of the Bureau of Immigration. It is directing immigrants to where they can find, not only employment, but congenial association. A vast amount of information is conveyed to the incoming immigrant gratuitously; he need pay nothing. The climate, the character of the people, the religion that is practiced there, whether there is a Catholic or a Protestant church, or a Jewish synagogue—all this information is given. Hundreds of letters have been received from farming interests all over the country, thanking the bureau and making inquiries. The reason that I am so particular in perpetuating and enlarging the influence of this bureau is that it aids in distributing from the congested seaboard cities immigrants who are only too anxious to be diverted, but who are ignorant of the facts, which the bureau can show adequately, and has so adequately furnished.

I wish to state in conclusion, as far as our wishes are concerned, there has been less complaint in regard to the law as it exists than there has been as to certain features of the administration. In our humble opinion many things could be done that would be conducive to the proper administration of the law without being so drastic as it is administered at present in certain directions; but that does not enter into legislation, but enters more into rules and regulations to be made by the Department of Commerce and Labor.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Mr. Wolf, our attention has been particularly directed, by a number of gentlemen who have appeared before us, to the proposition to increase the head tax and provide for a literacy test. In view of your wide experience in immigration matters I think we would like to hear you on those two points. Would you advance your views on those two propositions?

Mr. WOLF. I am positively opposed, based on experience and observation, to an increase of the tax. I was opposed to the last increase. I do not think it is necessary or essential. The money comes out of the pockets of the immigrants, to a large extent, who have been impoverished by persecution in the land of their birth, who are seeking new homes, and who are trying to do the best they can, many of them landing with very little of the world's goods, and as an increase in the tax would come out of their pockets, and would simply be used in a direction where it is absolutely not essential—that is, the Treasury of the United States—I think that the head tax would be entirely uncalled for and unnecessary. A great Government like ours ought not to try to make money unnecessarily out of persecuted humanity. That was the only thing.

What was the other question?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. As to the proposition to provide a literacy test.

Mr. WOLF. I can only say that if the gentlemen of the committee refer to the celebrated and immortal message of President Cleveland they will have a complete answer, far more cogent, far more statesmanlike, than I could possibly give. I know to my own knowledge that in 1848, in 1850, and 1852, when a stream of German immigrants, owing to the German revolution, came to this country, there were among them quite a number of men who have since risen to the highest dignity in our country, who could do nothing more than merely write their names, and that in Hebrew; yet notwithstanding they have come to the very forefront in all American affairs. Some of the most noted anarchists are the best scholars. It does not prove that education is a ban to the desire to destroy governments or to kill Presidents. We have had experience in that line. A tax of that kind or a law of that kind would, in my judgment, be entirely un-American, uncalled for, and diametrically in contrast with the experience we have had with the immigration that has so far come to our country. While some of the first generation may not be up to the standard of reading Emerson, or Longfellow, or Dickens, or Darwin, yet, in their own vernacular, among their own people, they are thoroughly versed in and replete with all

that is necessary to a moral and decent life, and the best evidence as to the second generation of those very people is, as some of the gentlemen here know from their own experience in their cities and towns, these immigrants from Russia and Roumania stand at the very forefront of scholarship and have won the prizes from those who have been to the manor born.

Mr. BURNETT. Let me ask you right there, are not the classes of the immigrants coming from along the borders of the Mediterranean Sea very different from those who were coming at the time you speak of, and even at the time of Mr. Cleveland's message? You speak of your people, and very properly so, but does that apply with equal force to the South Italian, and the Sicilian, and the Greek, and the Syrian, people from that section of the country?

Mr. WOLF. My own experience, of course, in that direction, is limited, but I have come in contact with many people from those countries, especially when I had the honor of representing our country in Egypt. I came in contact with a great many of those men, and while they may not have been up to the pre-conceived standards of the strict restrictionists as to immigration, I think they would make very good citizens, provided always that the naturalization laws would be so made that these people could not come here for the specific purpose of being naturalized, and then, on the day after, go back to their countries, claiming immunity from the land of their birth by virtue of their American citizenship, and disregarding their obligations to this country, thus using the naturalization law as a vehicle for their own selfish ends.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Wolf, there was a suggestion made yesterday that a literacy test which applied only to the heads of families, the male heads of families, would bar out very few Russian Jews, the assertion being made—not by myself—that the heads of Russian Jewish and Roumanian Jewish families were, in almost every instance, literate, to the extent of being able to read and write some language. What is your observation as to that?

Mr. WOLF. Candidly, I do not believe there will be a single Russian or Roumanian Jew excluded on account of being illiterate, but as far as the women are concerned, I will state here that my own sainted mother was unable to read or write German. She could read her treasured Jewish prayer book, and she could write in Hebrew, and I do not know that I ever knew a better or nobler woman, and so they are, I believe, in the majority. These people, you must remember, have been restricted to a certain extent. The women in Israel have not disregarded the precept of the late President Roosevelt in regard to race propagation, and they have a great deal of work to do, and they can not indulge in the modern fads of whist and other celebrated pastimes.

Mr. BURNETT. A regulation to require them to be able to read their own language or dialect would not exclude any male heads of families?

Mr. WOLF. I do not believe it would.

Mr. BURNETT. Would it exclude many females over 16 years of age?

Mr. WOLF. I do not think it would; I do not know. But there is absolutely no occasion for it. My own opinion has always been in all matters of life to let well enough alone, and not to continually add on to laws that are already producing splendid results and have continually shown their great power for good.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. What has been your experience, Mr. Wolf, with respect to the enforcement of the immigration law?

Mr. WOLF. What do you mean by that, please?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. The enforcement of the law.

Mr. WOLF. By whom?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. By the immigration authorities.

Mr. WOLF. My own observation has been, and I have been connected with it since the Immigration Bureau has been created, that the heads of those bureaus and the administrative portion in various cities, and the head of the department, have uniformly been most courteous.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. I have not reference so much to the extension of courtesy as I have to the enforcement of the law.

Mr. WOLF. I think they have enforced the law to the full extent, as far as it is permitted to them. They have exercised time and again a wise discretion, which the law conferred on them.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. The reason I asked was that before the committee it has been asserted that there was laxity in the enforcement of the law.

Mr. WOLF. I do not think there has been any laxity. If there has been anything at all in that direction it has been at times too literal a construction of the letter of the law. Possibly at times when a heart-rending case came up the

necessary amount of discretion may not have been exercised, but in the main the law has been justly observed, and I for one, having a very large experience, have no complaints to make whatsoever, because whatever I have to say has been said to the authorities in person when the individual case was before them for action.

Mr. ADAIR. Going back to the head tax, Judge Goldfogle and Judge Sabath both are very active and very earnest in their advocacy of the views that you have expressed here this morning; but in relation to the head tax, do you believe the tax should be fixed at such a rate as would cover the cost of administering the immigration laws, or should that expense be paid out of the general fund?

Mr. WOLF. I think the head tax ought to be a minimum tax. I think whatever expenses are incident to the administration of the Immigration Service should be borne by the Government, as any other branch of the Government, and whatever is realized from the head tax should go into the Treasury, irrespective.

Mr. ADAIR. Your idea is that it should not be levied with a view of covering the entire expense?

Mr. WOLF. Not at all, because that might lead to a head tax of \$20 or \$25 in the course of time. We have got to expect, by the very nature of things, a constant and increasing immigration of desirable people.

Mr. ADAIR. Would that necessarily increase the expense of administering the law to any great extent?

Mr. WOLF. Undoubtedly. When I came here 48 years ago we did not have such a magnificent building as this and a large number of public buildings. The growth of the nation has made more buildings and an increased force necessary, and the expenses of running this great country are to-day four times larger than when I came here in 1862.

Mr. ADAIR. But would not this be true—the larger the immigration the less per capita the cost of administering the law? Is not that the rule in all lines of business and generally speaking?

Mr. WOLF. Yes; but there would be absolutely, in the various cities where the immigrants land, a necessity to have increased facilities for handling them, and in a thousand ways money would have to be expended that at present you have not done, to the penalty of the immigrant. If this country stands for anything, it stands to-day as the asylum of the oppressed, provided we get desirable people.

Mr. ADAIR. You understand, I was not asking this question with a view of advancing the doctrine of increasing the head tax, but with a view of trying to get some idea as to what the facts should be, and as to whether it should cover the cost and as to what the cost would be in case of increased immigration, and so forth.

Mr. WOLF. I spoke once before a committee similar to this, and I said then \$2 was ample. Four dollars is surely more than ample, and there ought to be no legislation making immigration a crime or extorting from the poor immigrant that which he needs so sorely to found his new home.

Mr. ADAIR. I agree with you on that.

Mr. BURNETT. In regard to one other bill that this committee has had before it, I would like to have your valuable opinion. I congratulate you upon the fact that it does not apply to your people much, especially in the section of country I come from—the South. This is in regard to the deportation of criminal aliens. This committee has reported a bill recommending the deportation of criminals who, within five years after arrival, are convicted of crimes involving moral turpitude. I would like to have your opinion on that.

Mr. WOLF. Within five years?

Mr. BURNETT. Yes; convicted within five years. We do not propose to go beyond that term.

Mr. WOLF. I was not aware, of course, that you had contemplated such a bill. It seems to me that a man coming from Russia or any other part of the world, thoroughly a good man in every way, who comes in contact with our American civilization and is to be punished for that coming into contact with it, and has imbibed some of the villainies of our lower classes, that he should be punished after being here within five years, is to me certainly very obnoxious and repugnant to all my ideas of justice.

Mr. BURNETT. Do you not think that would be really to the interest of the good alien of the country, that they should be deported and gotten rid of?

Mr. WOLF. If you were going to use it in that sense, you could enlarge and do a great many other things. You might say that a woman coming here with her husband who proves unfaithful within five years and abandons her children should be deported, or the husband should be deported within five years if he does anything that leads to the destruction of the American home. You see that is legislation that cuts in many different directions. I am in favor of excluding the criminal. I am in favor of excluding those persons of three years' residence who have become inmates of public institutions. But that a man who within five years, under circumstances, possibly, that he could not prevent, should be deported when he was a perfectly sane, sound man when he landed, I can not see the justice of.

Mr. BURNETT. These are crimes, understand, involving moral turpitude.

Mr. WOLF. I understand, but there is no limit to those classes of cases. I would be much more in favor of deporting those who are born here and have had the benefit of all the good and great in our institutions, that we should have a reserved place to deport those to. [Laughter.]

Mr. BENNET. Inasmuch as we have reported that bill, Mr. Burnett, it seems to be the sense of some gentlemen on this side of the room, at least, as long as we have not much time, to limit the discussion to the bills that are now before us.

Mr. BURNETT. I was just asking for his opinion about it.

Mr. WOLF. Gentlemen, I do not want to be the subject of criticism on the part of my colleagues. There are many valuable things to bring to your attention, and unless there is some other question to be answered I will give way. I thank you for your courtesy.

Mr. O'CONNELL. Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as Mr. Goldfogle has referred to the matter of illiteracy, as contemplated in the legislation asked for, I would like to call attention at this time to a communication I have received from President Eliot, of Harvard University, which seems to cover the point very fully. He goes on to say:

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., *February 14, 1910.*

MY DEAR SIR: I beg leave to invite your attention to the following statement of the principles which should govern the national legislation on immigration:

(1) Our country needs the labor of every honest and healthy immigrant who has the intelligence and enterprise to come hither.

(2) Existing legislation is sufficient to exclude undesirable immigrants.

(3) Educational tests should not be applied at the moment of entrance to the United States, but at the moment of naturalization.

(4) The proper educational test is capacity to read in English or in the native tongue; not the Bible or the Constitution of the United States, but newspaper items in some recent English or native newspaper which the candidate can not have seen.

(5) The attitude of Congress and the laws should be hospitable and not repellant.

The only questions which are appropriate are, Is he healthy, strong, and desirous of earning a good living? Many illiterates have common sense, sound bodies, and good characters. Indeed, it is not clear that education increases much the amount of common sense which nature gave the individual. An educational test is appropriate at the time when the foreigner proposes to become a voting citizen. He ought then to know how to read.

Very truly, yours,

CHARLES W. ELIOT.

Hon. JOS. F. O'CONNELL,  
*House of Representatives.*

(Other letters received by Representative O'Connell follow:)

NOTRE DAME, IND., *February 26, 1910.*

The Hon. JOSEPH F. O'CONNELL,  
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN O'CONNELL: In reply to your request for an expression of my views on the subject of immigration and naturalization, I desire to say that I am well pleased with the present laws relating to the exclusion of undesirable immigrants.

I am not in favor of any educational test as applied to immigrants desiring to enter the United States, though an educational test is entirely proper before



naturalization. It is not advisable to insist on ability to read the English language, however, before an immigrant can be naturalized.

I am strongly in favor of excluding from this country all immigrants who profess the doctrines of anarchy.

Very sincerely, yours,

JOHN CAVANAUGH, C. S. C.,  
*President.*

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,  
*February 28, 1910.*

HON. JOSEPH F. O'CONNELL,  
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 23d instant was received. I am not in favor of the restriction of immigration on the basis of the ability to read some European language. There is no doubt that the ability in question is desirable. At the same time, the conditions of workingmen in the old country and their conditions in our country are radically different. If they are industrious and honest and thrifty they will make useful citizens, and their children, having the opportunity of attending our free public schools, will acquire the needed education. In my opinion the requirements for naturalization ought to be made more strict, and at that point it might well be that an intelligence requirement should be embodied. A man should not become a citizen of this country and thereby, as under the laws of most of our States, entitled to the suffrage, unless he has a fair understanding of the nature of free government.

Very truly, yours,

HARRY PRATT JUDSON.

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GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY,  
*Washington, D. C., February 28, 1910.*

HON. JOSEPH F. O'CONNELL,  
*House of Representatives.*

SIR: Regarding the educational test as a means of restricting immigration, on which question there is an agitation to report out a bill, I beg leave to submit the following:

- (1) The educational test should be applied to the voter, not to the immigrant.
- (2) The laws restraining immigration are sufficiently drastic, and, if put into execution, will safeguard the country. Those who have openly taught immorality and favored anarchy should be excluded rather than the illiterates.

An illiterate artisan is not necessarily an ignorant or undesirable immigrant. Our whole past history proves that such men may serve the country in their proper sphere.

Very truly, yours,

JOSEPH HIMMEL, *President.*

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CORNELL UNIVERSITY,  
*Ithaca, N. Y., March 4, 1910.*

DEAR SIR: I have your communication of February 23, with the inclosed copy of the letter of ex-President Eliot, of Harvard University, on the subject of the admission of immigrants into the United States.

I fully concur in the views expressed by President Eliot, and I do not think I can express them in clearer, more forcible, or appropriate language.

Very truly, yours,

J. G. SCHURMAN.

HON. JOSEPH F. O'CONNELL,  
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

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BOSTON COLLEGE,  
*Boston, Mass., February 25, 1910.*

HON. JOSEPH F. O'CONNELL,  
*Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. O'CONNELL: I am pleased to know that you are a member of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, because I think that you can render the country effective service. The proposed educational test seems to me to be a fatal mistake.

(1) Does not the country need the toil of every intelligent, active, and moral worker who comes to us?

(2) The proper time for the educational test is when the immigrant seeks to be naturalized.

(3) Let existing legislation be enforced before new laws are enacted. The wise regulations already made, if enforced, would bar out undesirable subjects.

(4) There are millions of acres in the West waiting for these farm-loving immigrants. I am sure that you will insist upon these truths.

Ever yours, sincerely,

T. I. GASSON, S. J.

I have letters of the same tenor from President Schurman, of Cornell; from President Gasson, of Boston College; from the president of the University of Chicago; from the Rev. John Cavanaugh, the president of Notre Dame University; from Rev. Joseph Himmel, of Georgetown University. They are all more or less of the same tenor, and I believe I should not take the time of the delegation in having them read, but I will ask to have them put into the hearings and incorporated as part of this hearing.

Mr. BENNET. Unless there is objection, it will be so directed.

Mr. BURNETT. I will ask, then, in the same connection, to have a statement that was filed with the Immigration Commission, made by the American consul at Messina, stating that he thought the educational test was the only effective way of dealing with the question, attached to the hearing.

(The statement follows:)

"After nearly thirteen years' residence in Sicily, during which period I have tried to study the emigration question in all its phases, I have arrived at the conclusion that both Italy and America would benefit by its restriction; the fields of the former that now lie fallow for lack of labor to cultivate them would become productive, and the prisons and reformatories of the latter would not be overcrowded by a class of foreigners whose treacherous characteristics are such that a special arm of the detective service had to be created to keep them in check. It is said that the emigrant from upper Italy is sober, industrious, and makes a good citizen. I fear that the same can not be said of the one from Sicily or Calabria. The money he earns never sees the light of day after it finds its way to repose between the filthy linings of his leather wallet. His living expenses are about 40 cents a day, and the hogs in an American farmer's pen are more cleanly in their surroundings and habits than are he and his dozen associates who huddle together in one room and exist like animals, not human beings. When the wallet is well swollen he puts the contents in a registered letter and sends it to his relatives here, who change it into Italian currency and deposit it in the post-office bank. \* \* \*

"Sometimes instead of sending it he brings it himself. In that case he appears upon the scene with a flashy suit, a top hat, a filled chain, and a brass watch, and struts among his former associates—a second Gulliver, a giant among pigmies. In a few weeks he returns, having induced some of his friends to accompany him. Immigrants of other nationalities, even the Polish Jews, spend their money where they make it, but the Sicilian and the Calabrese never. The only persons to whom their advent is a benefit are those who employ them at a cheaper figure than they would have to pay for American labor.

"To at least check the constant rush of those people to our shores, I see but one remedy—the insertion of the illiteracy clause in the immigration law. This would oblige about 85 per cent of the class to devote their attention to the developing of the industries of their own country, which sadly need the aid that we are only too glad to dispense with."

#### STATEMENT OF CYRUS L. SULZBERGER, ESQ., OF NEW YORK CITY.

Mr. SULZBERGER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I want first to correct Mr. Wolf on the matter on which he did not have the data before him. I find by reference to the report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration that of the number of Hebrews over 14 years of age who could not read and write in the last year, 16 per cent of males were included in that category and 30 per cent of females.

Mr. BENNET. So that 16 per cent of the male Hebrews who came last year would have been excluded under a literacy test?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Yes. Before taking up the question generally I want to call attention to an interesting point in connection with white slavery.

Mr. BENNET. In connection with that, I would like to ask you, so as to resolve an apparent conflict, is it not a fact that most of the orthodox Jews have a knowledge of the Talmud, which might be called a literary qualification?

Mr. SULZBERGER. I do not know, Mr. Bennet, whether they understand when they are asked whether they can read or write, if their ability to read the prayer book or the Talmud is such qualification, and they answer no when they are quite capable. I think the percentage is larger than it should be and that it is due to that cause.

I desire to draw the attention of the committee to the reference in the Report of the Commissioner-General on page 117, dealing with the subject of white slaves. I desire to point out that so far as white slavery and its attendant evils come to us by immigration, such immigration is only in very limited degree from Europe, but is chiefly from this continent. The total number of persons debarred from entering because of prostitution or procuring is 504. (Report of Commissioner-General, 1909, pp. 80, 81.) Of this number 279 were from Mexico, who sent us 11,000 immigrants over 14 years of age, and 225 were from the rest of the world, which sent us 651,523 immigrants over 14 years of age. (Commissioner-General's Report, p. 22.) Of the 225 coming from Europe who were debarred, the distribution was as follows:

French, 37, or 19 per 10,000 over 14 years.

Scotch, 19, or 13.7 per 10,000 over 14 years.

English, 39, or 11.7 per 10,000 over 14 years.

Irish, 21, or 7.2 per 10,000 over 14 years.

German, 31, or 6.4 per 10,000 over 14 years.

Dutch and Flemish, 4, or 6.3 per 10,000 over 14 years.

Hebrew, 15, or 3.5 per 10,000 over 14 years.

Italian, 22, or 1.3 per 10,000 over 14 years.

It will thus be observed that so far as the European immigrant of this undesirable class is concerned, it is greatest among those classed by the restrictionists as desirable and least among those classed as undesirable. Furthermore, it is observable that the Hebrews and Italians (which, of the Europeans, have the largest percentage of illiterates) have the smallest percentage of these miscreants, while the French, Scotch, English, Irish, and German have a much larger percentage. It is also observable that the amount of money shown (Commissioner-General's Report, p. 23) is least among the Hebrews and Italians and greatest among the others. It would therefore appear that so far as white slavery is concerned neither the illiteracy of the immigrant nor his lack of funds has any bearing.

I want now to direct your attention to the subject of criminality, and to call attention to an extraordinary blunder made in the Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the year 1904, in which, on page 59, he gives the total population of the United States as 75,994,575, and the total alien population of the United States as 1,001,595. That is the report of the year 1904, referred to in the current report; the report for the year 1909 refers to the report for the year 1908; the report for the year 1908 refers back to this table in the report of 1904. I find, according to the census report of 1900, volume 1, part 1, page ccix, that of male aliens of voting age there are 1,004,217; that is to say, there are more male aliens of voting age than the Commissioner-General gives of total aliens. In addition thereto there are foreign-born persons of voting age, as to whom it is not known whether they are alien or citizen, 748,506. Ignoring entirely all the female aliens of any age, and all the male aliens below voting age, we find that there were more male aliens of voting age than the total number of aliens upon which the whole table of statistics as to criminality and dependency is built up, and its use in 1904 is repeated in 1908 and 1909. I have made some investigations on my own account upon this subject, and in view of the fact that there are 75 per cent as many persons of voting age—

Mr. BENNET. Before you leave that point, could you, if it is not difficult, put in the record where that is?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Page 59 of the report of 1904.

Mr. BENNET. Of the current report?

Mr. SULZBERGER. I haven't the page, but I will have it in a moment.

Mr. BENNET. Very well.

Mr. SULZBERGER. Since there are 748,000 persons of voting age as to whom we do not know whether they are aliens or citizens, but we do know they are foreign-born, it has seemed to me that it would be wiser to deal with the question of foreign-born rather than with the question of citizenship, inasmuch as if the

man is to become a dependent or a criminal, he is just as apt to become so if he has taken out his citizenship papers as if he has not. I find, then, dealing with foreign-born rather than with aliens, in the special reports issued by the Census Bureau (United States Census Report on Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in Institutions, 1904), it is said, on page 18:

"If the general population of all ages be taken, the basis for comparison will not be equitable for several reasons. Inmates of the general prisons are all at least 10 years of age and nearly all over 15. For the most part the immigrants are between 15 and 40 years of age. The number of children under 10 years of age is extremely small among the white immigrants as compared with the native whites. In view of these facts, a comparison of the proportions of each nativity class in the white prison population with the corresponding proportions of the general population of all ages would clearly be unfair, for the inclusion of children under 10 years of age would so increase the proportion of native in the general population that it would seem as if crime were more prevalent among the foreign-born as compared with the native white than is actually the case. Therefore children under 10 years of age are omitted, and the figures given for the population in Table 7 refer only to those at least 10 years of age. Even with this exclusion the figures are, on the whole, less favorable to the foreign-born white prisoners than the facts warrant, as no account could be taken of the large immigration between 1900 and 1904."

And on page 19 this report says:

"The figures presented above give little support to the belief that the foreign-born contribute to the prison class greatly in excess of their representation in the general population."

In the Census Report on Population, volume 2, pages 112 to 117, it appears that the total foreign-born population 15 to 19 years of age is 563,527. The total foreign-born population being 10,460,085, we find that of the foreign-born persons, 5.4 were between 15 and 19 years of age, whereas of the foreign-born persons committed to prison during 1904, 4.6 were from 15 to 19 years of age, showing that there were fewer persons from 15 to 19 years of age, foreign-born, committed to prison than their percentage in the population.

The Industrial Commission Report, volume 15, part 2, page 287, calls attention to the fact that criminality is 3 to 5 times greater in males than females, and that persons under 20 seldom commit crime. Taking, therefore, male persons 20 years of age and upward, we find by the 1900 census, Population, part 2, pages 112 to 116, that there are 26 per cent foreign-born whites and 74 per cent native-born whites 20 years of age and upward. Turning to the Report on Prisoners, page 40, we observe that of the major offenders committed during 1904, 21.7 per cent were foreign-born and 78.3 per cent native-born, notwithstanding the fact that the percentage of foreign-born adult males is 26. That report says, on the same page:

"The foreign-born do not contribute to the white major offenders above their representative in the general population at least 15 years of age, except in the two Southern divisions, where they are comparatively unimportant. In the Western division, and more especially in the North Central, the proportion of foreign-born is considerably lower among the white major offenders than in the white general population. Among the white minor offenders the proportion of foreign-born is generally higher than among the white major offenders, and in the North Atlantic, South Atlantic, and Western divisions exceeds the proportion of foreign-born in the general white population. In the North Central division the foreign-born contribute 23.3 per cent of the general white population at least 15 years of age and only 21.3 per cent of the white minor offenders. From these figures, as well as from those for the prisoners enumerated on June 30, 1904, it is evident that the popular belief that the foreign-born are filling the prisons has little foundation in fact. It would seem, however, that they are slightly more prone than the native whites to commit minor offenses. Possibly to some degree this is attributable to the fact that the foreign-born whites are more highly concentrated in urban communities."

Turning to New York State, which has the largest foreign population (Census Report, Population, vol. 2, pp. 112-116), we find that the number of males 20 years of age and upward in New York, native-born, is 1,362,300; foreign-born, 844,563, or native-born 61.7 per cent and foreign-born 38.3 per cent. In the Special Report on Prisoners, page 18, Table 7, we find that of the white prisoners enumerated in New York State on June 30, 1904, 68 per cent were native-born and 32 per cent foreign-born, the foreign-born contributing, therefore, **six**

thirty-eighths, or about 16 per cent less than their ratio in the community, and in view of the fact that 38.3 per cent of the adult male population of New York is foreign-born, the statement made by the superintendent of prisons and quoted by Mr. Burnett (hearings, p. 41), as to 25 per cent of the prisoners in Sing Sing, Auburn, and Clinton, is favorable to the foreigners rather than otherwise. It must always be remembered, too, that the census figures are of 1900 and the report on prisoners of 1904, there being no allowance made for the number of foreigners who came into the country in those four years.

Interesting, too, is the following from page 18 of the Special Report on Prisoners:

"Even the North Atlantic States, which have absorbed most of the late immigration, show a larger percentage of native prisoners than in 1890. It is evident, therefore, that the huge recent additions of foreigners to the population are not reflected in the prison returns in the degree the prison statistics of 1890 might have led one to expect."

And on pages 19-20:

"Certain offenses, especially some comprehended under the general group 'against society,' are not crimes in the true sense of the word. For instance, no less than 4,701 prisoners were sentenced for drunkenness, 2,773 for disorderly conduct (which is often only another term for drunkenness), 4,287 for vagrancy, and 709 for violating liquor laws, but it does not by any means follow that all these persons, or even a majority of them, should be described as criminals."

There were, in 1890, 28.3 per cent foreign-born prisoners and 71.7 per cent native-born. Comparing this with the figures for 1904, we find that there were 23.7 per cent foreign-born and 76.3 per cent native-born, showing a decline of foreign-born prisoners between 1890 and 1904—precisely those years that are coincident with the large immigration of the so-called undesirable classes.

From page 14, Report on Prisoners, the following figures are taken:

*Number of prisoners per 100,000 population in 1890 and 1904.*

	1890.	1904.
New York.....	191	126
Pennsylvania.....	123	92
Illinois.....	102	60
Massachusetts.....	233	187
New Jersey.....	169	131

These 5 States, which have the largest proportion of immigrants, all show decreases, whereas substantial increases are shown in New Hampshire, Vermont, West Virginia, Florida, Kansas, Wyoming, and Washington, where the immigrant population is small.

In the hearing given by this committee Mr. Patten, a representative of the Immigration Restriction League, spoke of the fact that 21 per cent of the foreign-born prisoners were unable to read and write. I want to point out that this in itself shows nothing.

Of the native-born prisoners, only 7 per cent were illiterates and 93 per cent were literates, and the argument might be made that literacy causes crime. The fact is that the entire foreign population as shown by the statistics reported in the volume on prisoners is less prone to criminality than the native. Instead of its being true, as Mr. Patten says, that "statistics show, as one would expect, that it is the illiterate who generally has criminal propensities," statistics show that of the more than 3,200,000 white illiterates in the whole country the total number of white illiterate prisoners was about 6,000.

Therefore, to draw any wild inference as to illiteracy generally showing criminal propensities, is a mistake, not being borne out by the facts.

Mr. BENNET. From what source do you take those last figures you quote?

Mr. SULZBERGER. These are also from the census report, and this special report on prisoners.

Mr. Patten also says, on page 69, that the literacy test is proposed merely as a means of sifting out the unassimilative elements. What constitute the unassimilative elements does not appear, but if the ability to read and write in the second generation is any test of assimilativeness, it would seem that all

the foreign elements assimilate without delay. We find by the census report (Population, Part 2, Table 10, p. cvi) the following percentage of illiteracy:

	Native whites of native parents.	Native whites of foreign parents.
United States.....	5.7	1.6
North Atlantic.....	1.7	1.5
South Atlantic.....	12.0	2.1
North Central.....	2.8	1.3
South Central.....	11.6	6.8
Western division.....	3.4	1.3

So that in every separate division the illiteracy is greater among native-born children of native parents than it is among native-born children of foreign parents.

Mr. BURNETT. That is from the census of 1900?

Mr. SULZBERGER. It is from the census of 1900, and I have already given the page.

Mr. BENNET. And refers exclusively to white persons?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Refers exclusively to white persons, and it would seem, therefore, that the immigration raises our educational standards instead of degrading them.

On page 50 of the hearings Mr. Patten quotes the report of the commissioner at Ellis Island as follows:

"Between these elements—

The very bad—

"and those that are a real benefit to the country, as so many of our immigrants are, there lies the class who may be called able to earn a living here but who in doing so tend to pull down our standards of living."

These elements are presumably such as the commissioner general in his report speaks of as "economically undesirable," and which under that heading are added to the excluded classes in the Elvins bill. I have seen no definition of what constitutes "an economically undesirable" immigrant, but I assume it to be one who arrives without much money and with a physique that would not qualify him for the United States Army, as is proposed also in the Elvins bill, and who is, to a considerable degree, illiterate. If that be the correct description, the average Jewish immigrant would probably fall under that heading. The conditions under which he has lived, and from which he is fleeing, have restricted his educational possibilities, his physical growth, and his accumulation of wealth. He comes here with a large percentage of illiteracy, a physical development somewhat below our own, and a depleted purse, and he shows a considerable degree of illiteracy. Large numbers of such Jewish immigrants have arrived in this country since 1880. So far, however, from pulling down our standards of living, they have done the reverse.

The men's and women's clothing industry is one which is almost exclusively in the hands of these immigrants, both as employers and employees, and gives us, therefore, an almost perfect illustration of their influence upon industry and their tendency to reduce or elevate the standard of living. We find by the Census Report on Manufactures (part 1, 1905, p. cexxxiv, Table clxix) that while the product of all industries increased from \$11,411,000,000 in 1900 to \$14,802,000,000 in 1905, an increase of 29.7 per cent, the clothing industry increased from \$436,000,000 in 1900 to \$604,000,000 in 1905, an increase of 38.5 per cent; in other words, while in 1900 clothing formed 3.8 per cent of all industries, in 1905 it formed 4.1 per cent of all industries. Only last month a clothing manufacturer from New York returned from abroad, having established agencies in London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Brussels, and other cities for New York-made clothing. This is the second or third manufacturer who has recently put American-made clothing into European markets, and in all likelihood a large foreign commerce in manufactured clothing, the product of immigrant labor, will ensue.

Mr. ADAIR. Let me ask a question right there. Do you know of your own knowledge whether the manufacturers insisted upon a tariff upon manufactured clothing for the purpose of protecting them from these people abroad?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Insisted upon what?

Mr. ADAIR. The levying of a high tariff upon manufactured goods to protect them from these same people they are now competing with?

Mr. SULZBERGER. I suppose they did; I am quite sure of this, that they will take advantage of the rebate provision in our tariff law to enable them to get a reduction of the duty they paid. [Laughter.]

Taking the Special Census Reports on Manufacturers (part 1, 1905, pp. 164-168) we find that in the production of \$604,000,000 worth of clothing there was paid for wages to men the sum of \$60,943,153, or an average of \$601 per capita against an average earning of men in all industries of \$534 per capita (same volume, p. 22) and to women \$46,864,351, or an average of \$317 per capita, as against \$298 per capita earned by women in all industries.

Mr. BURNETT. Is that from the industrial commission's report?

Mr. SULZBERGER. No, sir; from the census report of 1905 on manufactures, the latest volume on that subject. Inasmuch as the 147,000 women engaged in the clothing industry are earning 6 per cent more wages than women in all industries, and the 101,000 men engaged in this industry are earning 13 per cent higher wages than the men in all industries, it would seem so far as this industry is concerned, the industry almost monopolized by immigrant labor, as though immigrant labor were advancing rather than lowering the standard of living. Furthermore, between the census of 1880 and the census of 1905 we had the period of high immigration of the so-called undesirable classes. In 1880 the average wages in all industries were \$344; in 1905 they were \$477, an advance of 39 per cent in the 25 years of high immigration.

Mr. BENNET. Is it not a fact, Mr. Sulzberger, in connection with that, that the industry which used to be almost exclusively Jewish, the clothing industry—

Mr. SULZBERGER. Is now becoming Italian, but it is foreign just the same. Much concern is expressed about the cost to the country of maintaining foreign-born dependents. I do not suppose anybody will charge Mr. Prescott F. Hall, secretary of the Immigration Restriction League, with being too friendly to the immigrants. I am going to read you an extract from his book, *Immigration*, commencing on page 67:

"In estimating the money value of the immigrant, attention may first be called to the fact that the bulk of our immigration is of the age of greatest productiveness; that is to say, this country has the benefit of an artificial selection of adults of working age. For example, in 1903, less than 12 per cent of all immigrants were under 14 years of age, leaving more than 83 per cent between the ages of 14 and 45. In other words, the expense of bringing up the bulk of our immigrants through childhood has been borne by the countries of their birth or residence, and this amount of capital therefore comes to us without expenditure. Prof. Mayo-Smith refers to the frequently quoted estimate of Frederick Kapp that the cost of bringing up a child to the age of 15 is \$562.50 in Germany and \$1,000 to \$1,200 in the United States. Taking the value of the immigrant at \$1,000 the immigration over 14 years of age in 1903 would have added \$754,615,000 to the wealth of the United States if it had all remained in the country. A thoroughly conservative estimate is probably that of Mr. John B. Webber, formerly Commissioner of Immigration at the port of New York. He assumes that there were 10,000,000 foreign born at the date of the Eleventh Census, and that 2,000,000 of these were working at an average wage of \$1 per day; and he points out that these persons added \$600,000,000 per year to the earnings of this country."

Taking these figures, we find that the immigration of a single year adds \$754,000,000 to the wealth of the country by a saving in the cost of the upbringing of the immigrant and that the industrial activity of the immigrants adds \$600,000,000 annually to the earnings of the country. In view of this statement we need not concern ourselves very much with the fact that a small percentage of immigrants become dependents. That the amount of dependency among immigrants should be larger than among natives is perfectly natural; they are engaged in those occupations in which they are subjected to the risk of physical injury, and being in a strange land when they fall into distress, they lack friends or relatives to care for them.

In view of the fact that the immigrant brings in \$750,000,000 as new capital and adds \$600,000,000 annually to the product of the country, it seems to me that what it costs to maintain those in public institutions, who may happen to fall into public institutions, becomes negligible.

Another statement that has been made, quoted by Mr. Patten—frequently quoted—is that of Gen. Francis A. Walker, a statement quoted with approval

by Mr. Prescott Hall, that the foreign immigration does not add to our population, but that it simply supplants native population; that when they come in by Ellis Island they do not come in by the natural route. Mr. Hall says in his book, on page 117:

"In many of the older countries of Europe the birth rate has continued with full vigor. In the country from which there has been a considerable emigration, the birth rate immediately increased to such a degree the pressure of population is soon restored to its former condition."

As a matter of fact, it is a universal symptom—there is not a single exception—that the birth rate nowhere increases, but almost everywhere decreases. The Encyclopedia of Social Reform, of 1908, page 117, gives a comparative statement of the birth rates in the various countries of Europe.

(The table referred to is here printed in the record in full as follows:)

Country.	1857-1899.	1900.	S. J. I.
Austria.....	38.0		1903 35.0
Belgium.....	30.1	28.9	1903 27.5
Denmark.....	31.3	29.8	1904 29.2
England and Wales.....	32.3	28.7	1904 28.0
France.....	23.7	21.4	1904 20.9
Germany.....	37.2	35.6	1904 34.1
Hungary.....	42.9	39.3	1903 36.6
Ireland.....	23.8	22.7	1904 23.6
Italy.....	36.6	32.9	1903 31.5
Norway.....	30.7	30.1	1904 27.9
Prussia.....	37.7	36.1	
Scotland.....	32.2	29.6	1904 28.6
Spain.....	• 35.6	34.4	1902 35.6
Sweden.....	28.7	26.9	1903 25.7
United Kingdom.....	31.1	28.2	

• 1888-1899.

At the hearing on February 22, Mr. Gardner, of this committee, is quoted as saying:

"The greatest experiment in distribution that has been made was that made by the State of South Carolina. They received 762 immigrants from Berlin and Belgium and other places, and the result of that experiment was that within a year out of the 762 immigrants all but 72 had disappeared from the State and had gone elsewhere."

Mr. Prescott F. Hall, in a recent letter, speaks of the distribution as being "a bluff on the part of the Jews and the steamship companies."

Mr. BENNET. Although, incidentally, Mr. Hall did not know the section of the law it was, and referred to it as section 26, when it was section 40.

Mr. SULZBERGER. That was not the only misstatement Mr. Hall made.

Both Mr. Hall and Mr. Gardner are mistaken. "The greatest experiment in distribution" was not made by the State of South Carolina, but by the Industrial Removal Office, of New York City, an organization with which I have the honor of being connected for the last nine years and of which for a considerable time I was the president, and its work is no bluff. According to the latest report of this office, there have been sent from New York 45,711 persons, of whom 24,123 were breadwinners, the remainder being their wives and children. These 24,123 persons represented 221 occupations, and were sent to 1,278 cities and towns, and the 3,500 distributed in 1909 were sent to 298 cities and towns. These persons have been distributed to all parts of the United States, towns, and villages, as well as cities, and, according to the records of the office, 85 per cent of the breadwinners are engaged in gainful occupations at the places to which they were sent.



Mr. EDWARDS. Were these immigrants sent to those towns and cities on a request of the towns and cities, or what is your manner?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Our manner is this: These persons are distributed through the cooperation of friendly committees in the receiving places, excepting where the receiving places are small. Where we send a larger number we have a reception committee, if I may so call it, to whom we send these people, not in response to immediate requisition, but from a general knowledge of the conditions as to what kind of workingmen they can use, and we send such classes of workingmen as may be useful in the particular community.

Mr. EDWARDS. Then, taking a town or city of, say, 10,000, the committee there are the only ones who are consulted, and not the city itself, as to whether they are in need or desire these immigrants?

Mr. SULZBERGER. I do not quite understand how one could consult the city excepting through a body of individuals there. The body of individuals we consult is the local committee we have.

Mr. EDWARDS. About how large is that committee?

Mr. SULZBERGER. From 3 to 5 or 7 persons, as the case may be.

Mr. EDWARDS. Are they generally connected with the city administration?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Oh, no; these are public-spirited citizens of standing in the community, members of the Jewish community in the locality, who are interested in the work. You understand, this work is confined to the distribution of Jewish immigrants.

Mr. EDWARDS. Do they take any steps to ascertain whether the city desires these immigrants or not before they make the request?

Mr. SULZBERGER. They know perfectly well that they are able to place them; otherwise they would not ask us to send them. You readily see that if they were to load themselves up with persons for whom no work was findable, they would have upon their shoulders the moral responsibility and the actual responsibility of caring for those people and making dependents of them. I have come in contact with many philanthropic persons in the course of my work, but I have not found them so philanthropic that they advertise for trouble in that precise fashion.

Mr. EDWARDS. In what sections of the country do you find the greatest demand for these immigrants?

Mr. SULZBERGER. In 1909 we sent 3,504 breadwinners, of whom 33 went to the New England States, to 11 cities; 401 to the Middle Atlantic States, 78 cities; 254 to the Southern States, 51 cities; 2,123 to the Central States, 126 cities; 680 to the Rocky Mountain and Pacific States, to 32 cities; and 13 to Canada, to 3 cities.

Mr. EDWARDS. May I ask what you mean by "breadwinners?"

Mr. SULZBERGER. People who are competent to engage in gainful occupations.

Mr. EDWARDS. Able to earn their living by manual labor?

Mr. SULZBERGER. I happen to have here the occupations of the 24,000 who were distributed between 1902 and 1909. They were engaged in 221 occupations; 9.97 per cent in woodworking; 9.17 per cent in metal working, all classified here according to the various branches of metal and wood working.

Mr. BURNETT. Do you mean those were the occupations they engaged in after they reached their destinations?

Mr. SULZBERGER. No; these were their trades when they sent them away.

Mr. EDWARDS. How many of them were engaged in merchandizing?

Mr. SULZBERGER. We will get to it in a moment. I have the whole statement here—8.03 per cent in the building trades; 0.93 per cent in printing and lithography; 20.86 per cent in the needle industries, clothing, and millinery supplies; 6.99 per cent in leather; 0.77 per cent in tobacco; 1.95 per cent in miscellaneous, such things as album makers, bedspring makers, bristle workers, being only a few of a kind; 1.52 per cent nonmanufacturing—barbers, bartenders, bottlers, canvassers, cleaners, dyers, cooks, domestics, firemen, and so forth; men without trades, 31.65 per cent.

Mr. BENNET. Of 1 per cent?

Mr. SULZBERGER. 31.65 per cent, being in numbers 7,637. Of that number 7,328 were unskilled laborers and 309 were peddlers. That is the question you put to me awhile ago.

Mr. EDWARDS. Three hundred and nine?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Yes.

Mr. EDWARDS. Out of a total of how many?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Out of a total of 24,123. 1.74 per cent farming; 3.36 per cent small dealers in foodstuffs, bakers, brewers, butchers, confectioners, distillers, and so forth, making the number 809, out of 24,000. 3.6 per cent is office help, professional, and so forth.

Mr. EDWARDS. In a great many towns, especially in rural districts to the South, it is very common of late years to have a bunch of peddlers, running from three to perhaps as many as a dozen, dropping into a little town, and immediately follows a lot of cheap goods; and they always have a correspondent or a backer in New York City on whom they can draw, and from whom they have letters of recommendation and credit to the bank; and they engage in this peddling business over the country for a few months, and then all at once they disappear and settle down in another place. I would like to know if that class of immigrants have any connection with this distribution that you speak of or if your distribution has anything to do with that class?

Mr. SULZBERGER. No; our distribution has nothing to do with this class. I said awhile ago that of the breadwinners whom we sent away 85 per cent are engaged at the places to which we sent them. Of the remaining 15 per cent some go to other places, about 3 per cent drift back to New York, 12 per cent get to other places and into other occupations, some of those, no doubt, into peddling. I have no knowledge about that, because after we have lost sight of them in the place in which we originally place them we do not know what has become of them, but we do know—we have the records to demonstrate—that 85 per cent of them are engaged at the job in which we succeeded in getting them occupation.

Mr. EDWARDS. It is true you did send out three hundred and some odd peddlers whom you knew to be peddlers when you sent them?

Mr. SULZBERGER. They were qualified to be peddlers and nothing else, apparently.

Mr. EDWARDS. They engaged in this occupation with the pack on their shoulders, carrying it through the country?

Mr. SULZBERGER. A perfectly decent and honorable occupation.

Mr. EDWARDS. I am not questioning it at all.

Mr. SABATH. Would it be possible for any of these new arrivals, not familiar with the English language, to go through these various States or districts that the gentleman refers to and sell any goods without being acquainted with the English language?

Mr. EDWARDS. I will say, in answer to the gentleman, that we have some Syrians through the South who do not have to be in this country very long before they can go out through the country and sell goods. Some of them are very nice gentlemen, too.

Mr. ADAIR. I would like to ask this question as to this particular point: Has your association or organization made any special effort along the line of inducing immigrants to engage in farming; and if so, what success have you met with along that line?

Mr. SULZBERGER. This organization was originally a branch of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, of which for a number of years I was president, and I am now on the board of directors. That society engages in placing Jews upon farms. I do not like to speak of figures without having the figures before me, so I will not mention figures at all.

Mr. ADAIR. In a general way, what has been the success?

Mr. SULZBERGER. My friend Mr. Cutler, here, will be in a position to tell you something about the abandoned farms of New England which the Jews have made to flourish once more, and we have farmers in pretty nearly every State in the United States. We began a year ago the publication of the Yiddish Farmer, a farm journal in the Yiddish language, which has a subscription list, although it is only a year old, that many older established papers would be glad to have—a paid subscription list—and the Jewish farmer is in every respect able to hold his own along with any other, and is showing a very strong tendency and desire to get to the farm. I received only this week, from Dr. Sauls, in Chicago, whom Mr. Sabath will know—

Mr. SABATH. And Dr. Levy, who has devoted nearly his entire time to this work.

Mr. SULZBERGER. In addition to the society with which I am connected, there is a similar society in Chicago, the American Agricultural Aid Society, and it does similar work.

Mr. MOORE. You might tell them also of Dr. Krauskopf.

Mr. SULZBERGER. Dr. Krauskopf is conducting a farm school, where he is turning out trained agriculturists, and the Baron de Hirsch Fund has a similar school at Woodbine, N. J., where they are conducting a similar work; also turning out trained agriculturists. The Government has taken from that school a large number of experts for its agricultural service all over the country. There is a greater tendency toward farming on the part of the Jewish people than there has ever been before.

Mr. O'CONNELL. Will you tell me this: What is the disposition on the part of immigrants to accept suggestions from your committee as to where they should go?

Mr. SULZBERGER. As a rule a man who comes here, and to whom one section of the country is like another, is naturally perfectly indifferent. Sometimes he comes to us and says, "I have a friend in Omaha. Will you send me there?" And if there is no reason why we should not, we are perfectly willing to do as he prefers. But as a rule a man who comes here is a stranger, to whom Omaha and Oskaloosa are alike, and he is quite indifferent as to where we send him.

Mr. O'CONNELL. What I am driving at is this: Do you find on the part of the newly arrived immigrants a desire to accept the judgment of your committee as to what is the best place for them to go?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Surely, we do find that.

Mr. O'CONNELL. That is widely spread among them?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Yes.

Mr. BURNETT. As I understand this distribution you refer to, your organization made a distribution of about 3,500 during the last fiscal year?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Thirty-five hundred during the last calendar year.

Mr. BURNETT. That is, your association. Is that any argument in favor of the Government making any such organization?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Surely; I was just coming to that.

Mr. O'CONNELL. I would like to say, for the benefit of those who may possibly feel that they are obliged to leave before the hearings are concluded, that the interests of the Hebrew immigrant have been most splendidly protected by the consistent efforts of Judge Goldfogle and Judge Sabath. Both these gentlemen have shown themselves at all times warm, sincere friends of the immigrant, and their intelligent efforts to prevent any hostile legislation have been a source of gratification to every friend of liberal immigration on this committee. Nothing that can be said here to-day can improve upon their efforts. I am sure that every member of the committee will agree with me that we have been helped very materially by the constant and sincere attention which Judge Goldfogle and Judge Sabath have given to the hearings of the committee.

(Thereupon, at 11.55 o'clock a. m., the committee took a recess until 2 o'clock p. m.)

#### AFTER RECESS.

At the expiration of the recess the committee resumed its session, with the following present: Representatives Bennet, O'Connell, Küstermann, Sabath, Burnett, Moore, of Pennsylvania, Goldfogle, Moore, of Texas, and Adair. Mr. Bennet presided.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. CYRUS L. SULZBERGER—CONTINUED.

Mr. BENNET. You may proceed, Mr. Sulzberger.

Mr. SULZBERGER. You asked me this morning where, in the current report, reference was made to the table of statistics based on the blunder of which I spoke. On page 6 of the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1909 this appears:

"When the penal, reformatory, and charitable institutions of the country were canvassed in 1908, a number of interesting and significant facts were disclosed. On this subject the following is quoted from last year's report (pp. 96 and 97):

"The last investigation of this kind was made in 1904. (See pp. 48-76 of annual report for that year.)"

That covers the page from which I quoted this morning.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Moore, of Pennsylvania, desires to ask you some questions, Mr. Sulzberger.

Mr. SULZBERGER. Very well.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. I would like to ask you to state the name of the association to which you referred this morning—the one you represent.

Mr. SULZBERGER. In the distributing work?

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. SULZBERGER. The Industrial Removal Office, of New York.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Is that organization sustained by voluntary contributions?

Mr. SULZBERGER. That organization is sustained by funds of Baron de Hirsch, who left a large fund for the amelioration of the condition of the Russian and Roumanian Jews.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Is the Woodbine Colony, of New Jersey, under your direction?

Mr. SULZBERGER. No; it is not under the direction of this office; but it is also sustained out of the same general fund.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. I happen to live in a congested part of the city of Philadelphia.

Mr. SULZBERGER. Yes.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. You have given very great attention to the question of distributing immigrants of the Jewish faith?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. It has been stated before this committee that the tendency of the Jew immigrant is to remain in the congested centers and that he fails to distribute himself over the country, particularly in that he fails to take up agricultural pursuits or those outside of the congested centers. I want to know whether you have, beyond what you said this morning, found it possible to ameliorate this condition, if it is objectionable, in the large cities?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Our experience in New York, as Judge Goldfogle and Mr. Bennet know, is that whereas a few years ago we had one Jewish quarter, we now have many. The Jews who come to us from Russia have a natural tendency to live together, because they wish to live where their language is spoken. But they do not all live in one part of the city by any means. We have a large Jewish settlement on the lower East Side, we have a large Jewish settlement in Harlem, we have a large Jewish settlement in the Bronx, and several large Jewish settlements in Brooklyn. I believe that the amount of congestion on the lower East Side of New York is to-day less than it was eight or ten years ago because of this spreading. The same thing is true about the Italians. They have spread over various settlements, instead of being concentrated in one.

Mr. BURNETT. You mean settlements in the same city?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Yes.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. But they do take to the farm quite extensively?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Yes; the Italians do.

I want to call attention to a matter in connection with the congestion that is generally overlooked, and that is this: While in the large cities there is always a state of more or less congestion, the persons involved are not the same persons. In other words, a man who comes to the city of New York and who settles down on the lower East Side stays there three or four or five years. After the lapse of a few years he moves on and comes up into the Harlem settlement. From there he goes to the Bronx, and presently he is on Fifth Avenue.

Mr. BENNET. In other words, as he becomes better to do he moves out of Mr. Goldfogle's district and up to mine?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Precisely; and changes from a Democrat to a Republican. [Laughter.]

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. You are usually correct, but in this instance I think you are incorrect.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. I know that Mr. Bennet is very proud of the Jews who live in his district, and certainly Judge Goldfogle is very proud of those who live in his; and there has been no disagreement, so far as I have observed, as to their politics or nationality. I want to ask you what you do, in your benevolent work, toward inducing these unfortunate people who come from Russia to accommodate themselves to the conditions that prevail in this country? That is to say, what you do toward having them naturalized, and making them better understand the laws and conditions that prevail here, which we assume do not sometimes prevail in Russia?

Mr. SULZBERGER. On that subject Mr. Marshall, one of the directors of the Educational Alliance, will give you far more precise information than I can, because that falls within the scope of the work he is engaged in.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. You, yourself, would not encourage a continuance for a longer period of time than is advisable, of the publication of newspapers in

the Jewish language in the United States, or the continuance of this concentration which means the keeping up of the customs of the old country, with the quiet teachings of rebellion, at least, against the law?

Mr. SULZBERGER. I would like to have the question read to me.

(The reporter repeated Mr. Moore's question.)

Mr. SULZBERGER. So far as the foreign newspapers are concerned, there is the *Staats-Zeitung*, in New York, for example, which has been going on for I do not know how long, and which was founded by Oswald Ottendorfer, and conducted by Herman Ridder. While I do not read it, I do not know but that it has as much influence for good in the community as any newspaper that is printed there. I do not read it, and so, of course, do not know.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. It certainly has.

Mr. SULZBERGER. I say, I do not read it, and I do not know. Neither do I read the Yiddish newspapers, and so I do not know about that.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. I am not taking sides in the matter. I am merely asking you your opinion, and am seeking information, valuing your opinion as a matter of information.

Mr. SULZBERGER. As to whether the foreign newspapers should be continued?

Mr. BENNET. Not that, as I understand it, more than as an incident; but whether, in your judgment, a condition in which these people do not Americanize ought to be continued, or whether a condition ought to be encouraged in which they will Americanize?

Mr. SULZBERGER. They Americanize so fast that you can not hold them back.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Moore was asking your opinion as to whether that ought to be so or not.

Mr. SULZBERGER. You can not prevent their Americanization. They go along at the most wonderful rate. So far as their reading foreign newspapers is concerned, it does not seem to me that that at all interferes with their Americanization. A man's thought may be thoroughly sympathetic with our American thought, and yet he may express it in another language. I do not know why a man who reads a German newspaper or an Italian newspaper or a Yiddish newspaper should not think along American lines as well as if he expresses himself in the English language.

I want to read a letter written by a Hebrew lad of 13 years, who had been only six months in the country. It was written in school under the eye of the teacher, who handed it to me as a marvelous production; and I think it is.

(The letter follows:)

"Only a man that was born in Russia and lived there can have the right idea of the great difference between living here and in Russia. To have the right idea of it, I'll write how my friend lived in Russia and how he lives here now.

"My friend was a man who lived in a land where he had no liberty. This country was Russia. He could only live in certain parts of his native land, and even in those parts he could not live in the country, but had to reside in the gloomy, small, and unhealthy towns. None of the high careers of life was open to him. He could not become a doctor or a lawyer or a professor. He could not be an officer in the army, though he was obliged to serve in it. He could not send his children to good schools, and he could not even worship God in the way in which he had been taught by his father. Whatever he did, he had to get permission of the police to allow him to do, and very often he had to pay the policeman for the permission. Whenever he gained any money the police would be sure to find it out and get some of it from him by threatening to interfere with his liberty. Therefore it is no wonder that he regarded the Government of his own country as his natural enemy and every policeman as a master whom he must obey.

"Now, my friend was fortunate enough to get away from his fatherland and come to this country where all is freedom. He can dress as he likes, do what he likes, and worship God in his own way, providing that he does not interfere with the lawful doings of his fellow citizens. Instead of trying to thwart him on every step, the Government of his new country tries to make it easy for him in every way to be a good citizen. The police instead of being his masters are his servants, ready to help him in all that is lawful.

"So my friend thought to himself how best to prove his gratitude to the new country which had treated him so well. 'I will try,' said he to himself, 'to imitate whatever is good in the lives of my new fellow-citizens, to show how proud I am that I belong to them and how much I enjoy the new liberty that I

have gained. I will no longer hate the Government, but obey its commands willingly, since I am sure they are laid down for the good of all of us. The policeman I will no longer regard as an enemy, but as a friend, and do his bidings as I would follow any piece of friendly advice. My children I will teach what an advantage it is to live in this land as compared with the one in which I was brought up. In this way I shall love this land, and my gratitude and very love shall be the return for the kind treatment we receive here.

"I wish that all that suffer there should become so fortunate and happy as my friend. But at the same time I wish that Russia shall get on the way of progress and succeed and to be able to compare itself with every civilized and well-governed country in the world, so that its citizens should not be compelled to come here to find liberty, which they will then find in their own country, in Russia.

"PAUL GENDEL.

"January 18, 1906."

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. That is a very remarkable and illuminating letter, especially in view of the fact that it was written by a child of that age.

Mr. SULZBERGER. That lad was 13 years of age, and had only been six months in this country.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Yesterday afternoon Mr. Bennet, of New York, the acting chairman, described the conditions as he found them in Washington while acting as a member of the Immigration Commission of the United States; and I asked him then in regard to the sentiments of the Jews in Russia, who congest there very much as they do here, presumably for reasons of protection; and he said there was to some extent a spirit of quiet resistance to authority.

Mr. BENNET. In Russia?

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. In Russia, yes. Which, from the viewpoint of anyone who seeks information upon the subject and who understands the conditions that prevail there, would be wholly justifiable. I am endeavoring to ascertain from you whether you do anything with regard to these immigrants who come with that feeling of impatience at the intolerance of the Government under which they have lived, in the way of attempting to change that inborn spirit when they arrive in this country and again concentrate here?

Mr. SULZBERGER. That spirit does not come here with them when they come here. There is no reason for our doing anything to endeavor to counteract that spirit. It no longer exists when they arrive here. Here they are loyal, law-abiding citizens. There is no cause for our doing anything to endeavor to counteract any spirit of anarchy.

Mr. BENNET. Possibly I can illustrate that to my colleague by a story from actual experience. There were a mother and her two daughters who were driven from Odessa as the result of one of their "pogroms." The son lived in my district. He sent them money and everything. As soon as they escaped their house was burned and their furniture was destroyed, and they crossed the Russian frontier in a very wretched condition. He sent them money as soon as they could communicate with him, and they came to the United States. They were detained at Ellis Island because one of the daughters was clearly inadmissible. He fixed up a very pleasant flat for them up town, and went down to see them, and he apologized to his mother for having to leave her in the detention quarters at Ellis Island. She said, "You do not have to apologize. This country is better than Russia." So that is the feeling they bring with them, that even a jail, to that extent, in the United States is better—

Mr. SULZBERGER. Than their freedom, which is a jail.

Mr. BENNET (continuing). That the freedom of a jail is better than the terror of the alleged freedom in Odessa.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Still seeking information, and merely for the purpose of obtaining your opinion, I call your attention to the fact there have been some strikes recently in this country, strikes of those whom you classed a little while ago amongst the Jews who were engaged in one very large industry—that of making clothing, making shirt waists, etc. There was a large strike, a general strike, of the shirt-waist makers. There is another large strike on in my city now, a very serious one. It is sometimes complained that the trouble is accentuated and encouraged through the lack of knowledge upon the part of the newly arrived foreign born, of existing laws and conditions of the country, and that some of the feeling of resistance which comes from the oppression abroad crops out in this country, and thus makes unnecessary trouble for the law-making body and for the constituted authority, and tends to encourage a

socialistic spirit here. I wanted to ask whether you, in your association, which is philanthropic and benevolent and extremely useful, had ever given consideration to this question?

Mr. SULZBERGER. So far, Mr. Moore, as the recent shirt-waist strike in New York is any indication, there were there, if the newspapers are to be trusted, some 30,000 persons out on strike. It was, in the main, a strike that was conducted without any defiance of law. So far as the records show there were a number of arrests made, it was claimed, for picketing, and for obstructing the highways in the course of picketing; but apart from that, a kind of scratching and pinching picketing—

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. SULZBERGER. Which was incidental—

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. It was characteristic.

Mr. SULZBERGER. That was incidental to the fact that the strikers were ladies. [Laughter.] Apart from that there does not seem to have been any violation of the law that is at all commensurate with what is going on in the city of Philadelphia at the present time. I read in last evening's paper a list of indictments that have been found by the grand jury in connection with the present Philadelphia strike, and I noticed with a good deal of interest that the preponderance of the names, so far as names are an indication, are of the Anglo-Saxon type and not of the foreign type.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. I am free to admit that very many Anglo-Saxon names have appeared in the list of those who have been arrested, but there have been quite a number of foreign names.

Mr. SULZBERGER. Undoubtedly there have.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. There have been a number of arrests due, in my judgment, to ignorance of the law and of the conditions that prevail in this country and perhaps to a lack of proper teaching or training upon the part of somebody who might have led these people in a different direction and might have separated them in some such way as to have relieved the authorities of the pain of putting down an insurrection.

Mr. SULZBERGER. I am rather inclined to think that it is due to the contagious mob spirit which affects all human being alike, and has all through history, when a number of men get to walking together shoulder to shoulder. It is a spirit that is in all men, no matter how perfect they may be or what conditions they have lived under.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Is it not reasonable to suppose that if the immigrants newly arrived in this country, which is vast in its area, were scattered somewhat and scattered over sections where they might be useful in agriculture or in other pursuits, and deprived of the daily and nightly intercourse which simply reminds them of the old conditions that prevailed in Russia, it might be better for us all?

Mr. SULZBERGER. That depends on whether the growth of cities is an advantage or a disadvantage. The greatness of the city of New York has been brought about by its immigrant population. If we had no immigrant population in New York perhaps it might be better upon some sides, but it might be worse upon other sides. That is a large question to decide here.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. It is not a fact that your work, as the representative of a great benevolent society, and that of these distinguished gentlemen here to-day, many of whom I know and appreciate and value highly, and of such organizations as the United Hebrew Charities of my city—a most creditable thing—would be much less, and that your expenses would be reduced, if you could induce the newly-arrived immigrants to separate and to go into other sections of the country rather than to remain in the alleys and byways of the city?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Undoubtedly, if there were no Jews in New York who could be removed to the country the Industrial Removal Office would go out of business; and undoubtedly, too, if there were no poor Jews in New York and Philadelphia, the United Hebrew Charities of those cities would go out of business.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. And your responsibility would be less.

Mr. SULZBERGER. Yes.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. And therefore you would approve of such instruction and distribution if it could be effected?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Within limits. I would by no means approve of sending all of the Jews, or all of the immigrant Jews, of New York out of there. I am

an immigrant—not an alien immigrant—but an immigrant from Philadelphia. [Laughter.]

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Just now you might very well have some of them sent elsewhere.

Mr. SULZBERGER. I should not like myself to be sent from New York.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. No; because you have made that your home and you have succeeded there.

Mr. SULZBERGER. But, do you not see, Mr. Moore, hundreds of thousands of men have made it their home. When I arrived in New York I had what was left out of \$25, after paying my railroad fare from Philadelphia to New York. I have succeeded in making good to a reasonable extent. Hundreds of thousands have come from Europe who have made good in the same way, and it would have been a fatal blunder to have sent all these men off on the farms or to other parts, when they were fitted to work out and have worked out their salvation and economical success, and have done it right there in the city of New York. I appreciate the difficulties and dangers of congestion. I do not suppose that any man appreciates them any more than I, because I have spent a great deal of time in the study of that matter, but we must not get hysterical about it, because those men who have gathered there have made that city great, and are making it greater day by day. It is the greatest city in the country to-day, and in a short time it will be the greatest city in the world. If you say to the immigrant population that it must no more go there, but must scatter through various parts of the United States, it would be good for the various parts of the United States, but it would be bad for New York.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. I am somewhat glad to hear you say that, because I have done everything that one Representative in Congress could do to have some of that immigration come to my city of Philadelphia. It seems to me a wise thing to have it distributed along the coast.

Mr. BURNETT. I would like to ask you—

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. I want to ask you, before Mr. Burnett takes up his question—

Mr. BURNETT. It is along that same line. I would like to know the proportion in New York City of alien population. First, the number?

Mr. SULZBERGER. I do not know it, and I would not like to guess at it. I could look it up in the census report, but I do not happen to have it here.

Mr. BENNET. It would be incorrect now, anyway.

Mr. SULZBERGER. Yes; because that was in 1900, and it would be 10 years old. There must be 38 per cent, in New York State, foreign born—you mean that, too?

Mr. BURNETT. Yes.

Mr. SULZBERGER. Thirty-eight per cent foreign born in New York State, and there must be over 50 per cent in the city of New York.

Mr. BENNET. I can contribute this fact. The city is divided into police precincts. In each police precinct in old New York the majority of the heads of families are foreign born. That was the information up to within the last year.

Mr. BURNETT. But that does not mean Greater New York.

Mr. SULZBERGER. Manhattan and the Bronx.

Mr. BURNETT. Have you any idea as to what it is in Greater New York. Mr. Bennet?

Mr. BENNET. I would not want to say that with attempted accuracy, because I have no statistics since 1900.

Mr. BURNETT. Is it a fact, Mr. Sulzberger, that there are many of those people in the settlements where the foreigners are congested, who have been here for years and have not learned to speak English?

Mr. SULZBERGER. I do not believe that is a fact. I do not know, but I do not believe that is a fact. That there are some I have no doubt, but when you say "many" I do not believe that is the fact.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. May I answer that, for your information?

Mr. BURNETT. Certainly.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. There are communities in Pennsylvania known as the Pennsylvania Dutch, who have been there for two hundred years, and who still speak the foreign language.

Mr. BURNETT. But they can speak English?

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Oh, no.

Mr. SULZBERGER. No.

Mr. BURNETT. But English is taught in the schools, is it not?



Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. They are the native-born people, on the farms.  
Mr. BURNETT. Does not your State require the English language to be taught in the schools?

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Oh, yes; in the public schools.

Mr. BURNETT. Do they not go to the schools?

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Yes; they go to the public schools.

Mr. BURNETT. Do they not learn English there?

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. You have me as to that.

Mr. ADAIR. I would like to ask a question in this connection. What effort, if any, does your society make toward inducing immigrants of your nationality to learn as quickly as possible the English language and to read the English newspapers? I am mentioning this for this reason: It occurs to me that one of the first duties devolving upon an immigrant is, if possible, to learn to speak the English language and to read the English language, and it occurs to me that it would be time well spent if your societies would encourage the reading and speaking of the English language and the reading of the English newspapers. Do you not believe that is one of the duties that they owe to this Government, as English-speaking people? Do you not believe that a foreigner coming here owes it as a duty to this country to learn, if possible, to speak the English language and to read the English language? The point I am getting at is this: If, for instance, a large percentage of immigrants of your nationality are able to read both in English and in your own language, do you not think it is well to encourage them in reading the English newspapers rather than newspapers printed in your own language?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Let me set you straight. Yiddish is not our own language. English is my language, and the language of most of my associates.

Mr. ADAIR. But you understand what I am getting at.

Mr. SULZBERGER. Yes. Yiddish is one of the languages of the immigrants; but the immigrant frequently speaks Russian, German, or some other language, as well.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. At this point: Is it not a fact that in the city of New York a large number of foreigners go, very soon after their arrival in this country, to the evening schools?

Mr. SULZBERGER. I was just going to speak of that.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Is it not a fact that they go to the evening schools, of which there are many in our city, and that they very soon acquire a knowledge of the English language, of writing and reading, and become acquainted with the use of English within a comparatively short time after they arrive?

Mr. SULZBERGER. That is quite true, Judge Goldfogle; and in addition to that Mr. Marshall will deal with that subject, I have no doubt, because he is more competent than I to speak of it, and it comes within the scope of the work he is doing along educational lines in that direction.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. When I speak of the foreigners going to the evening schools, I have reference to foreigners who work during the day.

Mr. SULZBERGER. Adult foreigners.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Yes; laborers, and other wage-earners who go to the night schools and spend their evenings there and acquire a knowledge of English.

Mr. SULZBERGER. They acquire a remarkable knowledge of English; and the children, mark you, after being in school less than six months write English as well as do the native Americans.

Mr. ADAIR. The point I was making was, whether or not it was a good idea—

Mr. SULZBERGER. It is done to the utmost. Not only that, but I want to say that the records of the Carnegie Library on the lower East Side of New York shows the largest percentage of high-class literature read from that branch of any library in the city of New York. I am sorry I did not bring with me the library statistics upon that point; but I did not think the hearing would take that turn.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. I would like to say that I am trying to encourage my children to read the German papers instead of the English papers, because they have a pretty fair education in English, and I do want them to continue the German.

Mr. ADAIR. That is all right.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. I do not believe there is any harm at all in the children continuing the language of their parents.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Of course the children of English parents are now studying the Spanish language?

Mr. ADAIR. This is what brought it to my mind. Not long since I was in a grand lodge meeting of a certain secret society, and the question came up as to whether the ritual of the society should be printed in various languages, English, German, and all along the line. There was one German, Mr. Küstermann, who was one of the most entertaining and most intelligent gentlemen I ever listened to, who took the floor and made a very strong appeal against printing the Knights of Pythias ritual in any other than in the English language.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. That was perfectly proper.

Mr. ADAIR. And he said in his argument that he believed the first and foremost duty a German owed to this country in coming here was to learn to speak and to read the English language, and that he came to this country to do that.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. It is one of the rules, is it not, that they must speak English in the Knights of Pythias?

Mr. ADAIR. No; that is not the rule at all.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. But they could not understand the proceedings if they did not?

Mr. ADAIR. The strongest argument in favor of printing the ritual in one language was made by this German, this man born in Germany, who had come to this country; and he made the strongest plea for having it printed in English.

Mr. O'CONNELL. You would not have them forget their language, or the language of their forefathers, would you?

Mr. ADAIR. No. Why do we go to school to learn to speak French and other languages? We do it because it is of advantage to us to do it. What I mean is this: If a number of foreigners come here and they settle down in a community, they should become Americanized in every way possible, no matter whether they are Germans or Jews. They ought to learn to read the English language and to speak the English language. They do not need to forget their own language to do it.

Mr. O'CONNELL. Some of the best English scholars in Boston to-day are among the Hebrews who have arrived in the last twenty years. They are among the finest scholars in Harvard. There is no doubt but that the Hebrew children very quickly acquire an intimate and fluent knowledge of English.

Mr. ADAIR. Surely they do.

Mr. O'CONNELL. I would like at this time to introduce into the record a telegram that I have just received, which is as follows:

"BOSTON, MASS., March 11, 1910.

"Congressman JOSEPH F. O'CONNELL,

"House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

"United congregations of orthodox Jews in Boston earnestly oppose restriction immigration bills. Please use all efforts in opposition.

"ISAAC HELLER, President.

"3 Lawrence Park, Roxbury."

I would like to say here that I am using all the efforts I know how to use and will be only too glad to continue in that line.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. And those efforts have been well directed.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. In the bill H. R. 13404, which we are now considering, under section 2 the list of persons to be excluded from the United States includes "all aliens over 16 years of age, physically capable of reading, who can not read the English language or the language of some other European country," etc.

Mr. SULZBERGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. I want to ask your opinion as to the wisdom of admitting common laborers into the United States who could not comply with the educational test as provided in this bill.

Mr. SULZBERGER. I think that if we had not the laborer, irrespective of his ability to read, we would find great difficulty about getting our heavy work done.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Do you understand that there is a demand for common labor in the United States to-day?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Oh, I am convinced of it.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. To what extent is there such a demand?

Mr. SULZBERGER. As I am able to make it out, it is tremendous.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. In order that the record may be illuminated to this extent: How far does your information go as to the requirements of the mines—

Mr. SULZBERGER. I do not know about that.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. And the farms and the factories, with regard to unskilled labor such as might be debarred by that provision?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Statistically, I can not answer that; but in a general way, from my observation of the matter, I am convinced that with all the immigrants we have we are not to-day responsive to the demand for labor.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Assuming that trouble might ensue in this country in the way of riots, in the way of the performances of the Mafia, or of the Black Hand, or any other illegal secret society, have you information to indicate whether the men composing such societies and performing such illegal acts, who are foreign born, belong to the educated classes, those capable of reading and writing, or are those who have not the education that would enable them to come in under that bill?

Mr. SULZBERGER. I do not see how a man could send a Black Hand letter if he could not write. [Laughter.]

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. I wanted to find out some of your reasons for opposing this provision.

Mr. SULZBERGER. At first blush it may seem strange to you, but it is, unfortunately, a true statement. There does not seem to be any relation between crime and education.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Would you regard a man who could not read, but who came here with an honorable purpose to better his condition and that of his family, as a dangerous person to be admitted into the United States.—

Mr. SULZBERGER. On the contrary.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania (continuing). Because he could not read?

Mr. SULZBERGER. His inability to read does not, to my mind, in the least lessen his value to the country.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Is it your opinion that the shrewd man who can read and who is capable of concocting schemes and conspiracies and arranging plans to violate the authority and the law is a dangerous person to be admitted?

Mr. SULZBERGER. My information is that 93 per cent of all the prisoners, according to the prison statistics in this country, are literate, and that 7 per cent are illiterate.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Then it is your judgment that the illiterate, well-meaning man who comes for the honest purpose of bettering his condition, is a desirable immigrant and therefore ought to be admitted, because he is less dangerous than the man who is better educated than he?

Mr. SULZBERGER. No; I would put it in this way: There is no connection between illiteracy and crime, and the fact that a man is illiterate should not weigh either for or against him in admitting him to the country. There may be other reasons for debarring him, but illiteracy is not one of them, because there does not seem to be anyone that I can find anywhere who says there is any connection between illiteracy and crime.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. I am not stating my judgment.

Mr. SULZBERGER. I understand that.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. I am seeking yours. You are satisfied that there is a demand in this country for common labor, such as might be unable to read and write?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Absolutely.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. You are satisfied that such immigrants as come from Russia and Roumania, very largely due to the oppression existing there, would be desirable as common laborers in this country, if they could not read and write?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Certainly.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. And this belief of yours would hold good with relation to other nationalities?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Certainly.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Italians and others, coming in now?

Mr. SULZBERGER. Oh, yes; absolutely. I want to call attention to one other thing that I think has not had sufficient attention. It seems to me that one of the greatest and perhaps the greatest problem this country has to deal with, is capable of being solved by liberal immigration. I refer to the negro problem. The whole tendency of immigration has been that the immigrant pushes away

the less thrifty, the less industrious. The immigrant pushes him up if he is capable of being pushed up, or pushes him aside, as the case may be. If we could introduce into the Southern States south Italian immigration, people who have been accustomed to a warm climate, and put them at the work the negro is doing, the negro population now concentrated in a few States would, of necessity, be scattered over the entire United States, and would become an infinitesimal percentage of the whole population, instead of being, as in some places they are, a majority in the places in which they are congested; and it would solve the greatest problem our country has to deal with. I think if gentlemen will give attention to that they will find that there is possibly there the solution of a very grave problem.

Mr. BURNETT. Let me state right there that many of the mine operators and furnace operators would rather have a negro than the south Italians as laborers. There is this difference: The negro does not want to work continuously, like the Italian. He wants a day or two or three days off after he gets his money, so that he can spend it; but as to the amount and quality of work which they can do, they will tell you that the negro is better than the south Italian.

Mr. SULZBERGER. My experience with southern employees is not large, but so far as it goes I have been led to believe that they were not very well pleased with the class of uneducated, unskilled labor that they were dealing with. Is there anything else?

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. You see no danger, then, from the admission, as it is now permitted under the existing law, of those immigrants who come into this country and who are unable to read and write?

Mr. SULZBERGER. On the contrary. I do not say, alone, that I see no danger. I put it affirmatively. I see vast benefit to the country in the admission of all immigrants not now debarred, and perhaps in the admission of some who are, not righteously, debarred.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. We are very much obliged to you.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. LOUIS MARSHALL, OF NEW YORK CITY.

Mr. MARSHALL. Gentlemen, the question was asked by Mr. Moore as to what was being done in the city of New York by the Jewish organizations and other organizations with regard to the education of the immigrant. I am a member of the board of directors of the Educational Alliance, and have been for about 15 years. That organization was formed for the Americanization of the immigrant. That is its principal purpose. The extent to which the work of the Educational Alliance is carried on is evidenced by the fact that during the last four or five years the number of visitors who have come to the building for the purpose of getting instruction has averaged about two and a half million a year. That is an indication of the extent to which that work is carried on. The work consists largely in instructing the immigrant as to the duties of American citizenship and as to the resources of our country, and I would like to read for your information from the report of the commission of immigration of the State of New York, of which I have the honor to be chairman, one of the appendixes which shows the various subjects which are discussed and lectured upon with respect to American history and civics in the Educational Alliance:

"1. The American character: An exposition of the characteristics of the American.

"2. American ideals: An exposition of the American ideals of work, civil liberty, equal rights, religious liberty, universal education.

"3. Ideal government: Embodying the ideas of liberty and law. A popular exposition of the Anglo-Saxon conception of government, of liberty, and law.

"4. The beginnings of American liberty: Showing the reasons for the triumph in America of the English and their political ideas.

"5. Periods in American history: Colonization. Illustrated.

"6. Franklin and life in the colonies.

"7. Washington and the American Revolution.

"8. Jefferson and the Declaration of Independence.

"9. The making of the American Constitution: Showing how and why the American Nation was formed.

"10. The American Constitution: The relation of the State and Nation; amendments and Bill of Rights.

"11. American Government, city, State, and Nation: A general survey of the three kinds of government. Illustrated.

- "12. The American Constitution: Congress.
- "13. The American Constitution: The President.
- "14. The American Constitution: The courts.
- "15. The American press and public opinion.
- "16. The American educational system and ideals.
- "17. The growth of America under the Constitution. Illustrated.
- "18. Lincoln and the abolition of slavery. Illustrated.
- "19. Geography of the United States. Illustrated.
- "20. Economic conditions of the United States as compared with Europe.
- "21. The development of the West. Illustrated.
- "22. Life of the Jews in the United States, in the South and the West. Illustrated.
- "23. Jewish farming in America. Illustrated.
- "24. American public problems: The State and the Nation.
- "25. American public problems: The Government and the party.
- "26. American public problems: The citizen.
- "27. American public problems: The State and the city.
- "28. History of the city of New York.
- "29. Government of the city of New York.
- "30. Ideals of American citizenship.
- "31. The duty of the foreigners to America."

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Pardon me, but what application has this?

Mr. MARSHALL. This is to answer your question as to whether or not the Jewish organizations—

Mr. SULZBERGER. Mr. Adair asked the question.

Mr. MARSHALL. It is to answer the question as to whether or not the Jewish people in the city of New York were instructing foreigners who came there as to the duties of American citizenship, and what they were doing toward assimilating them into the body of American citizens.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. And these are the subjects that are taught?

Mr. MARSHALL. These are the subjects that are taught and lectured upon by some of the ablest men in the city of New York. The lectures are first conducted in Yiddish, so as to enable those who are unable to understand English to understand the subjects in the earlier stages. Then the lectures are delivered in English, accompanied by illustrations and lantern slides.

One question was asked as to teaching English. In the Educational Alliance we have various classes organized solely for the purpose of rapidly teaching Jewish immigrants the English language. Those classes are very largely attended. We have now some 35 different classes taking care of the various portions of the population. The adults who work in the daytime are taught at night. The adults who work at night are taught in the daytime. The mothers have their own classes. The teachers in the Jewish religious schools have their classes in which they are taught the English language, so that they may give their instruction in religion, even in the English language. Then there are day classes for newly arrived children; and in that way every part of the Jewish population is saturated with the English language, so that in a very short time those children, and those men and women who have come to this country after they have reached majority, are better able to speak with their Yiddish brethren in English than in Yiddish; and, as a matter of fact, it is a very curious thing that the Yiddish of New York is an entirely different language from the Yiddish of Russia, because there is an interpolation of English words from the very beginning. So that in a very short time, by a process of natural evolution, the people speak the English language and do not speak the Yiddish language.

As to the newspapers, the Yiddish newspaper performs a very important function. I had the fortune, or the misfortune, of being the organizer of a Yiddish newspaper a number of years ago, to be published purely and solely from the standpoint of civics. The papers at that time were not entirely to the satisfaction of some of the members of the community, and so we tried the experiment of establishing a paper which would do the very kind of teaching contemplated by this list of subjects which the Educational Alliance deals with. We had the Declaration of Independence translated into Yiddish. We had the Constitution of the United States translated into Yiddish. We had commentaries upon that; and we had the history of the United States from the landing of Columbus down to the present day. We had all kinds of subjects of that character, for the purpose of impressing upon the Yiddish-speaking population

these ideas. To indicate the process of evolution there were two pages in English, so that they would gradually go from the Yiddish into the English. That paper resulted in a loss to the projectors of \$50,000 in two years—"and the subsequent proceedings interested them no more." [Laughter.]

But the effect of it has been that there has been a development of all the Yiddish papers in New York City in that direction; and any gentleman who is capable of reading Yiddish, as I know several members of the committee are—and I think one ought to be from his experience [laughter]—will find that all the important questions of economics and civics, and all the important questions of politics, are most intelligently discussed in the Yiddish language in these newspapers. You need not be afraid that the Jewish people of that city, however, are going to adhere to those papers alone. They are repeatedly reading others. They are great readers of the newspapers. Anyone going into the reading room of the Educational Alliance in the evening would be astounded at the number of readers. It is astounding. And the subjects about which they read there are as numerous as the mind of man can conceive of. And, as has already been stated by Mr. Sulzberger, the public libraries in that part of the city in which the Jews live are the best patronized libraries in the city of New York. The books read are not trash and not light literature, but they deal with scientific subjects. To give an idea of the mental characteristics of the people I will say that in the Educational Alliance we had a class of 100 men who met every Saturday night, taught by Mr. Sassovitz. Some of these men were push-cart peddlers and some of them workers at tailoring trades, but they met on Saturday night and discussed questions of science, of art, of the world's literature, and the higher mathematics. The people appreciated the subjects and took pleasure in the study of those particular matters.

I think this really is merely one of the side shows in this question, but still it indicates that the people who come here are being taken care of and are being advised, and the Educational Alliance is not the only organization that is doing it. There are the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Young Women's Hebrew Association, and various settlements on the east side. The Wall settlement on Henry Street is one of the models of the world. There is the Federation of Harlem. Those who have occasion to contribute will know how numerous they are, because their name is legion, and they are all doing this work, not only in New York, but in Chicago, in Philadelphia, in St Louis, in San Francisco, and in every quarter of America. Lest it be thought that the Jews are all segregated and congregated in the city of New York, let me tell you that there is scarcely a community in the country in which you will not find a settlement of Jews. I think those who know them know that they are a self-respecting part of the community and are doing their part toward becoming as rapidly as possible an integral part of the American people; and they resent nothing more than to be considered as a thing apart. They want to be considered as a part of the American people.

I have read some of the debates upon this subject, and they are really amusing when we use the parallel-column comparison. This same talk about inferior races has been used ever since immigration commenced.

In 1817, when the total number of immigrants to this country was 2,800, just see what Nile's Register said about the awful fate confronting the United States:

"We have room enough; let them come. \* \* \* But the emigrants should press into the interior."

The idea of having 2,800 people remaining at the seaboard:

"In the present state of the times we seem too thick on the maritime frontier already. Within there is ample and profitable employment for all in almost any branch of business, and strangers should be encouraged to seek it there."

That was in 1817.

Mr. BURNETT. What was the total population of the United States then?

Mr. MARSHALL. It must have been then about 6,000,000.

Mr. ADAIR. At that time they thought the interior of the country was along about this place here, I suppose.

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes; this was rather wild. They wanted to get them away from the congested city of New York. They had a population there then, I think, of 125,000 people.

In the report of the managers of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism in New York City, in 1819, it is said:

"First, as to the emigrants from foreign countries, the managers are compelled to speak of them in the language of astonishment and apprehension.

Through this inlet pauperism threatens us with the most overwhelming consequences."

See how far our country has progressed since that time, 1819:

"From various causes the city of New York is doomed to be the landing place of a great portion of the European population who are daily flocking to our country for a place of permanent abode. This city is the largest importing capital of the United States, and a position from which a departure into the interior is generally considered the most easy and practicable. On being possessed of more extensive and active trade than any other commercial emporium in the Union, it naturally occurs to the minds of emigrants that we possess great means of employment. Our situation is peculiarly healthy, and no local objection, either physical or moral, exists to arrest the approach of foreigners. The present state of Europe contributes in a thousand ways to foster unceasing immigration to the United States. \* \* \* An almost innumerable population beyond the ocean is out of employment, and this has the effect of increasing the usual want of employ. This country is the resort of vast numbers of those needy and wretched beings. Thousands are continually resting their hopes on the refuge which she offers, filled with delusive visions of plenty and luxury. They seize the earliest opportunity to cross the Atlantic and land upon our shores. \* \* \* What has been the destination of this immense accession to our population, and where is it now? Many of these foreigners have found employment; some may have passed into the interior, but thousands still remain among us. They are frequently found destitute in our streets; they seek employment at our doors; they are found in our almshouses and in our hospitals; they are found at the bar of criminal tribunals, in our Bridewell, our penitentiary, and our State prisons. And we lament to say that they are too often led by want, by vice, and by habit to form a phalanx of plunder and depredations, rendering our city more liable to increase of crime and our houses of correction more crowded with convicts and felons."

That was in 1819. Some of those immigrants, I suppose, were your grandfathers; some of them may have been your fathers; and some arrived subsequent to that time; and still this country is what it is, and it has grown to be what it is, and these immigrants more than any other part of our population have made it what it is. They are the people who have made the great Northwest, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the neighboring States; and they are the people who have built up the East in all our great industries. When we think of the State of New York and its large percentage of foreign population, as has been indicated here, does it not seem utterly absurd for people to say that this country is going to ruin and destruction? Ah, but some of these gentlemen say it is because the people who are coming now are of a different class. They say that the people who were here before and who were the fathers of Senators and of Members of the House of Representatives, and who are in our State legislatures, were a different class. They were Germans, and they were Irish, and they were of a better quality. But let us see what they said in 1819. They said:

"The Irish had an utter distaste for felling forests and turning up the prairies for themselves. They preferred to stay where another race would furnish them with food, clothing, and labor, and hence were mostly found loitering on the lines of the public works, in villages, and in the worst portions of the large cities, where they competed with the negroes—between whom and themselves there was an inveterate dislike—for the most degrading employments."

I have other beautiful specimens of this same character, in which the German is put in the same category as the Irish. They are priest-ridden. They are people who are ignorant. They have not the ideals the Anglo-Saxon has, and words to that effect.

Later, still, we have criticisms of the Swedes and the Norwegians, and now the criticism comes of those from eastern Europe and from southern Europe.

I have had occasion to give a great deal of study to this question, with a view of seeing what the conditions are in this country to-day as the result of this eastern European and southern European migration into this country.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. I think at that point I will ask you this question, so that when the Members of the House take up the hearings they may understand the official position you hold: You are now the president of the immigration commission of the State of New York?

Mr. MARSHALL. I am the ex-president. The commission was organized under an act of the legislature of the State of New York for the purpose of investi-

gating into the condition, welfare, and industrial opportunities of aliens in the State of New York. We got through with the work and are no longer in office. I am now a private citizen. [Laughter.]

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. I hope that all the extracts you have read and those that you have not read will go into our record.

Mr. MARSHALL. I will see that you get them.

(The extracts above referred to will be found at the end of Mr. Marshall's statement.)

Mr. BENNET. You will give a statement of the source in each instance?

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes; the authority is given in each instance.

There is now very little immigration from Ireland, England, or Germany. The need for immigration, so far as concerns the need of immigration from those countries, no longer exists; but the immigration comes from other parts of Europe. Those people come, not for the purpose of being idle, not for the purpose of making themselves public charges, but for the purpose of being useful workers in the great American beehive. We are constantly engaged in great public works. Take the State of New York, for example. At the present date the city of New York is spending over \$1,000,000 on the new waterworks system and the Ashokan Dam and Aqueduct. And who are doing the work there? Italians, southern Europeans, and eastern Europeans. The State of New York is also spending about \$50,000,000 on the building of the new public-highway system throughout the State. Who is doing that work? The same people. No Germans, no Irish, no native-born Americans. They would not work at such jobs.

They are constructing a great barge canal, at an expense of over \$100,000,000. And who is doing the work there? Not native Americans, not the sons of Irish immigrants or of German immigrants. The people who are doing that work are these same people from southern Europe and eastern Europe.

The railroads require trackmen. All the great public works require men to do manual labor. All that is done by the southern European and the eastern European.

Mr. BENNET. When you say all—

Mr. MARSHALL. I mean practically all.

Mr. BENNET. I assume that you mean it to apply to the mere manual labor. Many Irish and native Americans are employed as superintendents.

Mr. MARSHALL. I do not mean that the "bossing" is done by the newly arrived immigrants. That is done by those of an earlier generation; and that merely indicates the advantages of our system of government. The man who comes to-day is ready to handle the pick and shovel. As a result of his imbibing American ideas his standard of living is raised, and he becomes more expert, and in 5 years from now he will be the boss. In 10 years from now he will be the contractor. In 20 years from now he will be the alderman. [Laughter.] And so there is a development from time to time which is desirable, which is of great advantage to the country, and which adds to its strength. Every man who comes here in the vigor of manhood, and who has been admitted here, is an asset to this country of very great value. I have not any doubt but that every man who has the full possession of his faculties is worth \$2,000 net to this country the moment he arrives here; and of course it results in an increase and addition of wealth to the country. I am not discussing it as a Jewish question, but as a question which applies just as much to the Italian, the Croatian, and the Hun, as to the Jew, because they are all doing their part in the world's work and in the development of this country.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Is it your opinion, then, that our system of education here tends to make manual labor uncomfortable for the American people?

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes. I think there is a great fault in the American educational system. I may be guilty of heresy—

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. And as we educate him, and as we educate the immigrant, we wear him away from the dignity of manual labor?

Mr. MARSHALL. Precisely. I am not guilty of heresy, but people may think so. I say that one of the great difficulties that we have to contend with in the United States is an excess of education and an erroneous theory of education and an improper distribution of education. A man who would be a good mechanic wants to become a professional man. Nobody is satisfied with his situation—which is a very desirable condition to be in; but sometimes it has the defects of its qualities, and for that reason we sometimes find that the



American-born farmer's boy leaves the farm and goes to the city and becomes a second-class clerk or a bookkeeper, or a man who erects a position which is not one-half as dignified as that of a farmer, and our farms are deserted.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Then, in your opinion, if we would have this necessary manual labor done, in digging canals, opening up roads and highways, etc., it would be well for us, perhaps, to have a few people in the country who could not read or write?

Mr. MARSHALL. I do not think it helps a man to do physical work to be able to work out a mathematical problem, or to understand astronomy, biology, or any other of the ologies, or to read or write.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. And if he did—

Mr. MARSHALL. If he did, I do not think he would stay there very long. The whole tendency of the country is upward and toward improvement. The lag-gards and the inferior people drop by the wayside. In sociology as in all sciences, it is a question of the survival of the fittest.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Does not that account for the continuance of the newspaper printed in the foreign language, and the concentration of people of one nationality?

Mr. MARSHALL. That is purely incidental.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. But does not that account for it?

Mr. MARSHALL. Certainly. Certain people of a colony congregate because of the fact that they like to be among people they understand and who have the same ideas and associations and the same bringing up. They naturally congregate together and have their own newspapers, just as we have the *Courrier des États-Unis* in New York—the newspaper of the French. We have the Italian newspapers. There are probably 50 newspapers of that kind published in New York, in the Syrian, Armenian, and every known language of the world. That does not change the situation. That does not affect the Americanism of those people; because if you can speak in a dozen tongues you can preach the same doctrine and reach the people of a dozen tongues, whereas with one tongue you might be able to reach but one. The tendency is that they will all learn to speak the language of this country. The desire to get on will impel them to. There is not an Italian who does not in time begin, in his own way, to speak the English language. The children of the Italians are in a short time able to speak the English language as well as the children of any man whose ancestors came over in the *Mayflower*. The situation is no different. They will become accustomed to their environment, and they do. I am not discussing mere theories. The facts speak for themselves.

At the request of a member of the committee I have sent copies of this report [Report of Immigration Commission] to the various members of the committee, and I hope that you will all take the pains to read the chapter on "Industrial and agricultural opportunities for aliens," running from page 130 to page 137. You will find there a discussion of this economic question as it has been taken up in New York.

We took pains to send a schedule of questions to the various manufacturers and various trades unions in all the different parts of the State of New York, as to the character of the labor they had, as to the nationality, as to the time they had been in the country, etc.; and we found—and we have here excerpts from the reports—that in many cases where there had been previously American labor, and where there had been German or Irish labor, those of other nations were coming in. But these were the reasons given by the gentlemen here:

"Natives are not always available, and when available will not do the work required.

"American-born citizens find more lucrative employment.

"Foreigners are more reliable and do better work.

"Native-born are seeking other than millwork.

"In the manufacture of fiber ware and material; on account of labor troubles.

"Foreigners are better workers, steadier, and more sober; also not inclined to look for easy work."

One says:

"Foreigners on our work have not proven satisfactory."

Another says:

"Our business is too particular and fine for foreign-born."

Another says:

"The neatest workers are invariably American-born; they are cleaner and more pride is seemingly taken by them in the execution of their work."

Then again they say they can not get the American labor. You can not get the American-born to work in the mill, or to do the ordinary labor of a daily operative on public works, and therefore you must seek that labor somewhere, or else the country will be at a standstill.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. I would like to ask you in that connection, whether you are familiar with the term "a bird of passage?"

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Do I understand it correctly when I understand that it has reference to a foreigner who comes over in a flush season, works and earns what he can, and then goes back in the dull season to spend his earnings abroad?

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Will you tell us how far that practice prevails among the Jews?

Mr. MARSHALL. It can not prevail among the Jews. They have nowhere else to go.

Mr. BURNETT. They can not go back?

Mr. MARSHALL. They can not go back.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Then the tendency of the Jew is rather to remain and become naturalized, and to become Americanized.

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes, sir; as soon as possible. The moment the wished-for hour has arrived when they can become American citizens they avail themselves of that opportunity; and I can say that they are as passionately fond of this country as they detest the country from which they are refugees.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. To what extent may it be said the Jews send back to the old country the money they earn in this country, as is said to be the practice with certain other nationalities?

Mr. MARSHALL. The Jews send money to their parents, their sisters, their children, and wives, for the purpose of bringing them here as soon as they can. If, unfortunately, the parents are old, they send money to them, because the Jews are believers in the fifth commandment, and honor their parents. They observe that commandment at all times.

Mr. BURNETT. They do not send the money back to be deposited in foreign banks?

Mr. MARSHALL. They do not. They use their money in the development of American industries. There is not an industry which you can mention in which the Jews are not interesting themselves and in which they are not investing their savings—sometimes unwisely, because sometimes they are invested as a permanent investment. [Laughter.] But in the end it makes for the well-being of this country; and if they fail in their hopes, it is only to try again after they fail the first time.

Mr. ADAIR. Have you ever traveled through the Central West, or made any observation as to the men employed in the mills and the factories and on the public works out in the Central West?

Mr. MARSHALL. I have not.

Mr. ADAIR. The statement you make regarding the employment of aliens in the factory and on the public works in the city of New York I imagine is entirely true.

Mr. MARSHALL. We have the figures to show it.

Mr. ADAIR. I do not doubt it for a moment; but when you get out in the Middle West and the extreme West you find the conditions are very different. In my country I represent a very large manufacturing district, and I do not believe that to exceed 10 per cent, or possibly not more than 5 per cent, of the men who are employed in the mills and factories in my district are other than American-born. And on the public works, our road building, and so on, you seldom see an Italian employed there at all. Our Americans out there do not feel that it is a disgrace to do common labor.

Mr. MARSHALL. That is all answered by the fact that there is an ample supply of American labor for the demand which exists there, whereas in other parts of the country there is not a sufficient supply of American labor to meet the demand for labor which exists, and hence they have to get their labor where they can.

Mr. ADAIR. I think that is true.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. That is what we find in Wisconsin.

Mr. MARSHALL. Take the matter of farms. The State of New York, this report shows, is running behind in the number of farms every year. There

are not less than 20,000 abandoned farms in the State of New York to-day, because there are not men there to do the work. There are abandoned farms in New England. This whole question of the high cost of living would be easily solved if you had enough farm laborers, and if the immigrants were encouraged to go upon the farms you would not have the high prices which now prevail and which cause the high cost of living.

Mr. ADAIR. There was a matter I was trying to get at this morning when I asked Mr. Sulzberger; and I will ask you whether or not your societies encourage them to take up farming in the country?

Mr. MARSHALL. They do; and I think that is one of the greatest pieces of work in that regard that has ever been undertaken.

Mr. ADAIR. The tendency, however, among the immigrants, is to remain in the cities, is it not?

Mr. MARSHALL. That is the tendency all over the world, Mr. Adair. Let me give you a few facts on that subject. The tendency of modern times has been toward the increase of the urban population at the expense of the rural districts. Let me read you a few brief statements as to the growth of cities, the figures being given for 1800, 1850, 1890, and 1900:

"London: In 1800, 958,000; in 1850, 2,362,000; in 1890, 4,211,000; in 1900, 4,536,000.

"New York: In 1800, 62,000; in 1850, 660,000; in 1890, 2,740,000; in 1900, 4,014,000.

"Paris: In 1800, 546,000; in 1850, 1,053,000; in 1890, 2,448,000; in 1900, 2,714,000.

Berlin: In 1800, 173,000; in 1850, 378,000; in 1890, 1,578,000; in 1900, 2,033,000.

"Vienna: In 1800, 232,000; in 1850, 431,000; in 1890, 1,341,000; in 1900, 1,674,000."

So I go through every large city in the world, and the fact is that, whereas at the beginning of the nineteenth century the cities were comparatively small, at the beginning of the twentieth century they had increased fivefold in population all through the world; not only in the country where the immigrant arrives, but in the country from which the immigrant comes. The tendency has been toward the building up of the city at the expense of the rural community, and the time has come when those who are wise will echo the cry "Back to the soil"; because that will be the solution of many of the great economic problems that are confronting all parts of the world.

Mr. BENNET. I might say in this connection that, as I recall the figures, in 1800 the immigrants constituted 3 per cent of the population in cities and villages of over 3,000; and it is now estimated that they constitute over 50 per cent.

Mr. BURNETT. Is it not true that the recent immigrants, at least, remain in the cities in much greater proportion than those who go into the country?

Mr. MARSHALL. I think it is true that among the more recent immigrants the smaller proportion settles on the farms, or in the country.

Mr. BURNETT. That is, during the first two years?

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes; in the beginning.

Mr. BURNETT. During the first two years.

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes; in the first place, they come to New York or to Philadelphia and get employment there, but gradually they get into the country. By that I do not mean that they go on the farms, but they get into the smaller cities and then gradually into the villages and towns; and after a while when they get wise they buy farms. That fact is illustrated by the circumstance that the number of Jewish farmers is increasing every day, and the number of Italian farmers is very largely on the increase. That is also true of the Greeks, who are well known as florists, and who do a very large business in floriculture. A great many of other nationalities are carrying on truck farms near the cities. In that way there is a tendency in that direction, although it is not as rapid as it might be if they went to the country in the first place.

Mr. BENNET. The census figures show that the proportion of foreign born on the farms now is constantly increasing.

Mr. MARSHALL. It is increasing over what it has been.

Mr. BURNETT. But not in proportion to the increase of population.

Mr. BENNET. Oh, yes. The proportion of foreign born on the farms increases at a greater rate than the proportion of foreign born to our total population. The census figures show that.

Mr. BURNETT. It does not increase in proportion to the number that come in.

Mr. BENNET. Yes.

Mr. BURNETT. I think you are mistaken, but I am not sure about it.

Mr. SABATH. I would like to say that a Member of the House from my State desires to be heard, and there are other gentlemen here, of course, from other States. They would like to know whether you can give them a hearing to-morrow. They will also speak against the Hayes and the Elvins bills.

Mr. GALLAGHER. I only want to say a few words.

Mr. BURNETT. I think that the gentlemen from a distance ought to have the preference. We can hear Mr. Gallagher at any time.

Mr. BENNET. If you will come to the committee room to-morrow morning between 10.30 and 12 o'clock, you can be heard.

Mr. MARSHALL. This economic question—

Mr. BURNETT. Before you pass from the question of congestion I would like to ask you a question, because the other gentleman could not give me the information I wanted as to the number of foreign-born in New York City. You reside, I believe, in that city?

Mr. MARSHALL. I do.

Mr. BURNETT. Can you give us that information?

Mr. MARSHALL. I can not give you the exact figures; but of course there is no doubt that it is a very large part of the population. I should think it might be safe to say that at least one-half, or possibly more, are of foreign birth in the city of New York. The proportion of foreign-born in the State is at least one-third.

Mr. BURNETT. Thirty-eight per cent, I believe.

Mr. MARSHALL. I am referring to the State of New York. But when you consider in connection with that fact that the State of New York is the wealthiest State in the Union, notwithstanding that large foreign-born population; that it is advancing in every direction as rapidly as any community can advance; that it is not confined to any one line of activity, but that every branch of manufacture is conducted in that State; that every kind of employment is to be found in that State; that the foreign-born is active in every one of those employments and in every direction you can look; and that you can not go down Broadway or any other street without seeing the names of foreigners prominent, as indicating that they are doing their work in the development of commerce and manufacture and every kind of activity, it is a pretty striking argument against the restriction of immigration.

Mr. ADAIR. So that immigration, you think, has been at no time inimical to the prosperity of the city of New York?

Mr. MARSHALL. Anyone who studies the history of the country, at any period, will find that if we had not been aided by this providential influx of immigration we would be very much behind the state we are now in. All this talk about immigrants is, to me, very amusing, when we consider that we are all immigrants—every one of us; I believe there is not in the House a single man with Indian blood in his veins—

Mr. BENNET. Oh, yes, there is.

Mr. MARSHALL. I thought there were in the Senate, but not in the House.

Mr. BENNET. Oh, yes.

Mr. MARSHALL. Beyond that, there are very few who are in any way, in this community, descendants of the Pilgrims, or of the original settlers of the South, who arrived in the country prior to the Revolution; because I understand the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution are not very numerous—although there is one daughter of the Revolution here to-day who is of Jewish birth. You will find that the great bulk of our population is descended from people who have been on this continent not longer than one century. Then what is the use of talking about all this difficulty with immigrants, when we are all either immigrants ourselves or the sons or grandsons of immigrants?

Mr. ADAIR. Do you believe that the increase of the head tax would lessen the number of immigrants?

Mr. MARSHALL. Certainly. If you increase the head tax to \$25 a head, it will be prohibitive in many instances. The people can not raise the money. It is a difficult thing for them to get the money with which to buy their transportation. If you add to that the artificial deterrent requiring them to pay a head tax of \$25, you make it impossible in the great majority of cases for the immigrant to come in, and most usually the people excluded are in that class of cases where the people are coming to this country as refugees from persecu-

tion—the class of people to whom our doors have been opened from the earliest day of our history.

Mr. ADAIR. There are no bills pending to increase the head tax to that amount, are there?

Mr. BENNET. Oh, yes; to \$100.

Mr. MARSHALL. The Hayes bill provides for \$25 and the Elvins bill for \$100.

Mr. ADAIR. I thought \$10 was the limit.

Mr. MARSHALL. We are still dealing in comparatively small figures, but \$25 is an amount of money which it takes years and years for people to collect when they are obliged—and it is not all a matter of the Jews, as somebody suggested to-day in reply to a question that was put—to live within the pale, to be restricted from activities, and to have their hands and feet tied as well as their consciences.

Mr. ADAIR. Let me ask you this question for information. I have heard the statement made that if the head tax were increased slightly it would not add to the expenses of the immigrant coming to this country because the steamship company would make the same price anyhow.

Mr. MARSHALL. They would not do it. How can they do it? They certainly are not going to pay the head tax if it is \$25 or \$10. Whatever they pay in some way or other is added to the immigrant's fare. They are not here as eleemosynary institutions. They are here to make money.

Mr. ADAIR. I only wanted to get your opinion in the record.

Mr. MARSHALL. Undoubtedly. Besides that, it is a very serious question whether such legislation as increasing the head tax to \$10 or \$25 would be constitutional.

Mr. BENNET. I just want to say that the statement was made to the committee that the fare had not been increased. I looked it up and found that was technically correct, and that the steamship companies' third-class rate had not been increased, but that the steamship companies had commenced, since the act of 1907, the practice of collecting the extra \$2 increase from the immigrant direct, in addition to the price he did pay.

Mr. ADAIR. I had heard the statement made, but I wanted the record to show the fact.

Mr. MARSHALL. You never can get something for nothing—not even from steamship companies.

Mr. BENNET. They say it would not be restrictive. Take an ordinary Jewish family in Russia, consisting of father, mother, and five or six children.

Mr. MARSHALL. Five persons?

Mr. BENNET. Seven persons. They would have to pay \$10 apiece.

Mr. MARSHALL. Any increase would be a burden under which they would have to stagger. If you put it at \$10 or \$25, as I say, it would be utterly prohibitive. You might as well not disguise the measure, but say, "This is a bill for the prohibition of immigration into the United States," or "For the absolute restriction of immigration."

Mr. BENNET. In other words, we might as well—

Mr. MARSHALL. Call it what it is.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. It would be building a wall around our country.

Mr. MOORE, of Texas. Do you favor any head tax at all?

Mr. MARSHALL. We do not object to a head tax. We are ready to stand on the law as it is.

Mr. MOORE, of Texas. Are you satisfied with it at present?

Mr. MARSHALL. We think it is our duty to be. We do not ask for any change in the law in that regard. Let it stand, and let us not have these constant changes.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. You prefer the enforcement of the present law as being really all that is needed?

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes. The present law is all right, if you have proper administrative regulations which will make that law effective, and which will be fair and just to all concerned, which will give a man a hearing, and give him his day in court, and which will not introduce the Russian methods into official administration.

I was just about to say on the question of the head tax that it is a very serious question of constitutional law whether any further increase of the head tax could be sustained. When the head tax was fixed at 50 cents under the act of August 3, 1882, the Supreme Court of the United States, in the "head-money case" (112 U. S., 580), had some considerable difficulty in even sustaining that,

and the only way it could sustain that was by the reasoning of Mr. Justice Miller, who said it was not for the purpose of revenue, and that it was not exacted under the taxing power, but merely for the temporary care of paupers.

Mr. BURNETT. What clause of the Constitution did it come under?

Mr. MARSHALL. That it must be for some specific purpose. The taxing power can not be arbitrarily exercised. It must be for some specific governmental purpose.

Mr. BENNET. You are speaking of the case in One hundred and twelfth United States?

Mr. MARSHALL. One hundred and twelfth United States. There are other gentlemen here and I want to hurry on, unless some of you gentlemen wish to ask me questions.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. I want to ask you a question in regard to the Hayes bill. Section 7 requires that the alien shall take out a certificate of residence before he has been in the country one year.

Mr. MARSHALL. Within one year after the taking effect of the act.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Starting at line 10, it provides that "any unnaturalized alien, unless he is a teacher, student, merchant, banker, editor, professional man, or a visitor traveling for curiosity or pleasure," who does not take out a certificate shall be deported.

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. What is your opinion as to that? What is the reason? What would you understand to be the reason for the exception of the banker and the editor over a poor common laborer who could not read and write?

Mr. MARSHALL. I can not conceive of any reason. I can conceive of absolutely no reason. Our laws are supposed to rest on the theory that all people are alike. The theory of our institutions is that we are not respecters of persons and that there is to be no discrimination between one class of people and another.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. In your judgment, would the banker and the editor or professional man be more desirable than the man who can not read and write?

Mr. MARSHALL. I think not. We have plenty of bankers and professional men—perhaps too many of them—but we have not enough laborers.

Mr. BURNETT. I have not conferred with Mr. Hayes and do not know his purpose, but I imagine that the certificate would be more for the purpose of identification than anything else; and the reason why he does not include the others, I suppose, is that they are not usually so migratory as the other men.

Mr. BENNET. That is taken almost bodily from the Chinese-exclusion act.

Mr. BURNETT. I suppose that is the purpose of it.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Marshall, you being a lawyer and an eminent one, as I well know, I would like to ask you this: Would it not be possible for almost any skillful alien who desired to override or to attempt to override the laws of this country to represent himself as a merchant, a banker, an editor, or a professional man?

Mr. MARSHALL. There would be no difficulty at all.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. And is not the field so wide that it would be alarmingly dangerous?

Mr. MARSHALL. Undoubtedly it would be so; but I oppose this provision on even broader and stronger grounds. These people come to this country for the purpose of aiding its development, and also of aiding themselves—for the purpose of doing their small part in the creation of a greater America. Is it not the most undignified thing in the world to say to a man who comes here with those purposes in view, "You are practically a man who is under surveillance; you must get a certificate from some official, which you must show on all occasions, to show that you have a right to be here?" Is it not an insult to the dignity of manhood? Is it not introducing Russian methods into the United States?

If you go to Russia, even a Congressman of the United States, I suppose, would have to show a passport, and would have to have it viséed and have himself entered in the police records as being a person there under surveillance.

Mr. BURNETT. And he can not get in, sometimes, even then. I have had some experience. [Laughter.] I found one place where the passport would not go, after being viséed by the Russian consul at New York.

Mr. MARSHALL. If my father and mother had been obliged, when they came to this country, to get such a certificate as that, if I should look back at their

records and find such a certificate, I would feel that that was a foul blot on my escutcheon.

Mr. BENNET. A badge of degradation.

Mr. MARSHALL. A reintroduction of the yellow badge that the Jews had to wear; and I swear I would hate to see such a thing introduced into the United States in regard to the Jew, the Italian, or any part of our community. It is the degradation of manhood, and I hope that whatever you do you will not put that blot upon people who, in time, will become citizens of the United States, and possibly members of a better strata of society than that which they are supposed to occupy when they are called upon to make that acknowledgment of humiliation.

Then, look at what would happen. You would have to get that certificate. I think Congressman Bennet has been in the United States post-office building at times when people were there who wanted to become citizens of the United States; and they have been obliged to come day after day and to stand in line from 4 o'clock in the morning until 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and then be requested to come some other day. They are compelled to leave their work before they can go through the formula of becoming American citizens; and these people who come here for the purpose of earning a livelihood might be required to stand in line day after day before they could get a certificate, and be damned up hill and down by \$2 clerks because they would feel that those people as yet had no vote, and might not, perhaps, get one. I think the administrative features of that would be abhorrent to anyone's sense of right and justice, and to anyone who has seen the workings of even that part of our system which relates to the act of naturalization.

Mr. BURNETT. Would it be any more so than to require an affidavit for the purpose of naturalization?

Mr. MARSHALL. That is a matter of proof.

Mr. BURNETT. But he has to make application, and it has to be sworn to and has to be in writing. He has to make a written statement.

Mr. MARSHALL. But under our immigration law you have all the record of the man when he arrives. Why should he get a certificate of residence in addition to that after he stays his time? In regard to the act of naturalization, that is a judicial act. It is a proceeding in court. You have to have evidence, and that is perfectly proper; and the stronger your requirements may be with regard to the possession by the applicant of thorough knowledge of the genius of our institutions, of knowledge of our Government, and of ability to speak the English language, the better I like it.

Mr. BENNET. The language here is:

"And any unnaturalized alien, unless he is a teacher, student, merchant, banker, editor, professional man, or a visitor traveling for curiosity or pleasure, who, after the expiration of said one year, shall be found within the United States without such certificate of residence shall be deemed to be unlawfully within the United States and shall be taken into custody upon the warrant of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and unless it shall be satisfactorily established that the failure of such person to procure a certificate of residence as herein required during the said period of one year, as herein provided, by reason of accident, sickness, or other unavoidable cause, shall be deported, etc."

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. It renders him practically a criminal.

Mr. MARSHALL. He is packed out of the country.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Leaving now the question of the certificate itself and taking up the other question that I asked you about a moment ago, what would be the effect of excepting teachers, students, merchants, bankers, editors, and professional men, so far as concerns the misrepresentation that might follow in the application of those who are already prohibited by law from coming into the country?

Mr. MARSHALL. Certainly it would be a very simple thing to evade the law under such a provision.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. And what would be the effect of the exception of a teacher or a professional man?

Mr. MARSHALL. Herr Most was a teacher.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Would you expect any man so excepted to work upon the roads, or to build waterworks, or work on public works?

Mr. MARSHALL. I would not. It would be a mere matter of annoyance. That is all it amounts to. It is one more obstacle in the way.

Mr. BENNET. If it takes \$395,000 a year to enforce the Chinese-exclusion act against the extremely limited number of Chinese who come, what would it cost to enforce that identical provision against these people?

Mr. MARSHALL. That is a matter of dollars and cents, which I think perhaps the Members of Congress might discuss and consider; but with me it is a question of human rights and humanity, which is of much more importance, and by the side of which I think all other questions dwindle into insignificance.

Mr. BENNET. I agree with you.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. "To get down to brass tacks," as our President would say, if I were a European anarchist and I desired to come into this country, would I not, under a provision of that kind, be clever enough to come in as an editor or a professional man?

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. And would I not be the very man that it is the desire of most people in this country to keep out?

Mr. BURNETT. This provision does not refer to the man who comes in, but to the man after he has been here.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. But my point is that a man having that to work on would be clever enough to use it to our great disadvantage. That is the way it occurs to me.

Mr. MARSHALL. Taking up the Elvins bill, here are the different classes to be excluded from admission into the United States:

"Persons economically undesirable—"

If we could review these questions in the Supreme Court of the United States as you can review almost every question, there would be a series of very interesting lawsuits, which I would be very glad to argue, if I had the opportunity, without fee, to determine what the meaning of that phrase is; but inasmuch as under the law there is no way of reviewing those questions, and everything is left to bureaucrats—and I use the word without any intent to offend or to use slighting language—or to people who have arbitrary power, let us see what would happen.

"Persons economically undesirable." Undesirable to whom? How undesirable? What is meant by undesirable? What is meant by "economically undesirable"? Is it because they have not enough money, or is it because they have too much money? John D. Rockefeller might be economically undesirable to some people, and a man with only 50 cents in his pocket might be economically undesirable to other people, and yet they would not be, in fact, economically undesirable to the mass of mankind. But when you draft a great statute which is to be applied to 1,000,000 people a year, to use language of that sort is to make it easy for any administrative officer to do just as he pleases. If he should say "I think this man is economically undesirable," how are you going to refute it? What are you going to do about it? You have heard a great deal about the Chancellor's foot, but there are some feet which, if applied to that language, would use it purely as a kicking-out process. [Laughter.]

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. You have no reference to Chicago, have you?

Mr. MARSHALL. No. I have no reference to any section. When I speak of a foot I merely speak of an ideal foot.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. There is a gentleman from Chicago on the committee. [Laughter.]

Mr. MARSHALL. That language is absolutely dangerous. It is potent with mischief. We have gotten along without it so well, and this country has improved so much economically, as I have tried to show, notwithstanding the absence of that language, that I do not think we ought to have a law which would make every superintendent, or whatever he is called, of a landing station a professor of political economy, and of his own political economy. It may be free trade in one place, it may be high tariff in another, and standpat in still another, and you do not know where you would get in acting on these various kinds of economic ideas. As to undesirability, one man might consider that a red-headed fellow was undesirable, and another man might think that a man who had black hair would be undesirable, and some might think that a man without any hair would be undesirable. [Laughter.]

As you see, there is great vagueness, and that is a thing we ought to avoid. We have had enough vague language. Some of you gentlemen understand what has happened as the result of vague terms. When opening a Pandora's box we do not want to put additional mischief into the box so as to do harm beyond the dreams of anybody at the present time.



Mr. BURNETT. I understood you to say in response to a question a while ago that you thought the law was good as it is.

Mr. MARSHALL. I do not think it is ideal, but rather than go through this vexed question again year after year, and year after year, it is better to bear the ills we have than to fly to others that we know not of. We have this law now. All that is required, I think, in order to make it workable, is some improvement with regard to the administration of it. When proper regulations are made, so that people will have a chance to be heard, I think the law will work out all right, but I think we ought not to make any one of these changes under consideration.

Here is the next thing:

"Male persons over 16 years of age who do not possess in their own right at least \$100 in lawful money of the United States or other money of equal value."

One hundred dollars. Think of a man from Russia, from Roumania, fleeing for his life, the victim of a "pogrom," or the members of a family fleeing as the result of an insurrection or a mob's wild action, having \$100 in their possession.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. That is 200 roubles in Russia, and a man who had it would be considered quite wealthy.

Mr. MARSHALL. Perhaps the argument I am now making would be considered by you as a good argument against my position, but I would not be here if anything like that had been in force when my father came to this country.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. I would not be here, either.

Mr. MARSHALL. My father had exactly 95 cents in his pocket when he landed in the city of New York on the 1st of September, 1849.

Mr. BENNET. I do not suppose my French refugee ancestor had anything.

Mr. MARSHALL. Then my father was a little better off than he was.

Mr. BENNET. Yes.

Mr. MOORE, of Texas. Perhaps the cost of living was not so high then.

Mr. MARSHALL. My father has told me that he spent that 95 cents on peaches. He had been on a sailing vessel about 63 days, and he thought he would have something fresh to eat; so that when the day was over, he had not a red cent. He did not remain in New York. He went to work on the Erie Railroad, and then he helped to build the Northern Central.

It seems to me inconceivable, when people are coming here, ready to be deposited right at our door, full of hope and ambition, that we should say to them: "We will not let you come in unless you have \$100, or \$25." It is utterly contrary to the spirit of our institutions. I wonder what George Washington or Thomas Jefferson would have said if anybody had thought of such legislation in their day. I know what they would have said, because I have extracts from some of their writings in which both Washington and Jefferson speak of the great desirability of having immigration. And Rush, in his diary, when minister to England, said that the desire of foreigners to emigrate to the United States was a very desirable thing, and that men are the best of all imports.

I think it is a great deal better to have the man than to have the \$100. This reminds me of the story told by Benjamin Franklin, which you all know, in connection with a property qualification for a voter, where it was desired that a man who had property worth \$50 should be a voter. He said, "Suppose a man has a mule worth \$50. Can he vote?" "Yes." "Suppose the mule dies. What then?" "Then he can not vote." "Well, does the franchise reside in the mule or in the man?" [Laughter.]

Now, here is the next thing:

"Persons between the ages of 16 and 50 years who can not pass the physical examination prescribed for recruits by the military regulations of the United States Army."

I know that I could not pass that examination. I am nearsighted. There may be members of the committee who are nearsighted, or who may have other ailments, or who in other respects, perhaps, may not come up to the qualifications. It may be a matter of eyesight or a matter of weight, but all this is unnecessary. We have not had any trouble—

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. That squints very much toward compulsory military service?

Mr. MARSHALL. Compulsory military service does not stand in the way of our immigrants. Our immigrants were in the Army of the United States and in the confederate army during the civil war, and they were pretty good soldiers at

that. There were Germans who came to this country as fugitives from their Government, and they helped to fight the battles of the Republic. There have always been a large number of immigrants in our army, and are now, and Mr. Wolf, here, has written a book for the purpose of showing how many Jews there were in the army in the civil war. At a time when there were probably not more than one hundred to one hundred and fifty thousand in the United States there were 8,000 at least on the rosters of the army, and most of those people were recent immigrants. They had not been here many generations. They fought for their country. Nobody tried to avoid military duty. On the East Side, in the Educational Alliance—and I come to that once more—we had young men clamoring for the privilege of enlisting during the Spanish-American War.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. In fact, they were among the very first who wanted to enlist.

Mr. MARSHALL. I remember that it is one of the traditions of Syracuse, where I was born, that in the early part of 1862 there was enlisted a company from one Jewish congregation, Company A. One hundred and forty-ninth Regiment, every man of whom was a Jew, and every one of whom came from abroad, foreign born, and some of whom had not even had time to become citizens.

Mr. BURNETT. I want to supplement that by a statement that in the South during the civil war a brave old Jewish friend of mine, Major Herzberg, of Gadsden, Ala., a major in the confederate army, was shot down and carried from the field of battle, thought to be in a dying condition. He lived for nearly forty years afterwards, and a few years ago died as the result of those wounds.

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes. Mr. Wolf shows that there were 8,000, and he has by no means exhausted the list.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Chairman, I would like to know whether you intend to give ample time for gentlemen here from New York and Providence to be heard? I suppose you intend to adjourn soon.

Mr. MARSHALL. I shall stop in two minutes. I think your suggestion is a wise one.

Mr. BENNET. I think the committee is very much interested. There is no idea of adjourning.

Mr. MARSHALL. The next thing is the illiteracy test:

"Persons over sixteen years of age, physically capable of reading and writing, who can not read and write English or the language of some other European country or Hebrew or Yiddish."

I think I have discussed the question of the illiteracy test sufficiently. A man's ability to work is not dependent upon the amount of learning he has. A man who has a willing mind and a strong body and a desire to work and to earn his livelihood is a man who is desirable; and, as has been suggested by Congressman Moore, the students, and the men of that type, the editors, etc., are not always the best citizens we can get. Some of them are anarchists. Many of them have been leaders of the anarchistic movement, and have done a great deal toward disseminating the seed of discontent. The man who works hard eight or ten hours a day has not much time for disseminating the seed of discontent. He does his work and gives value for what he receives. What more do you want? He will be educated. He has the opportunity of being educated after he is here; but so far as his usefulness is concerned, that is not dependent upon his ability to read or write. I have known men who starved in seven languages, and who were unable to earn their living. I had one write me a letter last night, a man who is a physician, a man of education, who does not know where to go for money to pay his rent. The industrious immigrant is able to fight his way, and he is not dependent upon the United Charities, and the statistics show here that we are not troubled by the recent immigration with respect to the question of pauperism. The almshouses of the State of New York have a very small percentage of recent immigrants. There are many more people in the almshouse of native-born origin than those of recent immigration. The smallest percentage, according to the statistics of the New York State immigration report, is composed of eastern and southern Europeans, so far as the almshouses are concerned; and as to the relationship of illiteracy and criminality, that subject has been fully discussed and established to the advantage of the immigrant by the argument made by Mr. Sulzberger.

Now comes another provision:

"Persons over sixteen years of age who do not bring a certificate of good moral character signed by and under the seal of the proper official or officials whose duty it is to keep such record in the community from which they come, which certificate shall state that such person has not been convicted of or in-

dicted for having committed any crime involving moral turpitude or been an inmate of any almshouse, insane asylum, or prison."

In other words, this requires that a man who comes to this country from Russia, or Roumania, for example, must bring with him a certificate of good moral character. Who gives him that certificate of good moral character? The police authorities, the public authorities. Gentlemen, do you think that people who are engaged in murdering the men of a certain race or of a certain class, and of stealing their property, are going to give certificates of good character to them? Do you think that that is such an easy thing to procure? Why, one of the noblest men of our time, Nicholas Tschaikovsky, could not get a certificate of good character from Russia; and Madame Breshovsky, one of the noblest women in all the history of the world, has been condemned to exile in Russia. She could not get a certificate of good character from that Government. Yet here we are trying to put upon the statute books of the United States a provision to the effect that before a person can be permitted to come here he must get a certificate of good character from such a government as that, or such a government as Roumania, which treats the Jews as aliens, although under the terms of the treaty of Berlin they were bound to be treated as citizens.

That applies to all classes. It is only another way of indirectly saying that we will stop immigration. If you are going to do it, if the Congress of the United States has made up its mind that it can afford to do it, do it openly and aboveboard, and say, "There shall be no more immigration;" but do not do it by indirection, by saying that a man must have \$100 when he can not get it; by saying that he must be "economically desirable," when you do not know what that is; that he must be able to stand the test of physical examination prescribed for recruits by the military regulations of the United States Army; that he must be able to read and write English or some other European language; and that he must bring a certificate of good character.

Let us suppose the case of a poor fellow who has just been driven out of his house and home in Odessa, or in any of these other places where "pogroms" are always being committed upon them. He says, "I have got to go to America. Now, what have I got to do in order to go to America?" He looks at the Elvins and Hayes bills; and I think he will blow out his brains. There would not be anything else for him to do, because he could not come here and he could not stay there. He is driven from pillar to post. He does not know what is required of him. He may be a man who is 5 feet 2 inches in height, and not knowing anything about the military regulations of the United States Army he may suppose that he would be required to pass the examination prescribed for the grenadiers of Frederick.

Other gentlemen here will discuss the question from other standpoints; but I have too much confidence in the good sense of the American people to believe that that kind of legislation is going to be put upon our statute books.

The extracts referred to by Mr. Marshall are as follows:

EXTRACT FROM NILE'S REGISTER, VII, 1817.

[P. 359.]

"We have room enough; let them come. \* \* \* But the emigrants should press into the interior. In the present state of the times we seem too thick on the maritime frontier already. Within there is ample and profitable employment for all, in almost any branch of business, and strangers should be encouraged to seek it there."—Industrial Commission Report, Volume XV, page 449.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MANAGERS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF PAUPERISM IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK, 1819.

[Report of the Industrial Commission, Vol. XV, pp. 449 and 462.]

First, as to the emigrants from foreign countries, the managers are compelled to speak of them in the language of astonishment and apprehension. Through this inlet pauperism threatens us with the most overwhelming consequences. From various causes the city of New York is doomed to be the landing place of a great portion of the European population who are daily flocking to our country for a place of permanent abode. This city is the largest importing capi-

tal of the United States, and a position from which a departure into the interior is generally considered the most easy and practicable. On being possessed of more extensive and active trade than any other commercial emporium in the Union, it naturally occurs to the minds of emigrants that we possess great means of employment. Our situation is peculiarly healthy and no local objection, either physical or moral, exists to arrest the approach of foreigners. The present state of Europe contributes in a thousand ways to foster unceasing immigration to the United States. \* \* \* An almost innumerable population beyond the ocean is out of employment and this has the effect of increasing the usual want of employ. This country is the resort of vast numbers of those needy and wretched beings. Thousands are continually resting their hopes on the refuge which she offers, filled with delusive visions of plenty and luxury. They seize the earliest opportunity to cross the Atlantic and land upon our shores. \* \* \* What has been the destination of this immense accession to our population, and where is it now? Many of these foreigners have found employment; some may have passed into the interior; but thousands still remain among us. They are frequently found destitute in our streets; they seek employment at our doors; they are found in our almshouses and in our hospitals; they are found at the bar of criminal tribunals, in our Bridewell, our penitentiary, and our state prison. And we lament to say that they are too often led by want, by vice, and by habit to form a phalanx of plunder and depredations, rendering our city more liable to increase of crime and our houses of correction more crowded with convicts and felons.

\* \* \* \* \*

It had early occurred to those interested in bettering city conditions that one means of relief would be to assist migration to the interior, to country districts.

This means, indeed, was suggested at the very time the immigration problem itself was formulated in the report of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, for 1819, already quoted from. The managers say:

"It would prove a great relief could means of employment be found (for the immigrants) when they enter our city. Many thousands who arrive in this country from Europe have been servants or manufacturers, and do not understand the art of husbandry; yet many arrive in destitute condition who have worked on the soil. A great many others are vigorous, healthy, and capable of learning the art of agriculture. Could some communication be opened with our great farmers and landholders in the interior, and ways and means be provided for the transportation of able-bodied foreigners into the interior and labor be provided for them, it appears to the managers that beneficial consequences might flow from the expedient. Many, very many, foreigners who are honest and industrious and who, for want of employment, are liable to become paupers, would gladly depart into the country and labor upon the soil or in workshops could they thus obtain a bare living. In this case our city would be somewhat relieved, the number on our criminal calendar diminished, and the emigrant now on the brink of pauperism, or begging alms and receiving charitable aid, become useful to himself and to the community. Instead of bringing up his children in idleness, temptation, and crime he would see them amalgamated with the general mass of our population, deriving benefits from our school systems, our moral institutions, and our habits of industry.

EXTRACT FROM REPORT OF ASSOCIATION FOR IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITION OF THE POOR, 1860.

[Report of the Industrial Commission, Vol. XV, p. 462.]

"They (the Irish) had an utter distaste for felling forests and turning up the prairies for themselves. They preferred to stay where another race would furnish them with food, clothing, and labor, and hence were mostly found loitering on the lines of the public works in villages and in the worst portions of the large cities, where they competed with the negroes, between whom and themselves there was an inveterate dislike, for the most degrading employment."

EXTRACT FROM A PAPER ENTITLED "IMMINENT DANGERS TO THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES THROUGH FOREIGN IMMIGRATION, ETC.," BY "AN AMERICAN"—S. F. B. MORSE, 1835.

(In speaking of the immigration of previous years as compared with that of the day:) Then, we were few, feeble, and scattered. Now, we are numerous,

strong, and concentrated. Then our accessions of immigration were real accessions of strength from the ranks of the learned and the good, from enlightened mechanic and artisan and intelligent husbandman. Now, immigration is the accession of weakness, from the ignorant and vicious, or the priest-ridden slaves of Ireland and Germany, or the outcast tenants of the poorhouses and prisons of Europe.

EXTRACT FROM AN OPEN LETTER TO AARON CLARK, MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY, SIGNED  
"A NATIVE," 1837.

When foreigners come to us in large bodies they are desirous of living together, and by that course they preserve the whole current of their prejudices and national peculiarities and never become transformed to our habits of thinking and acting. \* \* \*

Not one-half of their sufferings are made public. Living in small apartments, destitute of pure air, cleanliness, and wholesome food, they die in multitudes in every part of the country. \* \* \*

Our lands, under the culture of foreigners, will yield but little more than half as much as under our own husbandry.

EXTRACT FROM A MEMORIAL TO THE MAYOR AND BOARD OF ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, BY THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF NATIVE AMERICANS, JUNE, 1837.

\* \* \* During the last seven years 296,259 foreigners arrived at this port (New York) alone—equal in amount to the present population of the whole city. Sixty thousand five hundred and fifty-one arrived in the year 1836—double the amount that came in 1830. Four thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight arrived here between the 9th and 13th of the present month—June, 1837.

On the 1st of January, 1837, 982 foreigners and 227 native American citizens had been admitted to the hospital at Bellevue. The preceding year, on the 1st day of May last, there were in the almshouse 1,437 paupers. Allowing the same proportion of foreigners as in the hospital, there would be 1,068 foreigners and 369 native American citizens in the almshouse.

It appears from the report of a commission monthly appointed by the board of aldermen of this city that there are at the date of this report 3,070 paupers in the almshouse, more than three-fourths of whom are foreigners. How many more of this class live upon private charities? Let the swarm of mendicants who daily and nightly infest our streets attest.

\* \* \* At a recent date it appears that the number of convicts confined in Sing Sing were 800, of whom 603 were foreigners. \* \* \*

In the year ending in August, 1836, there were received in the Boston house of refuge 866 paupers, 516 of whom were foreigners. From the 1st of January to April 25, 1837, there were 264 paupers admitted to the same house of refuge, 160 of whom were aliens.

EXTRACTS FROM THE "ADDRESS OF THE DELEGATES OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION," PHILADELPHIA, JULY 4, 1845.

It is an incontrovertible truth that the civil institutions of the United States of America have been seriously affected and that they now stand in imminent peril from the rapid and enormous increase in the body of residents of foreign birth, imbued with foreign feelings and of an ignorant and immoral character.  
\* \* \*

But for the last 20 years the road to civil preferment and participation in the legislative and executive government of the land has been laid broadly open, alike to the ignorant, the vicious, and the criminal; and a large proportion of the foreign body of citizens and voters now constitute a representation of the worst and most degraded of the European population—victims of social oppression or personal vices, utterly divested by ignorance or crime of the moral and intellectual requisites of political self-government.

The almshouses of Europe are emptied upon our coast, and this by our own invitation—not casually, or to a trivial extent—but systematically and upon a constantly increasing scale. \* \* \* The United States are rapidly becoming the lazar house and penal colony of Europe. \* \* \*

EXTRACT FROM THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION, JULY 5 AND 7, 1845.

\* \* \* Believing that ruin, if it come, will come through a perversion and abuse of that right (suffrage);

Believing that such perversion and abuse to have already prevailed and to be now increasing to an alarming extent;

Believing that the greatest source of evil in this respect is to be found in the rapid influx of ignorant foreigners, and the facility with which they are converted into citizens. \* \* \*

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

[Vol. XV, p. 460.]

The almshouse returns show that about 86 per cent of the persons relieved by charitable aid are of foreign birth, of which 69 per cent were Irish and about 10 per cent German, or nearly 7 Irish to 1 German. As the Irish population, however, is nearly twice that of the German, the actual ratio is about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  Irish to 1 German, and 5 Irish to 1 American.<sup>a</sup>

In chronic pauperism, as contrasted with that temporary condition of want requiring relief into which any immigrant might fall while going through the process of industrial adjustment, the Irish were far in the lead. A confidential list published by one charitable society, of cases on their hands for three years and over, and giving names and addresses, showed that the great bulk of such cases were Irish. On this list, comprising 650 names, there were only 4 which could be recognized as distinctly German; of the rest, all might, and a great majority must, have belonged to persons of Irish birth or descent.

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

[Vol. XV, p. 464.]

The crude impression, then, that the less crowded a country the easier and more rapid is the dispersion of population would seem to be quite the reverse of the truth. There was apparently a greater tendency for immigrants to remain in seaboard cities in 1817, when the interior was an untrodden wilderness, than in 1860. The fact seems to be (within limits and subject to modifications) that as the population increases and becomes more highly organized adjustment to the social framework and dispersion from cities become easier of accomplishment. Thus, in the first half of the nineteenth century the opening of the wilderness, the growth of manufacturing industries in interior towns and cities, the development of transportation and ways of communication by mail and telegraph were all means of facilitating the passage of the emigrant from the place where his presence was not desired and his labor not especially needed to places where his presence was particularly objected to and his labor was greatly needed.

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

[Vol. XV, p. 455.]

"So large are the aggregations of different foreign nationalities," the report goes on to say, "that they no longer conform to our habits, opinions, and manners; on the contrary, create for themselves distinct communities, almost as impervious to American sentiments and influences as are the inhabitants of Dublin or Hamburg. \* \* \* They have their own theaters, recreations, amusements, military and national organizations; to a great extent their own schools, churches, and trade unions; their own newspapers and periodical literature."<sup>b</sup>

\* \* \* The inhabitants of the district were largely of foreign birth; about one-half the population were Irish, about one-fourth Germans, the remainder were Americans, Swedes, and Danes. About two-thirds of the population were laborers and mechanics with their families; the remainder were retail shopkeepers and keepers of hotels and sailors' and immigrants' boarding houses. A large element of the population was a floating one, consisting of travelers, immigrants, sailors, and "vagabonds without a habitation and almost without a name."<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Report of Association for Improvement of Condition of the Poor, 1860, p. 49.

<sup>b</sup> Report of the Association for Improvement of the Poor, 1867, p. 42.

<sup>c</sup> Report Council of Hygiene, p. 5.

CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES.

[By J. P. Thomson, Boston, Osgood, 1873.]

A very large percentage of vice and crime in the United States, especially in the great cities, is chargeable to European immigration. The police statistics of New York show that the vast majority of prisoners arrested for criminal offenses are of European birth, and of these, again, the great majority are natives of Ireland. Thus, reared under the European systems of state religion, prisoners, baptized, taught and confirmed in state churches or, as in Ireland, reared under the imperious ecclesiastical authority of Rome, become outlaws of American society. America owes to Europe those two deadly foes of evangelical religion, Romanism and Rationalism; while Mormonism is recruited almost entirely from northern Europe.

Hence the feeling is quite prevalent in the United States that a system of state religion tends toward practical heathenism and unbelief; that its training tends to substitute forms and dogmas for a personal religious faith, and its restraints and compulsions tend to produce a reaction against all belief; while the free religious system of the United States develops in church members the sense of personal responsibility and the spirit of religious activity; and the exhibition of these commands the respect of the community for religion and infuses into society a healthy moral sentiment, which in turn sustains the state in enforcing essential morality by the authority of law.

NOTE.—Of 80,532 prisoners arrested by the police of New York in 1867, only 27,156 were of American birth; and of the 53,376 foreigners who disturbed the peace of the city, 38,128 were Irish. From 1860 to 1868 there were within the precincts of the New York metropolitan police 706,288 arrests. Of these there were 204,129 Americans, the foreigners numbering 502,159, of which 373,341 were Irish. This preponderance of foreign-born criminals is peculiar to New York, where naturally the worst elements of immigration would remain. The same ratio appears in the country at large.

The following facts are authentic. In prison in the United States on June 1, 1871, there were 32,901 prisoners, thus distributed:

Native whites -----	16, 117
Colored people -----	8, 056
Foreign born -----	8, 728
<b>Total prisoners -----</b>	<b>32, 901</b>
Native white population -----	28, 111, 133
Colored population -----	4, 880, 009
Foreign-born population -----	5, 567, 229
<b>Total population -----</b>	<b>38, 588, 371</b>

showing that (assuming all in prison to be criminals) there is at least 1 criminal in every 1,172 of the population, 1 in every 1,744 of our native white population, 1 in every 637 of our foreign-born population, and 1 in every 605 of our colored population.

When European journals picture crime as abounding in the United States, they should have the candor to add that, though foreigners compose only one-sixth of the total white population, they furnish one-third of the white criminals, and, in the ratio of criminals, are on a level with the ignorant and degraded negroes.

**Their crimes are not a fruit of American society.**

## Growth of cities (population in thousands).

[Encyclopedia of Social Reform, New York, 1908, p. 234.]

[Encyclopedia of Social Reform, New York, 1908, p. 234.]

City.	1800.	1850.	1890.	1900.
London.....	958	2,362	4,211	4,536
New York.....	62	600	2,740	4,014
Paris.....	546	1,053	2,448	2,714
Berlin.....	173	378	1,578	2,033
Tokyo.....				1,818
Vienna.....	232	431	1,341	1,674
Chicago.....		30	1,099	1,698
Philadelphia.....	81	408	1,047	1,293
St. Petersburg.....	270	490	1,003	1,373
Constantinople.....	300	400	873	1,125
Moscow.....	300	360	822	1,092
Bombay.....	150	560	821	1,125
Rio de Janeiro.....	125	170	800	872
Calcutta.....	800	400	741	776
Hamburg <sup>a</sup> .....	120	205	711	750
Manchester <sup>b</sup> .....	90	308	703	543
Buenos Aires.....	70	120	677	1,000
Glasgow.....	77	329	658	735
Liverpool.....	82	376	518	684

<sup>a</sup> Including Altoona.<sup>b</sup> Including Salford.

## Population in cities of 100,000 or over.

[Encyclopedia of Social Reform, New York, 1908, p. 235.]

Country.	1800, <sup>a</sup> total population in such cities.	Per cent of population.	1850, <sup>a</sup> total.	Per cent.	1900, <sup>a</sup> total.	Per cent.
United States.....			1,393,338	6.0	14,208,347	18.6
Canada.....					397,870	7.4
Great Britain and Ireland.....	1,032,745	9.7	4,791,886	<sup>b</sup> 22.5	13,193,487	30.5
France.....	767,386	2.8	1,656,900	4.6	4,876,869	12.2
Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria.....	186,380	1.8	617,000	<sup>c</sup> 3.1	<sup>d</sup> 9,108,814	<sup>d</sup> 16.1
Holland and Belgium.....	217,622	<sup>e</sup> 11.5	518,587	<sup>e</sup> 7.3	2,337,714	19.4
Spain.....	167,607	1.4	683,921	4.4	1,606,699	8.7
Portugal.....	350,000	9.5	275,826	7.2	447,417	8.9
Italy.....	800,000	4.4	1,425,000	6.0	3,318,939	10.0
Austria.....	282,000	2.6	484,942	2.8	2,452,351	9.3
Hungary.....			156,506	1.3	565,763	2.6
Greece.....					111,485	4.5
Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.....	100,975	( <i>f</i> )	123,123	( <i>f</i> )	876,069	8.8
Russia.....	595,000	1.4	1,123,698	1.6	5,723,918	5.3
	4,448,000		13,249,987		58,567,788	

<sup>a</sup> Approximate date. <sup>b</sup> England and Wales. <sup>c</sup> Prussia. <sup>d</sup> Germany. <sup>e</sup> Holland. <sup>f</sup> Sweden.

## Population of cities of 20,000 or over.

[Encyclopedia of Social Reform, New York, 1908, p. 235.]

Country.	1800, <sup>a</sup> total population in such cities.	Per cent of population.	1850, <sup>a</sup> total.	Per cent.	1900, <sup>a</sup> total.	Per cent.
United States.....	201,416	3.8	2,271,680	9.8	20,795,716	25.2
Canada.....			175,287	7.4	689,448	11.9
Great Britain and Ireland.....	2,283,868	<sup>b</sup> 16.9	7,640,912	<sup>b</sup> 35.0	21,000,000	48.3
France.....	1,840,386	6.7	3,811,500	10.6	8,668,036	22.2
Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria.....	845,500	<sup>b</sup> 6.0	2,784,000	<sup>c</sup> 7.8	<sup>d</sup> 14,300,000	25.4
Holland and Belgium.....	721,342	<sup>e</sup> 24.5	1,382,703	<sup>e</sup> 21.7	3,587,525	28.9
Spain.....	1,112,877	9.7	1,489,688	9.6	3,600,000	19.3
Portugal.....	380,000	10.3	415,286	10.7	470,006	8.7
Italy.....	1,000,000		2,500,000		5,000,000	15.1
Austria.....	449,000	3.5	720,000	4.2	4,044,000	14.1
Hungary.....	228,000	2.3	526,602	4.5	1,709,698	8.5
Greece.....	31,125				212,762	8.8
Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.....	173,627	<sup>f</sup> 3.0	297,795	<sup>f</sup> 3.4	1,238,326	12.2
Russia.....	1,088,000	2.4	2,530,954	3.5	10,792,247	8.4
	10,355,141		26,546,955		96,103,364	

<sup>a</sup> Approximate date.  
<sup>b</sup> England and Wales.<sup>c</sup> Prussia.  
<sup>d</sup> Germany.<sup>e</sup> Holland.  
<sup>f</sup> Sweden.



*Some comparative statistics.*

[Encyclopedia of Social Reform, New York, 1908, p. 234.]

City.	Popula- tion.	Area.	Density per acre.	Death rate.
		<i>Acres.</i>		
London.....	4,654,437	75,575	61	16.6
New York.....	4,014,000	197,760	20	18.2
Paris.....	2,714,000	19,259	142	17.2
Berlin.....	2,033,000	15,676	130	16.9
Vienna.....	1,674,000	43,980	38	18.3
Chicago.....	2,050,000	121,920	17	16.2
Philadelphia.....	1,500,506	82,880	18	21.2
St. Petersburg (with suburbs).....	1,487,000	71,679	20	23.7
Hamburg.....	872,000	94,693	9	17.9
Manchester.....	631,185	19,893	31	21.3
Glasgow.....	798,778	12,796	63	21.2
Liverpool.....	710,337	17,792	40	22.6

	Year.	Popula- tion per square mile.	Population of United States if as thickly populated (approx- imately.)
United Kingdom.....	1906	359.65	1,600,000,000
Germany.....	1905	290.40	870,000,000
France.....	1905	189.80	570,000,000
Italy.....	1904	303.70	900,000,000
Belgium.....	1905	629.60	1,770,000,000
Austria.....	1905	235.03	680,000,000
Hungary.....	1905	160.36	460,000,000

NOTE.—While there is no telling how large a population this country could actually support, there is no doubt that there is ample room in this country at this time, without overcrowding, for from two hundred and fifty to five hundred millions.

Mr. SABATH. If you will permit me, I desire to say that there are present a number of gentlemen representing numerous Slavonic and Slavic organizations. They have been here since yesterday, and most of them are obliged to leave because of arrangements which they have made before leaving their respective homes. I have promised to secure for them a portion of the time of the committee so that they could be heard, and present their views on these bills, and I most respectfully insist that they be heard.

Mr. Svarc, I believe, is obliged to leave this evening, and I think he would like to address the committee briefly. He represents some of the Slavonic and Slavic organizations and societies.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. I think he should be heard now.

Mr. SABATH. Therefore I ask that Mr. Svarc be given an opportunity now to address the committee.

Mr. BENNET. We will be glad to hear Mr. Svarc.

**STATEMENT OF MR. VEN SVARC, OF CLEVELAND, OHIO.**

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Svarc, what association or society do you represent?

Mr. SVARC. I have the honor to speak to you in behalf of the National Slavonic Society of the United States, numbering about 40,000 members. They are scattered all over the length and breadth of the land; and also in Canada, where there is the largest Slavonic organization in the world.

I do not believe, speaking generally upon the immigration problem, I can add very much to the able and cogent arguments which have been advanced by those who have preceded me to-day, whom I have had the honor to listen to. I shall speak but briefly about the Slavonic immigrants who come from Austro-Hungary, particularly. There seems to be a widespread delusion about the undesirability of the later comers from Europe, and we are at a loss to understand just what is meant by the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe.

The Slavonic immigrant—and by that term I would include the members of the various Slavonic nations which go to make up the Slavic race—is not really a newcomer to America; and it is related in history that if George Washington

had married Miss Phillips, of Yonkers, N. Y., he would have married the descendant of a Bohemian family, and consequently the Slavs to-day would be in very close relationship with the father of his country; for the Phillipses were Bohemian immigrants who came to this country in the seventeenth century. In those early times the exiles who were scattered throughout the world after the thirty years' war numbered a great many Bohemian immigrants who came to the shores of America; and as I am aware of the fact that one of the members of your committee comes from the State of Alabama, I believe if you will refer to De Schweinitz's History of the Unitas Fratrum, or Moravian United Brethren, you will find that those Bohemian exiles of those days contributed their part to the development of the South, as well as to the development of the State of Alabama; for one of the exiles was one of the first pastors in the city of Savannah, Ga. They sent their missionaries through the South. They sent them through the civilized world, and one of the members of that same church, the Moravian church, was one of the greatest Indian missionaries the world ever knew. They also furnished a missionary to Greenland, who left the impress of his work there, and who died in the south of the United States.

Mr. BURNETT. The very first female college there ever was in the South was founded by a Moravian missionary association.

Mr. SVARC. So that we who are of Bohemian blood, and I am proud to say that I am a descendant of a Bohemian family—my parents were immigrants—feel that we have done something in the development of this great land of ours. The Bohemians were probably the first Slavic people to immigrate—that is, in large numbers. They started to emigrate to the United States after the great revolution that swept Europe in 1848, and by 1880 the great bulk of the Bohemian immigrants had already come to the United States. After them began to flock the other various Slavonic nations. The Poles followed the Bohemians, and then came the Slovaks from upper Hungary, and later on have been coming the Slavones of western Austria.

Still later came the Croatsians, the Servians, and the Bulgarians, of southern Europe. So that the Slavic immigration to-day forms one of the great problems and constitutes, next to the Italians, I believe, the largest individual force of immigrants that is coming over.

I have been very much interested in the remarks of Mr. Marshall here pertaining to the tests that have been laid down in this bill which has been discussed, viz, the illiteracy test and the test of the amount of money that an immigrant is to bring over with him. I assure you, gentlemen, that if some of these tests, particularly the money test, had been in effect heretofore, the Slavic immigration to this country would to-day be a very negligible quantity.

It seems to me that when a bill is introduced in the Congress of the United States which contains the elements of the Elvins bill we are certainly departing very widely from the traditions of the fathers who established this Republic—the traditions that ought to be part and parcel of every American heart and every American mind. For there is not an element of our population—I do not care what it is—that did not come over because their ancestors were compelled to leave the home country by stress of political or religious persecution in some manner or other. After all, the great bulk of the American population are the children of refugees. We are the children of exiles in every stage of American history. And when you put down the qualification of literacy, or when you put down the qualification of the amount of money that an immigrant must have, even though you may be doing it in the belief that you are endeavoring to assist in building up the future of this country of ours, you are making a sad mistake. For if you stop to think you must come to the conclusion that a man is often not illiterate because of his choice; a man is often not illiterate because of his own indolence, but the economical, industrial, and political situation and environments which surround him have made him so.

Take the Slovak of upper Hungary, who is being ground between the upper and the nether millstones of political oppression, who is being persecuted because he dares to speak his mother tongue, because the Magyar would make the country homogeneous and deprive him of the language of his fathers. He has not even an opportunity to go to school. Imagine the situation that exists with the child of a nation that is not allowed to teach its own mother tongue at home, when that child has not the opportunity to learn that tongue, and with the greatest difficulty must learn a tongue which is foreign to him in every respect. Imagine how much that sort of a person has the opportunity to acquire a literary knowledge, however elementary it may be.

Mr. BURNETT. May I interrupt you right there? And yet, under all those conditions, less than 1 per cent of the Bohemians over 14 years of age that come to this country are illiterate—one in a hundred.

Mr. SABATH. Yes; that applies to the Bohemians.

Mr. BURNETT. Why is it that their neighbors, under the same conditions, could not acquire at least a rudimentary education?

Mr. SVARC. It is for this reason: In Bohemia they have autonomy; they have the management of their own schools. The Bohemians have been leaders in education. The Bohemian nation furnished the world one of its greatest educational reformers, a teacher who to-day is a model in education—John Amos Comenius. They have been noted for that. Having control of their own schools, they can educate their children. But the Slovaks of upper Hungary are enthralled. They have a hostile government which is trying to denationalize them; a government which has taken away from them all the elementary schools as well as the higher schools. They have absolutely nothing to say in governmental matters. They can not even protest; they dare not protest, for when they do they are cast into prison. They absolutely can not control the situation as far as education is concerned.

Mr. BURNETT. Then the same condition does not apply to them that applies to the Bohemians?

Mr. SVARC. No.

Mr. BURNETT. I asked that for information.

Mr. SVARC. That, gentlemen, is also true of every nation in that part of Austria-Hungary which is ruled from Budapest. They are seeking now to denationalize the Croats. They are seeking to denationalize the Roumanians in the East. In fact, the great denationalizing policy is rampant there at the present time, and has been ever since 1868, when the Magyars received the power by dividing the Empire into two sections, and began ruling the part across the river Leitha from Budapest. Since 1868 these peoples have been deprived of the opportunity to learn their mother tongue. You can imagine that when a sudden crisis arises where they can not learn their mother tongue, and a totally foreign language is impressed upon them, it takes some time before the situation is cleared up so that they have an opportunity to gain an elementary education. I was wondering, gentlemen, when I read in the bill the provision that the immigrant must have a knowledge of the language of some European country what test would be put to the immigrant as to what country's language he knew.

Mr. BURNETT. It may be any under the educational test.

Mr. SVARC. Yes; but it says "the language of a European country."

Mr. BURNETT. Does it not even say "or a dialect?"

Mr. SVARC. It is not clear in that respect. That is the point I make. Suppose the Slovak came here knowing the Magyar tongue, which is forced upon him, and not being able to write in his own tongue, never having had that opportunity, he would, ipso facto, be excluded.

Mr. BENNET. It says "English, or the language of some other European country."

Mr. SVARC. Yes; but that is not the language of his country.

Mr. BENNET. I understand that.

Mr. BURNETT. It does not say "of his country."

Mr. BENNET. It may be some other European country.

Mr. BURNETT. Then I would understand that to mean that if he could read the language of any European country, whether his own or any other, he would be qualified.

Mr. SVARC. The situation arising under that act would be such that these poor people, who through no fault of theirs are illiterate, would be excluded; and I assure you, gentlemen, that they form one of the most valuable elements of our population. Take the Slovak race as a whole. I think I can safely say, without any hesitation, that it has formed one of the most valuable elements in our population. You can not complain of the distribution of the Slovak immigrants throughout this country. You will find them all over, extending from New York to San Francisco. You will find the Bohemian farmer scattered throughout Nebraska. You will find him in every county in Nebraska. You will find him in the broad fields of Iowa. You will find him in the Dakotas. You will find him in Minnesota, and you will find him in Wisconsin.

Mr. BURNETT. There are many of them in the district of my friend from Texas, Mr. Moore, and he tells me that they are very fine farmers.

Mr. SVARC. And you will find them in Texas. I wish to say that in my own home county of Cuyahoga, in the State of Ohio, they are moving away from the city to the farms in northern Ohio. They are going back to the soil. The Slovak is employed at some of the hardest kinds of labor. He works in the mines of Pennsylvania, and he works in the mines of Ohio and Illinois. When that great accident happened at Cherry, Ill., they became martyrs to their calling. You will find them working in the mines of upper Michigan. You will find them scattered throughout the whole breadth of this land, wherever hard work is required and wherever strong muscle and brawn are needed. They are the later comers. But take the little nation of Slovenians—there are not very many of them even at home; but do you know that that little nation has, for instance, furnished three bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Minnesota and in the Dakotas alone—a handful of people? These people are not newcomers, because they came over in the fifties, and settled up there in Minnesota. Of course their stream of immigration has been coming to us since that time. You will find the Croatians; you will find the Servians (people coming from what the restrictionists call southern Europe); you will find those handsome specimens of humanity, the Servians of Dalmatia, coming over here—men who tower 6 feet and more. Some of them are sailors—the finest specimens of manhood that come to our shores. When you seek to learn where they have gone you will find them working in the mines of the West; you will find them in Nevada, you will find them in Arizona, you will find them in Colorado, as well as throughout Pennsylvania.

These people are newcomers. They have not yet begun to leave the hard and arduous work which they have undertaken. But sooner or later they, too, are going to gravitate to a higher and better sphere. But, as my predecessors have stated, besides brain, besides education, and all that, you have got to have men in this country who are going to do the hard and arduous work which some of us, I know, are not very prone to undertake. And in order that we may get this element, which is going to develop this country and which has been developing this country, I need not apologize for the Slovak immigrant, because I know that his presence has been a blessing and a boon to the country. I know from personal experience in my home city of Cleveland, Ohio, what the foreign immigrant has done there. That is a city three-fourths of the population of which, probably, is made up of the foreign born and their children—a city which you might say was built up by the immigrants. These very immigrants have made the city of Cleveland, Ohio, the metropolis of the State. They have made it the greatest city between New York and Chicago.

From the standpoint of sociology, I believe that those same immigrants will make a showing second to none in the matter of their personal conduct, in the matter of criminality, and all that. I do not care where you go, you will find that the Slovak immigrant contributes no more than can be expected of him as to criminality, as to pauperism, and all that.

I am often amused, in thinking about the complaint which is made against the immigrant generally, that he furnishes paupers and that he furnishes criminals, by the fact that these gentlemen who are criticizing the immigrant from that standpoint fail to remember that the immigrant is only human. He is just as human as the native born. Being human, he has his criminals and he has his paupers. But, as has been so ably demonstrated before you here to-day by preceding speakers, the immigrant does not contribute any more toward pauperism and toward criminality than what is to be fairly expected. Bringing the energy that he does, bringing the intelligence that he does, bringing the brawn and bringing the muscle that he does, sooner or later he is bound to rise in the scale, and is bound to become a useful American citizen.

We must have in this country the drawers of water and the brawlers of wood, and we are getting them. If the United States is to go on and is to prosper, there should be no more restrictive legislation placed upon the books. We believe that the law as it now stands is more than sufficient if properly administered. And on behalf of the people whom I have the honor to represent here to-day, we protest against any further restrictive measures. We do it not from a selfish standpoint; we do it because we love this country of ours and we do it because we love humanity.

I thank you.

(After an informal discussion as to who should be the next speaker, it was announced that the committee had decided to limit the duration of each speech to fifteen minutes.)

## STATEMENT OF MR. LEON SANDERS, OF NEW YORK CITY.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Chairman, I appear before you as grand master of a Jewish fraternal organization having a membership of 134,000 persons living in different parts of the United States. The executive board of that organization, at a special meeting held last Monday night, adopted resolutions protesting against the passage of any restrictive immigration law, believing that the existing laws are in themselves sufficient to protect this country against undesirable immigrants, and that all that is required is a proper interpretation of the law in a humane sense. This organization has directed me to come here; and I am glad to be given the opportunity to express my views, particularly upon two of the questions that are under discussion.

One of those questions is in regard to the illiteracy test. I notice that the gentlemen who have spoken here to-day with regard to the illiteracy test have spoken on the subject as they understand it and as they know it. But none of them are born Russians, and they do not understand the conditions that prevail in Russia as I do, since I myself am an immigrant who arrived at this country something like twenty-eight or twenty-nine years ago. I was compelled to come here by the Russian "pogroms." I was obliged to flee from my native place, and all that I had with me was just my clothes. I came here to this strange land, a stranger among strangers, with no relatives or friends to help me. And if we had then had upon our statute books any such laws as are now sought to be placed there by the bills that are under consideration by your committee I feel that I would have been one of those unfortunates who would have been sent back to a place where I could not go without risking my life.

The illiteracy test is one to which we object, because we feel that it will be particularly harmful to those who have made our best citizens since they have arrived in this country. Under the laws of Russia the Jews are compelled to live within a certain pale—within certain settlements allotted to them. No school can be opened by them unless it receives the sanction of the Government. That sanction is very seldom given, and only a certain percentage of the Jews are permitted to take advantage of the schooling. The result is that only those who can afford to buy their way in or who can afford to bribe the officials have an opportunity to get an education. The others are compelled to pick up what education they can from their parents or older brothers or other relatives.

These people who have come here have become Americans by choice. They have come here to better their condition. They did not come here to exploit the country and get its benefits and send them back to Europe. They have come here to stay. They have given the best that there is in them to make this country greater and better.

Speaking for myself as one of these immigrants (as I said, I came here twenty-eight years ago), I have done my share, and I assume that I represent thousands of others who have done their share, to try and make this country a better country and a good country to live in. Many laws that now are on the statute books of the State of New York are laws that I had the honor of introducing, and which were passed at a time when I had the honor of serving in the legislature with Mr. Bennet, of your committee. Since then I have been elevated to the bench. An opportunity was given to me such as is given to every one of those who came here with the intention of becoming American citizens, becoming Americanized, and imbibing the full spirit of our American institutions.

We object to this illiteracy test, as I say, for the reason that it is going to work a hardship upon those who make up our best citizenship. It will keep away from this country thousands of people who are seeking America as an asylum, and are seeking to give all that they have to give—their brain, their brawn—for the purpose of developing the resources of the country.

As to the head tax, I can not understand that this country is in such a bankrupt condition that it requires a tax from the poorest of the poor—those who come here to better their condition—in order to help meet its expenses. If a head tax is intended for the purpose of preventing undesirables coming here, it needs no argument on my part to show its futility. Those who come here who have succeeded in robbing their neighbors are very well able to pay a head tax, but for the man who flees with nothing but his life to have the gates of America shut in his face because he has not sufficient money will be a crying outrage. It is entirely un-American. It is something that no man proud of his citizenship in this country can countenance.

We object to the bill for these reasons. We feel that the Congress of the United States ought not to be false to the traditions of this nation—that there is room enough in the United States for all those who seek this country as an asylum, for all those who flee from the oppressor's hand, and there are plenty of localities where they can improve the country and at the same time improve their own condition.

I have traveled somewhat through the United States. I have seen where our people live. I have seen the opportunities of which they have taken advantage, and I know that everywhere they have made the best kind of citizens. Everywhere they have mingled with the people, and have become Americans in spirit and in every possible way. Our people do not permit immigrants to become subjects for public charitable institutions. In the city of New York we do all that we can to prevent congestion. We do all that we can to prevent them from becoming public charges. The Hebrew Shelter and Immigrant Aid Society, of which I have the honor of being president, and which has charge of the Jewish immigrants that come through the port of New York, maintains an immigrant home, where the immigrants who are permitted to land are given a place where they sleep, are given meals, and are given employment. If they have not any trade, we try to teach them a trade; and we keep them there until they become self-supporting. We try to send them out through various portions of the country.

If you gentlemen who reside in New York, or who have occasion to come to New York, would visit our place on Monday and Thursday nights, you would see hundreds of immigrants sitting there listening to lectures as to the opportunities to be had in other portions of the country outside of the city of New York. You would see the stereopticon views that are shown to them of large cities outside of New York. Many of them imagine that New York City is the whole of the United States of America. When they are shown these things the result is that thousands of them leave New York. Many of them take advantage of the opportunities given to them by the organization to which our friend Mr. Sulzberger refers, because they require financial aid to help them go to certain places outside of New York. In the case of those who have their own funds, thousands of them go to different portions of the country; and everywhere we hear nothing but good reports about them.

We strenuously object, as much as we possibly can, to the enactment of any laws which will have a tendency to restrict immigration. The laws are good enough as they are. All that we require is humane interpretation. All that we require is to have at the head of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and as its representatives, men who have hearts—hearts that feel for the unfortunate; hearts that will not keep out of the country the desirables, and will not shut in the face of the oppressed of the peoples of Europe the opportunities that they can have here. We want them there. The country has lost nothing by immigration. The country has gained; and there is lots of room for them.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. ABRAM I. ELKUS, OF NEW YORK CITY.

Mr. ELKUS. Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the committee, with your permission I should like to take up and answer one or two questions which were asked by members of the committee with reference to the working of the present act and its administration. That subject is germane to the present inquiry, because after you hear what I have to say from actual experience of how the present act operates you will readily see how much more serious and how much more difficult and oppressive will be the operation of the proposed act.

In the first place, as you all know, in the present act we have a provision that a man shall not be admitted who is liable to become a public charge. I propose to touch lightly upon one or two cases which have come within my own personal experience, and give you the facts about them in order that you may see how that provision operates.

A man came to this country who was 33 years old, and had a wife and two children, whom he left in Russia. He only had with him \$4.95. He was in splendid health. He was excluded on the ground that he was liable to become a public charge. An appeal was taken in his case to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. The appeal was not sustained; it was dismissed. When we came to look into that case, what do you suppose we found? That while the man had only that amount of money with him, he owned in Russia (a most unusual thing) the house he lived in and land that was worth over 4,000 rubles (about \$2,000), and that he told the immigration commissioner: "If you will

let me cable home, I can have \$500 remitted to me by cable." Yet that man was excluded; and he was on the ship, about to be deported and sent back as an undesirable alien, when, with the intervention with the writ of habeas corpus, we forced the commissioner to admit him.

That was only one of four cases which we took up as test cases. We picked out four cases at random from a batch of over 50 men, I think, who were ordered to be deported.

Mr. BURNETT. Was this man a Jew?

Mr. ELKUS. He was.

Mr. BURNETT. A Russian Jew.

Mr. ELKUS. A Russian Jew.

Mr. BURNETT. I thought in Russia they did not permit them to own land.

Mr. ELKUS. I thought so, too; but he owned it. In some parts of Russia, I believe, they can.

Mr. SANDERS. Within the pale?

Mr. ELKUS. Within the pale; yes.

Mr. BENNET. And in certain cities within the pale.

Mr. ELKUS. Another man of that lot had only a few dollars in money, but he had left a business at home—

Mr. MARSHALL. It is a leasehold. In certain places they have no right to own the land itself, but they have a leasehold interest.

Mr. ELKUS. Anyway, there was not any doubt that he had that money; and after the commissioner of immigration in New York had investigated the facts he consented to his admission. Through some higger-muggery of the law they withdrew their order of deportation (although somebody said it could not be done), and those men are now useful residents of this country.

There was at the same time another case of a man who was excluded because he had only a few dollars with him. He was young, able-bodied, active, and belonged to a skilled trade; yet he was excluded. It was found that he had a large and successful business in Russia. He was a representative of the best class of immigrants that come here, yet he was excluded under that elastic phrase, that he was "liable to become a public charge."

What would have happened if we had had the "economically undesirable" clause in addition?

Mr. SABATH. Will you pardon me right here?

Mr. ELKUS. Certainly.

Mr. SABATH. I understand, Mr. Elkus, that you are a lawyer?

Mr. ELKUS. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. I had a case brought to my attention only about three weeks ago, where 20 Bulgarians arrived in Galveston, Tex., the youngest 18 years of age, the oldest 35. They were all able-bodied. They had more than \$800 among them (about \$40 apiece), or somewhere near that amount. They were deported, because the commissioner there ruled that they were liable to become a public charge, because there was no immediate demand for them there.

Mr. ELKUS. I will tell you something worse than that, sir.

Mr. SABATH. Do you think that was a proper and fair and just ruling on the part of the officials of the immigration department?

Mr. ELKUS. I certainly do not; and I will tell you a worse case than that.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Elkus, I know that you have studied this law more particularly recently. Do you find anything in the law that justifies a board of inquiry to pass on the question as to whether there is an economic demand for the immigrant in the place of landing?

Mr. ELKUS. No, sir; I do not. Not only that, but I say that no higher official has such a right. I told the Secretary so, and Mr. McHarg said to me: "I would admit some of these men if they were going somewhere else than to New York." I said: "How do you know they are going to stay in New York? The fact that they say they have a cousin or a brother-in-law somewhere in New York or in Philadelphia does not prove that they are going to stay there. What business is it of yours, because you think they will be useful in some other part of the United States, to determine that you will admit them if they will go there, even if they have not got a dollar?" He said: "Well, I never looked at it in that way." But the point was this, and the whole trouble arose in this way, and you will see just what would happen if we had a statute containing such loose language as the one referred to here:

The commissioner in New York issued an order—we call it a rule, but he said it was an "intimation"—which was practically to the effect that no immigrant

should come here and be admitted who did not have \$25 in cash with him. He said: "I am going to raise the standard of inspection." Well, of course, after that broad "intimation" (if you want to be polite about it) every immigration inspector went to work and began to see how many immigrants he could keep out. Instead of asking these men, as was their duty, questions which would bring out all the facts, they asked them the bald and naked question: "How much money have you got with you?" If you take a poor Russian immigrant, coming over here after going through what he has gone through with the Russian officials, and ask him how much money he has with him, which is usually followed by "Show it to me and give it to me," what do you think the result will be? Why, naturally, most of those men, even if they had a couple of hundred dollars in their pockets, would say, "Four dollars and ninety-seven cents," because they would be afraid the next question of this uninformed official would be, "How much of it can I have? or you can not get in."

Mr. SABAETH. That also applies to the Poles that come in here, and to others, does it not?

Mr. ELKUS. Every one of them. I do not mean to limit it to Jews or to Russians. It applies to every one of that kind of men.

When the inspectors got that "intimation" from the head of the office, they began to see if they could not live up to it. Commissioner Williams himself, after he got through investigating these cases on the facts that were laid before him, told me that one of the great troubles of his office was that his subordinates were not sufficiently competent to fulfill their duties. I said: "Then why do you not permit these men, who are on trial, really, for their liberty"—because it means liberty for them to enter this country—"to have counsel down here, who would bring out these facts?" If you will read the records in those cases, you will find that they are enough to astound any man who is used to a fair trial or a fair hearing on any question. They ask the baldest, simplest questions; and then they throw the burden on the poor immigrant, and say to him: "Why didn't you prove these facts?" They expect him to do that, with no knowledge of the law, with no knowledge of his rights, with no permission to have anybody to help him.

So much for that.

Mr. BENNET. And a prohibition in the rules against any lawyer charging him more than \$10.

Mr. ELKUS. We can give him all the lawyers he wants, because there are so many of us in New York—among others yourself, Mr. Bennet, or Judge Goldfogle—who would be only too glad to help any deserving immigrant who wants to come in. That \$10 limitation may be a good thing and it may be a bad one; but we are not quarreling with that so much as we are with the fact that a lawyer is prohibited from going down there when the man is on trial and assisting him in the way a lawyer best can assist a man—by bringing out all the facts.

One of the gentlemen asked here what was being done in New York toward making these men go out on the farms, teaching them to be farmers, and teaching them trades. That is a work that I have been particularly connected with, as one of the trustees of the Baron de Hirsh fund. I wish you gentlemen who think nothing is being done to make the young Jew from the East Side a farmer would come to Woodbine, N. J., some day and see that farm school there. I wish you would come and see these young men from the much-defamed East Side of New York—young men from 18 to 25 years of age, who have saved up enough money, earned by hard work, to be able to go there and learn to become farmers, or farmers' assistants, farmers' helpers. They stay there six months or a year, or two years, and graduate to the number of 75 a year, and go out all over the country as farmers' assistants. I wish you could read the letters the superintendent of that school has, not alone from these boys, but from their employers, asking for more help of the same kind, and praising those that have been sent to them. I wish you could read the letters from the boys themselves, from all over the country, telling of their successful life as farmers. So great has been the success, not alone of the school, but of the boys as farmers' assistants, that the superintendent wrote me the other day that he had found places a month before graduation for every boy who graduated this spring. The superintendent (a man of education and character and learning) is a Russian refugee, who fled from Russia by reason of one of the "pogroms" which have been alluded to here. He is a man of the highest culture and the finest type, who landed here without a dollar in his clothes.



I suppose if he came to-day, or a few days ago, he would be excluded because he did not have \$25, on the ground that he was liable to become a public charge.

Mr. SABATH. That would apply to two members of this committee.

Mr. ELKUS. Yes, sir; and it would have applied to my own father. My father came here, and he did not stay in New York, either. He went down to Alabama.

Mr. BURNETT. To Alabama?

Mr. ELKUS. Yes, sir; he went to Mobile, Ala.

We have another school in New York—a trade school. It is not a school where we turn out at the end of four or five years skilled mechanics or gentlemen who are fit to be superintendents, but after a course of training of six months as machinists, as electricians, as carpenters, or as painters, the pupils are turned out to become journeymen. And I should like to refer here to the argument or suggestion that has been made that these men cut down the wages of the others. As a matter of fact, they all become members of unions.

A typical instance of what is accomplished by the young men who go through that school was shown the other day. In 1904 a young man came to this country, a Roumanian Jew, at the age of 18. He entered that school in 1905. He was there six months, taking the course as an electrical worker, and graduated. He wrote the other day that at the time he entered he earned \$4 a week as an errand boy. When he left he was able to earn \$12 a week as an assistant electrician. A year afterwards he wrote that he had joined the union and was receiving \$5 or \$5.50 a day. And the other day he wrote that he had successfully passed a competitive examination and had received a position in Chicago as an electrical instructor at a salary of \$2,000 a year. There is the case of a poor Roumanian Jew coming to this country, absolutely ignorant, not knowing anything at the age of 18, and now, at the age of 23, he has achieved that distinction.

Mr. SABATH. I wish to add that Chicago does appreciate all these people and appreciates their work. It is always easy for them to obtain such positions in our great city.

Mr. ELKUS. I am very glad to hear it.

I think the cry about congestion that has been so much uttered is really very much of a false alarm. There are many Jewish farmers in and about New Jersey and I know of many instances where they have been successful farmers. I was told the other day of a farmer near Woodbine, a Russian refugee, a man with five or six children, who had been farming down there, I believe, for five or six years on a farm of 15 acres and had managed to support himself and his family nicely. He had his own home and had saved a thousand dollars in one year. That is the type of Jewish farmer that is going around the country, and I think it is a type that ought to be encouraged.

Now, gentlemen, the hour is late and there are others who want to speak.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. You can go on, Mr. Elkus, if you have anything further.

Mr. ELKUS. I have just a few more words.

Mr. BENNET. May I ask you a question, Mr. Elkus?

Mr. ELKUS. Surely.

Mr. BENNET. Is not the question as to where these people go very largely an economic question—a question of supply and demand?

Mr. ELKUS. Very much so; and it is also a question of getting to this country and finding out, after they get here, what can be done. And that leads me right to a topic I want to touch upon: I think it was one of the provisions of the immigration law that a compilation of the statutes and of the decisions should be made from time to time. There has not been one made for many years—I think for nine or ten years. That has caused a great deal of misinformation to be given to immigrants or intending immigrants, not only before they leave their native country, but after they arrive here. They do not know exactly of the possibilities and the probabilities of this country. If some information—not rose-colored or gold-colored, but plain, concise information—could be given to intending immigrants in their native land as to the possibilities of success in different parts of this country, there would not be any problem of congestion worth talking about.

As Mr. Marshall said, and as Mr. Sulzberger pointed out, these men have not any particular desire to stay in one city, or in one State, or in one part of the country. They would just as soon make their homes in the West or in the South. No doubt you have all had that called to your attention by reason of

the immigration to Galveston. They go there in great numbers, now that they have been diverted there by means of private enterprise.

Why should not this Government, through some one of its officials, and through proper channels, disseminate such information in a broader and wider and a more authoritative way, so that more of these immigrants—not alone Russians or Jews, but those from all parts of Europe—would go to those parts of the country that the Government thinks need immigration?

The fact that the country needs immigrants for its work has been amply demonstrated. There can not be any question that certain parts of the country need immigrants. I was told by the managers of several of the New England mills that they welcome the immigrants there as workers in the mills; that they have found that they rapidly become Americanized and become citizens.

As to their becoming Americanized and becoming citizens in New York, it is only necessary to go to any of the public schools, the night schools, and the private schools that are provided by the educational alliance, to see how eager, how anxious, how more than willing, every one of these men and women and children is, not only to become acquainted with our language and our customs, but to become thoroughly acquainted with the spirit of Americanism and to try their best to become American citizens of the real type. That they value their franchise when they get it is beyond dispute, because it is the great East Side that over and over again has decided municipal elections and presidential elections. There they think before they vote. No party can claim them absolutely as its own, because they, of all men, since they never had the right to exercise the franchise before they came here, really value it.

That they read at times newspapers printed in other than the English language is so. One man said to me, when I spoke with him on the subject: "I work from 7 in the morning until 8 at night. I have learned English with great difficulty, because I came here when I was over 40 years old. I would like to read the English newspapers, but I find it difficult to read when I am tired. I want to know what is going on in this country, however, and so I read what I can read easily." But each day he had set for himself a task of reading something in English, so as to force himself to learn it. So eager was he for knowledge of passing events—and he showed by his conversation with me in English how much he knew of what was going on in the world—that not only did he read the stint he had set for himself in English, but he read the Yiddish newspaper. He did that so that he might know what was going on.

Is not that man to be encouraged? Is he to be forced (if we could force him to do so) to read only something that with difficulty he understands after his long day's work?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. These papers printed in Yiddish, to which you have reference, are well edited, mold public opinion, tend toward the Americanization of the people who read them, convey to them the news of the day, and in other respects operate to inform their readers, just as do the papers published in English. Their publishers have the means to carry on the papers; they receive the news over the telegraphic wires just as do the other papers. In short, they are regular newspapers of street and stand and mail circulation. Is not that so?

Mr. ELKUS. Entirely so; entirely so.

There is one other subject that I wish to touch upon, and then I shall have finished.

Mr. ADAIR. Just a moment. I may have been misunderstood by you when I asked one of the other gentlemen as to what effort was made to instruct and teach these people to read the English newspapers. I did not mean to say, or even to insinuate, or have it understood that I thought that they ought not to be permitted to read newspapers published in any language. I think they should. I think that if they are not able to read the English language, they should read newspapers published in the language they can read, in order that they may know what is going on in the country. Under no consideration would I take their newspapers away from them. I would be with their newspapers like I would be with Judge Goldfogle's tobacco. I would not want to take his tobacco away from him. I suppose he has a right to chew if he wants to chew. [Laughter.]

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. I do not happen to smoke. [Laughter.]

Mr. ADAIR. I am very willing that they shall have their own newspapers and read them. I only asked the question so that I might know what effort was made toward encouraging them to take up the English language and be able to read the English language.

Mr. ELKUS. Why, every effort is made. I think the best evidence of their desire to learn is this: I should think the person who would be least likely to have the time or the inclination to study a foreign language would be a woman who came to this country at the age of 30 or 35, who is the mother of four or five children, and who has little or no spare time. Yet, if you will go to the Educational Alliance in New York City on certain hours in the morning, you will find large classes of those women, those mothers, stealing away the hours from their children to come and learn not only English, but American customs and American ideas.

Mr. ADAIR. That is very commendable indeed.

Mr. BENNET. Just describe how large a building that Educational Alliance is.

Mr. ELKUS. It is a 5-story building at the corner of Jefferson street and East Broadway.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Yes; at Jefferson street and East Broadway. It is in my district.

Mr. ELKUS. I suppose it is about 50 by 150.

Mr. SABATH. It is about the same size as our Jewish Institute in Chicago.

Mr. ELKUS. You took away our superintendent. [Laughter.]

Mr. MARSHALL. And it is used so much that the stairs, which are stone, are badly worn.

Mr. ELKUS. Yes; the stone stairs are worn through.

Mr. BENNET. And the building is devoted entirely to educational purposes.

Mr. ELKUS. I want to give you an idea of the boys' zeal for Americanism. In the village of Woodbine everybody is a Jew. Even the policeman is a Jew. They have a fire company there; they have everything to teach the children civic pride and the whole American idea; and they run it very well. They have a boys' school there, outside of the public schools, to teach them the elements of the Jewish language and the Jewish religion. The little boys—8, 10, and 12 years old, and under 13—had a teacher there who only spoke Yiddish; and the boys would not go to the school until they got a teacher who spoke to them in English. [Laughter.]

Mr. SABATH. That is good.

Mr. ELKUS. They said they would not talk Yiddish any more; they were Americans. That is the spirit of it; and it is a true example of what the real spirit of these boys is. You never saw in your whole life anybody more anxious to get rid of the Russian taint than these boys and these men and women who come from Russia, and it is that spirit which pervades all of them who come here.

Why should you put such tests upon those children, or their brothers or sisters or fathers who want to come here, to try and keep them out? If you make any such provision in an act as that anybody who is "economically undesirable" is to be kept out, just imagine what is going to take place at Ellis Island. The three immigration inspectors will solemnly convene. Inspector So-and-so will say: "Mister, how much money have you got in your clothes?" The man will say: "I have got a dollar and ninety-eight cents; I have got fine health and constitution; and I am a carpenter by trade." "Excluded as economically undesirable!" Or perhaps he has not a certificate of good moral character. There has been some reference made to certificates of good moral character. From what I know and from what I have read—and I am sure those of you who have been to Russia will agree with me—I assume that those certificates will be framed and ready for sale, and the price will be according to the frame that goes around them. If it is gilt-edged, it will cost so much. If it is only framed in plain wood, it will cost so much less. [Laughter.]

Mr. BENNET. There will not be any framed in plain wood.

Mr. ELKUS. No; they will insist on something more expensive.

Mr. BURNETT. There is nothing in the law, I believe, that requires any framing.

Mr. ELKUS. The frame will be the ornamentation for which the charge will be made.

Mr. BURNETT. That will show that they are economically desirable? [Laughter.]

Mr. ELKUS. Yes, sir. That will be the economical part of it.

Another suggestion was made here by one of the members of the committee who is not here now; but I will answer it, anyhow. He asked with some particularity as to whether or not the immigrants who came here did not have a feeling of resentment against the Government. He did not put it quite as

strongly as that, but that they were rather gathered together here with a feeling of some sort against the law. It is my experience, from seeing some of these men, and from what I have learned from others—because I know a great many who have given up their time, and some of them have really given up their lives, to work among the poor and these people on the East Side of the city who are recent immigrants—that there are no more law-abiding people anywhere than the Russian immigrants and the Roumanian immigrants. They respect the law. They are tenacious of their rights when they believe they are right, but they are easily handled. In the case of the shirt-waist strike, which was referred to, I was told by one of the ladies who was interested in them that these girls who had lately landed in this country showed the most surprising knowledge of the law and of their rights; and not only that, but they showed a strict desire to live entirely within them. So I think I can say without exaggeration or fear of contradiction that all these immigrants absolutely respect the law, respect its spirit, and obey it.

In the last twenty years the city of New York has made wonderful strides in commercial success and in advancement, not only from a money standpoint but from an artistic standpoint. Twenty years ago we had large tracts of land on the outskirts of the city that were wastes and deserts. They are now peopled by hundreds and thousands and hundreds of thousands of citizens—respectable, hard-working, obeying the law. Most of those are Russian immigrants and Roumanian immigrants, or their descendants. Who can say but that the great success of the city of New York is due to the much-despised Russian and Roumanian immigrant, or the immigrant who comes from Europe? Who can say that without them those desolate places would now be so thickly populated by men who have done so much to add to the wealth of the country?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Generally speaking, the immigrants have contributed to the welfare and the upbuilding of the city; have they not?

Mr. ELKUS. Undoubtedly.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. That applies generally to them all?

Mr. ELKUS. The Italians, the Germans, and so on.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Why certainly.

Mr. ELKUS. Look at the great parts of the city that the Germans have built up, and that the Italians have built up. There is one section in the city of New York, on the upper east side, that is almost entirely populated by Italians. They, too, a great majority of them, become law-abiding citizens of the community.

I thank you, gentlemen, for listening to me so patiently at this late hour.

Mr. SABATH. I desire to ask you one more question, if you will permit me.

Mr. ELKUS. Certainly.

Mr. SABATH. I have observed (and, in fact, everyone else has) that our trade and our exports have been increasing wonderfully, and that we are to-day doing business in every corner of the world. Do you not believe the fact that we have people in this country who are familiar with the various languages in itself aids us in reaching and doing business with the different nationalities and different sections of the world, through the fact that we can send our agents out to do business with these various countries who speak their own language?

Mr. ELKUS. Undoubtedly.

Mr. SABATH. I have noticed an article in the report of Mr. Barrett, the Director of the Bureau of South American Republics, in which he does not by any means discourage people from learning various languages; in fact, he encourages it. He believes that if the people were familiar with the languages that are spoken in the South American Republics it would aid us a great deal in enlarging our business with the South American Republics. Are you of the same opinion?

Mr. ELKUS. I am. Undoubtedly it facilitates business—the familiarity, not only with languages, but with methods of procedure, which is obtained by intercourse with those countries.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. MAX J. KOHLER, OF NEW YORK CITY.

Mr. KOHLER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, we have heard something said about the effects of the present administration of the law. As an attorney, and a member of the advisory board of the organization of which Judge Sanders is the president, and also, years ago, as assistant United States district attorney in New York, I have had occasion to give quite a little attention to that branch of the law.

We notice, first of all, that according to the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 10,000 persons, roughly speaking, were excluded last year, about the same number the year before, and about 13,000 the year before that. In this connection I wish to refer to the group of cases that Mr. Elkus referred to—these habeas corpus cases of which we were going to make test cases, and would have done so but for the fact that the Government took our test cases away by admitting the men. We wanted a construction by the courts of the words "person likely to become a public charge." But the men were discharged between adjournments. Those cases show that the greatest amount of misunderstanding prevails in administrative circles to-day, and also on the part of the immigrants, or prospective immigrants abroad, as to what our law requires.

I fully agree with Mr. Elkus that even now a great many persons are improperly excluded. I have here the reports of that society, covering about 25 separate cases out of about 100 excluded cases, decided in January and February, 1910. In each of the 25 cases, on a proper test of the law, if we could have gotten into court, the men would have been admitted, as having been excluded without rhyme or reason. But the law makes those decisions nonreviewable unless you can show an utter lack of due process of law. But assuming (as is undoubtedly true) that the large majority, say, 75 per cent, of those exclusions are justified, those persons ought to have an opportunity, before they come over here, to know what our law is.

Congress has had that matter in mind several times. In the last immigration act, the act of 1907, in section 1, it was expressly provided that some of this head-tax money should be utilized for the preparation of digests of the decisions of the courts upon the immigration laws, which, of course, means their publication. We find the same provision in an earlier act—section 1 of the act of 1903. Curiously enough, the digest has never been published, notwithstanding the mandate of Congress on each of those occasions. There is to-day no recent government compilation containing even the determinations of the courts or of the bureaus of the Government as to the meaning (very often more or less uncertain, as applied in practice) of such words as "pauper," "person likely to become a public charge," and the prepaid-ticket provision. There is no compilation giving those constructions later than one published in 1899 by the Treasury Department, which I sought for in vain in every public office in New York and in the libraries there.

So much is that provision of law observed. It is most important that the meaning of these terms, as they have been construed by the courts and the department, should be made known abroad, so that an immigrant who is debarred by those provisions may know what our law is. It was certainly the purpose of Congress to have this or similar compilations published before the persons are allowed or induced to come over here. They do not want to waste all their substance and their time in coming here if they are likely to be debarred. They ought to have an opportunity of knowing what our law is; and the mandate of Congress ought to be observed in those respects. Unfortunately, the amendment that was made last year, I think, which provided that the head tax should be turned into Congress in general instead of being kept as a separate fund, may possibly justify the present position that there is no necessary mandate.

MR. BENNET. That appropriation expressly provided that it was for the purpose of carrying out the act of 1907.

MR. KOHLER. Oh, there is no question about that. It ought to be done. It is probably merely an oversight. Nobody has been interested in the matter. Incidentally, if we had a compilation of that kind it would be valuable also to the Government officers because it would show them what the courts and the highest authorities in the department have said as to the proper meaning of these more or less indefinite terms of the law. Ever since the famous Massachusetts bill of rights it has been recognized that this is a government of laws, and not of men; and where can we get proper judicial and other authoritative constructions of these indefinite terms aside from the courts and authoritative decisions based upon their holdings? So it is most important that we should have that done.

While I have given you the number of exclusions here, it is interesting to note a matter that seems to have been quite overlooked. In the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1907 he calls attention to the remarkable fact (I have the exact reference to it here; it is on page 83) that over 65,000 persons were refused tickets abroad because of the presence of the medical de-

fects which the law specifies, as disclosed by the examination of the steamship companies there. That is five times as many as were excluded here. That refers only to medical defects. As to the rest of the possible reasons for exclusion—that they may be paupers, or that they may be persons likely to become a public charge, or that they may be subject to the so-called prepaid-ticket provisions of the law, etc.—they are never even disclosed to the poor immigrant, particularly the Russian Jew, who has to cross the frontier clandestinely to get here at all. He certainly is not going to get correct and good advice on that point from the runners of the steamship companies that may help him across the border. So this very important matter would simply tend in the direction of enforcing our own law; but it has simply been neglected and disregarded, as many other provisions for the benefit of the immigrant unfortunately have been.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Kohler, this number of 65,000 represents only intending immigrants who have paid for their steamship tickets in whole or in part; so there is no index at all as to the much greater number that have been refused permission to even buy tickets. These are the names that were scratched off of the manifests after the tickets were purchased.

Mr. KOHLER. I was not even aware of that. The report of the Industrial Commission of 1891 shows that in a prior year there were 50,000 such cases, according to the Government's calculations; but that only deals with those where the medical examination disclosed the defect. Prospective immigrants ought, in common decency, to be advised of what our law is. Incidentally, as I have attempted to point out, it would also have the effect of enlightening a great many of our subordinate immigration inspectors as to their duties.

Mr. BURNETT. Let me ask you a question there, Mr. Kohler. Who furnished that information?

Mr. KOHLER. The Government itself made an investigation of the matter.

Mr. BENNET. Do you mean in the case of those 65,000?

Mr. BURNETT. Yes.

Mr. BENNET. They took them from the manifest lists as they came from the countries where the law requires that there shall be thirty names on the list. There were thirty names, but a good many of the names were stricken off. They were refused after the purchase of the ticket because they were inadmissible.

Mr. BURNETT. If that is true, if the steamship companies went to the trouble to do that, why should they not furnish the information as to the other causes for which others were turned back? Why could they not have done that just as easily?

Mr. KOHLER. They are penalized as to one matter, viz, bringing diseased aliens over here. They are not penalized for the other, and have not any interest in the other.

Mr. BURNETT. As to those coming under contract and all those things?

Mr. KOHLER. They are penalized if they knowingly bring people here under those conditions, yes; but not where they bring them and simply close their eyes to what an examination might disclose.

Mr. BENNET. You have to prove that they knew it.

Mr. BURNETT. I should think, if you got it from the manifest, that that would disclose the whole number that were turned back.

Mr. BENNET. No; it discloses only those that paid for their tickets, and thus got on the ship; but when they came to be examined at the ports of embarkation abroad it was found that the steamship company would be fined if they were brought here, and they struck their names from the list and gave them their passage money back. There were 65,000 of them.

Mr. SABATHI. That worked a hardship on these people, did it not?

Mr. BENNET. Why, of course. Some of them came three or four hundred miles to get to the ship.

Mr. SABATHI. Should not the steamship companies inform these people beforehand, before they accept any money from them, before the people part with their homes and with all that they have?

Mr. BENNET. You will find that in almost every foreign country they are now attempting to reach exactly that situation by statute. Under the Austrian statute, in the year 1907, I think there were something like 100 steamship agents sent to jail for violating the law of Austria in just those particulars.

Mr. KOHLER. But the indefinite provisions of our statute are such that we ought to have constructions by the courts, or other authoritative officials, such

as were published by the Treasury Department in 1899 in the document I referred to, but not since, notwithstanding the mandate of Congress.

There is a great deal of mistake and blunder, working great injustice to the immigrant, in connection with the so-called prepaid-ticket provision. When that was reported to Congress some language was used which throws more light upon the matter than anything else I know of. I will read a few lines from that. It is from the report of the committee on the act of 1891, page IV:

"Those assisted by friends from this side of the water are the best class of immigrants, for they have relatives or friends who will care for them in their untried surroundings. But the immigrant assisted from the other side usually has no friends here; and if any on the other side, their chief interest is in getting rid of what is likely soon to become a burden."

The report goes on to say that the assisted-ticket immigrant should not be put in a prohibited class, but that our experience has been so unfortunate that it would seem prudent that he should be required to show affirmatively that he does not belong to one of the excluded classes.

That was the intent of the law. It was very badly phrased, though; and this is the way it works in practice:

First of all, the law says that persons shall come over here subject to the burden of affirmatively proving their right to come, when their ticket was purchased with the money of another. What does that mean? The more intelligent man, who has relatives and friends here, who sends his money here to them to buy the ticket, presents a ticket bought here. At once it is said, "Here is a ticket bought in this country; it has been paid for by the money of another," though the immigrant himself may have sent the money—which is, of course, utter folly. Our laws here throw some safeguards on the purchase of tickets, and still we have this ridiculous blunder.

Next, the law did not contemplate that if a man borrows money on his own property, that is a ticket paid for with the money of another.

But waiving that, and the uncertainty as to what that provision means, we come to the next clause, which has caused the utmost folly. The law simply says that the burden shall be upon such alien to show affirmatively that he is not within any of the prohibited classes. The law, however, does not give counsel to the poor alien coming over here ignorant of our language and of our laws. It does not tell him beforehand what our law is. And I actually heard it seriously stated by an inspector of immigration at Ellis Island that when he attempted to question an immigrant holding a prepaid ticket as to whether he did or did not belong to any of these prohibited classes, he was reproved and told: "Why, the law says he must affirmatively show that, and you have no business to assume the burden for him."

When we have such extraordinary conditions as that, we see how important it is to have a fair and proper administration of the law, which would work for the benefit of those desiring to exclude undesirables as well as avoid this gross injustice that is now being done to a great many deserving immigrants.

I come next to the bonding provision, about which I want to say a few words. The bill which you have under consideration follows in part, at least, the recommendations of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, in which he says that in general immigrants should be permitted to land on bond; and he points out two arguments which are deserving of serious consideration against the taking of bonds. He says that the pecuniary responsibility of the bondsman is often doubtful; and he says, in addition to that, that the people frequently disappear, change their names, and are lost track of.

With regard to the first objection, it is the simplest thing in the world to require proper sureties. The constitutional right to bail may be thwarted in the same way, but I do not think a court will have much patience with that argument. It is perfectly capable of requiring only a surety company bond or a proper real estate bond with large equity. That is an abuse that can be very easily disposed of in administration.

Next, with regard to the claim that the people disappear. As an administrative matter, it is the simplest thing in the world to insert a clause in the bond that the person shall report periodically, every six months or a year, and forfeit the bond if he does not do it.

Mr. BURNETT. Report to whom?

Mr. KOHLER. To the immigration officials who have charge of the bond, or anyone else who may be designated.

Mr. BURNETT. Suppose he is in Minnesota, a thousand miles away?

Mr. KOHLER. The Government has officers at every place, every port and every city. It is easy to arrange that.

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Kohler, that provision in the report is purely speculative. There never has been a case in the history of the country where they have endeavored to enforce a bond where they have met with any of these difficulties that they anticipate may arise.

Mr. BURNETT. Have they ever enforced them?

Mr. BENNET. Oh, yes; they have enforced them on a few occasions.

Mr. KOHLER. There is a very able opinion by Mr. Justice Brown in a case in the Federal Reporter on that (56 Fed. Rep., 427); and there have been cases for nearly one hundred years in Massachusetts and in New York involving those bonds, and they have been repeatedly enforced. When a doubtful case is presented—and there are many of them—that is the best possible guaranty against the person's becoming a public charge. Some one else with adequate means is made surety for the man, to help him along. Why should not such a bond be taken liberally and fairly, instead of speculating as to the man's possibly becoming a public charge?

Mr. BURNETT. What kind of bonds have you to suggest—the bond of a guaranty company or the bond of an individual surety?

Mr. KOHLER. I think it would be proper to require a surety-company bond or an adequate bond from the owner of real estate having an equity in it—such, for instance, as is required in criminal cases under our New York penal code.

Mr. BURNETT. If you have an individual surety, it is often the case that the individual becomes bankrupt. If you require a guaranty-company bond, it would impose an almost impossible hardship on all the immigrants.

Mr. BENNET. Oh, no; they are furnishing these bonds right along.

Mr. KOHLER. The surety companies are freely giving such bonds, and it is not once in a thousand or ten thousand cases that an individual surety becomes bankrupt. That is an ordinary business risk that everyone takes in other things.

Mr. SABATH. Why should not the same kind of a bond be accepted by an immigration commissioner or the immigration authorities that is accepted by various state courts and other courts, viz, a real-estate bond?

Mr. KOHLER. I think it ought to be.

Mr. SABATH. Why should the authorities, as Mr. Burnett says, impose this additional burden upon these people who are not in a condition to pay the fee? I have been informed that some of the insurance companies and bonding companies charge as much as \$40 to sign such bonds. I should like to know whether that is really being enforced now or not.

Mr. BENNET. There is no statute requiring surety-company bonds.

Mr. SABATH. Why should an order be given that only a surety-company bond will be accepted?

Mr. BENNET. There is no such law.

Mr. SABATH. I know there is no such law; but such an order has been given, as I understand.

Mr. BURNETT. By whom?

Mr. SABATH. By the commissioner, Mr. Williams, if I am not mistaken.

Mr. KOHLER. It is practically impossible to get any bonds taken to-day except surety-company bonds.

Mr. BENNET. That is true.

Mr. KOHLER. But there is no law about it.

Mr. BENNET. There is no law about it; and the only man who has any say about it is the Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

Mr. KOHLER. And to-day, in the United States circuit court of appeals for the second circuit, in New York, a case is being reargued in which the claim is made (which I think is likely to be sustained) that the department to-day is unjustifiably and unreasonably and contrary to law refusing individual bonds almost invariably, misled by this specious reasoning to which I have referred.

I just want to say one word more in connection with the illiteracy test that has been referred to. It has been commonly thought among almost all persons familiar with the Jewish immigrants, particularly, that there are practically no male Jews in this country who are illiterate. The figures given in the report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration show that there is an appreciable percentage on arrival, as was shown to-day. This is due to the fact that in Russia, particularly, the Government studiously refuses to permit them to get the education they want. Our private agencies here do everything conceivable



to help those immigrants along after landing. They acquire a knowledge of English or other languages—chiefly English—so rapidly that the impression upon those that I have referred to is that there are no Jewish illiterates. I happen to be honorary secretary of the Baron de Hirsch fund. The work that we subsidize in the Educational Alliance for immigrant classes has been referred to, but we now have similar classes in every large place in the country where there are Jewish inhabitants. We subsidize classes in Boston; we subsidize classes in Philadelphia; we subsidize them in Baltimore; we subsidize them in St. Louis, and in Pittsburg, and in Chicago, and we are now going to do so in Cleveland.

The keenness of the zest of these immigrants, who have been deprived of the opportunity of learning to read and write in Russia, is indicated by the fact that we have to have special summer classes in New York for the immigrants who are unwilling to wait until the night schools open. In New York, with the enormous number of Jewish pupils, the night schools are open between October and April only. We had during the past year 25 classes in New York running nights during the hot intermediate summer months which were attended by 2,346 Jewish immigrants who were not willing to wait until October to learn English. The Educational Alliance, which we subsidize, also has about 25 special immigrant day classes having 1,076 students, who are prepared for the public schools, in order to get there quicker. The course is in no event longer than two years for any of them. A number of adults also attend special adult day classes.

So that almost everything conceivable is being done to Americanize the Russian and Roumanian Jewish immigrants and make them good citizens of the United States. We are acting along those lines by subsidizing different organizations throughout the United States, because we want to stimulate each locality to do the work instead of bearing the total expense ourselves. What we contribute is only a fraction of what is raised for that purpose in all the different places.

I think, therefore, that the law proposing an illiteracy test would answer absolutely no useful purpose, certainly as far as the Jewish immigrant is concerned. As soon as he comes over here he almost invariably acquires a knowledge of reading and writing, which possibly in some cases he has not got when he arrives here.

Mr. SABATH. Does not that also apply more or less to all the other nationalities—to the Poles, and to the Slavonians, and to the Bohemians, and to the Croatians?

Mr. KOHLER. My information is that it does; but my special knowledge is with respect to these Jewish organizations with which I am connected. The night-school classes in New York, of course, are enormous. Even now the College of the City of New York has opened a night college course, because of the large number thirsting for knowledge even in its highest forms. There is no danger at all that the alien immigrant coming over here will remain alien—alien to our thoughts and our citizenship.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Reference was made in the hearing to-day to the character of the examination of the immigrant on landing.

Mr. KOHLER. Yes.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. The method was greatly criticized by some of the speakers here.

Mr. KOHLER. Yes.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. I understand that you have some comments to make concerning that. We shall be glad to hear you.

Mr. KOHLER. I think that branch of the law requires important administrative corrections. The Ellis Island Commission, appointed by President Roosevelt in 1903, called attention to the fact that the words of the statute specifying that the examination before the board of special inquiry shall be separate and apart from the public do not and were not intended to exclude interested friends, such as representatives of the charitable organizations that are active at Ellis Island, or counsel, or other persons of that kind. They were simply intended to prevent a multitude interfering with the transaction of business. Notwithstanding that fact, counsel is refused before the board of special inquiry in its earlier stages; and the immigrant is left entirely without an opportunity even intelligently to understand this process, this trial, involving practically his liberty. And what is more, the statute provides that on the appeal, if he takes one, the evidence shall be limited to what was adduced

before the board of special inquiry. So the immigrant, without counsel and without knowledge of our laws, even on the appeal, when he is given counsel, is ridiculed in that fashion, by the requirement that even the evidence on the appeal can not be different from that before the board of special inquiry. I want to say to the credit of Mr. Williams (some of whose other actions I have had occasion to criticize) that he has, in a measure, overcome this last hardship by granting new hearings before boards of special inquiry in cases that strike him as proper; so that evidence can now be supplied in cases that he approves of.

Mr. BENNET. That was the intent of the law. Prior to the amendment information unfavorable to the immigrant was sometimes adduced before the commissioner; and it was thought to be fair that all the evidence should be before the board, and that where new evidence was attempted to be introduced the case should be sent back to the board, and the alien should have a chance to refute it.

Mr. KOHLER. Of course part of that course proceeds on the theory that the law allows evidence against the immigrant to be taken outside of the board of special inquiry. The statute says that all the evidence must be reduced to writing before the board, and it is that evidence that is to be taken up on appeal. But we know, as a matter of fact, that all sorts of extraordinary misstatements concerning the immigrant crop out in the letters of recommendation which the commissioners of the various ports make to the department, having no basis of fact in the evidence, and which, therefore, the immigrant can not meet, even when he has counsel.

Mr. BENNET. There is a great deal done that is not in the law. There is no law whatever for the letter that the commissioner invariably sends accompanying the appeal.

Mr. KOHLER. The law says his views are to be given. I think that is in the statute itself.

Mr. BENNET. No; I think you are in error about that.

Mr. KOHLER. It is in the regulation, anyhow, if not in the statute (rule 7).

Mr. BENNET. That may be. There is no law for the hearing which the commissioner gives after the board of inquiry has made its decision.

Mr. KOHLER. No; instead is this new method of rehearing cases before the board of special inquiry.

Mr. BENNET. The intent of the statute was that the board of special inquiry should pass on the matter, and that from its decision there should be an appeal to the Secretary through the Commissioner General; that if there was to be any new evidence adduced the case should be sent back to the board of special inquiry, and that the evidence should be there adduced, and on the record in each instance the appeal should be taken.

Mr. KOHLER. In the group of cases that Mr. Elkus referred to, which culminated in four habeas corpus cases (though there were 20 cases almost precisely alike that came up at the same time), a request was made for a personal hearing, because it was an important matter, before the Secretary of Commerce and Labor; or, in default thereof, for an opportunity to submit briefs. Before we knew of it, before any letter was sent in answer to our request granting either one or the other, all of these men were ordered deported, and 16 of them had, in fact, been deported before we could do anything. It is most important that the different charitable institutions represented on Ellis Island should have a right to have their representatives present freely and adequately at the hearing before the board of special inquiry. We want daylight, and we want publicity, and we want justice, and there is no reason whatever why they should be denied. The matter was thoroughly thrashed out before the Ellis Island Commission that President Roosevelt appointed some years ago. It is a most important matter that there should be an opportunity to bring the administration of the law more in accord with the law of the land and have it a government of laws and not a government of whim and caprice.

I will admit that the total number of these exclusions is only from 1 to 2 per cent; but the injustice done to the individual excluded is irreparable, and no man can tell who will be visited by such miscarriage of justice. We find that about 25 per cent of the Jewish exclusions at Ellis Island—and it is undoubtedly the same with regard to the non-Jewish ones—are unjust and not warranted by this digest of immigration-law decisions published by the Government in 1899, containing the decisions of the courts as well as the rulings of the department.

Mr. BENNET. Does not the law require that an excluded alien shall be notified, if it is an appealable case, of his right to appeal?

Mr. KOHLER. It does; yes.

Mr. SABATH. But it is never done?

Mr. KOHLER. In rare cases it is not done. I have heard of cases where the entry was made after the alien had departed from the trial room. It is generally done.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Do you mean to say, Mr. Kohler, that after the alien is deported they notify somebody that there is a right of appeal?

Mr. KOHLER. No; what I refer to is this: After he has departed out of the court room, in order to comply with the regulation requiring notice to be given, an entry is made on the minutes; and, naturally, one reading that assumes that the immigrant is still present in the court room. But in some cases, practically, he does not know of it. I do not think that happens very often.

Mr. BENNET. When it does happen, it is an absolute violation of the statute?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Of course.

Mr. KOHLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. BENNET. There is no statute that I am aware of that prohibits him from having counsel other than that vague language.

Mr. KOHLER. No statute at all; and that is the report of the Ellis Island Commission. But I am not so much interested in counsel and the expense of having counsel. I do want, though, to have the representatives of the charitable organizations of the different nationalities handling immigration matters at Ellis Island officially recognized by the Government afforded an opportunity freely and fairly to be present and let the light of day in upon the proceedings of the board of special inquiry in every case. That is our procedure as to all trials outside of immigration matters, and it has worked well wherever the Anglo-Saxon law prevails.

Mr. BENNET. There are 48 agents of such societies at Ellis Island, I believe.

Mr. KOHLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. BENNET. You mean to say that they are excluded from the trial?

Mr. KOHLER. They are excluded. Everyone is excluded, except as a stray curiosity seeker may happen to interest the officials in his desire to go through Ellis Island, and may thus see for a moment what is happening.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. What as to the interpreters?

Mr. KOHLER. They have interpreters of various nationalities, and I understand that they try to do their duty honestly. They are present, depending upon the language the witness speaks.

Mr. BURNETT. Are there a great many cases that go to the board of review?

Mr. KOHLER. The board of special inquiry?

Mr. BURNETT. Yes.

Mr. KOHLER. Yes; there are; and the number has been increasing enormously since Mr. Williams has been in office.

Mr. BURNETT. Would it not take an interminable length of time if counsel were allowed to appear? Is not that the reason—on account of the fact that they have not the time to give hearings in all these cases?

Mr. KOHLER. The counsel of these representatives are very eager to be present. The fact is that it is not deemed expedient, as I understand it, to allow anyone else in. But it is a clear misconception of the law, which President Roosevelt's Ellis Island Commission called attention to in their printed report, but the matter has not yet been remedied.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Will you give us one case in point where you know an injustice to have been done by reason of the failure of the immigrant to have counsel and to be properly advised?

Mr. KOHLER. I have here 25 cases of the past two months.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Just give me one case in point—a sample case.

Mr. KOHLER. Here is a case which I have picked out—the case of Jacob Granat, 19 years of age, who came over on the steamer *Blucher*. He was a teacher; single; his country is Galicia. He was destined to an uncle, H. Granat, living at 199 East Seventh street, New York City. He had \$32 in cash. His passage was paid by himself. Why that man should have been excluded, when this is a full and fair transcript of the case, I can not tell.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. What was the ground assigned for his exclusion?

Mr. KOHLER. He was excluded as likely to become a public charge.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. How was it possible that he would become a public charge?

Mr. KOHLER. I have stated that in every one of these 25 cases that I have picked out that arose in the last two months, I have not any doubt that if we could have gotten them into court the court would have admitted the applicant.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. But the department surely must have assigned some reason for excluding him.

Mr. KOHLER. The ground assigned was that he was likely to become a public charge.

Mr. BURNETT. Was it not perhaps because of physical defects?

Mr. KOHLER. No; there were no physical defects in his case. In every case where there is a physical defect our records show just what it is.

Mr. SABATH. I can give you the reason that was given to me, viz, that if they deport them it will discourage immigration. That was the reason given me about these 20 Bulgarians.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. I can not conceive of that reason.

Mr. BURNETT. Who gave it to you?

Mr. SABATH. That was the reason that was given to me by an official. They had no other reason.

Mr. BENNET. Suppose you give us another case.

Mr. KOHLER. Certainly. Here is the case of Gulda Oliver. The exclusion was on the 18th day of February of this year. I ought to have stated that the other case was decided on the 20th of January, 1910. That is probably the date of application for admission. This Gulda Oliver, a woman 27 years of age, came over on the steamer *Marne*. She was a domestic. She was single. She came from Galicia. She was destined to a cousin, Morris Halpern, 155 Rivington Street. She had \$24. Her passage was paid by herself. She was formerly in the United States for two years. And we need domestics.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. What was her age?

Mr. KOHLER. Twenty-seven.

Mr. BURNETT. What ground was assigned?

Mr. KOHLER. Likelihood to become a public charge.

Mr. BENNET. Is it not stated in connection with those cases that the reason they are likely to become a public charge is that they are going to a congested city, to wit, New York City?

Mr. KOHLER. I do not think so.

Mr. BENNET. I have seen cases of that kind.

Mr. KOHLER. It does happen on occasion; but they say that, though they introduce no evidence as to that. It is utterly illegal. The law requires the board to decide the cases upon the evidence adduced before it.

Mr. BENNET. Yes.

Mr. KOHLER. And in connection with the question of domestics I would recommend an article in this month's number of "McClure's," which shows how very much we need domestics.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. There is no doubt about that, Mr. Kohler, but did you have a chance to look at that testimony at all?

Mr. KOHLER. I have not in these particular cases. I have compared these records with many full transcripts of the evidence.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. I agree with you that if the records given by you are complete there would appear to have been no reason for sending either of those persons back. Yet there must have been something, some other reason given, than that which you assign.

Mr. KOHLER. I have seen scores of records—we had a number of them in these habeas corpus proceedings—that were just about the same.

Mr. BURNETT. Why was not habeas corpus obtained there?

Mr. KOHLER. Because Congress provided in 1891 that the decision shall be final, and reviewable only on appeal to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

Mr. BURNETT. But you got some others off on habeas corpus.

Mr. KOHLER. In those cases we applied to the court on the theory that because they had denied us any opportunity to argue the appeal, either personally or by brief, there was a denial even of the semblance of law. For that reason we got into court, and if the court took jurisdiction at all it would have had to decide the whole matter, including the merits. But when we came near getting a judicial construction of those words in these cases, between adjournments all four of our men were admitted. Of course we could not protest against that, and our test cases disappeared.

Mr. BENNET. Would you mind if we sent to the department in these cases to get the records to see what are the exact facts?

Mr. KOHLER. I shall be very glad to have you do so.

Mr. BENNET. Suppose you take 10 of them.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. I would suggest that you pick out 10 cases—the 10 that you regard as the most flagrant—so that we may inquire into the facts.

Mr. KOHLER. And I would also like to suggest that the letter of recommendation of the commissioner at New York should accompany them, in order to intelligently present the case.

Mr. BENNET. There would be no letter of recommendation if they were not appealed.

Mr. KOHLER. They were nearly all appealed.

Mr. BENNET. Were all of them appealed? Pick out appealed cases, then.

Mr. KOHLER. Yes; in this first case there was an appeal taken.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Under what auspices was the appeal taken?

Mr. KOHLER. The Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, which Mr. Williams has commended as one of the two very best, if not the best, of these organizations on Ellis Island.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Then the immigrant did have the benefit of counsel to that extent?

Mr. KOHLER. After the board of special inquiry had decided the case and when he took an appeal.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. The appeal was taken under the auspices of the society, and by its advice?

Mr. KOHLER. By its advice.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. And with its assistance?

Mr. KOHLER. Exactly.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. And as the result of that appeal, the decision still was that he should be deported because he was likely to become a public charge?

Mr. KOHLER. That is right.

Mr. BURNETT. In other words, the decision of the board of inquiry was sustained by the Secretary?

Mr. KOHLER. In the group of 20 cases that Mr. McHarg, the Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Labor, handled, as I have stated, our request for a hearing, either verbally or by brief, was entirely ignored, and deportation was ordered without even giving us a chance to be heard.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Then the society, as the friend of the immigrant thus rejected, was not given an opportunity to ascertain any further facts as to the cause of deportation except what you have stated?

Mr. KOHLER. When an appeal is taken the testimony is subject to inspection by counsel, but the private recommendations of the commissioner are not; and those are sometimes very suggestive, as we have found out.

Mr. BURNETT. Were you heard before the Secretary of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. KOHLER. In this first case, at least, the record was transmitted to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and a formal order dismissing the appeal and ordering deportation was made.

Mr. BURNETT. Was a brief filed by you or anyone else before the Secretary of Commerce and Labor?

Mr. KOHLER. A record and a brief were submitted; yes.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Was that based on the testimony taken by the board of inquiry?

Mr. KOHLER. I understand that the department considered the words "a person likely to become a public charge" to cover the case of a person who is poor, or likely to be poor, or who they guess may possibly become poor, and that that accounts for the deportation.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Then the testimony was available to counsel for the society?

Mr. KOHLER. When the appeal was taken, after the board of special inquiry had decided the case.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. Then how could you know whether there was anything further in the testimony than what you have just indicated to justify a ruling of deportation?

Mr. KOHLER. I know clearly from the report that there was nothing further, because I have found all of these reports to be faithfully and fully made out, the very purpose being to present all the facts. I have a group here of about 75 more cases where I think the deportation was probably justified on the legal theories that obtain. I am only picking out, as I said, perhaps 25 per cent of these.

Mr. BURNETT. Were you the attorney for the appellant?

Mr. KOHLER. No; I simply act in an advisory capacity.

Mr. BURNETT. You did not file a brief, then?

Mr. KOHLER. No; but our representative at Ellis Island, Mr. Lipsitch, did.

**STATEMENT OF MR. HARRY CUTLER, OF PROVIDENCE, R. I.**

Mr. CUTLER. Mr. Chairman, I came all the way from Providence hoping to present some evidence before the committee. I see that the hour is late, and that it is impossible to light up the room, and that probably a few of the members of the committee (perhaps all of them) have other engagements, so that for various reasons the hearing must of necessity cease to-day. I should be very glad, however, if I could be given an opportunity to be heard to-morrow. You have already promised to hear one gentleman then. I should be glad to stay over and take advantage of that opportunity to speak before the committee.

Mr. BENNET. This part of the hearings is under the charge of Judge Goldfohle. I have no doubt he will be very glad to do that.

Mr. CUTLER. I should like to know if that will be agreeable.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. To-morrow I shall not be here. I expect to leave to-night.

Mr. CUTLER. I have just been reminded by Doctor Friedman that, aside from other qualifications, I am a member of the executive committee of the American-Jewish committee and of this special committee that was requested to come here to-day.

Mr. SABATH. Why can not Mr. Cutler be heard to-morrow?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. I can not be here to-morrow.

Mr. CUTLER. I shall not occupy more than ten minutes now, if it is your desire that I shall go on now.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. We will hear you on Monday.

Mr. CUTLER. On Monday I can not be here. I should return to-day. I had an appointment with Senator Aldrich which I have missed, and there are some matters that make it necessary for me to go back. In fact, I was obliged to leave a very busy session of the legislature of Rhode Island, at which there was a public hearing in which I am very much interested.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. If you have remarks prepared, in view of the situation as you have already stated it, you may submit those remarks, and the committee will pass on them and probably will permit them to be placed in the hearings.

Mr. CUTLER. I have not any remarks prepared. I have some figures which I should like to submit.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Just submit the figures to me, and I will present them to the committee.

Mr. CUTLER. I would not take more than ten minutes.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Have you figures besides those presented by the gentlemen who represent the same organization that you represent?

Mr. CUTLER. Yes, sir; they are absolutely different.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Do you mean that they differ from those figures?

Mr. CUTLER. No; I do not. I mean they are with regard to data that has not yet been submitted.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. If you will send the data it will be presented to the committee; no doubt the committee, upon my request, will allow it to be printed.

Mr. CUTLER. There is no way that I can be heard to-morrow, then?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Not very well. There is work before the committee to-morrow. I shall not be able to attend the session. I want to attend these meetings of the committee. I have attended pretty much every one of them so far, and I desire to attend all to the close.

Mr. CUTLER. Well, Mr. Chairman, if I may detain you but a second, I want to say that it is very, very unfortunate, to say the least, that it is impossible for me to have a few minutes' talk to-day. I represent a constituency that perhaps ought to be heard from through their representative.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Why do you not proceed now?

Mr. CUTLER. If you are willing, I will.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Notwithstanding the extreme lateness of the hour, you may proceed for five minutes.

Mr. CUTLER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, at the outset I want to express my personal thanks and my deep gratitude because, under all the conditions that have already been stated, you have allowed me a few moments at this time.

As I said at the beginning, I represent a part of the committee of the American Jewish committee. I am also president of the Independent Order of B'nai Brith, District No. 1, which includes New York and Brooklyn, the New England States, and eastern Canada. The committee desired that I present myself here to-day in the light of perhaps what might be termed a horrible example, or, as one of the gentlemen kindly stated, a good exhibit of what an immigrant can evolve into if given an opportunity.

I also am of Russian birth, and came here after the massacres of 1882, having experienced in the city of my birth the very massacres that have been spoken of.

Mr. BENNET. Which was what city?

Mr. CUTLER. Elizabethgrad. It is not necessary for me to go in detail into the horrors of those days. You gentlemen are acquainted perhaps as well as anyone can be with what those persecutions and massacres (or "pogroms," as they are called) mean. It is only fair to say that through the friendship of our gentle neighbors, as we term them there, or "Goim" (Christians), our house was saved by reason of the fact that in every one of the windows and doors there was suspended or exhibited either a Madonna or a crucifix, or something symbolic of the Greek Catholic Church, in order to mislead the rabble. From the night that my father went to defend his store I have never seen him. That led, of course, to the emigration to this country of my mother, my sister, and myself.

I do not say these things, gentlemen, for self-exploitation or egotism, but in order to convey a point which the committee asked me to make.

Coming to this country during the days of Castle Garden (not Ellis Island), we also experienced the congested condition of those days through being obliged to be removed to some island, which to-day I term Blackwells Island, or some near-by island. That was necessary because of the fact that there was not room enough in the city of New York or in Castle Garden to take care of the congested immigration before it was transmitted to other portions of the country.

It is unnecessary for me to go through my experience in this country. It was the experience of thousands of other immigrants. There was no opportunity for schooling, such as we had hoped I would have. I was only able to secure such schooling as I could pick up in a general way.

Mr. BURNETT. You could read when you came?

Mr. CUTLER. I could read Yiddish and Russian and translate Hebrew.

Mr. BENNET. And how old were you?

Mr. CUTLER. I was then 9 years of age. The Hebrew, of course, is distinctly different from the Yiddish. I think the committee understands that. The Yiddish which has been so much referred to to-day is not a language; it is a jargon. It is a great borrower from other languages. The Yiddish in Germany borrows from the German language; the Yiddish in Russia borrows from the Russian language; and the Yiddish in America borrows from the English language. That is because it is not, properly speaking, a language at all; it is a jargon; it has no grammar, but depends on these interpolations to carry out a sentence.

Mr. BURNETT. Could most of your coreligionists of the same age read?

Mr. CUTLER. Most of them could—that is, most of those that came with us.

Mr. BURNETT. I mean those in the locality from which you came.

Mr. CUTLER. No; I would not say they could all read Yiddish. Most of them, or a majority of them, probably could read Hebrew, because Hebrew is a language of the Bible, and that is first taught.

Mr. BENNET. But I infer, from the fact that your father had a store, that you belonged to the better-to-do classes?

Mr. CUTLER. If I may be permitted to say so modestly, my folks trace their lineage back to Catherine the First and Peter the Great. My father was in business, in partnership with a Gentile. They had three stores—one, if I recall correctly, in St. Petersburg, another in Warsaw, and another in Elizabethgrad.

The evolution of the individual you see before you has been such that I have taken advantage of the opportunities this grand Government has extended to me and to every immigrant that has come here. And I feel, gentlemen, that the same opportunities that I have had should be presented to those who are now knocking at the door and seeking this harbor of refuge. I characterize myself, not, as these gentlemen have said, as a "good exhibit," but I characterize myself as an American citizen of Russian nativity and Jewish faith. Through fortuitous circumstances I now fill a certain position in the community in which

I reside. Politically, I am a member of the Rhode Island Legislature. The military position I hold is that of captain of my company in the First Light Infantry Regiment. I also have the distinction, I believe, of being the only man of my faith who is a codirector in the educational department of the Y. M. C. A. So I have tried to take part in both Jewish and Gentile endeavors, and I can attest the correctness of almost everything these gentlemen have said with regard to the carrying out of our efforts to inculcate, along settlement and educational and communal lines, the development of the new immigrant.

But the figures I want to submit to you furnish a better and more concrete example than I could ever offer as a reason why the Hayes bill, or any similar bill, should not be enacted into law, and why immigration should be allowed to proceed. This country is not in any sense thickly populated. As showing that, I want to submit to you certain figures compiled by the commissioner of industrial statistics, from which yesterday I hurriedly collated certain references; and I shall be glad to leave you his report, which we think is admirable.

Mr. BURNETT. You refer to the commissioner of industrial statistics of your State?

Mr. CUTLER. Of our State. In considering these figures as applicable to Rhode Island, gentlemen, we must take into consideration the fact that Rhode Island, the greatest State in the Union, although the smallest in territory (gentlemen from other States will pardon me), and a State that ought to be represented on this committee, I think—Rhode Island, small in territory but great in its varied industries, which are of so vast a character, is considered in a sense to be a densely populated State. I think most of you gentlemen will agree that that is the general acceptance. I have taken from a classification of 24 distinct industries in Rhode Island (because I did not have the time to collate more) the statistics relating to about 11 important wage-earning industries. I have done this to show you what the immigrants in that State have done for the development of the State—immigrants who, as has been said, came over in the steerage from the time of the *Mayflower* to that of the *Mauretania*.

Mr. BENNET. If you will leave the paper, you can put it in without reading it.

Mr. CUTLER. It will only take me a moment, Mr. Chairman, and then I will conclude:

"Agricultural pursuits: American-born, 58.66 per cent; foreign-born, 41.34 per cent.

"Workers on apparel: American-born, 24.96 per cent; foreign-born, 75.04 per cent.

"Building trades: American-born, 36.32 per cent; foreign-born, 63.68 per cent.

"Government employees—"

And this is something to be remembered, gentlemen—

"American-born, 46.82 per cent; foreign-born, 53.18 per cent."

Mr. BURNETT. Are the foreign-born persons both of whose parents were born abroad?

Mr. CUTLER. No; as I understand it, that includes two generations. Some of them may have come here themselves or their parents have come here.

Mr. MOORE, of Pennsylvania. You have a very large French-Canadian population there, too, have you not?

Mr. CUTLER. Not a very large French-Canadian population. We have a considerable number of French-Canadians. Massachusetts, the adjacent State, has a large French-Canadian population around Lowell and Fall River and those places. So that we have 53.18 per cent of foreign-born Government employees, as against 46.82 per cent American-born.

"Jewelry, gold and silver: American-born, 35.43 per cent; foreign-born, 64.57 per cent.

"Manufacturers of baser metals: American-born, 26.96 per cent; foreign-born, 73.04 per cent.

"Manufacturers of miscellaneous articles: American-born, 39.56 per cent; foreign-born, 60.44 per cent.

"Manufacturers of textiles: American-born, 15.84 per cent; foreign-born, 84.16 per cent.

"Retail merchants, dealers, etc.: American-born, 44.71 per cent; foreign-born, 55.29 per cent."

And if the chairman of the committee will permit me, I should like to complete this list of percentages and mail it to you immediately upon my return to Providence.

Mr. BENNET. Surely.



Mr. CUTLER. Now, gentlemen, so much has been said with regard to the economic side of this matter, and so much has been said with regard to the sympathetic and the humanitarian side of it, that it is utterly unnecessary for me to touch upon those things. But in the interest of the development of this country, which needs the immigrant, the men I represent and the men who have sent me here protest against any obnoxious measures of this kind as being utterly bad.

I thank you.

(The committee thereupon adjourned.)

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### EXHIBIT D.

#### EXTRACTS FROM REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF IMMIGRATION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, APPOINTED PURSUANT TO THE PROVISIONS OF CHAPTER 210 OF THE LAWS OF 1908.<sup>a</sup>

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#### IMMIGRANT HOMES.<sup>b</sup>

Of the many philanthropies designed to care for aliens, none has served a more useful purpose than the immigrant home. This has been a popular institution in New York City ever since the first of these homes was opened, and there are now no less than sixteen of them in operation. Besides the homes there are a number of societies which provide temporary shelter and care in lodging houses and boarding places for those in need of such convenience, and some of the railways support a lodging house for male passengers who are detained in the city over night.

*Character of work.*—There are three conditions under which these homes may be of service: (1) When the friends and relatives of the aliens fail to call for them at Ellis Island, or the addresses of such friends have been lost by the newly arrived, or when they have no one to whom to turn. Unless the homes assume the task of caring for them and finding them work they are left in a sad plight. Women are deported when no one calls for them, or when those who do are unable to satisfy the authorities that they are proper and responsible persons. (2) When a member of an alien family is ill or otherwise detained at Ellis Island. In such cases all members might be kept there under crowded conditions, unless, pending the release some place can be found where the members of the family can stay. (3) When aliens are released they frequently need some one to help them find their friends, to guide them safely past the runners and sharpers at the Battery and on the transportation lines, to see to it that they either reach their destination or are well on their way. If such services are not rendered the alien may be exploited, or deported, or become a public charge. These homes also serve a useful purpose as lodging and boarding places for aliens who have been in the country for some time and who may, for a variety of reasons, choose to remain there because of the reasonableness of the rates charged and the protection afforded.

Each home is represented on Ellis Island by a "missionary" or other agent, who is there when the aliens arrive and takes charge of any cases referred to him or her by the authorities. There are 93 passes issued to persons representing homes, societies, and educational organizations. Various nationalities are represented, one for the Jews, another for the Italians, a third for the Austrians, a fourth for the Scandinavians. Almost every nationality has some one who cares for incoming aliens. Some "missionaries" are supported by churches and religious societies, others by associations consisting of members of the same race, religion, or nationality, and still others by educational associations, without regard to race or religion. They receive no compensation from the Government, and are at Ellis Island entirely by courtesy to care for cases and conditions for which the Government can make no provision.

<sup>a</sup> Transmitted to the legislature April 5, 1909.

<sup>b</sup> Report of the Commission on Immigration of the State of New York, pp. 88 to 109.

Any society, upon approval by the commissioner of immigration, may have its "missionary" or agent admitted to Ellis Island, and such privilege is revocable by the commissioner. Since the appointment of Commissioner Watchorn a monthly report has been required of each society represented, stating the name, age, sex, and nationality of each alien taken in charge by the society; the name of the vessel by which the alien came, its date of arrival; the date when the alien was received at the home, the date of leaving, the amount of money paid to the home; the destination of the alien and the line used to reach it; and the name, address, and relationship of those to whom the alien was sent, together with the nature of employment and wages promised. The commissioner also reserves the right to call for records or to make investigation of the society or home on complaint, but no supervision is regularly maintained and no inspections made. He has no available machinery for investigating charges of abuses, and is dependent on outside informants who may be sufficiently interested to call his attention to conditions. If such complaints are found to be true, the only penalty the commissioner may impose is the exclusion from Ellis Island of the "missionary" or agent against whom complaint is made.

The homes to which the aliens are taken are located mainly in New York City and are under the management of boards whose members live in New York. Wherever incorporated, the homes are organized under the laws of New York. For this reason, and because nearly all of them are open to alien residents of the State and supervision is limited, the Commission has made an investigation of these homes, and has taken the testimony of a number of "missionaries" and others interested in this work.

One home in 1907 cared for 1,215 Jewish girls, of whom 1,091 were sent to relatives, 41 to friends, 74 placed in domestic service, and 9 were married. In 1908, owing to the small immigration, but 493 girls were received. In 1908 another home cared for 11,712 immigrants, giving 25,188 free meals and 3,173 paid meals, 7,783 free lodgings and 1,309 paid lodgings. Work was found for 32 per cent. About 25 per cent of the number received were women. Another home in 1907 cared for 9,295 immigrants, of whom 2,450 were women. Of the 14,947 breakfasts furnished, 4,287 were free; of the 29,497 dinners and suppers, 8,251 were free; and of the 17,813 lodgings, 7,029 were free. Employment was found for 22.5 per cent. In 1907 another home cared for 13,749 immigrants. Of these, 5,215 men were found employment and 2,450 women placed in domestic service. The remainder were sent on to their destination. In 1908 this home cared for about 5,995, of whom over one-half were women. A joint bureau conducted for various nationalities found employment for 7,569 immigrants in 1907, of whom 6,219 intended to remain in New York. Another cared for 4,755 immigrants. These six homes together show a total of 48,275 immigrants cared for in 1908.

In addition, three other societies in 1908 cared for several thousand persons of their own nationalities.

These figures show but a portion of the work done. For instance, one organization, which maintains an agent at Ellis Island and a visitor in New York, reports that from December 1, 1906, to December 1, 1908, 933 alien girls were visited in their homes after they were released from Ellis Island. Of this number, one-third were found work, 308 enrolled in special evening classes in English, 32 enrolled in industrial classes and 7 placed in a needle-craft school, 36 provided with medical service and 7 with legal advice, 21 sent to a convalescent home. In 10 cases good lodgings were substituted for objectionable lodgings, and in 3 cases transportation was provided.

*Sources of income.*—These homes and societies are chiefly supported by voluntary contributions or by religious organizations, and in a few instances receive considerable sums from the Government whose subjects they care for. For such services as looking up relatives, guiding aliens to the stations, and looking out for their baggage no charge can be made. On the other hand, many aliens pay for temporary board and lodging and services, and are in no way assisted financially. In one instance it was shown that about 70 per cent paid for their meals and lodgings. The rule is that whenever an alien is able to pay he is required to do so, and some homes determine this ability by the record kept at Ellis Island of the amount the alien brings on arrival. Rates vary from 35 cents to \$1.50 per day. It is difficult to determine how many of the aliens really pay, owing to the prevalence and elasticity of the donation system. Some homes claim that they do not charge the alien even when he has money and can afford

to pay; others that they charge a small fee when the alien can pay it; others that they accept only voluntary contributions. The Commission finds that, while all of these various plans are pursued, the donation system is sometimes carried to the point of virtually amounting to a rate, and sometimes letters are regularly sent to aliens who have been helped by the home, asking for contributions.

The homes almost without exception, and uniformly those for women, furnish employment. Where they do not actually conduct a bureau they direct immigrants to what they believe to be trustworthy employment agencies. The employment found directly through the home is without charge to the alien and likewise, it is claimed, to the employer. But the donation system is also adopted in respect to this activity; many employers are found who are entirely willing to contribute, especially housewives looking for servants. The plan in use by one home practically amounts to charging a fee of \$1 for each servant furnished.

*Conditions.*—In some of the homes visited the sanitary provisions were found to be good and the regulations excellent; in others this was not the case. It was not possible to ascertain if the homes were at any time overcrowded, owing to the small number of incoming aliens while the investigation was in progress. The protection afforded women, in every case but one, was found to be inadequate. The Commissioner of Immigration requires the home to obtain a reference from the employer to whom a woman is sent to work. These references are not always satisfactory, and even where they are, the alien woman placed with an applicant may leave on the very next day, and her whereabouts may therefore be unknown to anyone. In the one exception noted, the home sends its agents to visit the women it places at least once a year in order to ascertain if they are safe and doing well, thereby demonstrating that it is a practicable plan. The other homes depend entirely upon chance information or letters. It has been brought to the attention of the Commission that procurers who import alien women sometimes utilize immigrant homes for their purposes. They instruct the women to pretend to be friendless or unable to find their relatives in order that they may secure admittance into a home, which then secures for them respectable employment. The women thereupon notify the procurer where they are. Since the home makes no subsequent inquiry concerning them, evasion of the law is made easy. The requirements made of these homes are less stringent than those imposed on licensed employment agents, since the latter are obliged to make reasonable inquiry concerning the place of employment, and if its disorderly character might be ascertained upon such inquiry, they are subject to a fine or imprisonment if the employment is an improper one.

Aside from the insufficient character of the references and the lack of visitation after placement, the Commission found one home that was willing, upon a donation of \$5, to send a girl to work in a disorderly house. This donation seems not to have been recorded in the books of the home. Four other homes were visited in order to ascertain the care taken in placing girls, and these refused to send girls to disorderly places to work.

Although dependent upon private contributions, in some instances the books and records of these homes disclose lack of system and fail to afford any comprehensive and uniform data, or to follow any standard method. Many inequalities in the protection afforded in these homes are found to exist among the several races. Aliens whose countrymen are prosperous and interested in their welfare are protected. Others, such as the Armenians and Greeks, while needing help, find it almost impossible to obtain it. The Commission also finds a lack of cooperation among societies used for the protection of aliens and imperfect coordination of the work, with consequent disadvantages to the aliens, and a waste of money and effort.

With the limited supervision on the part of the Ellis Island authorities and none on the part of the state, private employment agents and exploiters find it easy to masquerade under the guise of foreign protective associations, or homes for foreigners. Although their representatives are not admitted to Ellis Island, they manage to conduct lodging houses, banks, or employment centers for profit, and by inducing the aliens to believe their motives to be philanthropic, find no difficulty in preying upon them.

The Commission believes that a state agency might cooperate with the Federal Government and philanthropic organizations to establish a proper standard among homes and similar friendly agencies for the aliens. It also believes that such cooperation would extend protection to aliens now unprotected; would

strengthen the present system where it is now inadequate, and coordinate the entire work. It also calls attention to the great need of introducing the admirable features of this branch of charitable endeavor to other cities where no such protection is now provided.

#### EDUCATION OF THE ALIEN.

The problem of Americanization is one of the adaptation, assimilation, and education of the alien. He has been brought up under conditions which differ from those that obtain in America, and fitted for an industrial, political, and social life in many respects dissimilar to that of this country.

Throughout the investigations of the Commission many instances of the difficulties of comprehension and of adjustment are shown. Some of these are due to the fact that many aliens come from country districts and are unfamiliar with traffic regulations, sanitary codes, licenses, compulsory education, and child-labor regulations, or provisions against carrying concealed weapons. The absence of soldiers on the street makes it difficult for some aliens to comprehend a government that is not thus visualized.

The idea of this nation is founded upon the belief that free and universal education of all its people will eventually produce a homogeneous race, with one standard of customs, one standard of political institutions, and equal industrial opportunity. When the alien is not given the means of understanding, or of attaining, this ideal, or of participating in its establishment, the State encourages the perpetuation of alien groups, speaking a foreign language, uninfluenced by American traditions and public opinion, and with characteristics which may become, if not a detriment to our fundamental institutions, at least a hindrance to the successful carrying out of democratic principles. Knowledge of the language of the country is a most important factor in establishing communication with its thought and so hastening assimilation. It also facilitates economic independence whereby the alien can more quickly adopt the standard of living which this country deems essential to the progress of its people.

The State at the very start exacts equal obedience to its laws, and lays the same duties upon the alien which it does upon the citizen. It is obviously impossible for an alien to intelligently comprehend many phases of this obligation unless he has had at least elementary instruction in such matters.<sup>a</sup>

The need, now largely recognized, of adequate educational provisions within the State becomes more apparent in view of the extent of immigration into it. No State receives so large a number of aliens as New York, and no part of the State receives so large a portion as Greater New York. The tax upon the educational institutions of the State is evident upon an examination of the statistics. During the last five years, from July 1, 1903, to June 30, 1908, 1,596,037 aliens were destined for New York State. Not all of these actually remained here, for hundreds of thousands went to other States. Numbers died during the five years, and a large percentage returned from New York State to their native countries. An approximation shows that at the present time there are in New York State 500,000 aliens who arrived here within this period.<sup>b</sup>

The sources of immigration have shifted during the last three decades from countries with greater educational opportunities to those with less. Former immigration, especially from Germany, England, and the Scandinavian countries, was from lands in which the educational facilities for the general population were more analogous to those that prevailed in America at that time. At present Italian aliens are to a large extent illiterate; the Austrians and Hungarians, and especially the Polish, Slovak, and Ruthenian aliens, have also a large percentage of illiteracy, and Jews coming from Russia, Austria, and Roumania, while showing a high standard of literacy, still fall below the general average of education of the alien of an earlier day.<sup>c</sup>

The difficulty of the newly arrived alien is augmented by the fact that over 80 per cent come from countries in which some other language than English is spoken. Six-sevenths of all the aliens arrive at the age of 14 or over, when they can no longer be required to attend school, with the exception of children

<sup>a</sup> For effect of the ignorance of aliens upon criminality, see Appendices XII, L.—(Report of the Commission of Immigration of the State of New York.

<sup>b</sup> For method of approximation, see Appendix I. (Ibid.)

<sup>c</sup> Statistics of literacy among the recently arrived aliens are given in Appendices VIII, IX. (Ibid.)

between the ages of 14 and 16, who under the child-labor law must show that they have had a specific amount of school attendance and English education.<sup>a</sup> The fact that the alien upon arrival is obliged immediately to earn his living and is likely to associate almost always with those of his own nationality tends to delay his Americanization.

To the alien himself education is important. Without at least a general knowledge of English he is debarred from some occupations. Under the present naturalization law he can not become a citizen without a knowledge of English, and can not enjoy the political rights and industrial opportunities which are based upon citizenship. In his relationship with his American children the family tie is affected in large measure by this. Lacking a knowledge of English, he falls behind his children in their progress toward Americanism, and his authority and influence are endangered, with evil effects upon the family tie.

Despite a general recognition (as hereinafter shown) of the increased value of the alien to the State through his education in English, in the rights and duties of citizenship, in American conditions, and in American modes of thought and life, the problem has not been adequately met.

The commission in its investigations has considered, first, the education of the alien child, and, second, that of the alien adult.

#### THE EDUCATION OF THE ALIEN CHILD.

*Compulsory education and child-labor laws.*—The education law of the State of New York makes no distinction between native and foreign born children. From both it requires compulsory attendance at a public or private school, or equivalent instruction elsewhere. With the exception of Class C, to be later noted, the educational facilities provided by the State are the same for the alien and native-born child.

The education law provides that every child of school age "shall regularly attend upon instruction at a school in which at least six common-school branches of reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, English grammar, and geography are taught, or upon equivalent instruction by a competent teacher elsewhere than at school." The theory of the State is that the instruction, if not given in public schools, shall at least approximately conform to it. In other words, "it shall be at least substantially equivalent to the instruction given to children of like age at the public school of the city or district in which such child resides; and such attendance shall be at least for as many hours of each day thereof as are required of children of like age at public schools." The school age in general is from 8 to 16, but an exception is made in the case of boys over 14 who are "regularly and lawfully engaged in any useful employment or service." To obtain this exception a boy over 14 years of age in a city of the first or second class must have been graduated from the public elementary school or must have obtained an equivalent education elsewhere, or must have obtained a "school record"<sup>b</sup> granted for certain prescribed and completed educational courses, or, in lieu of all of these, he must attend evening school for at least ninety-six hours per year until reaching the age of 16. This last provision is not generally enforced.

Compulsory attendance is being enforced with increasing strictness. There are, nevertheless, many cases of evasion, particularly by alien children. This evasion may be due to the avarice or shiftlessness of parents accustomed to more lax educational requirements at home, or in some cases to poverty that makes the earnings of the child a necessity to the family. Many alien children have been found employed illegally in factories, in mercantile establishments, and elsewhere, who have either never gone to any school or have failed to meet the educational requirements for working papers. Especially does this condition

<sup>a</sup> Chapter 184 of the Amended Laws of 1903—(Report of the Commission of Immigration of the State of New York).

<sup>b</sup> The school record certifies that the child has regularly attended the public schools or schools equivalent thereto or parochial schools for not less than one hundred and thirty days during the twelve months next preceding his fourteenth birthday or during the twelve months next preceding his application for such school record, and is able to read and write simple sentences in the English language, and has received during such period instruction in reading, writing, spelling, English, English grammar, and geography, and is familiar with the fundamental operations of arithmetic up to and including fractions. Some illustrative cases, see Appendix LL. (Ibid.)

prevail in the so-called home work, where alien children of all ages are found during school hours at work making artificial flowers, paper bags, or clothing, and at any occupations carried on at home. The problem is not entirely one of the alien, since the children of citizens also evade the education law.

The attempt to compel the attendance of alien children of school age is rendered more difficult by the fact that many under 16, no one knows how many, arriving in the city of New York, find their way immediately into illegal employment without ever having gone to school, or without the authorities charged with the enforcement of the compulsory education law having knowledge of their whereabouts or their parents having knowledge of the law.<sup>a</sup> Absence of cooperation between the school authorities and the federal authorities at Ellis Island has made such an evasion of the school law easy. The comparatively rapid shifting of the alien population from one house to another, from one street to another, and from one locality to another renders ineffective any but the most systematic efforts to compel attendance at school.

If cooperation is established between the immigration officials and the authorities of the State, enabling the latter to trace the children of school age arriving in his State it will be necessary to exercise great care in ascertaining the destination of such children. In November, 1908, the Commission investigated a number of children of school age who had arrived at Ellis Island within the month in order to discover whether or not they were at school. The value of this investigation, though lessened by the insignificant number of immigrating children of school age at that time, showed that of 301 children who arrived with addresses in New York City, 79, or over one-quarter, could not be found, owing to improperly spelled names or faulty addresses, or addresses which did not exist at all. Of the children found, two-thirds were in school.<sup>b</sup>

The Commission recommends that arrangements be made between the proper state agencies of New York and the federal authorities supervising immigration at the various ports, by which lists of the names, intended destinations, and nationalities of the children of school age immigrating into all parts of this State be obtained promptly, so that these children can be at once located and brought into school by the various local authorities. At a conference held by the Commission with the commissioner of immigration at the port in New York and with the New York City superintendent of schools it was ascertained that such lists could be obtained almost immediately upon the arrival of the alien children at Ellis Island.

*Special C classes for aliens.*—In former years the problem of compelling the attendance of alien children of school age was rendered more difficult by the fact that in many cases such non-English-speaking children of 12 or 13, or even 14 years of age, were, owing to their ignorance of English, put into the lowest grades with children of 7, 8, and 9 years. The result was to retard the progress of both the alien children and the younger children with whom they were placed. The alien child who perhaps had received an excellent education in his native country in his own language was naturally discouraged by being in a class with children who were much less mature, and he was naturally inclined to evade attendance. A special class called the C class, or steamer class, has for the last few years been conducted in New York City for special instruction in English in order to prepare the pupils more rapidly for the regular grades. These classes as yet have not been generally adopted, but there were on June 30, 1908, 1,742 pupils registered in such C classes, of whom six-sevenths were between the ages of 9 and 15. These classes, when not too large, perform an admirable service, and where defective children are not thrown in with the normal alien children. Special C classes have also been inaugurated by Rochester and other cities.

In other communities where alien children are found the same problem exists as in New York City, but to a less extent. New York City, with 48 per cent of the population of the State, had in 1905, 78 per cent of the entire number of aliens. In Buffalo and in certain other large cities there are large numbers of aliens, but the congestion is not so great. In many other smaller towns alien children form so small a proportion of the entire number of children attending schools, and Americanization is so rapid and complete that no special problem of the alien child may be said to exist.

<sup>a</sup> Appendix LII—(Report of the Commission of Immigration of the State of New York).

<sup>b</sup> Appendix XXXVII. (Ibid.)

*Industrial training.*—There is another phase of education to which the Commission desires to call attention, namely, the value of industrial training in the public school. This has engaged the attention of educators and is a matter of interest among them, though as yet they have not been supported to any great extent by adequate appropriations. In so much as the alien children and the children of aliens form a large percentage of the children of school age in the State, and an even larger percentage in the cities, and since the workers in the industrial world are largely recruited from them, industrial and vocational education, while important for all children, is especially so for them.

*Religious, philanthropic, and private schools.*—The schools for children, other than the public schools of the State of New York, may be divided rather roughly into the religious schools (including the parochial schools of the Catholic Church, the Talmud and Talmud Torah schools of the Orthodox Jew, and the schools supported by the Lutheran and the Protestant churches), the philanthropic schools supported by such bodies as the Children's Aid Society, the Female Guardian Society, the Educational Alliance, the settlements, and the endowed schools and private schools. The number of pupils in these schools is very large, amounting in the case of the Catholic parochial schools alone to 200,000, according to the estimate of the New York state commissioner of education. The number of pupils in the Orthodox Jewish schools is also large, although no accurate statistics are obtainable, and even an approximately accurate estimate would be difficult to make. There are no statistics showing what proportion of the pupils in these schools are recent aliens, or children of recent aliens, but the proportion in at least certain of these schools is undoubtedly large. On account of the fact that in certain localities the religious schools form an important element in the alien's education, the Commission undertook an investigation. It found a number of these schools in which the English language was not adequately taught, or was taught as a foreign tongue, and also a large number of schools in which the class rooms were overcrowded, the children were overworked, and the sanitary arrangements were extremely bad, to an extent altogether foreign to our country and generation. It may be contended that the State's duty is fulfilled when sanitary and well-equipped public schools are provided, but, on the other hand, if large numbers of children are growing up under unfavorable educational conditions the State can not escape without harm. While the education law requires education in other than public schools to conform to that in the public schools in the same locality, it contains no provisions for enforcing this requirement, nor does it contain any provisions for the preservation of the pupil's health in such private schools. The state commissioner of education is not instructed to visit or report upon the condition of any but the public schools of the State. Any remedial legislation in this regard would be alike for the benefit of the public and of the alien child.

The Commission desires to call the matter to the attention of the legislature and the educational authorities of the State and to its public-spirited citizens.

#### EDUCATION OF THE ALIEN ADULT.

*Public evening schools.*—The chief educational opportunity of the alien adult is the public evening school. In 1908 there were in Greater New York 11 high schools, 2 trade schools, and 84 elementary schools, conducted in the evening. 124,776 pupils were enrolled, many never reported for lessons, and a much less proportion attended regularly. During the entire term the average attendance was 41,749. The attendance in the early part of the school year was much larger, but week by week it fell off. This has been the experience in the evening schools in previous years.

With the exception of the supplementary training of children between the ages of 14 and 16, who work, the principal activity of the 84 elementary evening schools is the education of adult aliens. At the commencement of the year 1908-1909, 36,275 adult aliens enrolled in these schools for the purpose of studying English, but the average attendance for the week of maximum attendance, in the month of October, was only 19,999, while by February the average attendance had fallen off to 11,931. The average attendance for the entire year 1907 was 16,887.

While the public evening schools have grown and extended their facilities for the alien adult, only a small proportion of such aliens avail themselves of the opportunity. Attendance might be increased by making enlarged appropriation,

enabling the authorities to inaugurate certain improvements which are at present impossible. The registry and grading of pupils, which are now hastily and imperfectly carried out, could be improved. Smaller classes might be formed at the beginning of the term, making possible a more careful grading. There could be some suitable provision for separating the literate and the illiterate, and more attention could be given to classification by age and nationalities. In large classes such discrimination is not possible. Another reason for the small attendance is lack of information about the existence and opportunities of schools. This should be given them more fully by the newspapers published in their respective languages and by other devices.

Certain defects in the public evening school system have been recognized by the educational authorities, and suggestions have been made to remedy them. One is the early hour at which school opens. The great distances in the city make the hour for opening (7.30 for men and 7.15 for women) inadvisable. Many pupils frequently go directly from work to the class room and arrive there exhausted. It is not surprising that within a short time they become discouraged and drop out. The Commission, therefore, indorses the recommendation of the New York City superintendent of schools that hereafter the evening school hours be from 8 to 10 p. m.

The Commission has taken up the question as to the relative advantage of instruction in English by a good teacher who knows no other language, or by one who is familiar with the language of the pupils. Some regard instruction in English as better when given by a good teacher who knows no other language. Others consider that the attendance will be greater and the instruction better if all the pupils in each class speak the same language and are taught by a teacher who has acquaintance with it. The Commission recommends that this be made a subject for consideration by the educational authorities.

The majority of all aliens, about 58 per cent, arrive during the period from April 1 to October 1—during almost all of which time there are no public evening schools.<sup>a</sup> Instead of being immediately enrolled in classes the alien is obliged to wait until his early interest in America and his first keen desire to know English have been blunted by months of labor in a factory or shop, during which period he often hears nothing but his own language, and at the end of which time he frequently loses all desire to learn English.

That there exists a demand for evening schools during the summer is shown by the experience of the Educational Alliance, an institution providing for the social and educational needs of immigrant Jews and others on the lower East Side of the city of New York. The admirably conducted classes of this institution are open during the summer only; in other words, during the period in which the public evening schools are closed. The experience of the Educational Alliance can not, of course, be directly compared with the larger and more varied experience of the public evening schools, since it confines its teaching largely to people of one race and language, and to a large extent to people residing in one city district. Nevertheless, despite the manifold attractions of the summer evenings, and despite the excessive heat during some of the evening sessions, the school had in the year 1907 not less than 1,995 pupils, nor does this number of pupils, according to the testimony presented to the Commission, measure the potential demand for instruction which seems to be several times greater than the number of pupils that can be actually accommodated. So great indeed is the demand for admission that pupils are not permitted to attend more than one year, and preference is given to those who have been here only a few months.

According to a letter to the Commission from Dr. William H. Maxwell, city superintendent of schools, the cost of maintaining evening schools for teaching English to aliens during the months of June, July, and August would be \$75,271. This estimate is based upon the assumption that 11,931 pupils, divided into 399 classes, would attend an average of 53 evenings, at an average cost of \$6.31 per pupil, or of about 12 cents per pupil per evening.<sup>b</sup>

In his report for the current year the city superintendent of schools recommends the establishment of such schools during the months of June, July, and August. While this is a desirable extension, the Commission believes that the night school for the alien should be continued throughout the year.

<sup>a</sup> Appendix XXXVIII—(Report of the Commission of Immigration of the State of New York).

<sup>b</sup> Appendix LIII. (Ibid.)



The evening school facilities for the City of New York are in proportion to population and in proportion to alien population far greater than like facilities in other cities of the State. There are four times as many teachers in the public evening schools of New York City as in all the rest of the State, and six times as many pupils in New York City evening schools as in the other evening classes of the State. There is, nevertheless, a growing recognition on the part of the school authorities throughout the State of the need of providing special facilities in the shape of evening classes to the adult alien population. The city of Rochester has been especially progressive along these lines and is carrying out a vigorous policy of establishing more and improved evening classes for aliens, with excellent facilities for grading and with instruction adapted to the intelligence and past education of the pupils. In other cities of the State the progress toward the realization of the needs of the alien population is perhaps slow, but at least constant.<sup>a</sup>

Furthermore, the Commission recommends the appropriation by the board of estimate and apportionment of an adequate sum of money in addition to that expended for present school purposes, to be used by the board of education of New York City for the purpose of extending the evening school system into the summer months, as recommended by the city superintendent.

This recommendation raises the question whether the cost of educating the adult alien ought to fall entirely upon the locality. Education of the child is by American tradition a duty of the locality, although partly borne by the income of the State common school fund. But the education of an adult alien is a new duty, and one which it is difficult to place upon the locality. The presence of the adult alien is often transitory. In fact, the object of educating him may be that his departure shall be hastened by information as to better places where he may settle. In some localities the local taxpayer would be overwhelmed if alien adults should demand to be taught nothing more than the English language. It seems reasonable that the State as a whole should perform the duty, at least in part.

In the year 1907 the New Jersey legislature passed a law making an appropriation to be devoted to night schools for non-English-speaking residents, it being the intent that the State should contribute one-half of the total amount required and the other half coming from the local authorities.<sup>b</sup> The Commission believes the principle of this law to be a sound one and recommends that the legislature of this State make an appropriation to begin this experiment.

*Labor camp schools.*—A special problem of the education of the alien adult is found in the labor camps, and is of importance in view of the fact that the majority come from countries in which men of their class and position are, as a rule, illiterate and speak no English. Once isolated in these camps, to which they frequently go immediately after arrival, and with companions of their own nationalities, under a boss who speaks their language, there is little opportunity to learn English or American life and standards. The conditions prevailing in many of these camps are described elsewhere in this report and indicate something of the social and educational advantages which these schools in camps may bestow.<sup>c</sup>

A knowledge of English is needed in labor camps for the protection of workmen. Testimony was given before the Commission showing that two accidents occurred owing to a lack of knowledge of English on the part of the laborers, who could not understand the orders given. In one of these accidents 1 man was killed, in the other 4.

There are many such camps within the State in quarries, brickyards, and labor and construction work along railways and waterways. They vary in size from a few men to several thousands. Some of these camps, such as railway, could not have schools because they were not stationary. Groups of these camps, each composed of 200 or 300 men building the barge canal, have for over two years been situated within a short distance of five flourishing towns with highly organized school systems—Cohoes, Watervliet, Waterford, Troy, and Schenectady—and it would not have been impossible to provide instruction in these.

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<sup>a</sup> For information concerning the education of alien adults in towns of the State see Appendix LIV—(Report of the Commission of Immigration of the State of New York).

<sup>b</sup> Appendix LV. (Ibid.)

<sup>c</sup> See Labor Camps, p. 121. (Ibid.)

Experiments have been made in this and other States, which indicate that in large permanent camps it is possible to conduct such schools. Attention was first directed to this matter in 1906, when Miss Sarah Moore, through the interest and courtesy of the contractors, obtained the opportunity to open a school at Aspinwall, Pa. As a result of this experiment a law was passed in Pennsylvania authorizing the school directors in any local district to arrange a suitable place upon application from the laborers. The law was not mandatory and did not carry an appropriation, and so stands on the statute books merely as a recognition of the need of adult alien education. An amendment to this law is now pending before the legislature, appropriating \$25,000 for this purpose, to be distributed to the several school districts upon "the basis of the entire number of days present of all the pupils in attendance at such schools."

A practical result, however, was the financial support given to this movement by the Italian Government. Three schools were next established in New York State. These were in a stone-crushing plant located at Stoneco, in Dutchess County; at Wappinger Falls, in the same county, which is a factory community; and the largest at the Ashokan Dam, in Ulster County.

The camp school established at Ashokan Dam is an illustration of the most successful experiment hitherto made in this direction. Both day and night schools are maintained there. The building for the school consists of three rooms and was erected for this purpose by the contractors, they supplying the heat and light. The school building is now in process of enlargement. The janitor is paid by the local school authorities from the district school funds and by the Society for Italian Immigrants. The day school is in charge of the district school authorities. Before this arrangement was made the children from the camps attended school at some distance from the camp. The local school authorities provide two teachers, chosen by the district school trustees, and they also furnish all supplies. The average attendance is 60 daily, and this school has been in operation since November 1. The total number in camp at this time varied from 600 to 1,000.

In addition to the usual day school there is a kindergarten provided, with one teacher during the winter months and in other seasons with two teachers. These are appointed and paid by the Italian Immigrant Society, which also furnishes the material used. The average attendance during the winter is 25.

The night school is for men. Two teachers, supported by the Italian Immigrant Society, are in charge, and that society furnishes books and materials. English is taught, and the average attendance during the winter is 31. No educational work, other than that conducted at mothers' meetings, is provided for the women. The society also supports a supervisor whose duty it is to develop the work in this and other camps of the State. No charge whatever is made to the workmen or their families for this instruction.

This school serves another purpose, that of being a social center for the camp workers and their families. Festivities, dramatic performances, and celebrations of Lincoln's and Washington's birthdays are held; Arbor Day and other significant occasions are made the occasion for informing the workmen and their children of American customs. Garibaldi's birthday and other like events are also observed.

English is the main subject taught in all camp schools, but there is frequent opportunity utilized by the teachers for the discussion of the duties of citizens and of State conditions, and of the Government.

Besides the definite educational effect of these camp schools, they present possibilities of immense value in establishing an understanding between the employers and employees, in its social significance, analogous to that of the welfare work so highly developed in certain industries. Where differences in languages add to the likelihood of suspicion and misunderstandings, the importance of having a person less interested than the padrone to advise and consult seems obvious. In this relation the pioneer in this movement says:

"There are many things a teacher can do in a camp community besides teaching English. A man may be dismissed and the teacher is perhaps the only one who can manage to have both sides understand the reason. A man may be injured, the teacher has time to write his family in Italy about it. Another is injured by the machinery and his usefulness crippled, and wants to know if the company will do something for him until his earning capacity is restored. An arrest is made; it may be a case worthy of probation if there is some one who knows the man. In one case where smallpox was prevalent in the camp it was the teacher who induced the Italians to submit to vaccination."

Another matter worthy of the attention is that some of the laborers bring their families, and there are often many children in the camps for whom there should be educational facilities and supervision. If no schools are near enough to be available, the Commission suggests the adoption of the plan now in force in some other States of having the children carried in vehicles to the nearest public school.

A school dignified with the authority and supervision of the State would doubtless be more seriously considered by the laborer than one established by an eleemosynary institution, and would thus secure a larger attendance. The presence of a competent teacher invested with some of the authority of a State office would tend to provide the laborer with a part of the protection which he needs; for there is a tendency on the part of the alien laborer in the camp to appeal to the teacher for advice both as to relations with his employers and as to the safe-keeping and safe transmission of money.

The camp school has not as yet been thoroughly tested and has practically been limited to people of one nationality. The attempts to establish them have been sporadic and have been dependent for support upon irregular philanthropic contributions. The attendance has not been wholly satisfactory, but it has been shown that some of the younger men have cared for it, have availed themselves of the opportunities, and that the influence of the school was felt to be most beneficial to those believed to become ultimately the leaders of their fellows.

The Commission recommends that labor camp schools be established as an experiment, at the expense of the State, at the construction camps engaged in work for the State, under the direction of the state commissioner of education, and that an appropriation of \$10,000, or so much thereof as may be required, be made by the legislature for this purpose.

*Instruction in civics.*—There can be no doubt that for his own protection and for that of the community a certain amount at least of what is properly classifiable as civics should be taught, if possible, to the alien. By civic education the Commission means not an academic or theoretical course but practical instruction in matters which more or less affect his daily life. It is not so important that he knows much about the Federal Government after he comes ashore, except the post-office and custom methods relevant to the sending home of money and bringing over of relatives and friends, although he should be fairly familiar with the fundamental facts concerning the State and National Government before he is admitted to citizenship. How the officers of the state and municipal governments are elected will be of little practical importance to him until his naturalization, though there is no reason why the main facts relating to such elections should not be taught to him by properly qualified teachers.

It is, however, of primary importance for the alien to understand the educational opportunities and the laws governing compulsory education and child labor; opportunities for work in various parts of the State, means of reaching them, and the labor laws and license governing the occupations he is likely to enter; municipal ordinances and statutes with which he is apt to come into contact, functions of the minor courts, and constabulary of the cities, villages, and rural districts. It is also desirable that he know where his money may be safely kept and how it may be best forwarded, and the rights which he may exercise, the remedies to which he may resort, and the obligations which he owes to the community.

No adequate provision is now made for imparting this vital information to the alien by public or private agencies within this State. There is much difference of opinion as to the extent to which the subject of civics should be taught in the schools, and especially to adult aliens.

*Civics in public schools.*—Some of this information can doubtless be imparted by an able teacher in the course of instruction in the English language. The Commission learns that as a general rule, whether on account of the inherent difficulty of the subject of civics or of the failure as yet to prepare a really good text-book, or for lack of special training of the average teacher, it has been difficult to maintain interest in the teaching of this subject in the public schools. If a suitable text-book can be prepared and translated into the different languages it is the belief of the Commission that much good can be accomplished. In New York City the courses in civics in the day schools are taught at a time when many of the alien children are about to leave, and the public night schools for aliens have no regular syllabus on the subject, but depend upon the initiative of the individual principals and teachers who merely touch the fringe of the subject, and are, therefore, ineffective.

The most definite attempts to bring this information to the alien adult is through the free lectures of the New York City department of education in foreign languages by natives of their own country; those who have come here under similar conditions, and who, therefore, are able to judge of the desire and requirements of the alien. Further extension of these lectures will depend upon the ability of the department to enlist the services of a sufficient number of qualified lecturers. The public libraries also perform a useful function in this regard.<sup>a</sup>

In cities other than New York the educational authorities have attempted to reach the alien, and have made admirable beginnings. This is notably so in Rochester, where civic centers in the public schools have been established with success, and should be considered as a means of civic education.

*Private agencies.*—Attention has been given to this subject by a number of private agencies, dealing more with children than with adults. These include such organizations as social settlements, Young Men's Christian Associations, the Educational Alliance,<sup>b</sup> churches, city history clubs, trade organizations, and newspapers. The Constitution and history of the United States have been published in serial form in Yiddish and Italian papers. Instruction has been given by these organizations through the medium of clubs, classes, lectures, publications, and by personal association. The information is more or less casual, and reaches certain groups in some localities effectively, while others are not benefited at all.

*Conclusions.*—Instruction in civics should be thorough and constructive, and should be thoroughly disseminated. Classes, lectures, and pamphlets dealing with this subject all perform a useful purpose. Cooperation between state and federal authorities would be productive of the best results. As an illustration, information concerning resources, industries, and industrial opportunities in the various parts of the country might with propriety be given to the alien on embarkation, and on shipboard through the agency of the Federal Government. Information dealing more specifically with state conditions, and with its institutions and laws, could more properly be extended to him after arrival by the state agencies.

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## EXHIBIT E.

### PROTECTION OF ALIENS.<sup>o</sup>

[Miss Frances A. Kellor, secretary North American Civic League for Immigrants.]

The protection of the alien is one of the most important things to be undertaken by Americans in this country. Protection is needed at four main points in the immigrant's experience. First, upon arrival, which may be called the main line, for he is then seeking work, a home, friends, and companionship. Second, when he has found some or all of these and is making good. Third, when he becomes a failure, either through his own fault or because of the conditions with which he has been confronted. Fourth, when he desires to return to his native country, being either a success or a failure.

The protection needed on arrival falls in three fields: When he is on his way to his destination from Ellis Island, after he is admitted at the barge office, and when he is looking for lodgings and for work. The protection needed on his way to his destination must be of a varied nature. In the city of New York the situation is complex. All immigrants with city addresses pass through the barge office, and in times of heavy immigration as many as 3,500

<sup>a</sup> Appendix LVI—(Report of the Commission of Immigration of the State of New York).

<sup>b</sup> Appendix LVII. (Ibid.)

<sup>c</sup> From "The Immigrant and the Community"—addresses, papers, and resolutions of the fourth annual conference of the Society for the Promotion of Social Service in the Young Men's Christian Association, Montclair, March 31, April 1 and 2, 1910, with a bibliography on immigration. New York, Young Men's Christian Association Press, 1910.

new arrivals a day pass through this gate. Those going west by way of Jersey City are delivered at the railway stations directly by barge from Ellis Island. Those going via the Fall River Lines or the New York, New Haven and Hartford are delivered by an express company, under a contract, which specifies the charge and which is guaranteed by these lines, that all immigrants will be safely delivered at the piers and station. Immigrants going via the New York Central and other railway lines find their way there alone or fall in the hands of self-interested runners.

The place where protection is most needed is at the barge office. A number of immigrant societies have agents at Ellis Island who are willing to conduct the immigrants to their destination in New York City; but after their efforts are considered, there still remain many hundreds of people daily who do not avail themselves of their services, or for whom there are no immigrant societies. There congregate at the Battery, awaiting the arrival of the immigrants, some twenty licensed city porters and as many more licensed city runners, and a number of unlicensed ones. There are also numerous expressmen and cabmen, many waiting for an opportunity to exploit the immigrant. They pounce upon him, grab his baggage, or deprive him of the address he carries and in every way try to induce him to go with them. Among the dangers he is exposed to are overcharges by the porter or runner who acts as his guide, or by the cabmen or expressmen; delivery to out-of-the-way places where he is left to find his way as best he can, usually with no knowledge of English; receiving short change when the runner or porter buys his subway or elevated ticket, as the immigrant has not the slightest idea of the fare; having counterfeit money passed on him; being taken to boarding houses and employment agencies, where he is further exploited; having his baggage held in order to compel him to accept offers of employment favorable to the agent.

The North American Civic League for Immigrants found these abuses prevalent when it began its work in January of this year. It found a number of imitation bills and fake advertisements resembling money in circulation, discovered the place where these and badges were sold, and had the plates destroyed at the printer's where some of the fake advertisement bills were being printed. In one particular instance a runner who exchanged £3 belonging to an immigrant for an imitation \$20 bill, 50 cents, two nickels, and a penny was sentenced to six months in the penitentiary. In order to lessen these abuses it has been found necessary to maintain from one to four men at the barge office, and to have the police detail increased. There ought, however, to be some system devised by which the immigrant could be safely delivered at a minimum cost, on a guaranteed contract, rather than to spend time and money and energy watching and driving out sharpers who prey on the immigrant at this point, which is only alleviating the trouble, not cutting it out root and branch.

The same exploitation takes place on the docks and at the stations, where immigrants wait unprotected. Aside from these points, the conditions in transit deserve some attention. Immigrants now travel long distances on slow trains, have in some instances exceedingly long waits, leave on schedules which land young women in cities alone very late at night with no one to meet them. The conditions of the cars are not all that can be desired, and the facilities on board some of the coastwise steamers need much improvement. There is not space to give here a statement of the conditions found, but here is a field where friendly interest and effort would add much to the comfort and safety of the immigrant on his way to his destination after leaving Ellis Island.

Another matter deserving attention is the problem presented at retransfer points such as Chicago, Pittsburg, St. Louis, Kansas City, etc. It has been found that immigrants in most instances have no adequate protection; that they are exploited while being transferred from one station to another, and that they are diverted from their final destination and induced to remain in the city by employment agents. These and other abuses can be met only by some system of protection, operative at all points of danger from Ellis Island to the final destination.

In the matter of finding work and a home the redistribution within the city of New York has held most of our attention. There are the private bankers who act as general friends and utility centers, and their reliability may be gauged somewhat by the numerous failures and disappearances with the alien's money. The New York State Immigration Commission Report shows this to have exceeded \$1,500,000 in 1908, and the losses in 1909 were large. The em-

ployment agent deals with large numbers. There are in New York City some 60 so-called contract-labor agents, many of whom run camps in quarries, on railways, on public works, and elsewhere, to which they send the men. The part the agent plays and the conditions in some of these camps I described in the Survey of January 1, 1910. To some extent these agents determine the kind of home the immigrant will have and his opportunities. Some of the boarding houses investigated show that both in the matter of finding employment and in housing there is much need of sympathetic inquiry and work. This is especially true among the Greeks, Poles, Slavs, and some of the nationalities that have begun more recently to emigrate to America.

There are in New York City a number of immigrant societies which find work for aliens. There is the National Employment Exchange, the Bureau of Farm Labor, conducted by the Division of Information of the Department of Commerce and Labor and by the State department of agriculture, and the work being done by the Jews through the Industrial Removal Society; but there exists among them no cooperation, no federation, no system, such as exists to some degree among self-interested agencies and those desiring to exploit immigrants.

An immigrant may desire to go into business, and whether it is a push-cart or shoe-shine privilege, he gets it through graft, and rarely is there information or advice at hand enabling him to make a wise selection or a clean start. This matter of a clean start is very vital, as may be seen from the number of immigrants who come here desiring to earn an honest living, but who from experience find it more profitable to exploit their more recently arrived brethren.

We so often think when an immigrant is making a fair wage and is living under passable conditions that he does not need protection. The successful man is the especial prey, first of the private bankers, who want to bank his savings, transmit his earnings, direct his investments, and use his funds. There are about a thousand of these in New York State, many being irresponsible, illiterate men, who give the immigrant no guaranty whatever that they will perform the service they promise. Much of the immigrant's savings goes into buying prepaid tickets for his friends or family, and great abuses have been found where so-called steamship agents sold bogus tickets, delayed sending the tickets, or simply disappeared with money paid them on installments for tickets. The successful man frequently needs legal services. In this country the notary public, though only a clerk, has assumed many of the powers and much of the prestige held by continental notaries. They draw up legal documents, many of which are worthless. They overcharge and attempt to render services of which they are wholly incapable, causing the immigrants much loss and hardship. They in some instances actually defraud their clients by getting them to sign powers of attorney permitting the notary to dispose of their property and withdraw their savings from banks. These notaries are very numerous and their power is great. Shyster lawyers also reap a harvest though promises to "get friends and relatives through Ellis Island."

There are also the questions of placing the immigrant children in school and keeping them out of illegal employment. It is a curious fact that although the city and State both require registries, there is no registry whatever of incoming aliens, and nowhere is there to be found any record showing their distribution throughout the State. In the case of children, the result of this lack is that the truant officer may or may not find the child who should be in school, and many children are illegally at work because no one knows they are here. There should be complete registry and the information should be placed in the hands of the proper authorities regularly and systematically.

The same difficulties exist as to adults. In some cities there are evening schools for teaching English to adults; in others there are not. All schools are closed during the summer, when most immigrants come in. Some philanthropic organizations are working hard at this matter, and it is a big field, deserving much effort. Civics is rarely taught, and in camp communities adults and children have but meager educational facilities. The matter of naturalization is a disgrace, as has been shown by the Federal and New York State immigration commissions, and there is practically no instruction in the duties of citizenship.

The same story of neglect is seen in the matter of religion. The immigrant does not readily find church connections here. His children do get into some of the many parochial and Talmudic schools, but he remains away. A study of the church activities in some of the immigration districts shows little or no systematic, intelligent effort to get hold of the newly arrived alien, who is often

in the toils of the exploiter before the church finds him. This lack of religious fellowship is a more serious matter than is realized, and a conference of religious organizations to work out some coordinated plan is much needed.

When the immigrant fails and gets into our courts and almshouses and jails it is seldom that causes are traced. The New York State commission of immigration found serious abuses in the interpreter systems, on which the alien's hope of justice depends; it found no instruction in our laws which would enable a well-meaning alien to remain law-abiding in the maze of our complex ordinances, department regulations, and State laws. It found few aliens able to appeal their cases, so their sentences were heavy and their situation was helpless because of their financial inability to obtain a full review of their case.

Even when the alien wishes to leave the country he is confronted by peculiar hardships. He buys his ticket for a certain steamer, and when he arrives finds his ship too crowded to take him, or is diverted by the runner for some other agency and loses his deposit for his reservation. He is at the mercy of transfer houses. He tries to save money by going as a cattle tender or coal passer and is swindled, overworked, underfed, and abused. He is the prey of his countrymen, who try to get his savings while he is waiting to sail.

We find, then, from a hasty review that the immigrant is confronted at various points by peculiar conditions, which are increasingly dangerous when he does not speak the language and comes from a rural community and is unfamiliar with city conditions. The conditions are met by a number of philanthropic agencies which are doing real work, but this work is not coordinated or standardized. We find the Federal and State governments lending a hand to farmers and farm labor. We find that railways and business interests are becoming aroused to the idea that an immigrant better protected, distributed, and assimilated is a better economic factor; but this new view has not taken more tangible form than to place him as a labor factor or an item in the passenger or freight traffic.

We find that the needs are very distinct and that we can apply our energies along many lines with fruitful results. We need to standardize philanthropic work, to secure cooperation among good agencies. We need to urge the creation of federal and state machinery for the purpose of distributing, educating, and assimilating people admitted. In every State where there are large numbers of aliens legislation similar to that passed by New York this year should be urged, namely, a bill first creating a bureau of industries and immigration in the department of labor; second, regulating private bankers; third, licensing steamship ticket agents; and, fourth, regulating notaries public. There is the greatest need of educational work for adults in civics and English and for some system of getting and keeping alien children in schools. The interest of responsible business groups in the immigrant as a human being is greatly to be desired. A study of causes and measures of relief could well supplant some of the hysterical and wasteful efforts now being made to let immigrants in or keep them out. Practical efforts to meet the situation as it exists would throw the most light upon the country's need. If Americans would seek friendly contact with aliens instead of leaving the Americanization to other aliens they would hasten assimilation.

The one essential thing for those genuinely interested in the protection, education, and assimilation of the immigrant is to get together on some program of work and carry it out in a systematic, businesslike, thorough way.

#### HEARING BEFORE THE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 4, 1909.*

The Commission met at 10.30 o'clock a. m.

Present: Senators Dillingham (chairman) and Lodge; Representatives Howell and Bennet; Messrs. Jenks, Neill, and Wheeler.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. SIMON WOLF.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Simon Wolf, who is present, has asked for an opportunity to present certain views, and I have asked him to be present this morning. Mr. Wolf, we are now ready to hear you.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I do not know on exactly what lines you wish me to speak, but it may be you desire to ask me certain questions, and, if so, I shall be very glad to answer them as best I can.

The CHAIRMAN. You wrote me a letter saying you desired to be heard on certain questions.

Mr. WOLF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It was for the reasons stated in your letter that we appointed the meeting for this morning.

Mr. WOLF. One of the questions I wish to bring to the attention of the Commission is the classification of immigrants by faith. That is what it amounts to, as far as the Jewish immigration is concerned. Some years ago that question arose in the Immigration Bureau, when Mr. Powderly was Commissioner-General, and I was invited to New York. We argued the matter there at length, and the Bureau finally came to the conclusion to eliminate the word "Jew" from the immigration list, and I supposed that the subject had ended then and there. But it has been revived, and the word is now being used, I believe, not only by the authorities, but its use is also contemplated in the report of your honorable Commission, as I have been informed.

The point we make is this: A Jew coming from Russia is a Russian; from Roumania, a Roumanian; from France, a Frenchman; from England, an Englishman; and from Germany, a German; that Hebrew or Jewish is simply a religion.

Senator LODGE. What is he if he comes from Poland?

Mr. WOLF. I suppose he is a Pole; or, if he belongs—

Senator LODGE. "Poland" is a geographical expression.

Mr. WOLF. That is all. It is not for me to inform intelligent gentlemen like yourselves that Poland has been divided among different States of Europe.

Senator LODGE. Do you think that Poles ought to be classified as Prussians, Austrians, Russians, depending upon which part of Poland they come from?

Mr. WOLF. I do.

Senator LODGE. And the Irish as British?

Mr. WOLF. Yes, sir.

I wish to state right here, for the purpose of avoiding any conflict or misunderstanding, that a certain portion of the Jewish people claim that the Jews are a race, especially the Zionists, who cling to the idea of returning to Palestine and founding a Jewish state; and I am not speaking for that portion of the Jewish people.

Senator LODGE. No; I understand there is a difference.

Mr. WOLF. The reform element in the United States and throughout the world, that class which has not been living in Russia and Roumania under medieval conditions, is decidedly on the lines I have indicated; that is, that we are citizens of the country in which we reside, and we have been fighting in every possible way against the idea of founding a Jewish state.

It is under all circumstances the only course for the Government of the United States to pursue, to ignore the action taken by Russia and Roumania, who recognize the Jew racially and who confer no rights or privileges upon him as a citizen; in short, they do not recognize him. Therefore the tabulating of the Jew as such, especially coming from those countries, is simply strengthening the hands of the people who have oppressed him in other countries, and the same unfortunate condition has caused the incoming immigrant who has never been a citizen to claim that the Jewish people are a race never having been recognized as citizens of their respective countries, although in their condition of noncitizenship, as well as that of full-fledged citizenship, they are equal to the best and worthy of the highest commendation.

In this connection it might be stated that great stress has been laid upon the fact that the Jew refuses to intermarry, claiming superiority or racial differences. That has been fully discussed time and again and even recently at the Rabbinical Conference in the City of New York. The question is not of race or of differences in blood, but purely religious; that the natural differences arising between different faiths create domestic disturbances and lead to acrimonious results, injurious to the peace and harmony of the home and to the permanent injury of the children who are made shuttlecocks between the separate faiths of the husband and wife.

The Russian Government recognizes the religion and not the race from the very fact that when a Russian of Jewish faith becomes a convert to the Greek Catholic religion, he is recognized as a citizen, thus confirming all our contention that it is not racial, but religious.

Senator LODGE. Do I understand you to deny that the Jews are a race?

Mr. WOLF. How?



Senator LODGE. Do you deny that the word "Jew" is used to express a race?

Mr. WOLF. As the representative of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations—which I have been for nearly 30 years—when the question whether the Jews were a race arose some years ago I took up the matter and propounded a series of interrogatories to some of the leading Jews of the United States, among others the Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, who is president of the American Jewish Committee; Dr. Cyrus Adler, who was librarian of the Smithsonian and is now president of Dropsie College in Philadelphia; Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, a noted rabbi in Chicago; Dr. K. Kohler, president of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati; and Dr. M. Jastrow, who was one of our most noted Jewish scholars; and each and every one of them (and their views are to be found in this little pamphlet,<sup>a</sup> which I will leave with you) states that the Jews are not a race.

Senator LODGE. That I think is an important point. I have always supposed they were. I find in the preface of The Jewish Encyclopedia, which is signed by Cyrus Adler, among others, this statement:

"An even more delicate problem that presented itself at the very outset was the attitude to be observed by the encyclopedia in regard to those Jews who, while born within the Jewish community, have, for one reason or another, abandoned it. As the present work deals with Jews as a race, it was found impossible to exclude those who were of that race, whatever their religious affiliations may have been."

In the same encyclopedia is a statement by Joseph Jacobs, B. A., formerly president of the Jewish Historical Society of England:

"Anthropologically considered, the Jews are a race of markedly uniform type, due either to unity of race or to similarity of environment."

Do you mean to deny—I want to understand your position—that the word "Jew" is a racial term?

Mr. WOLF. I have made my statement, and my opinion is in this pamphlet.

Senator LODGE. Let me get at it. How would you classify Benjamin Disraeli? Was he a Jew?

Mr. WOLF. He was born a Jew.

Senator LODGE. No, he was not born a Jew, for he was baptized in a Christian church.

Mr. WOLF. He was born of Jewish parents, and subsequently at a certain age was baptized.

Senator LODGE. He was baptized as a Christian. He then ceased to be a Jew?

Mr. WOLF. Yes; religiously he ceased to be a Jew.

Senator LODGE. Ah! Religiously. He was very proud of the fact that he was a Jew, and always spoke of himself in that way. Did the fact that he changed his religion alter his race?

Mr. WOLF. It did not change the fact that he was born a Jew; not at all; and I know the Jewish people throughout the world have claimed Nim, Heine, and Börne, and others who were born of their blood, as being Jews, when they speak of persons who have accomplished something wonderful in the world. But they ceased to be Jews from the standpoint of religion—

Senator LODGE. Undoubtedly. What I want to get at is whether the word "Jew" or "Hebrew" is not a correct racial term?

Mr. WOLF. If you will pardon me, you will find a letter from Dr. Cyrus Adler right at the close of the pamphlet, which perhaps you might read for the benefit of the committee.

Senator LODGE (after reading letter referred to).<sup>b</sup> I do not think that answers anything.

Mr. WOLF. You can keep this pamphlet, if you desire, and look it over. There are a number of other opinions there.

Mr. WHEELER. It treats of the entire subject?

Mr. WOLF. Yes; and kindred subjects. It is the report of the board for the year ended January, 1904.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Wolf.

Senator LODGE. Excuse me for interrupting you. I merely wanted to find out what your position is.

<sup>a</sup> The Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Report of the Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights, January, 1904. For extracts referred to by Mr. Wolf, see p. 286.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 289.

Mr. WOLF. The position we have broadly taken is that in the classification of immigrants the word "Jew" is entirely uncalled for; that those persons come from the respective countries of their birth and arrive here as other immigrants, and therefore ought not to be classified as Jews, unless you classify every immigrant by faith—a Russian of Jewish faith, a Russian of Greek faith, and so on and so forth.

If you make no discrimination, we have no objection at all, but if you are going to discriminate and mark the Jew distinctively, we do object.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you make any distinction between the terms "Jew" and "Hebrew"? The word "Hebrew" is the one used by the Department and by the Government generally in its classification.

Mr. WOLF. I am not prepared to answer that question intelligently as I am not a scholar to the extent of defining those words.

The CHAIRMAN. I was merely asking because of the fact that the Government invariably uses the word "Hebrew."

Mr. WOLF. I know.

Senator LODGE. Not in any religious sense, but in a racial sense.

Mr. WOLF. Personally, I have always used the word "Jew," and I have never shirked responsibility therefor, nor do I regard it, as it seems to have been taken by some, as a term of reproach, and who use the word "Hebrew" simply to soften the aspersion. I have never considered it in that way, and I do not think the best of our people do.

The CHAIRMAN. With you the words would be synonymous?

Mr. WOLF. Yes.

Representative BENNET. The words "Hebrew" and "Jew" describe the same people.

Mr. WOLF. Oh, yes.

Representative BENNET. The only difference being that they would apply at different times in the history of the same people. Is that not correct?

Mr. WOLF. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. WHEELER. "Hebrew" is equally objectionable from your standpoint, in regard to the matter in question here?

Mr. WOLF. Equally so. These people simply come as citizens of the respective countries in which they were born and from which they have emigrated, and we here in this country claim that we are citizens of our common country and that what our faith is concerns no one but ourselves.

Here is a pamphlet from the Jewish Historical Society, taken from the book I published—The American Jew as Soldier, Patriot, and Citizen—which gives a résumé of what citizens of Jewish faith in the United States have accomplished since the days of the Revolution up to the present. We were not enlisted as Jews, but as citizens.

Senator LODGE. Are there not a great many Jews who are not of the Jewish faith or the Israelitish religion? I have been told there are many Jews in this country at the present moment who are not of the Jewish faith.

Mr. WOLF. A man is either a Jew in faith or he is not. He may be of the orthodox or the ultraorthodox or the reform. There are agnostics among the Jews, of course, as there are in the Christian churches.

Senator LODGE. Certainly. But I was told by one of the police commissioners in New York some years ago that there are a considerable number of Jews, people who were classified as such on entering as immigrants, who are not adherents of the ancestral faith?

Mr. WOLF. Very likely. I have no doubt there are 500,000 Jews in the city of New York who, if you asked them whether I was a Jew, would say "no," because I do not cling to the old traditions and liturgy to which they religiously and faithfully adhere.

Senator LODGE. But those people—certainly some, I do not know how many, who are Jews, but who for one reason or another have abandoned their faith, as people in all religions frequently do—would be classified as Jews.

Mr. WOLF. Classified by whom?

Senator LODGE. In the returns of the immigration officers.

Mr. WOLF. That may be—

Senator LODGE. I have never supposed for one moment—and I do not now suppose—that the Jews who are put down in the immigration returns as such are classified according to religion.

Mr. WOLF. You classify them under the supposition, as I understand—

Senator LODGE. On the supposition that it is a race.

Mr. WOLF. That the Jewish people constitute a race as the English are a race, as the Germans are a race, and so forth?

Senator LODGE. Yes; as the Poles are a race, though they have no country and no nationality; as the Irish are a race, although they have no nationality and no country.

Mr. WOLF. I understand—but how much there is in that information I do not know—that the opposition to classifying these people as immigrants from Russia is owing to the protest made by the Russian authorities, who do not wish it understood that so many Russian subjects are emigrating to the United States.

Senator LODGE. I have never heard of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Nor have I.

Mr. WOLF. That has been stated.

Senator LODGE. I do not imagine that has anything to do with it. It never occurred to me until I heard you were coming here that the classification as made by the immigration authorities had anything to do with religion. I supposed it was a race classification. It is important, very important, to get the race classification as nearly as we can.

Mr. WOLF. Yes.

Senator LODGE. As you all know, there are what are called the scientific races—that is, the races which are defined by physical peculiarities—the great divisions, like the Mongol, the Negro, the North American Indian, the Aryan, the Semitic. Those are what are called the scientific races, where the difference in the skulls and so on has all been retained. Of course in Europe there has been a great mixture of races and the scientific divisions have largely disappeared. But there are peoples which have been formed gradually, as the English, the German, in which there is a great mixture of blood, but which are historically racial, just as the Poles are historically a race. They may not be scientifically a race, because there is a considerable admixture of blood.

But the classification made by the Immigration Bureau is on the basis of historic races in contradistinction to the broad scientific divisions which would be of no value whatever in making returns. I had always supposed that this classification was made exactly as they classify the Irish and the Pole, as the Syrian and the Armenian. It would be an absurdity to classify the Syrians and the Armenian as Turks. They are subjects of the Sultan of Turkey, of course; they are Turks politically.

Mr. WOLF. You are aware that the Census Bureau some time ago attempted to classify in the same manner and it was prohibited from doing so.

Senator LODGE. The word "race" was stricken out of the census bill. I think it was a great mistake. It makes the returns almost valueless.

Mr. WOLF. I can simply repeat what I have said, that I am voicing the opinions of those whom I represent—the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Order of B'nai B'rith. They are opposed to the classification as made in the last few years and as contemplated, so far as I am informed, in the report of the Commission. Of course no one can foreshadow what the report will be.

There are other questions that I desire to bring to the attention of the Commission, if you desire to hear me.

Representative BENNET. Before going into any other matter I should like to ask one question. I think there is a distinction between the immigration of Jewish people from Russia and Roumania and of Armenians from all parts of the Turkish Empire and all other immigration, because as to them there is the element of flight; they come very largely because of oppression and because of certain governmental conditions. There is that difference as compared with other immigration.

Now, ought we to disregard the uniform practice of our Bureau of Immigration, possibly since 1820, ought we to disregard Mr. Hayes's very excellent note in relation to Roumania; ought we to disregard all the correspondence of our Secretaries of State for years past with the Russian Government as to passports, in no one of which instances has the correspondence or the figures related to the Jewish religion, but to the Jewish people as an entity; ought we to throw away all that because of a contention as to which Jews—using now the term from a religious standpoint—are themselves divided?

Mr. WOLF. The question between Russia and this Government on the passport matter is on the nonrecognition of a passport in the hands of one who, while being a Jew in faith, is an American citizen; and our contention is that

the Government of Russia had no right to discriminate against any American citizen, which they did do and which they do now.

Representative BENNET. We called their attention specifically to the fact that the only American citizens against which they discriminated are those whom they call Jews.

Mr. WOLF. People of Jewish faith, and, as already indicated, Russia does not recognize Jews as citizens.

Representative BENNET. Not necessarily. They ask at the embassy "Is this citizen a Jew by birth," not faith, and they refuse a passport to a man who is an apostate from the Jewish religion, if he is of Jewish birth. Ought we to throw away all that for which we have contended because of something that is urged by a divided sentiment?

Mr. WOLF. Are we going to be regulated in regard to our domestic affairs by any condition that exists in Russia or by any legislation that exists in Russia?

Representative BENNET. Not at all.

Mr. WOLF. Not at all?

Representative BENNET. But we must have a united American contention, and our contention in relation to Russia always has been that every American citizen is entitled to all the rights that every other American citizen is entitled to.

Mr. WOLF. Certainly. Therefore, the word "Jew," as used in the correspondence, has nothing to do with the rights guaranteed to every citizen.

Representative BENNET. Exactly. We object to any and every discrimination against a Jew by birth, as well as against a Jew by religion.

Mr. WOLF. Exactly.

Representative BENNET. Are we for any reason to be driven from ground where we can contend that a man who is a Jew by birth loses no rights if he ceases to be a Jew by religion?

Mr. WOLF. How can he lose any right by simply being classified as a Russian? What the man's religion may be does not concern either party.

Representative BENNET. No.

Mr. WOLF. That is all we claim. Let the record show that so many Russians are coming here, so many Germans, so many Englishmen or Frenchmen, or whatever nationality they may be. The Jew in Russia—

Senator LODGE. How are you going to define the nationalities? We must make it the same for everybody. Are you going to classify a Hungarian as an Austrian?

Mr. WOLF. The Hungarians, as far as their allegiance is concerned, under present conditions are undoubtedly Austrians. They are Hungarians, of course. Hungary is a separate and distinct Kingdom.

Senator LODGE. How would you classify those coming from the 17 Provinces of Austria—men of utterly different races, historically speaking? We classify the Croatians, the Bohemians, according to the race they represent in Austria. We classify them according to their race, not according to their allegiance. We classify none of them according to allegiance or religion.

Mr. WOLF. I am aware of that.

Senator LODGE. The Irish are a perfect illustration of that. They are not classified according to their religion. They are British subjects—

Mr. WOLF. Certainly.

Senator LODGE. But we classify them as Irish because they are Irish, and undoubtedly there is a great deal of mixed blood in Ireland—English, Scotch, and Welsh blood.

Mr. WOLF. That is altogether geographical, and so with respect to the 17 Austrian Provinces.

Senator LODGE. The Irish are not classified geographically. An Irishman is classified as an Irish immigrant wherever he may come from.

Mr. WOLF. You seem to forget—and you certainly are sufficiently versed in the history of all people and especially the people I represent to know—that when a Jew is spoken of a Jew in faith is meant.

Senator LODGE. Not at all.

Mr. WOLF. And the race has absolutely nothing to do with it.

Senator LODGE. There is where we start off with a vast difference. I deny that this classification is according to religion.

Mr. WOLF. It should not be.

Senator LODGE. It is purely a racial classification, and I used the illustrations I did to establish that.

Representative BENNET. Does not the word "Hebrew" come from the fact that those people were known as the descendants of Heber, and is it not used in Genesis as a racial term?

Mr. WOLF. Yes.

Representative BENNET. It is not based on religion at all.

Mr. WOLF. But a great many races have disappeared or been assimilated and mingled with the people among whom they lived.

Representative BENNET. That is true. But here is a race that has not.

Mr. WOLF. Why not? Do you mean to say I am any less an American because I happen to be a Jew in faith?

Representative BENNET. No; nor do I deny that I am in part Irish, even though I am an American.

Mr. WOLF. I honor you for it.

Senator LODGE. We are none of us Americans racially. We are Americans politically and geographically, but we are not Americans racially.

Mr. WOLF. No; I suppose the true Americans are the Indians.

Senator LODGE. Certainly.

Representative BENNET. Or the Moundbuilders.

Mr. WHEELER. I must say that I never understood the word "Jew" or the word "Hebrew" to describe a religion. I have running through my mind now a half a dozen prominent Jewish families in San Francisco who attend Christian churches. But we know them all as Jews.

Mr. WOLF. You know them as a class, but we would not recognize them as Jews. Mr. Judah P. Benjamin has been recognized as a Jew born, but he was an Episcopalian. That does not follow at all. There are any number of Jews who have become converted or who have married Christians.

Senator LODGE. Do they cease thereby to be Jews? Does "Jew" become a wrong description?

Mr. WOLF. They certainly cease to be Jews.

Senator LODGE. Is no man a Jew unless he is of the Jewish faith?

Mr. WOLF. As a matter of glorification and an illustration of the genius inherent in the Jew as such, when born as such, as I stated at the inception, a great many claim Disraeli, Heine, Börne, Mendelssohn, Bartholdi, and other great celebrities in all the walks of literature, arts and sciences, as Jews, but in reality, from the Jewish standpoint, they ceased to be Jews when they became Christians.

Mr. JULIAN W. MACK. Permit me to say a word. If Disraeli had come to this country, after he had attained his fame, he certainly would have said, in answer to the question asked him at the port, that he was an Englishman.

Senator LODGE. He would have been classed racially as a Jew.

Mr. MACK. Would some officer at the port have that power?

Senator LODGE. It is not a question as to where a man happens to live or what his allegiance is. If we were to classify men according to their allegiance, we would classify them in a manner which would be useless.

Mr. WOLF. You claim if a man is once a Jew he is always a Jew?

Senator LODGE. Yes; if he is of the Jewish race.

Mr. MACK. If one parent is a Jew and the other is not—

Senator LODGE. There you mix the blood.

Mr. MACK. Where would you put Disraeli's children, if he had any? Where would you put Felix Mendelssohn's children, if he had any? Mendelssohn became a Christian. I do not know where you would put his children. He considered himself a German. Even Moses Mendelssohn, his grandfather, considered himself a German, and the Germans, in large part, except the anti-Semitic element, consider him a German.

Senator LODGE. Your proposition is that the classification is made according to religion. That certainly is not the fact.

Mr. MACK. Then of what value is your classification?

Senator LODGE. The Jews are classified according to their race and not their religion.

Mr. MACK. What is its value?

Senator LODGE. All classifications must be more or less inexact.

Mr. MACK. Take the Jews who come from Germany, whose ancestors have lived in Germany three or four hundred years, ever since Spain drove them out of that country, who have become thoroughly identified in every way with their German neighbors, and are deemed by all to be Germans, except by the anti-Semitic element; of what possible value is it to anybody to classify them as Jews simply because they adhere to the Jewish religion?

Senator LODGE. Because there is a general belief that the Jews are a strongly defined race.

Mr. MACK. I think they are strongly defined.

Senator LODGE. I mean they have maintained their racial status in a very extraordinary way.

Mr. MACK. I am not ethnologist enough to say. I think they have kept their blood purer, perhaps, than many other nations. But intermarriage has been common.

Senator LODGE. There is a general belief, I think, widely accepted, that they are a race. There are, I know, bodies of Jews who are not racially Jews at all. Doctor Adler refers to one tribe in Abyssinia. If we had here an immigration of Abyssinians they would never be classified as Jews, no matter what their faith might be. There are Christian Abyssinians—and it is a curious form of Christianity. There is also there a tribe of Jews called Falashes. But if there was any immigration to this country from that country, they would be classified as Abyssinians—all of them, whether Christians or Jews. They would not be classified as Jews on account of their religion.

Mr. MACK. Take a Jewish emigrant from this country into England. Of what possible value would it be to England for England to classify him, not as an American, but as a Jew? Of what possible value would it be for England to classify you as an American and to classify me as a Jew? I do not know how you could claim to be any more of an American than I am because your ancestors have been here probably ten generations and mine only three generations, although I know of plenty of Jews who have been here for eight generations.

Mr. WHEELER. You would not be classified other than as an American——

Mr. MACK. I would not?

Mr. WHEELER. Under the present system.

Mr. MACK. But Senator Lodge just said that he would classify Beaconsfield as a Jew and not as an Englishman.

Senator LODGE. Racially.

Mr. WOLF. That is the same case.

Senator LODGE. I am not now speaking of political classifications. I am speaking of racial classification, and this is used by the immigration authorities solely as a race classification. For the allegation that it is used as a religious classification I have seen no warrant whatever.

Mr. MACK. I can understand a racial classification from a country which itself classifies its people racially, in which the race is recognized as a unit. Take it under the old Turkish rule; not as to-day.

Senator LODGE. Would you classify any Jew coming from Palestine as a Jew?

Mr. MACK. That would depend. There is a Jew from Palestine sitting next to me here who would be glad to be classified as a Jew, who would insist upon it, but a great many would not, and there are a great many Jews in America who, if they were to go to Palestine, would insist upon being classified as Americans.

Senator LODGE. There is no discrimination whatever, as I understand. I should be the last man to favor any discrimination whatever.

Mr. MACK. I can not understand that when it comes to classifying Jews from Germany or England or many other countries as Jews. I can understand the proposition that there is no discrimination meant and no desire to get at religious differences, when you classify the people of Austria as Croatsians, Galicians, and so forth, and possibly even as Jews, although Austria does not recognize the Jews as a nation in the sense it does the Bohemians or the Croatsians or the Galicians. I can understand it in Russia, where they recognize different races; and so in Turkey under the old régime where the Jews had certain national rights as Jews; jurisdiction over their own bodies, among themselves, legally. But I can not understand it from the standpoint of Germany or France or England or any of those countries in which there is no difference and in which, just as in America, they are all deemed for every purpose, to be English or German or French.

Representative BENNET. As 76 per cent of those classed as Hebrews come from Roumania and Russia, as to which you admit a justification for the classification——

Mr. MACK. I do not admit the value. I am not prepared to discuss that. But I can understand reasons for a classification along the lines that the country itself classifies its people—not with respect to religion.

Mr. WOLF. I can easily understand that, from the standpoint of ethnology, you would be trying, from a scientific standpoint, to get at this subject.

Senator LODGE. That is the precise point. This is purely an attempt to get at the ethnology of it. It must be approximate. All ethnology is approximate.

Mr. MACK. I am afraid ethnology is not in a position at the present date to form the best basis. Ethnology has not advanced that far.

Senator LODGE. You can go approximately that far.

Mr. MACK. You can divide the world into five races.

Mr. WOLF. I do not ignore the fact that when you state that so many Jews are coming to the United States it creates a feeling and sentiment among a class of people who are entirely ignorant and prejudiced. It is a prejudice that is entirely uncalled for, because they regard the Jew from an entirely different standpoint from that which I have no doubt this honorable Commission intends to take when it brings out its report. I have met it everywhere—on the rostrum, in the newspapers, in private conversation. The Hon. Mr. Wheeler, when he was Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Labor—and none better ever sat in that chair—had quite a number of conversations with me on the subject; and, gentlemen, it is the absolute truth that when you classify these immigrants as Jews, the antiimmigration leagues of the country, the anti-Semites, the people who are prejudiced against the Jews, use it as a taunt and as a comment upon the enormous immigration of Jews to this country.

Senator LODGE. You do not think there is in this country any feeling of that sort to amount to anything?

Mr. WOLF. My dear friend, Senator Lodge, you, of all men, certainly do know that a great deal of it exists. I have come in contact with gentlemen from your own State; with gentlemen in New York and elsewhere; with gentlemen in the Halls of Congress who voice that sentiment. There are any number of them, unfortunately.

I now again give way for a moment to Judge Mack.

Mr. MACK. Your classification, for the purposes of your work, is not merely of those coming in. You are classifying the Americans. You are classifying the American children in the schools racially. You would call my child in the school racially a Jew. I would call my child in the school racially an American.

Representative BENNET. You are mistaken about that.

Mr. MACK. So I am informed.

Representative BENNET. No; we call your child an American-born child.

Mr. MACK. If you adhered logically to what you were saying, you would classify me, because my father was born in Germany, as an American-born child of the Jewish race. I would disclaim that. I do not recognize the Jewish race. There are Jews who do. I do not.

Senator LODGE. There is some division on this question?

Mr. MACK. Yes. The newer element of Jews in this country, who largely are not yet American citizens, recognize that division, and claim there is a Jewish race—that it is historical—and they want to re-create it as a nation. They really claim the Jewish nation rather than the Jewish race. A Jewish nation, nonexistent at present, they would like to reestablish as one of the great political nations of the world.

Senator LODGE. Like the Poles?

Mr. MACK. Yes. The Poles classify themselves not racially as Poles; they classify themselves nationally as Poles, because at one time they were a nation, and they want to reestablish that nation. I am very sure a majority of Jews who are American citizens care nothing about the reestablishment of the Jewish nation as a nation and therefore do not feel themselves nationally Jews. They certainly do not feel themselves racially Jews, although they are proud of the achievements of all the men who have been born Jews so far as those men have given them cause to be proud of it. They are proud of their Jewish ancestry, but in no other sense.

Senator LODGE. They are proud of their race, and justly so.

Mr. MACK. They are proud of their people.

Mr. WOLF. I have maintained a hundred times, yes, a thousand times, before committees of Congress and everywhere else, that they are proud of their people.

Mr. MACK. My father was a foreigner who came here when he was 13 years old.

Senator LODGE. You would be classified as of foreign parentage.

Mr. MACK. I would be classified by you racially as a native-born child of the Jewish race.

Representative BENNET (to Mr. Husband). How would he be classified under our school inquiry?

Mr. HUSBAND. Just according to what he said his parents were.

Mr. MACK. If I said my father was a Jew, born in Germany, you would put me down as a Jew in race.

Mr. HUSBAND. You would be put down as native born of "Hebrew" father. The Commission uses the term "Hebrew" instead of "Jew."

Mr. MACK. You would amaze me if you did it.

Mr. WOLF. What we want to do is to nationalize the Jew as an American citizen, independent of every other consideration. What he is religiously or by faith or by nonfaith is his business. That is a right guaranteed to him by the Constitution and the institutions of the land, and every patriotic citizen, irrespective of faith, should aid us in this laudable attempt.

Mr. MACK. There is one practical reason to be interposed against this classification, particularly in dealing with people who are here. To stir up race feeling is, as we all know, highly injurious. There is no question of the existence in this country, among some people, of anti-Semitism, just as there is in Germany and in other countries.

Mr. WHEELER. There is no question of the existence, among some narrow-minded people, of a feeling which may be called anti-Romanism.

Mr. MACK. Not the slightest. But you do not classify Christians as Protestants or Roman Catholics.

Senator LODGE. In the census—

Mr. MACK. I am talking about your work here now. You are not classifying the Protestants and the Catholics in any manner racially, but you are classifying the Jews. Now, when the Jews disclaim that racial feeling—those who are American citizens, and the ones you are classifying are largely American citizens—and when they say to you, "These people are English in their parentage," "These people are German in their parentage," "These people are French in their parentage," and you classify them as Jews, then you immediately raise the feeling that they are of a foreign race; that they are foreign to us; that they are not Americans the same as we are. Therefore they are strangers; and we all know that prejudice as such is based largely and fundamentally, whatever it may be aggravated by, on the idea of the stranger. There always was prejudice against the stranger, and you emphasize the fact that the Jew here, as a Jew, is like those of foreign nations—strangers to our land. That is the thing we resent.

Senator LODGE. We classify the Germans as Germans. How can we do it otherwise? We are all immigrants.

Mr. MACK. You and I know that, Senator. We feel that; we realize that; and you have none of the feeling that the average man on the streets has, who when you go to him with such returns sees that the Jew is distinct from all the others. "These people are Germans. All right." We get along mighty well with the Germans. We always have. Even the Irish and the Germans do pretty well together here as representatives of two great nations of the world.

Senator LODGE. Is there an Irish nation?

Mr. MACK. They want to be very strongly. They would resent being called Englishmen.

Senator LODGE. They would, and I would resent it if I were an Irishman.

Mr. MACK. You would have to call them Great Britainers. You have never used that term. Therefore you say Scotchmen, Englishmen, Welshmen, Irishmen. But that is geographical.

Senator LODGE. An Irishman is classified as an Irishman no matter where he comes from.

Mr. MACK. No matter whether he believes in home rule or not.

Senator LODGE. No matter what country he comes from—whether Australia or Canada.

Representative BENNET. Eight came from Belgium, 30 from France, 1 from Germany.

Mr. MACK. They probably were not subjects of those countries.

Senator LODGE. You do not know that. It is a pure assumption.

Mr. MACK. I do not know that. But you do not know the contrary.

Mr. WOLF. Was there anything in their appearance to indicate that, except from their names? They claimed to be Irish probably because they were proud of it.



Mr. MACK. Do not infer from that that the Jew is not proud to be a Jew. He is.

Representative BENNET. Has not one of your coreligionists who comes from Russia the same right, when he gets to Ellis Island, to say he is a Jew that an Irishman who comes from Belgium has to say he is an Irishman?

Mr. MACK. I should say not, because the Irishman who comes from Belgium undoubtedly is still an English subject. He is an Irishman.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask one question that has occurred to me as this discussion has gone on: Suppose we adopt your view of classification, would it not result in this—that every person who comes from the British dominions must be classified as English?

Mr. MACK. As British.

Senator LODGE. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. And from Germany, as a German?

Mr. MACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And from Austria, as an Austrian?

Mr. MACK. Yes; except that Austria recognizes 17 nationalities.

The CHAIRMAN. And from Russia, would they not all be classed as Russians?

Mr. MACK. Yes. But we are not dealing with those people. The question I was addressing myself to was your classification of Americans in America.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I understand that.

Senator LODGE. We are not classifying Americans in America.

The CHAIRMAN. It seems to me Mr. Wolf's contention would come to this: We would be compelled to go back of the whole question of race and take them by their political associations.

Senator LODGE. The classification, of course, would be worthless.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Representative BENNET. You would not deny to Mr. Aronsohn, when he came to this country, the right to classify himself as a Jew?

Mr. MACK. No.

Representative BENNET. Although under the geographical classification he is a Turk.

Mr. ARONSOHN. An Ottoman; not a Turk.

Mr. WOLF. It has been stated that your classification has been in existence since 1820. It only became a factor against which we protest within the last ten or fifteen years, since the enforced emigration from Russia and Roumania commenced. I say "enforced emigration" advisedly.

Representative BENNET. I agree with you.

Mr. MACK. The main point about it is that the Jews in this country do not want anything done by the United States Government which, in their judgment—and that is submitted to your judgment—is of no particular value that they can observe, but which they are dead sure will be used to stir up and will lend itself to stirring up racial feeling.

Mr. WOLF. That is it exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we understand the position which has been taken upon this matter. There are other questions, Mr. Wolf, which you said you wished to discuss.

Mr. WOLF. I do not know whether the Commission intends to make recommendations regarding legislation with respect to the admission of immigrants. If so, I have some ideas to advance and views to express, as I have had a great deal of experience in preventing the deportation of aliens. I have had several conferences with the authorities at Ellis Island.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say in regard to that point that the information which has been gathered by the agents of the Commission is now in process of tabulation, and it has come to that stage where we begin to get results. But the Commission have had only one meeting previous to that of to-day to take up that material and go over it with any considerable care. Therefore we have made very little progress.

Senator LODGE. There will be a series of reports on different features.

The CHAIRMAN. The Commission has made very little progress with respect to what it will recommend. I do not know what subject you had in mind, Mr. Wolf.

Mr. WOLF. There is one very material question. Under the wholesale phrase "liable to become a public charge" a great many worthy people have been deported. Others would have been deported if strenuous appeals had not been made and arguments submitted. The phrase is too sweeping in its character.

A great many have been deported because of their coming here without any means. If that condition had existed at the time I landed in this country—61 years ago—my grandparents and I would not have been admitted. My sainted father and mother would not have been admitted. They came here stripped of everything, having lost everything in the German revolution of 1848, and they came to this country bankrupt in means, but plethoric in all the elements that constitute American citizenship.

I have a number of changes to suggest.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you formulated the amendments which you think would express your views?

Mr. WOLF. I will do so with great pleasure, and I should like to have the privilege later on, when you are ready, to appear again before the Commission, and to submit them and to answer any questions that may be propounded. I am profoundly interested in this matter, not because of the people I represent, but on account of the country of which I am a part.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not formulated them as yet?

Mr. WOLF. I have not, because I did not know in what shape this interview would take place.

Senator LODGE. Of course a great deal of the legislation that is likely to be proposed by the Commission does not touch the points spoken of by Mr. Wolf.

Mr. WOLF. There are a great many other questions. The law as it exists gives the marine doctors the right to say a man's physique is weak and he is liable to become a public charge, and the immigration authorities are bound thereby. They can not go behind that certificate. There is something radically wrong in the system. It seems to me that if the doctors in this country are absolute in turning them back, we could have our own doctors—not foreigners—aboard.

The CHAIRMAN. But we have made inquiries of foreign governments, and they refuse to give their consent.

Mr. WOLF. That ends it.

The CHAIRMAN. We have considered that.

I think it would save time, and perhaps it would be more satisfactory to you, Mr. Wolf, if you would prepare such amendments as you think should be offered to the existing law. We shall be glad later on to have you present them and give your reasons for them. In that way we will both save time, and, perhaps, get at the matter more clearly.

Mr. WOLF. I will not only do that, but I will be in conference with others who are equally interested with myself and those whom I represent, so as to have, if possible, uniform recommendations.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will allow me to make a suggestion, I think it will not only save your time and that of the Commission, but be far more satisfactory if, when you have prepared those amendments, you will brief your opinions upon them so that we can have them before us.

Mr. WOLF. I will do so, with pleasure.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not always carry in our minds all the suggestions that we hear orally made. So if you would brief your recommendations I think it would be of advantage.

Mr. WOLF. Recently, at a conference at Ellis Island, a question came up as to the discretion in the board of inquiry, in voting to deport an alien, to consider the economic conditions in any city. I claimed that the board of inquiry could only exercise its knowledge on the evidence before it; that it could not take the economic conditions of Pittsburg or Chicago, and, applying them, prevent a man who was a miner or a blacksmith or a butcher from going to those places because the market there happened to be full in that direction. I claim that the board of inquiry has no such authority. That is another point upon which I wish to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. When you have prepared your suggestions, we will give you another opportunity.

Mr. WOLF. Very well. I am exceedingly obliged for your kindness and courtesy.

By request of Mr. Wolf the following memorandum is incorporated as an addenda to his remarks:

**MEMORANDUM IN OPPOSITION TO CLASSIFICATION OF IMMIGRANTS AS "HEBREWS."**

First. The question involved is not merely a question of gathering statistics, but involves injecting illegal and prejudicial race and religious discriminations

into quasi-judicial proceedings, as the information from the "ship's manifest" is invariably read into the proceedings of the boards of special inquiry as a captain to the "case," and would furthermore be introduced as one of the "admissions" made by the immigrant before landing.

Second. As a question of gathering statistics, it is unauthorized and illegal, the statute (sec. 12 of the act of Feb. 20, 1907) in providing for statement of "nationality" and "race" in the "manifest" referring to "country of allegiance" and classification into "Mongolian race" or "non-Mongolians" simply. See brief in the matter of Hirsch Skuratowski, pp. 46-61, including Judge Sulzberger's able opinion.

Third. That the present system of classification as "Hebrews" is unauthorized further appears from the fact that the Government first began it about 1899; that classification either as to "nationality" or "race" was not authorized until the act of 1893, and was continued under that act, notwithstanding the fact that that act authorized classification in accordance with "nationality" only. (The acts of 1903 and 1907 called for both race and nationality.)

Fourth. Even in connection with gathering statistics merely, a classification into "races" in the more restricted sense is contrary to American principle of government and is likely to breed race hatred and answers no useful purpose, except to gratify some doctrinaire theories as to supposed values of particular "races," which have been properly ridiculed by such authorities on the subject as Prof. Royce. (See Skuratowski brief, particularly p. 59, and President Roosevelt's admirable annual message of Dec. 3, 1906 (Messages and Documents of 1906, pp. 40), hereto attached.) The suggestive statement of the Emperor of Austria that his Empire of such diverse nationalities is held together by hate, not by love, should be remembered in this connection.

Fifth. As to "Hebrews," however, this classification is further objectionable as a violation of the religious-liberty clauses of the Constitution, for the term denotes their "religion," whether it does or does not also indicate a "race." Of two possible constructions of a statute, one avoiding any serious constitutional question must be adopted. (*U. S. v. Del. & Hudson R. R. Co.*, 213 U. S., No. 366.)

Sixth. If a classification more specific than into "nationality" and "Mongolian" or "non-Mongolian" races be authorized, however, it can be made by subdividing into designated "geographical sections," such as "Ireland," "Hungary," etc., and need not include "Hebrew" at all, which under the present systems would indicate an acceptance of the theory that Jews are not as fully citizens and residents of the country in which they have resided as inhabitants of other creeds. By declining to acquiesce in such alleged discriminations against Jews, we merely logically pursue the American principle of Secretary Hay and others of declining to recognize discriminations because of creed; and we have inquired into the matter of Jewish creed only when Russia or other countries have disregarded their obligations to us by making discriminations against the American Jews on account of their creed or the like.

Seventh. As bearing upon consideration of this classification in connection with decisions upon the rights of immigrants to enter such classifications is unconstitutional as a violation of "due process of law" and of the "religious-liberty clauses of the Constitution." (See Skuratowski brief, pp. 46, 61, particularly quotations from *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, 118 U. S., 356, quoted at p. 57.)

Eighth. In view of the undeniable fact that there is some anti-Jewish feeling in certain quarters, as also other race antagonisms on the part of certain races against others, and that investigation has shown that occasional members of the boards of special inquiry are not wholly free from this taint, nor from being influenced by certain other doctrinaire theories of Commissioner Williams and others as to "race values," the maintenance of this classification results directly in gross injustice and discrimination against Jewish immigrants.

See not merely the specific references to the existence of this feeling in the cases cited in the Skuratowski brief (p. 47), but also in George William Curtis's "Easy Chair Study," "What we owe to the Jews," reprinted in Simon Wolf's book "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier, and Citizen" (p. 506), where it is vigorously condemned. See also the tributes to the services of the Jew in America, and particularly of the Jewish immigrant, by President Roosevelt, ex-President Cleveland, President Eliot, Mayor McClellan, and others in the booklet published in 1905, entitled "The Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Jews in the United States."

Ninth. In fact, Jews are not a "race," strictly speaking, according to the views of the most authoritative present-day ethnologists, and at least two wholly distinct and inconsistent types prevail among them, according to these authorities.

See Ripley's "Races of Europe" (p. 400) and other authorities cited on pages 56-57 of the Skuratowski brief. Also the most recent authoritative work on ethnology.

A. H. Keane: "The World's Peoples," 1908 (pp. 331-332), who recognizes distinct Jewish types, and concludes:

"so that there is no longer any question of a Jewish race, but only of a Jewish sect."

Tenth. The great weight of Jewish opinion is that the Jews are not a "race" within the meaning of our immigration laws (see Skuratowski brief, pp. 53-56), and on that point the Jews are actually unanimous, as shown by the opinions of orthodox Jews like Judge Sulzberger and Dr. Cyrus Adler, both of the "American Jewish committee," and Hon. Simon Wolf and Dr. E. G. Hirsch, of the Reform wing, though in some senses many Jews claim that there is a Jewish race.

Eleventh. The fact that the word "race" is used in several different senses, and loosely used colloquially in an unscientific, inaccurate sense, not merely with respect to the "Hebrews," but as to many other matters, as also the term "Hebrew," particularly concerning converts from Judaism, does not militate against these contentions, and this fact disposes of arguments based on particular uses by particular persons of the terms involved. This merely emphasizes the absurdity of attempting such classifications through ship officers and petty immigration officials when even experts and highly educated persons disagree concerning them.

(a) As the pamphlet compiled by Mr. Wolf a few years ago as to "Jewish race" classification under our immigration laws contains, besides extremely valuable material in favor of the present contention, also quite a little undigested assertions, made without reference to the immigration-law question, I advise using the Skuratowski brief thereafter instead of it.

(b) There is doubtless a typographical error in Mr. Wolf's supposed statement (p. 7) that "there are no doubt 500,000 Jews in the city of New York who, if you asked them whether I was a Jew, would say 'no,' because I do not cling to the traditions and liturgy to which they religiously and faithfully adhere." Not one-tenth would answer that question in the negative. Of course, a different answer would be given to the question whether they are "strictly observant Jews" or "Orthodox Jews," as distinguished from "Reform Jews." There are many Jews who are not "strict Jews," just as there are many "Christians" not strict observers, but they would not be described as non-Jews or non-Christians, even religiously, for that reason.

(c) I have it on the authority of J. P. Benjamin's nephew, Mr. E. B. Kruttschnitt, that J. P. Benjamin never departed from the Jewish faith, though he was not a strict conformist, until just before his death. His wife, who was a devout Catholic, had some sort of Catholic rites performed over him, probably when he was unconscious. He never was an Episcopalian. In Pierce Butler's biography of Benjamin he takes the same view.

(d) The two recommendations concerning this matter were phrased by Mr. Elkus and myself in our letter to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor of July 30, 1909, as follows.

"That the forms of manifest of vessels and department regulations, statistical rule No. XI be made to conform to the correct construction of the word "race" in section 12 of the act of 1907, by abandoning the erroneous classification of "Hebrews" as a race, in violation of the provisions of the first amendment to the Federal Constitution as to religious liberty and other provisions of law.

"That the classification and description of aliens according to their nationality, race, and faith before the board of special inquiry, resulting from copying such matter from the ship's manifest, cease.

"MAX J. KOHLER."

In President Roosevelt's message of December 3, 1906 (Messages and Documents, 40-41), he said:

"Not only must we treat all nations fairly, but we must treat with justice and good will all immigrants who come here under the law. Whether they are

Catholics or Protestant, Jew or Gentile; whether they come from England or Germany, Russia, Japan, or Italy, matters nothing. All we have a right to question is the man's conduct. If he is honest and upright in his dealings with his neighbor and with the State, then he is entitled to respect and good treatment. Especially do we need to remember our duty to the stranger within our gates. It is the sure mark of a low civilization, a low morality, to abuse or discriminate against or in any way humiliate such stranger who has come here lawfully and who is conducting himself properly. To remember this is incumbent on every American citizen, and it is of course peculiarly incumbent on every Government official, whether of the nation or of the several States."

STATEMENT OF HON. JULIAN W. MACK.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mack, the Commission understands you came from Chicago to be heard. It will give us great pleasure to receive such suggestions as you see fit to make.

Mr. MACK. I have not anything definite in mind. I did not know just what your meeting was to be. I am vice-president of the American Jewish committee, to which Mr. Wolf has referred, which aims to interfere for the protection of the human rights of Jews wherever in the world they may be endangered. But in no sense—

Senator LODGE. Is it confined to persons of the Jewish faith?

Mr. MACK. It might be broader. It might protect them for their parents' sake.

Senator LODGE. I hope it covers them all.

Mr. MACK. It would also interfere in behalf of the Armenians.

I might claim to appear here also in another capacity. We have in Chicago what is called the League for the Protection of Immigrants, which is in no sense at all a Jewish affair. There are one or two Jews in the organization. It was started by some women; in fact, the Woman's Trade Union League, and I happen to be president of this protection league.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the organization of which Professor Mead wrote to me?

Mr. MACK. Of which he wrote to you.

The CHAIRMAN. He has been in correspondence with me about it.

Mr. MACK. He is vice-president. The aim of that organization is to be humanly helpful to the immigrant in getting him started in American life and in getting him protected and specifically in getting her protected.

We found in Chicago that thousands of girls come through as immigrants, either destined for Chicago or the West and northwest of Chicago. They come on immigrant trains, some times early in the morning. They do not go out on immigrant trains to the West until late at night. They are stranded there during the day—sometimes for nearly twenty-four hours or longer. They do not speak the language and they are subject to all sorts of dangers. I think our figures show that we visited in the last year 4,000 of these girls. Our employees have been extremely successful in finding people where they are lost and bringing them together in the most human way possible. The police now make it a point, when a foreign girl is found helpless and alone, to take her to the station—we have no other place to put her—and they come to our office and notify us and our investigators go out and make a search until they find the people she ought to have been brought to. But these girls are subject to rascality, to the importunities of agents of brothels, and a good many of them are picked up before they get off the train, before they reach Chicago, for lack of efficient supervision on the way, and are induced or beguiled into going to some place else, with the result that within the last two years we failed to trace a thousand girls who had left Ellis Island destined for Chicago. But we do not know what has become of them—absolutely we do not know what has become of them.

Senator LODGE. What is the name of that society in New York which has been referred to? Did you ever hear of an association called the "New York Independent Benevolent?"

Mr. MACK. I never heard of it except in connection with the article on the white-slave traffic in McClure's. I do not know whether it exists or not.

Mr. H. FRIEDENWALD. I do not think any trace of it has been found.

Mr. MACK. We find as a result of our experience that if it is legally possible—and we think it is—it would be a measure of justice and wisdom for the

United States Government not to let its hand off the immigrant when he leaves Ellis Island, but under some such scheme as that under which we bond goods through to Chicago, making Chicago the port of entry, to keep the immigrant under its jurisdiction until he reaches his ultimate destination, the place he is bound for when he leaves the ship, having a ticket through, regarding Chicago at least, where he is put on the train for the West, as his entry into this country, and in that way afford protection to him.

There is a clause in the present act which says that the Government shall take steps to protect both the Government and the alien immigrant from fraud, and that language it has seemed to us is sufficient to justify some steps being taken by the Government along the lines suggested, in connection with the bureau of information. The law, in section 22, confers upon the commissioner-general the power to establish rules and regulations "for the protection of the United States and alien immigrants thereto from fraud and loss." In a new act that provision might be framed differently and specifically, so that there would be no question as to the duty—subject of course to the Supreme Court of the United States possibly overruling us on the power—of the United States Government to do these things. Of course that has nothing to do with the question of the restriction or liberality of immigration, and while I am sure that in speaking from the liberal standpoint I would be representing the views of everybody in our league for the protection of immigrants, the league itself takes no official position on that question. We are there to help, from the human standpoint, the immigrant who is admitted by the United States Government.

If we are going to let in these people, we owe them, and we owe to ourselves more even than we owe them, the duty to see that they get proper treatment; that the first thing they run up against is not the frauds and swindlers and the gang boss politician, but that they will come in contact with some people who will look out for them and not for themselves.

I do not think I have anything more to say on that point except that we shall be glad to be helpful in making suggestions.

The CHAIRMAN. We shall be very glad of suggestions, because your opportunity for observation has been broad.

Mr. MACK. I will send you copies of these papers,<sup>a</sup> showing just what this sort of a league has done and can do and in what way the United States Government can do what we conceive to be its duty toward the immigrant when he comes in.

The CHAIRMAN. We shall be pleased to receive anything you may submit.

Mr. MACK. One of our directors is Professor Freund, of the University of Chicago, the writer of the best book on the subject of police power.

On the general legislation proposed it is pretty difficult for me to talk to you gentlemen who have been deeply engaged in this matter for several years and some of whom have made it a life study, because I have no original thought to contribute as to much that has been said. I personally am strongly liberal on the immigration question; and while I have not any doubt that I am influenced thereto because I am a Jew, I am equally certain that I would not be influenced thereto if, as an American, I did not consider it to be the best and wisest course for our own country, because I feel myself not racially a Jew; I am a Jew in religion, and I feel—and this is the feeling of many Jews—that they are all the stronger adherents to their traditional religion, because others who claim the same religious traditions, although totally different from them in religious observances and even in creed, are oppressed merely because of that faith.

You may answer me and say they are not oppressed because they are Jews in religion. I say that is not true. It is true that there are some other things which might cause the oppression, but it is the Jew in religion who is oppressed in Russia, and many of them would escape that oppression if they gave up their religion, if they became converted to the Greek Catholic Church.

Now, from the standpoint of any nation, it seems to me it is a highly desirable addition to get any people who will sacrifice everything for a principle;

<sup>a</sup> Substantially the same matter contained in the papers referred to will be found under the titles, "The establishment of a Federal Protective Bureau in Chicago," pp. 55 to 60, and "Annual Report of the League for the Protection of Immigrants," pp. 61 to 77.

and that is what these people are doing. The Russian Jew who comes to America—nine-tenths of them; ninety-nine one hundredths of them—would infinitely rather stay right in Russia. America is to him a foreign country. It is true that now a great many of them have friends and relatives here. But they would rather stay where they are and practice their customs and their habits, which have existed for generations, than to come here; and it is only the miserable religious oppression which drives a great many of them out. Of course there are a good many who would emigrate here naturally, just as the people of other nations emigrate here because of the much greater opportunities in American life. But a great many of them do not know about those things and do not appreciate them, and come over here simply because they are victims of this horrible oppression which they could escape if they would convert themselves to Greek Catholics.

Some of them do profess conversion. Some of the younger men, eager for education, as all Jews all over the world are, allow themselves to become converted as a matter of form simply, that they may be admitted into the universities and into the technical schools. The number of Jews who can get in there is limited—3 per cent, or something of that kind. The prime minister lately tried to be a little more liberal, and he was so heavily sat down upon by the authorities in power—the reactionary element—that he had to cut it down. These young men, fearing that if they come to America they could not get the educational advantages they desire because of their lack of knowledge of the language, and so forth, do make that sacrifice. They become converts as a matter of form, but not as a matter of substance. But the great mass of them will not do it even as a matter of form.

I say a people of that kind is a most desirable addition to any country, because it brings into it a tremendous idealism, and that is what we need above all else in this country.

That bears particularly upon the question of the liability to become a public charge and the new clause, the physical-defect clause, is capable of such wrong-doing that it seems to me it must be much more carefully defined if it is left in at all; and I agree, too, with Mr. Wolf's argument as to public charge.

So far as public charge is concerned, the Jews, when they first settled in New York a little over two hundred and fifty years ago, were admitted on condition. They at that time gave a pledge to the Hollanders there that they would not allow their people to become charges. I hardly think I need say that that pledge has been accepted as a moral pledge ever since—not a legal pledge; and they certainly do endeavor to prevent their people from becoming public charges. That is a tremendous burden, I will admit, on the Jews in this country. The Jewish charities in this country are justified as distinct Jewish charities in order that the poor Jew may not become a burden on the community at large, and the Jews in this country take a pride in preventing a Jew from becoming a charge on the rest of the people. They do that perhaps in part for a selfish reason—for fear that if a Jew becomes a charge it may create a greater anti-Semitic feeling and may react against them. But most of them feel it a matter of duty to those who, as they know, are the victims of this purely religious oppression.

So in considering any possible injuries from the arrival of that class of people in this country—if there are any injuries incident thereto—the fact must not be lost sight of that a very small number ever become a public charge in the sense in which I suppose the word "public" is used in the act—the municipality, the State, or the Nation—because so long as private philanthropy is willing to help them they do not become a public charge.

As to the physical defect, it is of course well known that the Jew has a greater longevity than other people. That is due to inherited customs in food and to a great many other causes. On the other hand, the Jew physically is not of the stature of some other peoples. But that physical defect, if you call it a defect, does not prevent him from becoming a long-lived man, and certainly does not prevent him from being a man who can earn his living. Of course the man who is physically deficient can not go out as a day laborer in a good many occupations, but the Jew is so chock full of ambition and so wildly desirous of elevating himself in every possible way that he is going to seize every opportunity for education and for advancement, so that while not despising manual labor in any way, he is going to do that which will give him greater returns than any man can get from purely manual labor. In order to

do this other work properly, surely a physical condition measured from the standpoint of the requirements for admission into the United States Army, which has been one of the things suggested, or even a much lower standard than that, is not necessary to enable him to become a real genuine asset to the country in every possible way.

Then, of course, we all know that the physically deficient man and the children of such a man are among the greatest contributors to professional, artistic, literary work. In other words, if we were admitting people solely from the standpoint of their ability to do only our hardest manual labor, there would be justification in excluding people of that kind. If we are admitting people because we believe that they bring into our American life elements which are going to be helpful to American life, then we are not justified in imposing any such bar as physical deficiency, unless it be such physical deficiency as to make a man a real defective or a real degenerate.

The CHAIRMAN. Admitting your argument as it affects the Jewish people to be correct, and that their poor are taken care of when they come to this country, but assuming what seems to be true, that many other classes coming in have not that protection and do become public charges, how could the law be amended so as to apply as a whole equitably?

Mr. MACK. I do not know exactly what is meant; I do not know how an inspector at the port is going to say that a man coming in is liable to become a public charge. If he has those handicaps which, in the opinion of the inspector, will make him liable to become a public charge, it seems to me those deficiencies can be formulated into a statute. I can not see why the inspector at the port should be given the discretion to determine who is or who is not liable to become a public charge. I would not know what the criteria should be.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me make a suggestion. A man 70 years of age comes in who has \$500. He is frail, physically. He has no friends in this country. He has no business. Another man, 25 or 30 years of age, comes in. He is just out of some foreign army. He is in fine physical condition; apparently bright. But he has only \$25. However, he has friends in Johnstown or Pittsburgh or somewhere else, who have written him that he can have work when he gets to that town. Which would be the more liable to become a public charge?

Mr. MACK. There is no question that the former would be the more liable to become a public charge.

The CHAIRMAN. I make that illustration to suggest to you, in the hope that you may answer it, the difficulty of formulating a law such as you have suggested, unless you would define accurately those who are liable to become public charges.

Mr. MACK. I would not know how to define a person who is liable to become a public charge. I would not be able to say, if I were at that port, that a man of 70, on the facts you have just given, was liable to become a public charge. He may be a man of culture and education. You have not excluded that.

The CHAIRMAN. That was a rough illustration.

Mr. MACK. Let us assume that he was totally ignorant; that he was 70 years of age; that he had \$500 in his pocket, but no friends and no one to look after him; no one here willing to say he would see that the old man was taken care of for the next few years, until he could get started in life—and starting in life at 70 years of age is almost impossible—I should say that such a man was liable to become a public charge and was not a desirable addition to our citizenship.

The CHAIRMAN. I suggested that illustration simply to direct your mind to the point we have been discussing.

Mr. MACK. You are putting into the hands of an inspector the right to discriminate finally because of the mere possibility of our getting some people situated as the one cited in the illustration. Practically, would not that be an excessively rare thing, and are we not in danger under that section of excluding those who ought to be admitted? It is true you have a bond provision; it is true a man who is liable to become a public charge can be admitted on bond, and there is an appeal to the secretary.

Representative BENNET. Yes; there is an appeal.

Mr. MACK. It seems to me the appeal should be efficient if the man is a Jew, because there are Jews looking out to see that a worthy Jew is not kept out. They are not looking out to see that one who comes within the excluded



classes gets in. They are not doing anything of that kind at all. They do not attempt to secure the admission of the real excluded classes—the real defectives. There is no more desire on the part of the Jews in this country to have them admitted than there is on the part of anybody else.

The CHAIRMAN. We understand that without your saying it.

Mr. MACK. But they are fearful of the discretion conferred. Take the arbitrary action in setting up the \$25 limitation, which has been taken back. The Congress refused to say that a man must have \$25 to come in here. The commissioner at New York for a time thought that that was essential. That sort of action, it seems to me, is utterly arbitrary and without justification, unless he claimed the right under the broad power to interpret what is a public charge. Congress may well lay down certain definite rules; but to leave a question of that kind to an employee, it seems to me, is going too far.

Representative BENNET. Let me correct you in one respect. What happened there was this: Certain steamship companies sent out circulars throughout Europe saying it was not necessary, under the law, for an immigrant to have any money at all in order to get into this country. Technically that was correct, because you can assume a case where a person can be admitted into this country without any money. I have seen a man admitted—and, I think, properly admitted—with only 25 cents in his pocket.

Commissioner Williams sent out a circular, primarily to the steamship companies, in which he stated specifically that there was no law regulating the amount of money that a person should have in order to be admitted, and that no one—this is a rough quotation—

Mr. MACK. Yes.

Representative BENNET. Had the right to say in advance whether a man would or would not be admitted who had or had not money; but that the scarcity of funds was an element to be considered, and that it was dangerous for people to leave Europe with arrangements such that they would have less than \$25 when they landed in New York.

Mr. MACK. I do not criticize it. I am simply citing it as an example.

Representative BENNET. Right in this connection, there has not been a week and probably not a day since that circular was issued that people have not been admitted at Ellis Island—Jewish people and others—

Mr. MACK. I know that.

Representative BENNET. With less than \$25.

Mr. MACK. I know that is a fact.

You are going to have all these statistics, and you will go through them carefully. So far as I have been able to see, it is a pretty hard job to get much out of statistics. Certainly some of the statistics which have been used have been of a most peculiar character—the statistics of crime in the big cities; crimes of foreigners in New York. I will not go into that. I have my own views about it. But the thing has been much exaggerated, and from the best statistics I have been able to gather it seems to me the amount of serious crime is not alarming. Of course when it comes to a breach of ordinances, not getting a license for a push cart and that sort of thing, naturally the foreigner will be guilty, because the foreigner goes into that business.

Senator LODGE. We have not any statistics of push-cart offenses.

Representative BENNET. Oh, yes.

Mr. MACK. You will get statistics of crime, and such offenses will be included, and they will be held up as showing the criminal tendencies of the foreigners.

Mr. NEILL. That is a gratuitous assumption. They will be segregated.

Mr. MACK. I did not make the assumption. I said those statistics will be given to you. I know you will tabulate them. You will have everything that I can possibly have and more, too.

The same thing is true of the insanity question. We all know, so far as the statistics go, that it is not the newer immigrants, but the grand old immigrants in whom we now take such pride and against whom our ancestors shouted just as much as the people to-day are shouting against the Russian Jew and the southern Italian, who are in the asylums. The Irish and the German in the forties were a great deal worse in the minds of the know-nothing element than the Russian Jew or the southern Italian to-day; and all those arguments are repeated to-day. Now those earlier immigrants are praised. When you come to look at the statistics, to find out who are in the almshouses, it is found that the modern element are not old enough and constitute only a

very small percentage, the big percentage being the Scandinavians and the English and the Germans and the other foreigners of years ago.

I desire to call your attention to one interesting fact. It is the contribution of a Jew to the agriculture of the world. It is interesting because the Jews have been charged with not having very much interest in agriculture, and it is said that the Russian Jews come and stay in New York and crowd New York. But the New Yorkers get the benefit of the increase of population and of trade. As Mr. Bijur once said to a committee, when he was asked whether the Italians, after they had built the subway, did not go home and take their money with them, "Yes, but they left the subway." The New Yorkers would not have had it to-day but for that labor.

A Palestine Jew, Doctor Aronsohn, whom I happened to meet here this morning, has made a discovery in agriculture that a leading professor in a German university said to the German Botanical Society is the greatest discovery of our generation. He has discovered the original wild wheat, the prototype of our modern wheat, on Mount Hermon in Palestine, a region more arid than anything in our desert regions. It makes a better product than our wheat. That opens up a tremendous field. He addressed our dry farming congress, held at Billings, Mont., a few weeks ago, and he pointed out to them that the so-called dry farming was a very ancient thing; that the people in the Orient had been doing it for thousands of years, and were very much further advanced than our American farmers. But the tremendous value to civilization of that discovery is that it opens up enormous possibilities of settlement in our arid region on land not susceptible of irrigation. Doctor Aronsohn told me that about 36 per cent of the surface of this country is not only arid, but arid beyond the possibility of irrigation. Was not that your figure?

Mr. ARONSOHN. Forty per cent is arid.

Mr. MACK. Forty per cent of the flat surface of this country, which includes mountain ranges and everything else. This wheat grows 5,000 feet above the sea and 600 feet below the sea. Our Department of Agriculture is about to publish in its next bulletin a paper by him on this discovery. It is an extremely interesting thing, and it opens up vast possibilities for our arid regions of the West.

I simply cite that in this connection as showing that in addition to the enormous capacity of our western irrigated region for hundreds of millions of immigrants there are still all of these possibilities in the future which the dry farming in the arid regions brings with it. It is an additional argument on the general proposition with which you are, of course, much more familiar than I am, that this country, with its very small number of people per mile, ought to be kept open to the world.

I only want to emphasize again those old fundamental principles for which America has stood so long; and that applies particularly to the Russian Jew, to the Armenian, and to the Russian who comes over here as a political refugee. It is a part of that idealism which we must inculcate in our children if we do not want them to be grossly materialistic, because the dangers of their becoming materialistic in this country are so great—it is a part of our idealism that this country shall not only be the land of freedom and the refuge of the oppressed of the nations, but that it shall give out hope to all the nations in that respect; that the nations and the peoples of the world shall not believe that America is going to be only for those who are now in America, and that we are suddenly going to change our fundamental principles and become selfish, at any rate before the time when nature shall compel us to do so. I am perfectly sure in our present state of civilization, with our present number of population, the time has not arrived when we can say we are ready to forego our leadership in the humanity of the world and consider only ourselves. I do not mean for a moment to say that we must not consider ourselves first; that is the greatest humanity; but we must not lose sight of that fundamental principle that we are a haven of refuge as long as there is this miserable religious and political oppression.

Our State Department demonstrated that most beautifully in a matter in which I was more intensely interested I think than in anything I have ever been in my life. That was the Rudivitz extradition matter, in which we succeeded in getting our State Department to recognize that even a man who kills a woman may be a political refugee. Whatever his fate might have been if

caught in Russia, it was not the business of the American Government to hand him back to the Russian Government.

Then of course from a materialistic standpoint there is not any question that the coming of these people here, apart from our internal trade, creates new sources of foreign trade by their relations with their own people at home. The argument is often made against the Italian who comes over here that he amasses a fortune and then goes back and spends it over there. That argument, from a practical standpoint, has at least two answers. All of the Italians put together do not spend as much abroad as we, those of our class I will say, who go to Europe for pleasure and drop our millions over there every year.

Senator LODGE. I guess not.

Mr. MACK. There is no comparison. But apart from that, the evidence is abundant that everyone of these foreigners—the Slovak, the Hungarian, the Italian—who has come over here carries home with him the American spirit, so that he brings that among his people, and the Americanization in the little villages of Europe is going on at a remarkable rate. These immigrants get not only our materialism but our idealism, and a lot of them get the latter to a much larger degree than a great many Americans get it, through the people with whom some of them are fortunate enough to come in contact—the settlement people and the churches, which are doing such work. When they return to Europe, they spread that spirit among their old neighbors, and in that way America is performing a world mission.

But there is also the material view. Those foreigners have become used to American things, and even the poor Italian who has come here and finally goes back because there he knows more people, wants American clothing and American food and other things that he has been used to in America—particularly American machinery.

There is no question that our commerce has increased much more enormously with those nations that have sent us their emigrants than with those nations that have not. Of South Americans we have practically none here. Of Frenchmen we have practically none, or very few. Our commerce of those countries is not growing as it is with other countries.

Senator LODGE. Our commerce with France is very large.

Mr. MACK. Yes, sir; but the increase bears no comparison with the increase of our commerce with the other countries.

Senator LODGE. I have not followed that.

Mr. MACK. I have some figures here.

Senator LODGE. We buy a great deal of France.

Mr. MACK. We buy a great deal of France, but we do not sell it a great deal.

Senator LODGE. No; not as much as we ought to.

Mr. MACK. Our trade has grown so slowly that we supply only about 10 per cent of France's imports, while of Germany's we supply 14; the United Kingdom, 25, and Canada, 60. I do not mean to say that is solely because of the fact that we have their emigrants, but that is one element in bringing about that condition.

Of course I need not say anything about the patriotism of the immigrants, and the immigrants of all kinds. Take the Russian Jews. They came out in vast numbers in the Spanish-American war, as did all the Jews and all other foreign people.

There is another thing about the Russian Jews, from the physical-defect standpoint. In their villages in Russia they do not have opportunities for athletics. They are glad if they can live. When they get over here and get into our schools, they not only run right up to the top in scholarship, but they take to athletics. Take your schools in Boston, ours in Chicago, those in New York, the College of the City of New York, Harvard University. They show it every day. You know what President Eliot thinks about the Russian Jews.

Senator LODGE. That they are remarkable.

Mr. MACK. That they are most remarkable in an intellectual way.

As to the attitude of the Jew in politics, I need but refer to the speech of my friend Mr. Bennet. People talk about the Italian vote, about the Jewish vote. I do not know anything about the Italians. I do know about the Jews. Certainly there is that pride—I will please you by calling it a racial pride—that if a Jew of high character is put up for public office and an east-side Jew knows he is a man of very high character he is apt to vote for him.

Senator LODGE. Naturally.

Mr. MACK. An individual of any other race or any other religion, everything else being equal, will do likewise. But that fellow will take the greatest pleasure in the world in voting against a Jew who is not of high character, because he feels so keenly that a Jew must be just a little bit better than the other fellow, in order to be recognized as just as good, that he is terrifically afraid of putting a Jew in public place unless he is sure he will not disgrace him. Apart from that, the Jew politically is going to be appealed to by principles and not by mere partisan activity or mere personality, and in that way again he shows his idealism. Of course, the contribution of the Jew to art and music and literature is well known.

There is just one other clause, about which I feel very strongly, that is always brought forward but has never yet gotten into our laws, because our laws so far have been regulative and not restrictive. I refer to the educational test. Nobody thinks more of education than I do, and naturally, for I am not only a judge but a professor at the university, a Harvard man, and value education most highly. But I can not make a fetch of the educated man. I can of a man of character; but I know that the two do not necessarily go together. We all know that the educational test is not going to keep out the scoundrel, the rascal, or the anarchist. He is educated. It will keep out a great many who ought to come in. There again I am interested, not from the standpoint of the Jew, because if an educational test should ever be applied I assume that it would not apply to every man, woman, and child; I assume it would be recognized that the women in Europe do not have the opportunities for education, even the slight opportunities, that a good many men have, and that it would be applied only to the head of the family. I suppose there is practically no male Jew who can not read and write in some language. I am not talking now in the interest of the Jew; I am talking from a much broader standpoint—that of the American. I speak in behalf of the Italian, in behalf of the Polack, in behalf of the Slovak, in behalf of all those people who are contributing tremendously to the development of this country, who are not merely producers in antagonism to the man who has his job already, but who are likewise consumers, and, especially after they have been here a year or two, large consumers. Certainly in the first year or two there is going to be suffering as the result. But we all know the history of the introduction of machinery. It takes a little time for readjustment. Some people are going to suffer temporarily, but the great mass of the people are going to be greatly benefited in the end.

As I said in the beginning, you gentlemen know so much more about this matter than I do that I have hesitated to appear before you and bring forward these suggestions; they are not new; but they can not be too often reiterated.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very glad to have your views. Mr. Friedenwald, do you desire to be heard?

Mr. FRIEDENWALD. I do not desire to take up your time, as Judge Mack has covered everything I might say.

At 12 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m. the hearing was adjourned.

#### APPENDIX.

##### Extracts from Report of the Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights, 1904.

Hon. GEORGE B. CORTELYOU,

*Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Some months ago I, as chairman of the board of delegates on civil and religious rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, had the honor of writing a letter to Commissioner-General of Immigration Frank P. Sargent in reference to the classification of immigrants. It was just about the time the Bureau was being transferred to your Department. I subsequently received a reply from the Commissioner-General informing me that the matter had been referred to you for action. You will remember that I then called on you, and you seemed to concur in the ideas that I had advanced, namely, that all immigrants landing at our seaports should be treated uniformly in the matter of classification—that is, if Russian subjects of Jewish faith were classified as Jews, Russians of Christian faith should be classified as Greek Catholics, or to whatever religious faith they may belong, the same treatment to be given to all immigrants, no matter from what country they came. But should such a course not be taken, then the discrimination which exists against immigrants of Jewish faith should cease.

I made this statement upon the strength of our interview at the summer assembly of the Jewish Chautauqua at Atlantic City, and it was hailed and accepted with great satisfaction. I saw you immediately on my return from Atlantic City, and you told me then that the matter was held up in consequence of a construction made by the State Department, which claimed that the Jewish people at this time constituted a race, if not a nation, and that if this construction was so made you desired evidence to disprove the assumption. In other words, that if the Jewish people constituted a race, then, under the immigration laws, they would be classified the same as if they belonged to a separate nationality.

I have never for a moment swerved from the opinion that, first, the Jew at present has no nationality other than that to which he has sworn allegiance and to which he owes obedience; second, the Jew, as an immigrant, should not be classified as belonging to a race, because he does not land as a Jew, but comes as a native of the country in which he was born; third, that if this question is to be treated from a scientific or ethnological standpoint, then all immigrants should be treated uniformly so as to give the benefit of the classification to the world at large; fourth, but that if the classification is religious, then I most solemnly protest, as it is contrary to the spirit and genius of our institutions, and the Government is assuming functions that were never contemplated in the Constitution of the United States, the administrative functions are political and not religious.

To be absolutely certain in the view that I entertain I addressed a letter to a number of prominent American citizens of Jewish faith asking for their opinion in this matter, and have received replies from every one I so addressed—copies of said replies I herewith attach—showing conclusively that the construction I make is sustained in every particular. While some of my correspondents differ on the question of race, it must not be forgotten that they are Zionists who believe in the ultimate return of the Jews to Palestine. I am confident that after a careful perusal of the documents that I herewith offer you will no longer hesitate to either abandon the course heretofore taken in classifying Jews as such, or else that all immigrants shall be classified, not only as to their nationality, but their race, politics, religion, and whatever may be conducive to produce satisfactory results for the science of statistics and ethnology.

I have the honor also of inclosing to you a letter from the Acting Secretary of State, A. A. Adee, which explains itself, and shows conclusively that our Government has always looked upon the action of Russia in the light of religious and not racial persecution.

Yours, very sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.

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AUGUST 5, 1903.

MY DEAR MR. WOLF: In reply to your letter of yesterday, I beg to say that I am unaware of any authority conferred on the officials of the United States to inquire into the religious belief of any person.

I am equally unaware of any use of the word "race" in our Constitution or laws, except to designate marked physical diversity of color, such as the red or Indian race, the yellow or Mongolian, the black or African. Not one, I think, will contend that the Jews belong to any other than the group called Caucasians, which doubtless includes many varieties or subraces. Into the distinctions between them I do not think there is any legal warrant or practical use, or even theoretical capacity, to inquire. The test among them has been not subrace, but nationality. The Empires of Russia, Austria, Germany, Britain, the Republic of France, the Kingdoms of Spain, Italy, and Portugal, each contains several subraces, the definite ascertainment of which is extremely difficult, and has, I think, no obvious or direct relation to the functions of government.

I am of opinion, therefore, that in the sense in which the word "race" is used in our legislation the Jews are not a race, but that the latter term is applied to them chiefly as a periphrastic method of denoting their religion.

The several nationalities of persons of the Jewish faith are just as easily ascertained as those of the same nationalities who hold to other faiths.

I should be glad to be referred to any authorized and well-considered utterance of the State Department which rules otherwise. I am unaware of any, and if such be forthcoming, I should like to examine and review it.

Very truly, yours,

MAYER SULZBERGER.

HON. SIMON WOLF.

GERMANTOWN, August 5, 1903.

To the Hon. SIMON WOLF.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiry I beg to say that in my opinion the Jew represents neither a nation nor a race, in a political sense, but he does represent a race for anthropological and sociological purposes. Unless the Department of Commerce classifies all immigrants according to races, e. g., a subject of the Russian Empire not a Russian, but a Slav, Finn, German, etc., I can not see why a Jewish subject of that empire should be entered in any discriminating way. But if all immigrants are recorded not only according to the countries whence they hail but also according to the races to which they belong, and an Austrian, for instance, is not merely designated as Austrian-Hungarian, but also marked for one of the ten or fifteen nationalities and races of that empire, then, of course, we can take no exception to the Russian Jew being taken as a Russian belonging to the Jewish race. I am, dear sir,

Sincerely, yours,

M. JASTROW.

NEW YORK CITY, August 6, 1903.

HON. SIMON WOLF,

926 F Street NW., Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR FRIEND: The new phase in the classification question is perplexing. I can not understand why the State Department has felt called on to officially determine that the Jews are a race and it will make endless trouble for itself if such a decision is promulgated. I think that you should explain to the Department that one of the most vexing questions of controversy among Jews is the one which it has undertaken to settle. Leading reform rabbis of this country utterly repudiate the race doctrine and assent that the Jews are simply a religious community. On the other hand, many others, and especially the Zionists, assent that, aside from religious considerations, the Jews constitute a race. In Russia, where it is claimed that hostility to the Jews is on racial, and not religious grounds, all restrictions cease if the Jew enters the Greek Church. As you know, the B'nai B'rith does not deal with academic questions, and therefore has not made any official declaration on the subject. I should discourage any attempt to inject it into our councils, because I regard it in practical matters as a Pandora's box. Secretary Hay will, I am convinced, not unnecessarily take a stand which will make the Government a protagonist of an idea to which there is so much opposition among Jews of the greatest influence. Besides, the classification of immigrants is not made on race lines, in so far as others are concerned. The Slavs, for example, are a race, but if Slavs became citizens of France and then emigrate to the United States they would be classified according to their nationality, and not their race.

Again, if a Russian Jewish husband and wife become converts to Christianity, and their children, who are Christians, emigrate to the United States, would anyone for a moment classify them as Jews? Yet, from a racial standpoint, they would be Jews, and so would their descendants. If the Jews are to be classified as a race, then the term "race" should be defined and some reason assigned for the classification. The reason should be one that applies to all others, as well as to the Jews.

If it be desirable to keep a record of the nationality, the race affiliation, and religion of immigrants, the record should embrace all of them. To single out the Jews, either as members of a race or a religious community, is invidious, and fosters the prejudices displayed by and against Jews as such.

It is to the best interests of the immigrants and the country that as speedily as possible he should become an American in every respect. It is, therefore, illogical for the country to classify the Jews in a way which in effect declares: "We receive you to be with us, but not of us."

Yours, sincerely,

LEO N. LEVI.

1627 R STREET NW.,  
Washington, August 6, 1903.

DEAR MR. WOLF: I have your letter of August 4, in which you tell me that the Government authorities are disposed to consider that the Jews are a race, and not a church, and that, if this claim be correct, under the new immigration laws Jews must be classified as such, not on account of their religion, but as a race, and to ask my opinion whether the Jew stands in the world as belonging to a race, or as simply a citizen or subject of the country in which he resides.

I presume that you do not wish in reply to this a long scientific disquisition, but I may say to you, in the first place, that anthropologists are divided as to the exact meaning of the word "race." In fact, it would be difficult to get them to agree upon a definition.

Assuming for the moment that a race is an ethnical stock, a great division of mankind having in common certain distinguishing physical peculiarities appearing to be derived from a distinct primitive source, I should say that in this sense the Jews were not, strictly speaking, a race.

There has been a great deal written about the purity of the Jewish stock, but there is not the slightest doubt that during the long period of the dispersion, say about two thousand years, Jews have intermingled with other peoples. They have received large numbers of converts, and that is especially true in the southern part of Russia, where, some twelve centuries ago, an entire native tribe was converted to Judaism, giving to the Jews of southern Russia distinct Slavic character. There are, moreover, in Abyssinia, Jewish tribes called Falashas, who in general appearance do not differ from native Abyssinians, and would probably, if they came to this country, be classed as negroes, yet they themselves would undoubtedly express their adherence to the Jewish Church. The same is true in India, where there are some thousands of black Jews, and in the interior of China, where there are Jews in every way in appearance like Chinamen and using the Chinese tongue.

If this Government proposes to split the citizens or subjects of various nations up into the stock whence they sprang originally, it would entail upon itself a pretty long genealogy of every immigrant. Immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland alone would have to be split up into several groups; immigrants from Austria into many more. Indeed, there is hardly a nation upon the face of the earth which is not made up of various elements. Moreover, the classification of persons as Jews would inevitably, no matter what the intention of the Government might be, result in the classification as Jews of only those who are members of the Jewish Church, and not those who are of Jewish descent. Had the Earl of Beaconsfield married a Jewess, and had they both been members of the Church of England, as he was, their son, were he an immigrant to the United States, would be of Jewish stock, but probably not of the Jewish Church, and would not report himself as a Jew, but as an English Christian. Yet from the race point of view he would probably be more a Jew than a member of the Jewish Church coming from Southern Russia, since many of those people, as I have stated, are persons of Slavic blood.

Trusting that this may in some measure answer your question, I am,

Yours, sincerely,

CYRUS ADLER.

HON. SIMON WOLF,  
926 F Street, Washington, D. C.

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ATLANTIC CITY, August 7, 1903.

The Hon. SIMON WOLF, Washington D. C.

MY DEAR MR. WOLF. In reply to yours of yesterday. I have the pleasure to say that I am very glad to see you take up this matter with the authorities. Unfortunately, if the State Department rules that races must be classified, our case is well-nigh hopeless. I myself have always contended that the Jews do not constitute a distinct race. The modern Jew is the descendant of generations, that through intermarriage with non-Hebrews (in biblical and post-biblical times down to the second Christian century) had lost their purity of racial stock. Conversions, too, in Alexandria and Rome before the Christian era helped to adulterate the Jewish blood. I do not believe that anthropologically our racial purity or distinctness can be established. But the Jewish

Encyclopedia has taken the opposite position, and many of our orators have so often discoursed on "our race" that the State Department will have no trouble in finding warrant for its assumption. But are non-Jews classified according to race? Are Germans numbered as Slavonic, Teutonic, Gallic—for the modern German presents these varieties in many cases? Are the subjects of the King of England classified as Anglo-Saxons, Scotch, Celtic, Gaelic, etc.? If the department holds that the Jews constitute a nationality, it is clearly wrong. The Russian Jews are, or ought to be, Russians. Do the authorities go to the length of classifying Jewish Germans as Jews? If they do, they ignore the German constitution, and our own as well. I know that when I was naturalized I had to foreswear allegiance, not to our hypothetical king of Palestine, but to the Grand Duke of Luxemburg, whose subject by birth I was, and under whose government, by law distinctions between Jew, non-Jew, heathen, Catholic, Protestant, are explicitly and constitutionally prohibited. Fight the good fight! You put us all under great obligations. This classification may not be intended as a piece of anti-Semitic chicanery, but it resembles it very closely. We may remember it some day at the polls.

Yours, very cordially and with high esteem,

EMIL G. HIRSCH.

CHICAGO, ILL., August 7, 1903.

HON. SIMON WOLF, *Washington, D. C.*

DEAR FRIEND: Your letter of the 4th instant was received by me yesterday afternoon at a late hour, and this forenoon it shall be one of my first occupations to answer the same.

In my opinion the Department of Commerce is perfectly correct in considering the Jewish people as a race. Of this race, almost all of its members are confessors of a religion, which is designated by the same adjective, viz: Jewish. I said "almost all its members," and not "all the members thereof." A baptized Jew is, notwithstanding his having joined one of the Christian denominations, a member of the Jewish race; but looked at from a religious standpoint, he is a Catholic, or a Baptist, or an Episcopalian, etc., just as the case may be. On the other side, a convert to Judaism, considered from a racial standpoint, may belong to the Teutonic, or the Celtic, or the Slavic, or any other race, while at the same time, if his religious status is considered, he must be classified among the Jews.

Lord Beaconsfield, before a census taker, would have said: "Racially, I am a Jew; religiously, I am an Episcopalian; and politically, I am an English citizen." And Warder Cresson, who, some sixty years ago, was a United States consul in Jerusalem, would, placed in a similar position, have set forth that, racially, he is a Scotchman; religiously, a Jew; and politically, a citizen of the United States of America.

I have discussed this question at some length, in an essay lately published in Berlin, and it is a pleasure to me to mail you a copy of it at the same time with this letter. Please read it with some attention. Perhaps you, being of a judicial and unbiased mind, who seeks the truth, and nothing but the truth, may then come to the conclusion that my view is based upon good grounds and firm foundations.

If I should be asked now by the Department of Commerce to give my opinion on this matter I would propose that, in the interest of the science of statistics, besides statements concerning number, age, birthplace, etc., the following statements should be made, in a tabulated form, when taking a census or when listing immigrants, etc.:

1. What was your political status?
2. To what race do you belong?
3. What church are you connected with?

Let me now elucidate this a little more in detail. A crowd of immigrants may step at the same time before the proper officer, and in answer to question No. 1 they all may declare, "We have been Russians." But in responding to question No. 2, the one may say, I am a Polander; the next one, I am a German; the third one, I am a Finn, or a Gypsy, or a Jew, etc. In answer to question 3, they would also differ among themselves.

Similarly there may appear several persons, all of whom declaring that, politically, they have been Austrians, but, racially, the one will be a German, the other a Magyar, or a Slav, or an Italian, or a Jew, etc. But no one could



in this respect be entered as an "Austrian," for the science of ethnology of modern mankind does not admit the existence of an Austrian race. The word "Austrian" expresses only a political, but not an ethnological, conception.

In a similar way many immigrants may, politically, have been Swiss; but, racially, they are either Germans, or Italians, or French, or Jews. To enter them in the lists, in the racial regard, as Swiss, would be nonsensical. For the science of ethnology knows nothing of a Swiss race.

The confusion so often met with in regard to this matter arises from the confounding of the term "race," which has its own distinct meaning in the science of ethnology, with the term "citizenship," or the like, which only refers to political status.

Now, think of the inhabitants of our own United States. Politically they are natives, as well as naturalized, new-comers, "Americans," but racially—how they differ. There are a very large number of so-called Pennsylvania Dutch in our Republic whose ancestors came to America two hundred years ago, and who, politically, certainly are Americans, but who, racially, must be classified as Germans, because thus far they did not intermarry with people of non-German races, and maintained the purity of their race.

Now, suppose a native American Jew, or a naturalized American Jew, should be asked by a census taker, "To what race do you belong?" shall he answer in the nonsensical words, "I belong to the United States race?" or can he answer, "To the Swiss race or the Magyar race or the Irish race?" To some race he must necessarily belong, and his only admissible answer will have to be, "I belong to the Jewish race."

I beg now to suggest to you, my dear friend Wolf, that you respectfully ask of the proper authorities in Washington City to instruct the proper officers in New York and elsewhere to set down, not merely the names of the people and their age and birthplace, etc., but to characterize also their former political status and their religious affiliation. By doing so, and by doing it intelligently, a great service would be rendered to the science of statistics.

In carrying out this suggestion very many who would be entered in the racial columns as "Jews" would, in the religious column, appear as "Agnostics," or as "Unchurched," or as "Infidels," etc. Nevertheless, I would be the last one to deny to them the appellation "Jewish." They are Jewish, at least in the ethnological sense of the word.

I have to stop now, my esteemed friend. I am afraid I might have been too garrulous—but to be garrulous is the privilege of old people—and I may have tired you. If so, please excuse me. At least I hope that I may have made it clear to you that the authorities in Washington are correct when they insist upon classifying Jews as a particular race at the side of the German, the Irish, the Scotch, the Magyar, and others.

With best regards and sincere wishes for your well being, I remain,

Yours, very truly,

B. FELSETHAL.

AUGUST 9, 1903.

HON. SIMON WOLF, *Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. WOLF: Your contention that either all immigrants should be classified according to religion, or this classification must disappear with the Jew, is irrefutable. The Jews are certainly not a race, in the scientific sense of the word. Neither the shape of the skull or the color of the eyes and hair show a uniform characteristic. The fact that most of the Jews can be recognized as such by their features is not against this assertion. First of all it is a family resemblance, and, secondly, some Jews, like the Beni Israel in India, or the Jews of Southern Russia, or of some parts of Hungary, show such distinctive features that their type will be recognized as different from the average Jew. As an instance, I may quote that a student from the Beni Israel at our college was once asked by street gamins, "Mister, are you an Arab?" and when I was with him in the lobby of a hotel in an Indiana town a gentleman asked me, "To which race does that man belong?" It is further a fact that Jews are frequently mixed with proselytes of other nations, so with the Tartars of Southern Russia, when the whole nation of Chazars converted, and individually in all parts of the world. In a volume of rabbinical decisions of the sixteenth century I found a question of matrimonial law arising from the fact that a Spanish Jew had children from a slave, who were raised as Jews. Such cases can not have been altogether exceptional, for fre-

quently do we find in Jewish sources decisions and laws about the conversions of slaves, and also in ecclesiastic sources prohibitions against such conversions. The Department of Commerce will find itself in a quandry how to define the status of a Jew who is the offspring of a mixed marriage. Does he belong to the Jewish race or not when his mother is a Christian? Cases of this kind are frequent, both in America and abroad. In Berlin, for instance, the number of intermarriages is two hundred a year. Out of six Jewish persons one marries out of faith, and one-fourth of the children of such marriages are raised as Jews and three-fourths are raised as Christians. If the latter did not belong to the Jewish race, why should the former? Finally, if a converted Jew should arrive here and insist that he is a Christian the whole cabinet can not alter it.

In order to give you exact data I should have to have more time for collecting them. I wish, however, to call your attention to the article "Anthropology" in the Jewish Encyclopedia. Permit me to add one thing which you have not asked of me. If the Government wishes to classify Jews coming from Russia, Roumania, and Galicia as such, it seems to me that there could not be any objection to such a proceeding. Almost all of these people emigrate because they are Jews, and if the Government wishes to find out, for the sake of statistics, the reasons which bring immigrants to these shores, no reasonable man could object to it. I shall be only too glad to furnish you further information as you think I am capable of giving, and remain,

Yours, sincerely,

G. DEUTSCH.

AUGUST 10, 1903.

MY DEAR MR. WOLF: Your note of the 8th instant just comes to hand, and in reply thereto I would say that the question pending before the Department of Commerce whether Jewish immigrants are to be classified as Jews or as citizens of the country they come from is highly interesting, but not so easy to answer, inasmuch as those coming from Roumania and Russia are scarcely considered by their governments as Roumanians or Russians, and the former, moreover, are expressly declared by the law of Roumania, though contrary to the terms of the treaty of Berlin, as aliens. Ethnologically, the Jews certainly represent a race, since both their religion and history ever kept them apart from the rest of the people of the country they inhabit. Nevertheless, I agree with you that, as our Government does not register the immigrants otherwise than according to their country, being not at all concerned either with their religion or their specific ethnological character, the Jewish immigrants should be classified as citizens of their respective countries, and not as Jews.

With cordial greetings, yours,

Dr. K. KOHLER.

AUGUST 27, 1903.

DEAR MR. WOLF: I am in receipt of your favor, which has been forwarded to me from America. Regarding the question of race, I am very sorry that I am unable to serve you, as it was always my opinion that the Jews are a race. They are, of course, as the result of their checkered history, now divided into American citizens, English subjects, etc., but this can not alter the fact of their common origin and their common blood, which has received very little intermixture. Perhaps I may refer you to a writing of mine, "Epistle to the Jews of England," in which I expressed this opinion with some emphasis. I think this is a doctrine which we ought to hold up at the risk of being misunderstood. The contrary standpoint leads to assimilation, which is more dangerous to Judaism than any device the anti-Semites may invent.

I regret to differ from you on this matter, but we agree on so many things that deviation on this one point can in no way influence our mutual respect and good opinion we entertain of each other; at least it was always so on my part, and will also remain so. With best regards,

Yours, sincerely,

S. SCHECHTER.

LOUISVILLE, KY., September 5, 1903.

Mr. SIMON WOLF.

DEAR FRIEND AND SIR: Excuse my delay in not answering your first letter. In that letter you did not ask my opinion, but simply requested my assent to

your own. As I did not agree with you, I did not answer. This time you call for my opinion, and I give it cheerfully. It is that for all practical purposes the Jews are a race, and I am glad that the Commissioner of Immigration treats them as such in his report. If he did not, we should not get any authentic reports of Jewish immigration, which is so important to have.

Truly, yours,

LEWIS N. DEMBITZ.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1903.

HON. JOHN HAY,

*Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I am informed by the Department of Commerce that your Department holds that the Jewish people belong to a race, and that if such is the fact the immigrants of Jewish faith must be so classified as Jews and not as Russians, Frenchmen, Englishmen, etc. I have denied this claim, and am prepared to prove it by the opinion of leading Jewish thinkers of this country.

Will you be kind enough to inform me how the State Department arrived at this conclusion, and what facts, ethnological or historical, are in your possession warranting such a conclusion? This is a matter of very grave importance, for no other religious body is so classified—Catholic, Methodist, Baptist, etc.—but against the Jews only is this discrimination made, which is contrary to every principle of our Government.

Understand that in this matter I am acting as chairman of the board of delegates of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Yours, very sincerely,

SIMON WOLF.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
*Washington, September 4, 1903.*

SIMON WOLF, Esq.,

*926 F street NW., Washington, D. C.*

SIR: The Department is in receipt of your letter of September 2, stating that you are informed by the Department of Commerce and Labor that this Department holds that the Jewish people belong to a race, and asking how the Department arrives at this conclusion.

In reply you are informed that the Department has not expressed an opinion on the subject, for the reason that no question has arisen before it requiring an authoritative determination of the point. On the contrary, this Government has opposed the contention of Russia and other countries that the treatment of Jews by them was founded on racial and not on religious grounds.

The extraordinary conservation of the unity of the Jewish people through the vicissitudes of many centuries, and in the face of wide dispersion, may not inaptly create an impression in many minds that their cohesion is of a racial character, and casual expression may have been given to this idea, but without design or competency to fix their ethnological standing among the races of the world, and still less to assign to them a national position.

The views of our agents abroad, as developed in their correspondence with this Department, may be found in the volumes of "Foreign Relations of the United States." I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

ADEE, *Acting Secretary.*



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STATEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION OF THE BOARD  
OF HOME MISSIONS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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**LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.**

THE BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS,  
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION,  
*New York, November 22, 1910.*

HON. WILLIAM P. DILLINGHAM,  
*Chairman Immigration Commission, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: In place of the report of the department of immigration of the board of home missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, filed with you October 17, 1910. please permit me to substitute the report herewith which is more inclusive, having bearing upon the work of the Presbyterian Church throughout the country in its ministry to the immigrant.

Believe me,

Very truly, yours,

W. P. SHRIVER.

STATEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION OF THE BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ORIGIN.

The increasing interest of the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the immigrant led to the erection of a department of immigration in 1908. Its headquarters are in New York City, at 156 Fifth avenue.

PURPOSE.

While this department of immigration aims to study the problem in all its bearings—social, economic, physical, and spiritual—

(a) It assumes as a peculiar responsibility the appeal to and the awakening of the religious life of the immigrant, and the affording of means for its expression in simple worship and in the service of the community. The department, to give this ideal practical expression, seeks to establish missions, churches, and neighborhood centers thoroughly imbued with the social spirit, ministering to the social needs of the immigrant community, and in this effort it fosters voluntary associations of the immigrants themselves sustained and strengthened by the Christian purpose.

(b) Among our American population it aims to arouse a greater and sympathetic interest in the immigrant population, and especially among the membership of the Presbyterian Church. It seeks to place the responsibility upon the local church in caring for local conditions and local needs of resident immigrants and to direct the church in methods of approach and forms of service. In this connection, the department is creating a literature, lecture service, conferences, etc.

(c) That the church's work for the immigrant may be projected upon the basis of correct information, it arranges through the survey agency of the Board of Home Missions to make thorough-going studies of communities in which work for the immigrant is proposed.

(d) The department furnishes the superintendents for, and has immediate supervision over, the work deducted by the Presbytery of New York, including the immigrant population of the three boroughs of Richmond, Manhattan, and the Bronx. This interest includes 14 active centers among 6 nationalities. In this laboratory the department is working out ideas which it trusts will be helpful to the church throughout the country in its ministry to the immigrant.

(e) The department, furthermore, seeks to cooperate with other societies, denominations, and the Federal Government, and desires to serve as a clearing house of information and successful method.

## CHARACTER AND EXTENT OF WORK DONE.

For character of work see above.

(a) Through its survey department surveys have been made of Manhattan, portions of the Bronx, and the Italian population in the Borough of Richmond, N. Y.; Newark, N. J.; Lockport, N. Y.; the Presbytery of Huntington, including the 7 counties of Clearfield, Center, Blair, Huntingdon, Millin, Juniata, and Bedford, covering an area of about one-eighth of the entire State of Pennsylvania. Surveys are now under way, or are about to be begun, in Elizabeth, N. J., and Utica, N. Y.

(b) The Board of Home Missions has under commission under its department of immigration 44 missionaries working among foreign-speaking people. This does not include the missionaries of the old established German Presbyterian churches, which are commissioned under the general evangelization work of the board, nor does it include the Spanish foreign-speaking missionaries commissioned for work in the Southwest.

(c) As noted above, the department of immigration, in connection with the Home Missions Committee of the Presbytery of New York, is carrying on an experimental and laboratory work, so to speak, at 14 centers among 6 different nationalities. This work includes the important center, Hope Chapel, 339 East Fourth street, on the lower east side of New York, in a great Jewish community. Also a polyglot center at the East Harlem Church, 233 East One hundred and sixteenth street; also the Church of the Holy Trinity, One hundred and fifty-third street and Morris avenue, in the Bronx, where a building is being erected which is intended to be a model building for a religious and social work in a great city Italian community; also the Friendship Neighborhood House, at 452 East One hundred and eighteenth street, where particular attention is being given to the projection of civic work among the Italians.

At a number of centers in the Presbytery of New York attention is directed to social, educational, and civic work.

## THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

The department of immigration of the Board of Home Missions is but one agency of the Presbyterian Church at work among the immigrant peoples. The following indicate the work of other agencies:

(a) The Woman's Board of Home Missions in prosecuting the educational and school work, which is its particular department of home mission effort, includes also immigrant children in its field. Missionaries and teachers are commissioned east and west. Carefully directed social and educational work, including kindergarten, night schools for adults, mothers' meetings, Sunday school, etc., are conducted. The woman's board has under commission 37 missionaries and teachers, instructing 1,231 pupils in day schools, with 1,550 enrolled in 18 Sunday schools, working among Germans, Scandinavians, Hungarians, Greeks, Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, Russians, Bohemians, Slovaks, and Croatians. The woman's board also issues literature bearing upon the needs of our immigrant people. A mis-



sionary at Ellis Island, who speaks several languages, represents the board at the port of entry.

(b) The board of publication and Sabbath school work:

This board of our church, devoted to the establishing and strengthening of Bible schools in new and needy districts, to the publication of religious literature, and the circulation of Bibles and literature through its agencies and colporteurs, has not lost sight of the immigrant nor the need of Christian training for his children—coming Americans.

In the year ending March 31, 1910, 22 colporteurs had been at work for periods of from 3 to 12 months among Italians, Hungarians (Magyars), Russians, Bohemians, Poles, Slovaks, Ruthenians, and others of foreign speech in the States of Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Texas. They have visited over 32,000 families; more than 4,000 religious books, besides 1,800 Bibles, Testaments, and portions of Scripture in at least 20 different languages, with more than 84,000 pages of tracts, have been distributed by sale and gift.

This board also issues five foreign periodicals: The Bohemian weekly, *Krestanske Listy* (the Christian Journal), with a circulation of 3,000 copies weekly; the Hungarian (Magyar) weekly, *Reformatusek Lapja* (the Reformed Sentinel), which circulates 1,000 copies weekly; the Hungarian (Magyar) monthly Sunday school magazine, *Oromhir* (the Evangel), with an issue of 1,000 copies monthly; the Ruthenian weekly paper, *Sojuz* (Union) whose circulation now numbers 1,000 copies weekly; and the newest of our foreign periodicals, *L' Araldo*, Italian weekly (the Herald), of which the board is now printing 2,000 copies weekly. Bible picture cards, published weekly, and following the International Sunday school lessons, are printed in Italian, Hungarian, Bohemian, Polish, Ruthenian, and Spanish, and are being used in missionary work in all parts of the country.

(c) The board of education:

The board of education, with headquarters at Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, in its interest in the education of young men for the service of the church, also includes young men of foreign speech intending to devote themselves to a ministry among their own people.

(d) The board of church erection:

The board of church erection, with headquarters at 156 Fifth avenue, New York, in its connection with work throughout the country is also interested in cooperating with foreign-speaking churches in erecting buildings in which to carry on their work.

(e) Self-administrative synods and presbyteries:

The self-administrative and self-supporting synods of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Baltimore, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Kansas, into which so large a part of the immigrant population is going, are establishing, under their own supervision and support, missions, Sunday schools, and churches for foreign-speaking people. The task which is before and a challenge to these great synods is apparent at once when it is considered that in the year just ended (June 30, 1910) over 740,000 immigrants, more than 71 per cent of the entire number who came within that time,

gave as their destination the States included within the bounds of the home mission work of these same synods.

Pennsylvania leads all of the above self-administrative synods in the extent of its work. Of the \$181,000 expended in home mission work within the bounds of this synod in the year ending September 30, 1910, \$101,000 was devoted to work among immigrant populations. An especially well developed and directed work is carried on in the presbytery of Pittsburg and also in the presbytery of Philadelphia.

In the State of Illinois a well-organized work among Bohemians and other Slavic people, Persians, and Jews is carried on in Chicago, and for Italians and Bulgarians in other parts of the State.

In New Jersey there are 20 German churches, with a total membership of about 2,700, 5 of which are aided and 15 self-supporting. There are 18 distinctly Presbyterian missions for Italians, while Presbyterians cooperate in 3 or 4 more union missions. Work for Hungarians was carried on regularly at 7 points, at 4 of which there are organized churches, with buildings, as one mission also has. Services are conducted at two points each for Armenians and Syrians; there is one Ruthenian Church and systematic visitation of Ruthenians in a number of cities, so that services in some other tongue than English have been held regularly at more than 50 points.

In New York State there is work for Italians at 17 or more points, for Germans at 9, for Hungarians at 6, for French, Bohemians, and Armenians, 2 each, and for Greeks, Ruthenians, Persians, and Chinese, 1. In addition, there is some local work for Poles, also for the nationalities previously named, so that the total number of centers would approximate 50.

The above would indicate the extent and increasing interest which the Presbyterian Church in these self-administrative synods is directing to the religious and social needs of the immigrant peoples.

(f) Theological seminaries and training schools:

The German Presbyterian Theological School of the Northwest, at Dubuque, Iowa, and the German Theological School of Newark, located at Bloomfield, N. J., are especially directing their efforts toward the training of a foreign-speaking ministry, not only for the Germans, but for the Italians, Hungarians, and Slavic peoples as well. The Western Theological Seminary, of Pittsburg, conducts special classes for foreign-speaking students. Nearly all of our seminaries are enlisting young men, who are preparing themselves especially for a ministry to the immigrant. The Deaconess's Home, in Baltimore, and the Missionary Training School, at Coraopolis, in the presbytery of Pittsburg, are types of schools where young women may receive a thorough training for the church's work among foreigners.

(g) Individual churches:

Many Presbyterian churches, through established social and educational agencies, are ministering to foreign-speaking people without employing foreign-speaking missionaries or pastors. There is no accurate tabulation of these centers, but throughout the church there is an increasing desire and effort to bring the resources of the church to bear upon the new conditions created by immigration.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY.

The following summary of March 31, 1910, is given of Presbyterian churches and missions among (immigrant) foreign-speaking people. It is not wholly inclusive for want of accurate returns:

*Presbyterian churches and missions among foreign-speaking people.*

[Compiled October, 1910.]

Date.	Nationality.	Churches and missions.	Members and adherents reported.	Members Sunday school.	Contributing—
Jan. 1, 1910.....	German.....	149	14,521	15,234	\$202,224
Mar. 31, 1910.....	Welsh.....	3	170	75	2,028
Do.....	French.....	8	486	359	5,545
Do.....	Syrian.....	4	146		
Do.....	Persian.....	1			
Do.....	Armenian.....	7	786	274	1,308
Feb., 1910.....	Italian.....	67	3,377	4,101	9,427
Do.....	Hungarian, 17 organized.....	27	3,475	507	8,167
Mar. 31, 1910.....	Slavic (Bohemian), 30 churches and 14 missions.....	44	2,222	1,661	17,709
Do.....	Ruthenian.....	2	208		407
	Slavonic (organized).....	5	417	311	3,342
	Other Slavic missions in Pennsylvania.....	11			
Oct., 1910.....	Bulgarian.....	1	50		
Mar. 31, 1910.....	Chinese.....	5	228	316	
Do.....	Japanese.....	3	308	90	362
		337	26,394	22,928	250,519

NOTE.—This does not include the work of the Presbyterian Church among the Spanish-speaking people in the Southwest nor in Porto Rico and Cuba.



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STATEMENT OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS' INFORMATION BUREAU.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

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JEWISH IMMIGRANTS' INFORMATION BUREAU,  
GALVESTON, TEX.  
*New York, November 22, 1910.*

IMMIGRATION COMMISSION, *Washington, D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: I have only just learned that some time ago you addressed a communication to me, in care of Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, requesting information regarding the work of the Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau at Galveston. I beg to send under separate cover the copy of my address delivered at St. Louis on May 17. It contains a fair history of the Galveston movement, and I trust that it will be of service to you. \* \* \* I may add that since the printing of this paper something like 500 additional Jewish immigrants have been admitted at Galveston, for all of whom the Galveston bureau has been able to find positions in the interior at a living wage.

If I can serve you further, I am at your disposal.

Respectfully, yours,

DAVID M. BRESSLER,  
*Honorary Secretary.*

## THE REMOVAL WORK, INCLUDING GALVESTON.

By DAVID M. BRESSLER, general manager of the Industrial Removal Office, New York; honorary secretary Jewish Immigrants Information Bureau of Galveston.

It is now a little over nine years since the industrial removal office was instituted. Whatever the opinion may be as to the manner and efficiency with which it has handled the work for which it was organized, there can hardly be any question in the mind of anyone familiar with the subject that it is beyond the experimental stage. It meets a definite need and helps to solve a definite problem. That the need and problem exist, no one longer questions. The solution or remedy attempted by the removal office, namely, the distribution of Jewish immigrants throughout the country, was given its initial impetus at the memorable conference of Jewish charities held in Detroit in 1902, when the subject was presented to the conference for the first time. The remarkable, not to say enthusiastic, sympathy and support which it evoked is historical, and it is no exaggeration to say that even the moderate success which has accompanied the efforts of the removal office since that time can be attributed directly to the influence and cooperation of the cities which were represented in that notable conference.

How efficient the work of the removal office has been can best be gathered from a perusal of the annual reports covering the years of its existence. By reason of the fact that the high-water mark of its activities was reached during the year 1907, when thousands of Russian Jews were fleeing from pogrom cities and from a country torn by revolutionary strife, it might be inferred in some quarters that the removal office is designed to meet special situations such as pogroms with their consequent heavy stream of immigration to this country. It should be stated therefore at the outset that the removal work has no such one-sided aspect. In its origin that may have been the immediate cause for its creation, but in its basic aspect it is constructive. In its essence and principles it is intended to act as a clearing house of Jewish immigration, to relieve, and to prevent, if possible, further congestion at the port of entry. The systematic distribution of the incoming masses of immigrants tends to make immigration healthy and desirable. There is enough room in this country for millions more inhabitants, provided they are fairly distributed and are not allowed to clog up any one particular point. By judicious distribution only the benefits of immigration will be felt and at the same time conditions in the port of entry will be greatly relieved. The immigrants who come to our shores do not elect New York as a stopping place for the sole reason that New York attracts them. But without discounting the importance of this influence in determining their destination, it is also a fact that since New York is the point of disembarking for the vast majority of ocean liners sailing from the European ports, it is more convenient for them from the point of view of expense and comforts, and so what was intended as immigration to America becomes, to a considerable degree, immigration to New York. Distribution aims to make immigration to America a fact by giving every State in the Union its proportionate share. Distribution, however, is not only of benefit to the country at large, in which respect it would be of purely sociological or politico-economic value, it becomes philanthropic as well when it touches the individual immigrant in his person and gives him the opportunity to be tested fairly under conditions favorable to the working out of his economic salvation. Recognizing that his foreign tongue and his foreign culture are in themselves sufficient handicaps, distribution vouchsafes him at least a favorable environment where he may the sooner overcome the obstacles in his path. In this manner it logically evolves classes of immigrants who may be reasonably expected to become economically independent.

The work of distribution has a dual aspect as has already been suggested. On the one hand there is the individual man of flesh and blood, the applicant

who comes with a request to be removed from New York. This applicant must be considered fully and fairly to obtain a correct understanding of his problem. To idealize him and to imagine him to be other than he is would be fatal to every effort directed toward the successful handling of his case. He is a strange mixture, this applicant. On the one hand he is basically a product of Old World conditions with all that this implies. In his old habitat he was often spiritually and materially cramped. His development was hindered at every point. His latent and native ability were never allowed free and full play. Projected into New York by the exigencies of fate, his stay in the metropolis, if it has done anything, has tended to confuse him and to render him at odds with his environment. The transition from the simple and almost naïve life in Russia to the complexities of New York has been too swift and sudden. Add to this that the complex economic system of which he finds himself an integral part makes the pursuit of a livelihood more strenuous than it was in his old home and that this makes him readily receptive of the gospel of unrest and dissatisfaction preached to him at every turn, he is not the ideal material from which to choose pioneers who are to blaze the trail of a new life. Exercising the greatest care in selection, employing a systematized apparatus of organization, the industrial removal office has learned that even the best applicant is far from being a perfect specimen. Mistakes of judgment, therefore, are to be expected and should occasion no surprise. The best that can be hoped for is the elimination of the least desirable and to separate the wheat from the chaff, knowing well that the wheat at times may not be of the best quality. The ideal applicant would simplify distribution and this paper would not have to be written.

Considering the applicant in the aggregate, the discouraging aspect of the work vanishes. In the case of the aggregate an average can be struck, and from experience the average is a reasonably high one. After all, 50,000 Jews have been removed, and granting that but 85 per cent of these have remained at the places to which they were sent, something worth while has been accomplished. There is no method by which we can compute the number that these 50,000 have attracted without the aid of the removal office or any other agency, but it must be considerable. A case in point is that of a certain city in Indiana, which ten years ago had a Jewish population of not more than 30 families, all of German origin. To-day a conservative estimate places the number at 1,000. The removal office has not sent more than one-third of that number.

The work of directing this distribution, with all the problems incidental thereto, belongs to the removal office. When the applicant is selected and sent off to his destination, he becomes the care of the receiving community. It is but natural, in view of the fact that the cooperating communities handle but comparatively few cases, that each case is received and viewed individually, and that the larger aspect of the work is often lost sight of. And if the new arrival should give undue trouble and annoyance, as he often does, the receiving community not infrequently becomes discouraged, and at times expresses a disinclination to continue its cooperation. But the cooperating cities ought not to regard individual cases in the light of individual problems, but as a part of the great problem of distribution. Distribution must be attended with annoyance, trouble, and disappointment, unless human nature be eliminated. We must not lose sight of the character and make-up of the large mass of Jewish immigrants. We must not be afraid to admit that the Jewish immigrant is not unlike his fellowman—that he is an admixture of virtues and vices. For the creation of a good, sturdy class of citizens, however, the Jewish immigrant possesses every qualification. He is energetic, sober, conservative, and ambitious, and therefore his presence in great numbers in this country can not in any way be construed as derogatory to its best interests. Let his deficiencies be viewed frankly and tolerantly, bearing in mind that they are neither native nor yet deep-rooted, but are rather the effect of persecution. The problem, therefore, is to provide him with the proper environment, where he may gradually develop his inherent virtues and ultimately work out his destiny. Let this work be carried on intelligently and sympathetically for a number of years, and there will be created a class of Jewish artisans, recruited from the Jewish immigrant class, which will prove not only a welcome addition to the Jewish communities of our land, but an important factor in the industrial life of the various cities throughout the country as well. That this is desirable all will admit, and were we asked to suggest out of the diversity of our experience cer-



tain general rules to aid cooperating communities to achieve a fair measure of success in their work, we might offer the following for their guidance:

1. The arriving immigrant ought never to be regarded as a charity case in the same sense in which any local case of dependency is regarded, for, without prejudice, at the very start the newcomer is neither delinquent nor deficient. By presumption he has not succeeded in New York, but for reasons beyond his control. The change in locale is supposed to remove the main disadvantage under which he has previously labored. His primary motive for leaving New York was to secure employment, and this is in substance what the removal office promised him. He should, therefore, be treated as a newcomer who has come to fill a definite place in the life of the community. The period of waiting for his job should not be prolonged, for in that period all the vexations crop out and it becomes a short step to consider him a problem, and when food and shelter during idleness are involved, a "charity" problem. As soon as this happens his satisfactory readjustment with his new environment is delayed. Effective cooperation, which recognizes this danger, will seek to avoid it, not alone for the individual's sake, but in order to protect the community as well. The newcomer must never be made to feel that the question of his future has been taken out of his hands and has been assumed by a kindly disposed community.

2. The kind of a position to be secured for the newcomer is an important consideration. It will not do to settle the matter by placing him to work at anything which may be ready at hand. It must be borne in mind that the change in environment is supposed to benefit him. The sudden change of occupation will tend to nullify very largely the good results. This is just the trouble in New York which distribution aims to obviate, namely, that very often good mechanics in highly skilled trades are forced to accept employment in one of the needle trades, either as pressers or operators, because they can not secure work at their respective trades. To duplicate this state of affairs in the new home would be fatal. The task that the receiving community should set before itself is, to provide the arriving mechanic as far as possible with work which will demand and make use of his fullest ability and skill, and for which he will receive at least a sum approximating his real earning powers. We realize that this end may not always be easily reached, and not infrequently it is impossible to attain it for some time after his arrival, but there should be an earnest attempt in that direction. In sending workmen to the communities, the industrial removal office has always tried to bear in mind the specific needs of the communities, the kind of factories, and the character of labor most in demand. We realize that this policy on the part of the removal office has done much to smooth the way for the receiving community when the work of placing the man is before it.

3. When the workman has been placed to the best advantage at a job where he may reasonably be supposed to get along, the work is not necessarily complete. Thus far his physical self has been taken care of. If the interest in him stops at this point, the solution of his problem has not yet been reached. The Jewish immigrant may be strongly individualistic, but paradoxical as it may seem, he is just as strongly gregarious. He craves the society and companionship of his fellow Jews. Where there is already a resident colony of Jews of the same East-European origin, the problem is a simple one and will work itself out. The newcomer will be attracted and absorbed by this element. To visit their synagogues, to join their lodges, to fall in with their mode of life will be a natural course. In the case of communities, however, in which there are a few or no East-European Jews, great care must be exercised to make the stranger feel at home and to win him over gradually to the life of the community. As soon as he is made to feel that he is a man among men and a Jew among Jews, his problem ceases to be a problem. I appreciate that this result is more easily attained in words than in actual fact, and many are the pitfalls which must be avoided if this end is to be reached. The man may be sincerely religious or he may be indifferent to religious matters; in every case his honest convictions should be respected and treated tactfully. Above all, he must not be regarded with a patronizing air. His self-respect must not be injured, and if a number of these men are sent to any one city, it is inadvisable to herd them together and thereby to accentuate their distinctness as the removal office contingent or by any other convenient appellation. In short, each community must bring to the work of handling this problem of distribution, common sense, system, and sympathy. They must all go hand in hand.

In sketching the foregoing *vade-mecum* for the receiving communities, there is no implication intended that heretofore the communities cooperating with the removal office have disregarded these rules and have handled the problem in haphazard manner. On the contrary, if it is at all possible to lay down any rules, it is because the communities themselves which have done the work most successfully in the past are those which have made it possible to formulate them. It may seem strange, however, that the receiving community is expected to achieve signal success with the material which we ourselves have admitted to be not without defects. The qualification, however, must not be lost sight of, that the shortcomings are only the result of environment. For all practical purposes a very fair proportion of the mechanics who apply to the removal office are highly skilled. It is a far superior class in this respect to the class which emigrated from Russia in the eighties and early nineties. Since that time Russia has undergone a great industrial development. In the wake of this development large factory towns have arisen. Improved machinery and improved methods are to-day the rule. The Jewish artisan of to-day coming from these towns is therefore much better qualified to handle American machinery, but it is not to be expected that he be as expert as the native American workman. He will be slow at first and unused to American factory methods. His lack of the language must needs also prove a serious impediment. But speed, method, and language may be acquired. The important need is, that the skilled mechanic be given the opportunity as quickly as possible to engage in his trade so that the period of adapting himself to American methods be gotten over with speedily. It is for the smaller cities and towns to supply the opportunity. This end, in and of itself, would make the work of the removal office highly desirable; but when in addition thereto the communities come to realize that distribution systematically carried out must needs prove of great value to the country at large a double motive is supplied. Everyone is aware of the fact that the bulk of the general population is confined to certain definite and narrow sections of our country. Without referring to the prairie lands, government lands, and deserts, which must be developed along agricultural lines or are impossible of development, as the case may be, there are still vast States and sections of States abounding in cities and towns which have not yet reached the zenith of their industrial development by reason of the fact that the population is sparse and that, as a consequence, there is a scarcity of labor. The problem, therefore, is to dovetail the two needs; on the one hand, the need of an outlet for the surplus population of the congested sections of the country; on the other hand, the need for additional population composed of a thrifty class of laborers on the part of the sparsely settled sections.

It may, perhaps, be argued that this is a rather broad platform for work which is, after all, limited in scope; that the fact of scattering seven or eight thousand Jews a year over a broad land would hardly have an appreciable effect on any one section, but it is well to look ahead. The Jew in Russia is to-day no more immune from persecution and pogroms than he has been in the past, and he may again be made the scapegoat for the deficiencies of the Russian bureaucracy. We do not desire to anticipate, and we fervently hope that any misgivings which we may have on this score may be groundless. But in the light of what has happened before we should not ignore the lessons of the past. It is not impossible that events may transpire in Russia which would again send a stream of immigrants to the United States; outpourings of sympathy there will be in plenty, as there have been in the past, but it will be more advantageous to all concerned if we be prepared to handle the unfortunate victims with intelligence and system. It is not advisable that three-fourths of any large number that may be driven here follow the example of their precursors and remain in the port of entry. It is preferable to perfect the machinery of distribution and by the strengthening of existing and by opening up new avenues of cooperation to pave the way for an even and judicious distribution of the majority of them over the length and breadth of the land.

It would be futile to say that the work of distribution as it has thus far been carried on by the removal office has been sufficiently widespread to be considered equitable. While it is true that its beneficiaries have been sent to over eleven hundred cities and towns in the United States, the bulk of the removal office applicants have been sent to cities of the class to which Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, and St. Louis belong. The result is that such cities have borne the brunt of the industrial removal office distribu-

tion. Despite the fact that the removal office has rarely exceeded the number which these communities expressed their willingness and preparedness to accept, yet it can not be denied that in proportion to the entire number distributed these cities have done more than their fair share. Considering the work of distribution in the light of its ultimate object, namely, the creation of nuclei throughout the country which will attract to these points a fair proportion of the incoming immigrants, it would not be wise to make these cities continue to absorb the bulk of the removal office applicants. To supplant the 4 or 5 ports of entry to which the bulk of immigration is at present attracted with 30 or even 40 other cities of respectable size is a measurable improvement, but too slight in degree to serve as a comprehensive solution of the problem. But it should not be inferred from this that outside of the cities of the class which has been mentioned there has not been considerable distribution. Indeed, there are quite a number of small communities that have rendered splendid service. But, in the main, the cooperation accorded by the majority of the smaller cities and towns has been spasmodic at best. Various reasons have been offered in excuse for the inability or disinclination, as the case may be, to cooperate; sometimes that employment was not available. As to this, it is a fact that instances have not been rare when at the time that cooperation had been refused for the aforementioned reason requisitions have been received at the removal office directly from superintendents of shops and factories in those very towns. At other times the excuse has been that disappointing experiences in the past with one of the removal office applicants rendered cooperation, in their opinion, ineffective. I have not the slightest doubt but that some of our beneficiaries, by their unreasonable conduct, have influenced well-intentioned communities to adopt this attitude. But they have lost sight of the fact that a big movement must not be judged in the light of their experience with isolated cases. The perfection of the work of distribution makes it imperative that the smaller communities offer a more extensive cooperation than heretofore. It would be highly desirable if it could be brought about that the larger cities be given, so to speak, a breathing spell, a period in which they could thoroughly assimilate all those who have been sent in the past and adjust all the little problems and details. This period of rest and adjustment would render these communities better fit to take care of future cases directed to them. This ideal arrangement will not be possible, however, until the smaller communities of the 25,000 to 75,000 population class do their full duty toward the movement.

The question is pertinent as to what kind of mechanics or workingmen the industrial removal office ought to send to cooperating cities. It would seem that the answer to this would not be difficult in view of the fact that among the beneficiaries of the removal office since its existence 221 different trades and callings are represented. Even more significant than this is the 1909 report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, in which he points out that among the Jewish immigrants of that year every class of workingman was found with the single exception of shipwrights. But despite this, we are at times so restricted as to the kind of men that we are permitted to send that it happens not infrequently that out of a room full of otherwise eligible applicants a very small number answer the specific demands from cooperating cities. If the expressed preferences of the receiving communities be taken into account very little work could be accomplished. One community prefers married men with families, another prefers single men; one would like to have high-class custom tailors during the busy season, forgetting that a high-class custom tailor might find it convenient and profitable to stay in New York. An example of the mistaken notion of the idea of distribution is the case of the communal leader of a certain city writing to the removal office that his community felt the need of assisting in the worthy cause and that as a beginning they would accept a high-class barber who could command a salary of \$20 a week and who is English speaking. It did not occur to the gentleman's mind that a barber answering these requirements would hardly have need to apply to the removal office or any other distributing agency for assistance. If the wishes of some of the cooperating cities were to be taken into account the applicants would have to be drafted from among the successful immigrants. This would not solve the immediate problem of the man who looks to distribution as his economic salvation. For this reason, while it is possible to comply with the expressed preferences of the cooperating cities in respect to trades, size of families, married men or single men to a certain extent, the distributing agency is forced by the cir-

circumstances pointed out to reserve for itself the right of final selection. Thus it will happen that the distributing points will sometimes find themselves beset with problems which they ought to attack with the consciousness of the imminence of the problem as a whole and with the unselfish desire to contribute their small, though important, share in its solution.

Those who are engaged in the work of the industrial removal office are fully aware that the sum total of 50,000 removed persons in a period of nine years is not a sum of intrinsic greatness when it is considered that there are at present 900,000 Jews in the metropolis; that the number continues to grow, and that twice 50,000 Jews may arrive at the port of New York in any one year. They are also aware of the fact that with its present machinery of organization and with the limited funds at its disposal the number of removals would hardly exceed 7,000 to 8,000 per annum. They feel, however, that the work of the industrial removal office ought not to be regarded as an end, but as a beginning. To handle an individual case successfully, to transplant a family into an environment favorable to its future well-being, to solve the every-day problem of food and shelter for the family, are in themselves highly important as viewed from the point of immediate relief. But the removal office aims to transcend the bounds of practical philanthropy and to propagate the idea of general distribution. It seeks to make distribution an automatic movement, independent of any directing agency or institutional assistance. Its aim is to act as an invisible force to direct the stream of Jewish workmen to our western country, and it sets before itself the ideal that the time may come that of the Jews who land at Ellis Island in any one year a majority of them will voluntarily and instantly depart for the interior upon their own initiative and without outside assistance.

This ideal, I dare hope, is not impossible of realization, provided a well-defined and ceaseless programme of propaganda be adopted and carried out. By reason of its experience and its unique position the removal office ought itself to act as the fountainhead of this propaganda. Not only will it serve as the experimental laboratory, but also as the directive and impelling force to give impetus to the movement, taking it out of the experimental stage. To enable the removal office to perform this work it will be necessary that this organization be strengthened and perfected in its every department. Those who are in charge of the work and who have grown up with it are directing their best energies to improved method. Their work will be futile, however, unless it is reinforced by the more intensive and extensive cooperation of the entire country.

Thus far distribution has been discussed with New York and other Atlantic coast ports as important factors. The problem, briefly stated, was the handling of the large masses of Jewish immigrants congested in these cities. A radical departure from this view of the problem is presented by what has come to be popularly known as the "Galveston" movement.

#### THE GALVESTON MOVEMENT.

This movement, inaugurated and supported by the generosity of Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, for diverting Jewish immigration from the eastern seaboard towns to the territory west of the Mississippi River, with Galveston as the port of entry, is the first deliberate effort in America to divert the Jewish immigrant from the Atlantic port cities. It is the attempt to divert the current from those few places where it has come to a head, and where the height of the tide is creating problems of great import to American Jewry. Discounting the exaggerations of the muck-raking magazines which contrive to find every ill, real and imaginary, in New York's crowded Jewish quarter, the very fact that the peculiar conditions to be found in that quarter make it a fertile field for magazine exploitation to the discredit of American Jewry, ought to be of vital concern to those who desire that the settlement of Jews in this country be normal and not involved with any vexing problems. To summarize the Jewish immigration of the last seventy years which practically covers the important periods of Jewish immigration, is to rehearse an oft-repeated story. It has its place here, however, for it will help in securing the proper perspective toward the Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau, the name under which the Galveston movement is carried on.

Jewish immigration in America falls under two classifications, the western European and the eastern European. The western, or what has become to be

regarded as the German, dates back to the early forties of the last century, and began with the pioneers who fled the German petty kingdoms, which by persecution and despotism drove the first notable body of Jewish immigrants to America. Here they worked their way to success upon unbeaten mercantile paths. This was followed by a larger contingent when the German revolution of 1848 was suppressed. Within three decades this element had become assimilated, for America was in the building, and the thrifty immigrant of that epoch fitted easily into the material and spiritual conditions of his adopted country and made the most of them.

The eastern European immigration with its source in Russia, Roumania, Galicia, and Hungary is of greater issue. In comparison with its yearly drift of nearly 100,000, the German accession will shortly pale into insignificance. This stream empties into the strip of territory which borders the Atlantic coast; and except for the overflow into the large inland cities of Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Cleveland, and the dribble into the Pacific port towns, it is at points contiguous to the Atlantic coast that the volume remains. New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston absorb the greater part of this new influx. So that while the center of population in the United States is moving westward and may soon tilt southwestward, what may be considered the Jewish center of population has not followed this normal shift.

Although the cost of transportation and the social attraction of large centers have contributed in retarding the drift westward, the uncertainty regarding the material advantages in the small town has been a large factor in determining whither the mass of immigrants will gravitate. If this holds good for the section east of the Mississippi, how much more unattractive, even repelling, must the hinterland appear, which is a veritable land of mystery both to the recent newcomer and the intending emigrant from eastern Europe.

The port of Galveston invited entry; but to take the plunge into the hinterland where Yiddish may be an unknown tongue, Kosher food an unknown thing, and labor opportunities limited, was left only to the most daring. Those who might have previously penetrated this far Western section and have won material success, could hardly prove lodestones; for daring as the Russian is in his philosophy, he is conservative in action; he could make his wants known in his own language in New York and other eastern cities; and if his wants were dire, his friends and fellow-countrymen were ready to lead a helping hand. The West, on the other hand, loomed chill. No Yiddish news emanated from it that could influence the East Sider of New York or reach across the sea. The very names of these cities were almost as unknown in New York as in the pale. As a result, the Russian immigrant regarded the hinterland with the same feeling that a child might regard a dark room.

To carry the parallel further, how could this dark interior be lighted up so that the frightened child might walk into it with confidence? The answer to this question was the creation of the Galveston movement, organized with the purpose of popularizing the West and Southwest as objective points for Jewish immigration. The opportunities in what is as yet an undeveloped field present an array of facts, bearing out the contention that the immigrant, in throwing in his destiny with the newer sections of the United States will reap the benefits of a growing country where the struggle for a livelihood is not so intense, and where the environment is more favorable.

On his arrival at Galveston the immigrant comes under the direction of an institution which has literally paved the way for him. The Jewish immigrants' information bureau, in creating committees in all of the growing towns of the West and Southwest, deliberately seeks to make the immigrants' beginning easier. It sees to it that with the aid of the local committees the immigrant is properly cared for until work is obtained for him, and that he is accorded that friendship and sympathy which are so essential to the spiritual well-being of the stranger. In this way every incentive is given him to accommodate himself to the new conditions of life which he encounters.

It is a tender shoot which the bureau is nursing into life. If the spirit of supervision appears overscrupulous and overhelpful, it must be borne in mind that the bureau is not intent upon perpetuating its own existence. It is bent upon another mission entirely. It hopes to divert from the eastern ports a sufficiently large number of Jewish immigrants to the West and Southwest, who will eventually become centers of attraction in themselves, and who will make of the hinterland a reality and rob it of its isolation and uncertainty.

Even were the Galveston movement to be regarded as an experiment (which will hardly be borne out by its record of nearly 2,000 immigrants distributed through that port, despite the industrial panic that came on the heels of its formation), the conditions favoring its success are natural ones, and not the result of an artificial stimulus. In the first place, there is the demand for labor in the West and Southwest, arising from the development of these sections. The entrance of Russian Jewish labor into these parts is not an invasion, but a necessary addition to the industrial growth of a dozen States. It is a notable fact, for instance, that immigrants coming through the bureau are finding work in railroad shops, and even more significant than this is the fact that in quite a number of instances cooperating agencies have been able to find employment for the newly arrived immigrants at their own trades on the very same day of their arrival in the city to which they were sent by the bureau.

Secondly, the pioneer German Jews in the States that may be conveniently termed "bureau territory" have on the whole not been backward in accepting the Galveston movement as an essentially sound one; while the Russian Jewish element, which had already won a foothold in this section, has entered into the work most sympathetically.

Thirdly, it has been noticed that the effect of the movement has been to infuse something akin to the pioneer spirit into the immigrant. That some of the immigrants should feel the lure of the eastern cities and should drift there at the first opportunity is hardly surprising. A secondary drift takes place from the town in which the immigrant has been placed to the next larger town within striking distance, and there the initial impulse appears to exhaust itself. But a noteworthy feature is the frequent drift toward the smaller communities within easy reach.

Fourthly, the fact that employment is found for the immigrant on his arrival at his destination, serves as the prime factor in making the immigrant a fixture. To secure a livelihood is his elemental need. Other factors being fairly satisfactory (the proximity of other Russians, Kosher food, religious services) this one determines his status as a permanent dweller in the community.

Fifthly, where the success of the movement two decades ago might have been jeopardized by the very high percentage of unskilled labor which must necessarily have come, to-day, as already stated before, the industrial development of Russia and its trend toward modernity in method and production is developing an artisan who, aside of the handicap of a different form of speech, compares much more favorably with the American artisan than was the case a decade or two ago. The bureau has reports from several cooperating communities of skilled workers who earn over \$20 a week.

Therefore, for the reasons above outlined, the Galveston movement, which has for its object the systematic direction and distribution of the Jewish immigration which will come to this country in the natural course of events, should be welcomed and regarded sympathetically by all. The Galveston movement, if carefully nurtured, has in it the possibilities of becoming one of the most effective means of solving the problem of even distribution.

If at present the bureau's activities are limited, it must not be forgotten that it is laboring under certain disadvantages and handicaps not within its control. First and foremost is the existing and widespread prejudice in favor of New York as a landing place. It will take many years before it can be hoped to remove this. Furthermore, the competition between Galveston and New York is an unfair one. Granted that Galveston can convince the intending immigrant that it is for his best welfare that he elect to enter America via that port, the fact still remains that Galveston does not as yet hold out to him the allurements of swift ocean greyhounds upon which he can travel in comparative comfort even in the despised steerage. In short, Galveston does not offer adequate transportation facilities. Only one steamship line from Europe makes the port regularly, and then only once in three weeks, and because of the absence of competition the trip is very long and tedious and the steamers inferior to those crossing to New York. The removal of these physical disadvantages will prove important factors in making Galveston more popular.

Then again, the ignorance of the immigrant of American geography in general and of Galveston in particular will have to be counteracted by a well-defined program of propaganda. The fixed idea in the minds of most intending immigrants that New York and America are synonymous must be uprooted by a campaign of enlightenment. In fact the entire distribution movement can be

advanced through every dignified and legitimate means of publicity. The industrial removal office has already adopted this method of propaganda in the form of press articles on conditions in the West, and pamphlets which have been distributed in the Jewish districts. This form of propaganda admits of further development, however. The industrial removal office contemplates shortly to publish and to scatter a series of leaflets descriptive of the industrial, social, religious, and educational life of about 250 cities and towns of the country. It is not intended thereby to encourage applicants, and therefore no specific mention of the industrial removal office will be made in these leaflets. They are to serve as a means of educating the Jew of New York in American life and conditions, and to create in him a healthy desire, a pioneer spirit, to go forth and make his way in a new land. For new land it is indeed to him, who, in New York, is, to say the most, but geographically and not spiritually removed from his old European environment. Once this desire is created, the budding pioneer will find the way either with or without the assistance of the industrial removal office. If without, so much the better. To supplement the work of press and pamphlet publicity the illustrated lecture can be employed to good advantage. A beginning has already been made in that direction with an appreciable result. A remarkable feature of these lectures was the impression made on the audience when the map of the United States was thrown on the screen, and when many began to comprehend for the first time the immensity of our country in extent of territory.

Transportation facilities have contributed largely to the growth and development of every new settlement. But to aid in any movement which has for its object the emigration of large bodies of people from the crowded sections to the as yet sparsely settled but promising territory, it is not sufficient that the person desiring to go westward merely have the choice of three or four or even five transportation lines. From New York to California, Washington, Oregon, or even Colorado and Iowa the cost of transportation is the greatest obstacle and almost prohibitive to that class of pioneers who have the brain and the brawn so necessary to the development of the newer sections of our country. The railroad companies would do well to recognize the commercial value of a steady stream of immigration to the undeveloped sections through which their roads run. They might well foresee that an augmented western population will mean a larger productivity for that region, with the resultant increase in the freight and passenger business. A reduction in the rate of transportation would not only facilitate the work of the distributing of immigrants, but it would also enable workmen of moderate means, who, by reason of their longer stay in this country, have acquired the language and have absorbed the spirit of American institutions, to take advantage of the improved opportunities which the West affords them. A movement westward on the part of such workmen in large numbers would be of inestimable benefit to those sections of the country where an intelligent class of artisans is in great demand to aid in the development of industries and in the growth of trade and commerce. I venture to say that it would pay the railroads as a business proposition to offer a largely reduced rate of transportation, at least to points in the far West and Southwest, to which the present cost of transportation is a most serious drawback to an undoubtedly considerable number of sincere and earnest men and women who desire to throw in their lot with those newer sections of our country, whose praise they have heard sung for so long and whose opportunities they have seen described in glowing terms in both press and magazines. There are many who would undoubtedly be influenced to give their all to the land that beckons to them with hope and promise, and who, because of the prohibitive cost of transportation, must abandon their cherished dreams and must remain behind and accept the inevitable conclusion that the far West for them is but a visionary and impossible project.

I do not for a moment lose sight of the many difficulties which the adoption of such a scheme presents, nor am I unmindful of the fact that new legislation might have to be enacted to overcome certain present legal obstacles to the plan suggested. At all events the suggestions here thrown out are, in my humble opinion, worthy of consideration and thought, and even though they may be rejected as impracticable and impossible of accomplishment, yet it may be that as a result and out of the wisdom and far-sightedness of those who preside over the destinies of our transportation enterprises, the seed will be sown which will develop a more extensive and practical cooperation on the part of the railroads in the big problem of distribution of population.

The basis of all industrial life is the soil, and if distribution of immigration is to be comprehensive too much importance can not be attached to any movement which seeks to attract the Jewish immigrant to the farm. While it is true that the pursuit of agriculture has been denied to the Jew by the governments of those countries in which he is to be found in the largest numbers, yet it is a fact that there are many immigrant Jews who come from Russian and Galician farm villages who are, by nature and instinct, adapted to farm life, even though they are not especially adept in farm work. They may not be farmers, and the disappointments which Jewish societies for the encouragement of agriculture among Jews in this country have experienced in their highly laudable work may be many. But it has been proven beyond a doubt that to a reasonable extent, and with careful training and supervision during the initial period of their, so to speak, apprenticeship in farm work, they possess the material from which farmers can be made. Indeed, many government homesteads have been settled by sturdy Jewish farmers, and these farms have not only afforded a profitable living, but have contributed to the wealth and prosperity of the nation. From statistics, which are necessarily incomplete, we learn that there are listed on the books of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society alone over 3,000 farmers in this country, representing 15,000 souls, occupying over 2,700 farms. These figures probably do not represent more than 50 per cent of the actual total number of Jewish farmers in this country. Here, again, it is well to remember that the Jew is not unlike his fellowman. He, too, feels the lure of the city; and in this age, when many of our farms are being abandoned by families who for generations have lived on the soil and who are being drawn irresistibly to the large cities, it is not at all remarkable that it is difficult to attract those who have been accustomed to urban life to rural occupations. But, perhaps, just because of this, namely, the fact that he has been forced to city life for so many generations, his reluctance to take up farming as a means of livelihood should be viewed tolerantly. But I would urge, as I have upon previous occasions, that every effort be made to instill in the children of our people a love for the soil when they are still in the period of training and when agricultural education will do much to influence their future avocation. Even here the natural preferences of the American youth must be reckoned with, and in the light of this it would be idle to say that Jewish farming can ever assume a dominant place in the large work of distribution. Even the most ardent exponents of the idea of agriculture do not claim this for it, but if by reason of increased activities the number of farmers be increased perceptibly a valuable contribution will be made to the solution of the problem of Jewish distribution.

Our country is destined in the course of years to absorb millions of immigrants from European lands. The drift to America will persist as long as America spells opportunity and there is a surplus of population in the old world. Among these millions there will be many of our coreligionists, even though persecution will cease to be a special reason for Jewish immigration. It would be a short-sighted policy that would counsel that we do not look beyond the immediate problems at hand, but a wise statesmanship will lead us to look beyond the present, that we prepare for the future, so that our successors of the generations to come will be able to meet the problem of Jewish immigration with intelligence, with discretion, and with zeal, and, above all, with the heritage of our experience.



*Résumé of work of the Industrial Removal office, 1901-1909, showing the distribution of 45,711 persons in 1,278 cities and towns in the United States and Canada, also giving the total number of persons sent to each State, and the total number of cities covered in each State.*

States.	Cities.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	Total.
Alabama.....	35	52	37	47	88	115	136	88	88	19	670
Arizona.....	7	1	1	1	2	3	11	7	1	.....	26
Arkansas.....	16	66	14	9	8	34	28	20	6	.....	185
California.....	32	36	67	260	429	233	403	369	323	294	2,414
Colorado.....	37	104	218	214	189	216	380	383	283	141	2,128
Connecticut.....	24	23	67	139	15	26	12	1	27	10	320
Delaware.....	5	2	.....	.....	5	.....	1	2	2	2	14
District of Columbia.....	1	5	1	.....	.....	2	9	11	7	1	36
Florida.....	7	17	23	38	29	24	14	22	52	24	243
Georgia.....	22	15	32	45	65	114	103	115	133	59	681
Idaho.....	1	.....	.....	1	3	1	.....	4	.....	.....	9
Illinois.....	67	131	302	412	528	640	585	588	612	489	4,287
Indiana.....	35	100	166	183	188	234	259	315	184	113	1,742
Iowa.....	52	18	76	113	157	96	147	200	177	68	1,052
Kansas.....	37	42	66	39	36	28	36	38	42	22	349
Kentucky.....	17	46	32	33	84	98	137	110	89	57	686
Louisiana.....	17	29	107	69	53	75	45	57	66	10	511
Maine.....	14	.....	.....	9	5	7	8	5	19	2	55
Maryland.....	12	9	6	13	53	53	31	32	23	6	226
Massachusetts.....	19	5	9	122	81	42	40	18	22	18	357
Michigan.....	50	104	75	162	187	239	290	450	180	191	1,878
Minnesota.....	28	58	79	147	211	235	248	308	227	163	1,676
Mississippi.....	37	35	41	17	28	40	95	20	13	7	296
Missouri.....	39	73	300	765	980	608	620	671	426	370	4,813
Montana.....	7	1	7	11	5	4	6	.....	21	6	61
Nebraska.....	18	15	105	326	184	180	263	366	209	84	1,732
Nevada.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	5	.....	.....	.....	6
New Hampshire.....	6	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	2	.....	13
New Jersey.....	19	151	85	112	121	91	102	123	75	18	878
New Mexico.....	11	4	25	.....	1	.....	5	11	1	2	49
New York.....	107	20	90	240	479	454	425	475	238	247	2,668
North Carolina.....	12	.....	2	7	1	9	9	4	18	14	64
North Dakota.....	30	5	6	33	22	18	79	95	84	28	370
Ohio.....	64	152	350	726	622	765	1,020	1,065	352	419	5,477
Oklahoma.....	32	12	44	4	35	6	20	24	15	7	161
Oregon.....	3	11	30	19	53	51	117	110	55	100	546
Pennsylvania.....	101	155	265	346	225	362	362	375	194	83	2,367
Rhode Island.....	1	.....	1	2	21	1	.....	.....	6	3	34
South Carolina.....	17	3	7	.....	4	21	8	19	56	11	129
South Dakota.....	9	7	8	1	6	9	2	5	19	7	64
Tennessee.....	16	72	26	45	92	152	192	136	91	43	849
Texas.....	45	113	121	121	110	149	89	83	121	60	967
Utah.....	5	.....	1	1	13	10	5	8	5	12	55
Vermont.....	11	.....	17	.....	8	7	11	5	11	.....	59
Virginia.....	13	32	10	11	16	41	35	21	36	30	232
Washington.....	7	10	8	9	21	27	64	127	52	123	441
West Virginia.....	19	42	32	22	8	16	3	11	16	14	164
Wisconsin.....	56	35	207	482	364	314	274	371	201	112	2,360
Wyoming.....	3	.....	4	.....	1	4	.....	4	.....	.....	15
Canada.....	53	22	35	169	186	150	185	308	228	13	1,296
Grand total.....	1,278	1,830	3,208	5,525	6,023	6,075	6,922	7,586	5,108	3,504	45,711

Total number distributed by the Philadelphia Branch during a period of nine years..... 2,459

Total number distributed by the Boston Branch during a period of six years..... 2,068

Total number distributed by the Industrial Removal office and its branches..... 50,238

Occupations of 24,123 wage-earners distributed during a period of eight years (1902-1909), representing 221 occupations and divided according to groups, manufacturing and nonmanufacturing.

## MANUFACTURING.

*Woodworking (9.97 per cent).*

Cabinetmakers .....	289
Carpenters .....	1,822
Carriage painters .....	4
Carriage trimmers .....	3
Coach stripper .....	1
Coopers .....	97
Varnishers and polishers .....	22
Veneer workers .....	1
Wheelwrights .....	13
Wagon makers .....	9
Wood carvers .....	56
Wood turners .....	87
Total .....	2,404

*Metal working (9.17 per cent).*

Iron, brass, and copper workers .....	645
Blacksmiths .....	514
Boilermakers .....	12
Brass polishers .....	5
Dynamo workers .....	1
Engineers .....	10
Horse shoer .....	1
Machinists .....	322
Metal cutters .....	1
Metal platers .....	1
Metal polishers .....	8
Metal spinners .....	1
Molders .....	4
Potters .....	2
Tinsmiths and roofers .....	685
Total .....	2,212

*Building (8.03 per cent).*

Bricklayers .....	135
Framers .....	4
Gas fitters .....	2
Glaziers .....	68
Lathers .....	6
Locksmiths .....	440
Marble polishers .....	2
Marbleworkers .....	1
Masons and plasterers .....	73
Painters and paperhangers .....	1,033
Plumbers .....	161
Shinglers .....	6
Stonecutters .....	4
Tile layers .....	1
Tile makers .....	1
Total .....	1,937

## MANUFACTURING—continued.

*Printing and lithography (9.3 per cent).*

Bookbinders .....	116
Compositors .....	13
Electroplaters .....	1
Engravers .....	1
Feeders .....	7
Lithographers .....	5
Printers .....	83
Total .....	226

*Leather (6.99 per cent).*

Assembler .....	1
Dress suit case maker .....	8
Harness maker .....	147
Lasters .....	6
Leather workers .....	10
Pocketbook makers .....	26
Pocketbook cutters .....	7
Saddle makers .....	1
Shoe cutters .....	6
Shoe finishers .....	2
Shoe fitters .....	5
Shoemakers and repairers .....	1,105
Shoe operators .....	3
Tanners .....	331
Upper makers .....	29
Total .....	1,687

*Needle industries, clothing, and millinery supplies, etc. (20.86 per cent).*

Bed-robe maker .....	1
Beltmaker .....	1
Buttonholemakers .....	22
Buttonmakers .....	10
Cap blocker .....	1
Cap cutters .....	2
Cap finishers .....	5
Capmakers .....	56
Corsetmakers .....	2
Collarmaker .....	1
Cutters .....	56
Dressmakers .....	91
Embroiderers .....	11
Featherworker .....	1
Finishers (men's clothing) .....	134
Flowermakers .....	7
Fur dyer .....	1
Furriers .....	127
Fur nailer .....	1
Glovmakers .....	6
Hat finisher .....	1
Hatmakers .....	7
Hatbandmaker .....	1
Hemstitcher .....	1

Occupations of 24,123 wage-earners distributed during a period of eight years (1902-1909), etc.—Continued.

MANUFACTURING—continued.

Needle industries, clothing, and millinery supplies, etc.—Continued.

Knitters .....	11
Lacemaker .....	1
Mantlemaker .....	1
Milliners .....	25
Necktiemaker .....	1
Operators (men's clothing) .....	1,456
Overallmakers .....	2
Passementerie workers .....	6
Patternmaker .....	1
Pleaters .....	12
Pressers .....	564
Shirt cutter .....	1
Shirt folders .....	2
Shirtmakers .....	96
Shirt pressers .....	3
Suspendermakers .....	7
Shirt examiner .....	1
Tailors: Ladies' tailors, bushelmen, helpers, basters, etc. ....	2,129
Tucker .....	1
Waistmakers .....	31
Waist trimmer .....	1
Weavers .....	116
Wire framers .....	14
Wrappermakers .....	2
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>5,030</b>

Tobacco (0.77 per cent).

Cigarmakers .....	136
Cigarettemakers .....	49
Stripper .....	1
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>186</b>

Miscellaneous (1.95 per cent).

Albummaker .....	1
Bed-spring maker .....	1
Bristle workers .....	2
Brushmakers .....	31
Candlemakers .....	6
Chair caner .....	1
Combmakers .....	2
Comb setter .....	1
Cork worker .....	1
Diamond setter .....	1
Frame gilders .....	3
Goldsmiths .....	6
Jewelers .....	27
Jewelry-box makers .....	2
Mattressmakers .....	11
Paper-box makers .....	24
Parquet layer .....	1
Picture-frame makers .....	4
Ropemakers .....	2

MANUFACTURING—continued.

Miscellaneous (1.95 per cent)—Con.

Sign painter .....	1
Silversmiths .....	5
Smoking-pipe polisher .....	1
Soapmakers .....	4
Trunkmakers .....	64
Umbrellamakers .....	2
Umbrella-stick maker .....	1
Upholsterers .....	152
Watchmakers .....	109
Wigmakers .....	2
Watch-case maker .....	1
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>469</b>

Men without trades (31.65 per cent).

Unskilled laborers .....	7,328
Peddlers .....	309
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>7,637</b>

Farming (1.74 per cent).

Farmers .....	419
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Small dealers in foodstuffs (3.36 per cent).

Bakers .....	308
Brewers .....	2
Butchers .....	455
Confectioners .....	8
Distillers .....	10
Egg candlers .....	7
Fishermen .....	2
Fruit packer .....	1
Ice-cream wafermaker .....	1
Millers .....	12
Sirupmaker .....	1
Wurstmakers .....	2
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>809</b>

Office help, professionals, etc. (3.06 per cent).

Architect .....	1
Artists .....	2
Bookkeepers .....	25
Cantors .....	4
Chemists .....	4
Chiroprapist .....	1
Civil engineers .....	2
Clerks .....	375
Dentists .....	5
Designers .....	2
Draftsmen .....	10

Occupations of 24,123 wage-earners distributed during a period of eight years (1902-1909), etc.—Continued.

MANUFACTURING—continued.		NONMANUFACTURING.	
<i>Office help, professionals, etc. (3.06 per cent)</i> —Continued.		<i>Miscellaneous (1.52 per cent).</i>	
Druggists .....	26	Barbers .....	111
Electricians .....	91	Bartender .....	1
Gardener .....	1	Bottler .....	1
Hebrew teachers .....	62	Canvasser .....	1
Journalists .....	3	Cleaners and dyers .....	10
Mechanic .....	1	Cooks .....	5
Mechanical dentists .....	4	Domestics .....	18
Mechanical engineer .....	1	Firmen .....	2
Midwives .....	2	Florists .....	2
Musicians .....	16	Junk sorters .....	2
Nurses .....	7	Junk dealers .....	2
Opticians .....	2	Laundry men and women .....	11
Physicians .....	2	Miners .....	2
Photographers .....	27	Motorman .....	1
Pianist .....	1	Packers .....	8
Reporter .....	1	Porters .....	23
Sculptors .....	2	Sales men and women .....	33
Schochetim .....	50	Stationer .....	1
Stenographers .....	6	Waiters .....	38
Telegrapher .....	1	Wagon drivers .....	94
Telephone operator .....	1	Window cleaner .....	1
		Window dressers .....	2
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>738</b>	<b>Total</b> .....	<b>369</b>

Summary of nine years' work of the removal office and its branches in Philadelphia and Boston.

Year.	Families removed with head.	Families removed to join head.	Married men whose families remained in New York.	Married men with families in Europe.	Unmarried men (all wage-earners).
1901 .....	89	104	179	269	628
1902 .....	118	237	249	545	1,053
1903 .....	345	346	318	983	1,328
1904 .....	327	400	222	2,081	1,082
1905 .....	374	406	144	1,706	1,354
1906 .....	604	423	167	1,264	1,628
1907 .....	635	424	243	1,369	2,178
1908 .....	451	428	202	511	1,195
1909 .....	321	311	96	292	689
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>3,264</b>	<b>3,079</b>	<b>1,820</b>	<b>9,020</b>	<b>11,135</b>

Families removed with head .....

3,264

Families removed to join head .....

3,079

**Total number of families removed** .....

**6,343**

Number of individuals represented by above .....

23,736

Married men with families remaining in New York or in Europe .....

10,840

Unmarried men .....

11,135

**Total number of individuals** .....

**45,711**

**Of these there were adult wage earners** .....

**25,239**

Total number distributed by industrial removal office during a period of nine years.....	45,711
Total number distributed by the Philadelphia branch.....	2,459
Total number distributed by the Boston branch.....	2,068
<b>Grand total.....</b>	<b>50,238</b>

*Report of Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau from June 10, 1907, to March 10, 1910.*

DISTRIBUTION BY STATES.

Arizona.....	3
Texas.....	343
Missouri.....	247
Iowa.....	224
Minnesota.....	172
Colorado.....	93
Louisiana.....	57
Nebraska.....	87
Kansas.....	62
Tennessee.....	45
Arkansas.....	48
Illinois.....	27
Oklahoma.....	42
Mississippi.....	15
California.....	30
North Dakota.....	14
Georgia.....	12
Oregon.....	6
Washington.....	6
Wisconsin.....	6
Connecticut.....	5
Kentucky.....	5
Utah.....	3
Ohio.....	1
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>1,553</b>

DISTRIBUTION BY CITIES.

*Missouri.*

Carthage.....	1
Hannibal.....	7
Joplin.....	9
Kansas City.....	143
Moberly.....	5
St. Joseph.....	54
St. Louis.....	25
Webb City.....	1
Sedalia.....	2
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>247</b>

*Texas.*

Beaumont.....	7
Brenham.....	1
Corsicana.....	1
Dallas.....	67
El Paso.....	5
Fort Worth.....	56
Gainesville.....	6
Galveston.....	26
Houston.....	37

DISTRIBUTION BY CITIES—continued.

*Texas—Continued.*

Marshall.....	5
Palestine.....	10
San Antonio.....	46
Texarkana.....	16
Tyler.....	18
Taylor.....	1
Waco.....	40
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>342</b>

*Iowa.*

Burlington.....	17
Cedar Rapids.....	16
Chariton.....	1
Clinton.....	3
Council Bluffs.....	17
Davenport.....	31
Des Moines.....	64
Dubuque.....	26
Fort Dodge.....	6
Muscatine.....	3
Sioux City.....	11
Ottumwa.....	29
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>224</b>

*Minnesota.*

Chisholm.....	2
Duluth.....	25
Eveleth.....	3
Hibbing.....	1
Minneapolis.....	100
St. Paul.....	39
Virginia.....	1
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>171</b>

*Tennessee.*

Memphis.....	40
Nashville.....	5
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>45</b>

*Colorado.*

Boulder.....	5
Colorado Springs.....	20
Denver.....	35
Pueblo.....	31
Trinidad.....	2
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>93</b>

Report of Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau from June 10, 1907, to March 10, 1910—Continued.

## DISTRIBUTION BY CITIES—continued.

*Louisiana.*

Alexandria .....	1
Baton Rouge .....	3
Lake Charles .....	2
Lafayette .....	3
New Orleans .....	48
Total .....	57

*Nebraska.*

Grand Island .....	3
Hastings .....	4
Lincoln .....	45
Omaha .....	36
Total .....	88

*Kansas.*

Atchison .....	3
Fort Scott .....	3
Galena .....	1
Hutchinson .....	5
Iola .....	1
Independence .....	2
Leavenworth .....	24
Pittsburg .....	3
Topeka .....	12
Wichita .....	7
Total .....	61

*Arkansas.*

Fort Smith .....	8
Little Rock .....	23
Pine Bluff .....	16
Total .....	47

*Illinois.*

Quincy .....	13
Rock Island .....	14
Total .....	27

*Mississippi.*

Natchez .....	6
Vicksburg .....	9
Total .....	15

*Oklahoma.*

Ardmore .....	5
Chickasha .....	1
El Reno .....	1
Guthrie .....	4
Lawton .....	2

## DISTRIBUTION BY CITIES—continued.

*Oklahoma—Continued.*

McAlester .....	2
Oklahoma City .....	25
Shawnee .....	1
Tulsa .....	1
Total .....	42

*North Dakota.*

Ashley .....	11
Fargo .....	3
Total .....	14

*California.*

Los Angeles .....	22
San Francisco .....	8
Total .....	30

*Georgia.*

Atlanta .....	12
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*Oregon.*

Portland .....	6
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*Wisconsin.*

Milwaukee .....	4
Superior .....	2
Total .....	6

*Connecticut.*

Bridgeport .....	4
Hartford .....	1
Total .....	5

*Arizona.*

Douglass .....	1
Tucson .....	2
Total .....	3

*Washington.*

Seattle .....	6
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*Kentucky.*

Louisville .....	5
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*Utah.*

Salt Lake City .....	3
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*Ohio.*

Cleveland .....	1
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*Occupations of immigrants handled by the Jewish immigrants' information bureau of Galveston, Tex.*

EIGHTY-SIX OCCUPATIONS REPRESENTED.

Shoemakers .....	122	Sashmakers .....	2
Tailors .....	103	Shirtmakers .....	3
Carpenters .....	68	Uppermakers .....	3
Blacksmiths .....	36	Soda-water makers .....	2
Tinsmiths .....	35	Clerks .....	2
Butchers .....	35	Paperhangers .....	2
Locksmiths .....	35	Smelter .....	1
Cabinetmakers .....	26	Teacher .....	1
Dressmakers .....	25	Salesman .....	1
Bakers .....	21	Horseshoer .....	1
Painters .....	21	Buttonmaker .....	1
Tanners .....	23	Buttonholemaker .....	1
Weavers .....	19	Baby-carriage maker .....	1
Farmers .....	16	Boxmaker .....	1
Watchmakers .....	15	Cook .....	1
Bookbinders .....	13	Cutter .....	1
Capmakers .....	10	Coppersmith .....	1
Cigarettemakers .....	10	Decorator .....	1
Leather workers .....	10	Dentist .....	1
Soapmakers .....	8	Druggist .....	1
Millers .....	8	Engraver .....	1
Ironworkers .....	8	Iron-bed maker .....	1
Pressers .....	8	Macaronimaker .....	1
Barbers .....	8	Motorman .....	1
Electricians .....	6	Plumber .....	1
Wood turners .....	5	Ropemaker .....	1
Printers .....	5	Sausagemaker .....	1
Confectioners .....	6	Stenographer .....	1
Brushmakers .....	6	Sewing-machine repairer .....	1
Glaziers .....	6	Trimmer .....	1
Harnessmakers .....	6	Wagonmaker .....	1
Coopers .....	6	Glovesmaker .....	1
Furriers .....	5	Capmaker .....	1
Machinists .....	4	Egg packer .....	1
Stonecutters .....	5	Boilermaker .....	1
Wheelwrights .....	5	Shingler .....	1
Upholsterers .....	4	Driver .....	1
Brewers .....	3	Dyer .....	1
Chairmakers .....	3	Goldsmith .....	1
Bookkeepers .....	3		
Bricklayers .....	3	Persons representing 86 occupa-	
Embroiderers .....	2	tions .....	825
Gardeners .....	3	Without occupations .....	432
Hatters .....	3	Women and children .....	296
Milliners .....	2		
Roofers .....	2		
Stone engravers .....	2	Grand total .....	1, 553





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STATEMENT OF THE PATRIOTIC ORDER SONS OF AMERICA.

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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

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OAK GROVE, VA., *November 25, 1910.*

IMMIGRATION COMMISSION, *Washington, D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: As you are about to make your final legislative recommendations to the Congress of the United States, I desire to call your attention to the position taken by the Patriotic Order Sons of America, one of the largest and strongest organizations of its kind, having a membership in the State of Pennsylvania of 95,000, with a less, though well established, membership in the following other States, New Jersey, Maryland, New York, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Colorado, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, and perhaps we can make our position no better understood than by the inclosed resolution which was adopted at a meeting of our national camp, held in New York City, September 28, 29, and 30, 1909.

Thanking you for a careful consideration of the resolution, I am,  
Fraternally, yours,

F. W. ALEXANDER,  
*National President.*

## STATEMENT OF THE PATRIOTIC ORDER SONS OF AMERICA.

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### RESOLUTION NO. 10.

Whereas the Patriotic Order Sons of America has labored consistently for the enactment and proper enforcement of federal legislation restricting foreign immigration, and

Whereas the United States Immigration Commission, after a three years' investigation, will report to the next Congress, recommend additional legislation, and since our worthy national president has so ably called attention to this important question, of such vital interest and consequence to every good American, native or naturalized: Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, By the Patriotic Order Sons of America in national camp at New York City this 30th day of September, 1909, that we commend our national president's patriotic sentiments, the work of our national legislative committee, the loyal support of members particularly to that committee, and urge upon Congress and reaffirm our belief in the enactment of a properly applied illiteracy test, an increased head tax, and such other measures as will restrict and sift out undesirable and the less assimilative aliens; and be it further

*Resolved*, That we indorse the patriotic efforts of the present commissioner of New York City to enforce our existing feeble immigration laws and urge our officials, and particularly our national legislative committee, to do all they can to secure the passage of additional immigration laws and to carry out the object and purpose of these resolutions; and, be it still further

*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the national secretary, to the commissioner of immigration at New York City, the United States Immigration Commission at Washington, and the Senate and House Immigration Committees.

ALBERT A. MAY, Connecticut.  
SAM D. SYMMES, Indiana.

Approved by the committee and action sustained on motion of Brothers Jonathan Hildreth, Pennsylvania, and W. H. Titus, New Jersey.



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STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL IMMIGRATION  
LEAGUE.

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**LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.**

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NOVEMBER 29, 1910.

Mr. W. W. HUSBAND,  
*Secretary of the United States Immigration Commission,*  
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I beg to inclose herewith the statement of our league to your Commission and to express my regret for the delay in preparing it, due to my prolonged stay abroad.

Respectfully, yours,

N. BEHAR,  
*Managing Director.*

## STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL IMMIGRATION LEAGUE.

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### I. THE PRESENT LAW.

The National Liberal Immigration League upholds the generous policy of immigration that has been in large part the cause of the stupendous growth of the Republic during the last century. It believes that our present law on immigration is substantially accomplishing the desired result in procuring for us just those classes of citizens that are required for the further upbuilding of the nation. It approves the present law that prohibits the landing of criminals, dependents, habitual paupers, women of bad character, persons afflicted with contagious or loathsome diseases, and similar undesirable classes of immigrants.

On the other hand, the league advocates an amendment of the existing law to give the right of appeal to the courts to all those who feel that they are unjustly debarred from entrance to the United States. The sentence to deportation should, in such disputed cases, be the result of regular judicial procedure and not the decision of officials, who are more liable to error and prejudice.

The league also believes that the present law should be so modified as to permit the free landing of the minor children and the wives of naturalized American citizens, even if they fall within the categories of those who are debarred under existing law, provided, however, that they are not criminals or otherwise morally disqualified.

Futhermore, the league advocates an amendment of the present law making possible the deportation of aliens who are condemned here to a term of imprisonment amounting to a year or over and who are not subsequently pardoned by the proper constituted authorities.

### II. PROPOSED RESTRICTIONS.

The National Liberal Immigration League is opposed to all of the proposed measures for further restricting immigration, as these are not of nature to keep out objectionable persons, but are adapted simply to cut down indiscriminately the number of immigrants.

#### EDUCATIONAL TEST.

Prominent among the restrictive features proposed for a new law is the so-called "Educational test." To such a test in all its forms the National Liberal Immigration League is resolutely opposed.

Even if the ignorant immigrant were a menace, the very mobility, constantly increasing, of our present supplies of unskilled labor from

Europe has conferred a great blessing upon us, for it is the very element that contains a large majority of illiterates. In view of the extraordinary number of these who return to Europe each autumn, unlisted as to literacy, we have no indication of the actual number of illiterates who are annually added permanently to our population. It is certainly vastly lower than the percentages in the tables of admission.

But the league believes that the illiterates who remain among us are not a menace. They are never counterfeiters. They are guiltless of "black hand" letters. In short, there are found among them none of the most dangerous forms of foreign criminals. No educational test yet proposed would give any indication that would be serviceable in judging the character of an applicant for admission. Nor would simple ability to read and write afford any test whatever either of morals or of brains. A concrete instance gives a practical proof. There are more than four times as many illiterates in the general population of the United States as were found among those arrested in Greater New York between January 1 and March 31, 1905; 44,014 persons were arrested; of these only 1,175, or a little over 2.6 per cent, were unable to read or write. The percentage of illiteracy for the entire United States is 10.6 per cent and for that of the native whites alone 4.6 per cent.

And there is a much more important side to the question. The very success of American schools goes far in explaining the mystery of our exorbitant demand for unskilled labor. In proportion as they fulfill their mission they are depriving us of the rough laborer. By our high standards of education we are not fitting our children, nor the children of our foreigners, to do the lower forms of manual labor. We are fitting them all, as far as we possibly can, for different forms of directive work. The boy who is forbidden by the usual state law to leave school until he is 14 years old and has reached the fifth grammar grade, later in life does not join a gang that digs sewers and subways. Such laborers are recruited from the illiterate—those who have failed in the beginning of the struggle in which brains count. For our future supply of the lower grades of labor we must depend more and more upon countries with a poorer school system than ours.

Finally, we believe that the wise words used by President Cleveland in vetoing an educational test bill in 1897 will still appeal to the common sense of the country:

In my opinion it is infinitely more safe to admit a hundred thousand immigrants who, though unable to read and write, seek among us only a home and opportunity to work than to admit one of those unruly agitators and enemies of governmental control who can not only read and write, but delights in arousing by inflammatory speech the illiterate and peacefully inclined to discontent and tumult. Violence and disorder do not originate with illiterate laborers. They are, rather, the victims of the educated agitator. The ability to read and write, as required in this bill, in and of itself affords, in my opinion, a misleading test of contented industry and supplies unsatisfactory evidence of desirable citizenship or a proper apprehension of the benefits of our institutions. If any particular element of our illiterate immigration is to be feared for other causes than illiteracy, these causes should be dealt with directly instead of making illiteracy the pretext for exclusion to the detriment of other illiterate immigrants against whom the real cause of complaint can not be alleged.

#### INSPECTION AT PORTS OF EMBARKATION.

The proposition that aliens emigrating to the United States should be inspected at the ports of embarkation by surgeons of the United



States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service would place excessive power in the hands of an individual official, from whose decision persons disqualified by him could not appeal.

#### INCREASED HEAD TAX.

The league believes that the only purpose of a tax on immigrants should be to create a source of revenue sufficient to defray the expense of the Immigration Service. The present tax of \$4 accomplishes this more than adequately, and it should rather be decreased than increased. It would be in conformity with the American spirit to relieve steerage passengers from paying any head tax whatever.

#### CERTIFICATE OF CHARACTER.

The proposition to demand from every immigrant a certificate of good moral character from the home authorities would only result in a new source of extortionate profit for petty foreign officials. Criminals could more easily obtain certificates than simple, honest laborers. Some nations, too, could take advantage of this measure by according certificates to shiftless intending emigrants of whom they wanted to get rid, while withholding certificates from able-bodied and desirable persons.

#### PHYSICAL TEST.

The league believes that section 2 of the present immigration law enumerates enough classes of persons physically unqualified to be admitted to this country. Immigrants arriving after all the hardships of a journey and the vexations of a steerage passage are likely to suffer under a law providing for the exclusion of aliens of "poor physique"—a very elastic provision, and therefore obviously unreasonable.

#### EXCLUSION OF ALIENS NOT POSSESSING A STATED AMOUNT OF MONEY.

Aside from the fact that this provision is utterly opposed to all American traditions, it would shut out many of the most desirable persons. This country needs one workman more than it needs \$20 or \$100.

#### III. CONSTRUCTIVE POLICIES ADVOCATED.

We are beginning to see that the great body of our immigrants are not only not the scum of Europe, its paupers and criminals, but the very flower of her peasantry, above our average in strength of body; ignorant perhaps, but enterprising, industrious—admirable raw material for our citizenship. Further, it is certain that as far as morals are concerned, these immigrants are fully the equal of any body of American citizens, similarly grouped as to economic conditions. But it is a matter of the highest national importance that our immigrants should become Americans in the shortest possible time. We need a national policy—systematic, simple, practical—of instructing and Americanizing the immigrant. At once after landing we should start to help him to make those social and

industrial adjustments that he must make if he is to become an American.

And largely the problem of immigration is a problem of distribution. This motto appears prominently on all the literature of the National Liberal Immigration League: "A stream that is dangerous when unchecked will prove a blessing to the land when well directed."

The most important work of the next decade will be the relief of the congestion in our large cities by aiding the unemployed to go to small towns and to the farming districts—the more distant parts of the country where their services will be more useful to the nation. No excess of population crowds the country. The untilled land forms seven-eighths of the area of the Republic. In the more systematic building-up of American farms the new comer must help more than he has yet done. There, with his almost universal passion for owning land, he will buy farms and speedily come to feel that he is one of us. And on the land and in contended villages his Americanism will be fostered and his welfare assured.

A system of free transportation wisely built up through careful experiment is one of the most promising solutions of this problem. The certain advantages to the country far outweigh any difficulties that will be met with in struggling with abuses that are perhaps inevitable on its first adoption. More stringent provisions in the contract labor law could prevent its misuse for supplying strike breakers.

To such a system the progressive republics of South America owe their present advance. Immigration properly directed is rescuing Brazil, Chile, above all the Argentine, from the sloth of those largely tropical and subtropical peoples. In the Argentine Republic the government furnishes the immigrant with liberal and painstaking advice, with one week's hospitality and with free railroad transportation to any part of the country. In the United States it might be sufficient that the railways should carry prospective settlers and laboring men going to work at a long distance at the actual cost of transportation. And this should be greatly to the advantage of the railroads, for they would very soon be carrying back the products of labor, and thus receive rich returns for the first concession of low fare.

Closely connected with this is the question of reducing the fares on our subways and elevated railroads on workmen's trains within limited hours, that workmen might be able to afford to live in the suburbs. No better means than this could be found of relieving the congestion of our cities. Such a system has been in force for many years in several European cities, and has produced markedly good results. In several of those cities during the hours from 5 to 7 a. m., and in some cases to 9 a. m., the fare is as low as 5 centimes, a little less than 1 cent per person.

We advocate extending the activities of the division of information so that its services shall be at the disposal of all employers and of all workmen, whether native or foreign. It should aim to supply every form of labor, skilled as well as unskilled, to every branch of American industry and agriculture. It should, in other words, become a national labor exchange or employment office, bringing to-

gether the jobless man and the manless job with a high degree of efficiency.

We have long insisted that our naturalization laws should be made stricter than they were. We have maintained that citizenship should be made a greater prize and reward. It should not be granted except to those furnishing sufficient proof of good character, as well as knowledge of the language and of American institutions and history beyond that required by present law and practice.

We believe that the law should be strictly enforced to bar criminals from admission to our shores. The regulations should provide for the appointment of additional inspectors at the ports of landing and other points of admission. For the efficiency of the service, these should be of the same nationality as of the immigrants they inspect. By arrangement with the proper authorities of other governments duplicate sets of the records of criminals believed to have emigrated, as well as of their Bertillon and other measurements, should be available for the use of these inspectors. And in this connection it is clearly advisable to establish closer cooperation between the police departments of our large cities and the Commissioner-General and commissioners of immigration, to the end that criminal aliens may more readily be detected and debarred or deported after landing. Such a campaign can not but impress criminals in other countries who are contemplating emigrating to the United States and prevent them from doing so.

#### IV. CONCLUSION.

The problem is national, and in every way possible the Congress should help in its solution. To this education and cheaper transportation will do most. If the immigrant has offered to him the means of entrance to American life, he will find it easy to become an American and to reach our social and civic standards. Give him the chance to become as efficient a material unit as the native born, and trust the close contact with our general national life to inspire him in the end with the vital principles of our Americanism.

We have at last come to see that immigration is regulated by the economic needs of the nation and follows the workings of regular laws. From the very beginnings of the Republic the proportion of foreign born to native has remained remarkably constant. It has never exceeded one-fifth. And the crisis of 1907 proved conclusively to the whole country that in this new age of transportation the mobility of labor is so great that no matter what may be our temporary need of labor we shall never have a serious problem from the immigrant workman adding in any dangerous measure to the ranks of the unemployed, even in time of panic. That recent crisis came without warning, almost overnight, yet quietly and doing no damage either to our social or economic fabric a half million foreigners promptly returned to their homes abroad.

The National Liberal Immigration League profoundly believes that the United States needs every strong, healthy, moral man and woman who has ambition enough for better living and personal progress to make the long journey from Europe to America. It gives us no concern that our immigrants come to us now, as always, with the idea of bettering their personal fortunes and not for the

altruistic purpose of serving the country's good. We need their numbers that our Nation may grow to the first place as a world power as rapidly as possible. We are passing from the age of physical force, but physical force alone will prevent a return to the primitive barbarities of militarism. And for many a day numbers will count. We need their numbers, that by their very swarming define our need for rough workers, which grows with our growth as a nation. We are engaged in tremendous constructive works in building up this Republic to a point of greatness undreamed of in the world's history. There are our railways to be completed, our huge planned municipal improvements—subways and towers and docks—the building of new and better houses, new roads, and this new movement to the farms that is to be the great distinguishing thing of our future. There is the unending demand for armies of men to do the simpler and more disagreeable forms of manual labor—street sweepers and hod carriers, shovelers, and ash men. For all these things we need the strong arms of many workers.

NATIONAL LIBERAL IMMIGRATION LEAGUE.

N. BEHAR,

*Managing Director.*

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STATEMENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL REMOVAL OFFICE.

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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

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NEW YORK, *November 29, 1910.*

MR. W. W. HUSBAND,

*Secretary the Immigration Commission, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your courteous favor of the 24th instant, together with copy of a letter addressed to me some time ago, but which I never received. From the fact that your letter of the 24th instant speaks of the work of the bureau in "permanently distributing a large number of former immigrants," I infer that you have particular reference to another Jewish organization known as the "Industrial removal office of New York City," of which I have the honor to be the general manager. I inclose a brief statement respecting the work of the removal office and also a copy of the last annual report of the organization.

Yours, very truly,

DAVID M. BRESSLER,  
*General Manager.*

## STATEMENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL REMOVAL OFFICE.

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### WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION.

This organization has been in existence about ten years, during which period it has succeeded in successfully distributing more than 48,000 persons from the city of New York. An additional 5,000 persons were distributed from the ports of Boston and Philadelphia. The points of distribution included every State and Territory in the Union and embraced almost 1,300 cities and towns. In the larger and more important industrial centers the society has established branches under the supervision of men prominent in their particular locality and in charge of an active paid agent of the society. The more important functions of this agent consist in keeping in close touch with the industrial demands and in informing us at regular intervals of the condition of the labor market of his particular locality. This enables the office in New York to regulate the distribution of its applicants according to their individual skill and ability. The agents' duties also consist of receiving the men sent by the home office and of obtaining employment for them according to their ability and skill. A bimonthly report of the men received by them must be sent to the home office, in this way enabling it to keep in touch with its beneficiaries for a reasonable period of time. At regular intervals the general manager, or some other representative of the society, visits a number of agencies and determines the fitness of the agents to perform the duties required of them and to verify by personal observation and investigation the reports made concerning the men sent to them.

The work of the society has been eminently successful. Its statistics, conscientiously gathered and carefully tabulated, show that less than 15 per cent of the total number distributed have left the cities or towns to which they were originally sent. Possibly less than 5 per cent of the entire number have returned to New York for one reason or another. Possibly of equal, if not greater, importance with the undoubted benefits enjoyed by the beneficiaries of the society in being distributed to the smaller cities and towns in the interior, where the pursuit of a livelihood is unaccompanied by the many difficulties usually to be met with in the large seaport cities, has been the object constantly before the society to divert eventually by this means, to a considerable extent at least, the stream of immigration from the seaport cities to the interior. Many of the relatives or friends of the former beneficiaries of the society instead of remaining in the city of New York, as might otherwise have been the case, have joined them in the places to which the society had sent them, thus realizing one of the main purposes of the society, namely, the establishment of nuclei throughout the country which eventually would attract to themselves their friends and relatives instead of remaining in the

seaport metropolis and other Atlantic ports. Inclosed please find copy of our last annual report.

GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO ARRIVING IMMIGRANTS.

In answer to Question 4, "What, in your opinion, can the National Government do to assist immigrants on their arrival at United States ports?" I beg to say, the extension of the present organization of information bureaus of the Department of Commerce and Labor so that every facility be placed at their disposal to collect and distribute information as to employment and labor opportunities in the interior. Might I suggest further that perhaps it would not be found impracticable to augment the undoubted benefits which would accrue as a result of such distribution of reliable information, if the information bureaus were empowered to advance the fare to impecunious but otherwise thoroughly worthy and desirable immigrants for whose skill there may be a ready demand in some other section of the country, and who must perforce remain in the ports of landing without employment merely because they have not sufficient means to pay for the necessary transportation. Of course I have reference only to persons who have already been admitted, and who are regarded as immigrants within the definition of immigration laws of the term immigrant. It is a matter for much conjecture if our Government has done its full duty by the immigrant in merely permitting him to enter our country and allowing him to work out his own economic salvation as best he can. Might it not be to the best interests of this country not only to regulate immigration by the enactment and enforcement of fair and just regulations at the ports of entry, but in addition to this by making it possible that the mass of immigrants be assimilated into American life with as little delay as possible. One of the most important elements in this assimilation, it seems to me, is the economic one. As soon as the immigrant becomes economically independent he has taken the first and perhaps most important step toward good citizenship. Without proper employment the immigrants' beginnings are made very difficult, and it is a fact that many able-bodied, robust, and willing immigrants remain in the large seaports without steady employment and at a wage hardly commensurate with their skill and ability, and certainly insufficient to enable them to maintain a decent standard of life. If the Government could place in the hands of these immigrants the means whereby they could continue their journey into the heart of the country, where economic conditions are less strenuous and more conducive to their economic independence, the Government would not only solve the immigrants' problem but create for itself a valuable industrial asset, inasmuch as it is evident that there are many sections of the country in which the proper development of industries and natural resources are retarded for the want of skilled and unskilled labor. The last census has indeed shown that the drift of the American population during the last decade has been largely to the very large cities. Should the Government find it possible and feasible to undertake this work of directing the immigrant and advancing him sufficient money to take him to the smaller towns of the interior of the country, it would be a splendid method of counteracting this tendency and conserving the interests of the small cities. I am quite confident that the records of the New



York office of the information bureau will show that many able-bodied and desirable workers were quite willing to accept work in any of the smaller towns of the interior, but were forced to remain here because they did not have the means to pay the transportation to these points. I understand that there is a considerable balance left at the end of the year from the income derived from the head tax. Might not part of this be utilized for this purpose, and even if it should happen that the Government would be out of pocket thereby, it seems to me that it would be a wise expenditure of public funds, inasmuch as thereby a mass of otherwise unemployed labor would be converted into an active economic force.

DAVID M. BRESSLER, *General Manager.*

#### EXHIBIT A.

#### EXTRACT FROM NINTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE INDUSTRIAL REMOVAL OFFICE, 1909.<sup>a</sup>

##### REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN.

The year 1909, the ninth since the removal office was started, is marked by a smaller number of removals as the result of its activities than in any year since 1902. Altogether, 3,504 persons were sent away, a decrease of 1,500, as compared with the number of the removals for 1908. This was due to the fact that we had fewer outlets as distributing points than in the years preceding the late industrial depression. Most of the cities in which we had established agencies, were forced to suspend cooperation, owing to the bad industrial conditions, so that for the larger part of 1909 very little of this effective cooperation was available. While it is true that there was a marked improvement in industrial conditions throughout the country during the past year, this improvement was not sufficiently pronounced to justify our agencies to resume full cooperation with us. Furthermore, the two years of industrial depression had created in those communities in which we have been maintaining agencies, their own peculiar and local problems of unemployment and poverty. They were not in a position to take upon themselves the added obligations, which resumption of cooperation with us involved, before they had fully solved their own problems.

To meet the situation resulting from the inactivity of cities which had formerly cooperated with us on the agency plan, it was deemed expedient to send our general manager for an investigation, and if possible, a thorough organization of the larger cities of the Pacific coast to cooperate with us upon a systematic basis. This section of the country, by reason of the predominance of its agricultural interests, had not felt the financial depression in the same degree as other sections of the country where the manufacturing interests predominate. As a result of his visit, the more important centers in this section were organized, and have been cooperating with us since June, 1909, in a very satisfactory manner. Los Angeles, Cal., Portland, Oreg., Seattle and Spokane, Wash., have been organized as agencies, and the cooperation has been very cordial. There is every reason to believe that this territory will yield excellent results for our work for many years to come. This entire section is experiencing a steady growth and normal development in which our beneficiaries, by reason of their thrift and adaptability, should not be an inconspicuous element.

While our work for 1909 can scarcely be considered satisfactory on the basis of the actual number removed, yet it must not be inferred that it was due to any relaxation of effort on our part to send away a larger number of persons. As a matter of fact, to place even this considerably smaller number of persons, required, if anything, greater energy, activity and resourcefulness on our part than ever before. The poor industrial conditions prevailing throughout the larger part of our country made it impossible to send any considerable number of workers to any one city, and therefore, where ordinarily it would have been an easy matter to place 10 or 12 workers in one month in one city, very often we were able to send only 2 or 3, and sometimes none. The smaller cities and

<sup>a</sup> For statistical tables relating to work of the Industrial Removal Office see Statement of Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau, pp. 315 to 321.

towns therefore had to be requisitioned for cooperation, and from the nature of things it could not be expected that the results from any one of them would be large. It required the cooperation of perhaps a half dozen of these smaller cities to make up for the inactivity of one of the larger cities, and by reason of the limited industrial opportunities in these smaller cities, the cooperation that was accorded us was confined almost exclusively to highly skilled workers. This made it necessary for us to exercise the greatest care in the selection of persons to be sent to these communities, as any person whom we sent who could not fully meet the requirements of each particular city could not expect to be given that employment, nor could he (as would be the case in a larger city) hope to find employment at some other occupation. Fortunately, with but few exceptions, our selections answered the requirements, and this we can attribute largely to the fact that we had so large a number of applicants from which to choose.

The 3,504 persons who were removed during 1909 were distributed among 301 cities and towns. The Central States received 60 per cent of this number as compared with 55 per cent the year before. The Rocky Mountain and Pacific States, however, received 20 per cent as compared with 14½ per cent the year before. The Southern States received only a little over 7 per cent as compared with 13 per cent of last year.

Of the 3,504 persons, 42 per cent were breadwinners as compared with 50 per cent in 1908 and 60 per cent in 1907. As already pointed out, this decrease in the number of breadwinners sent, was due almost exclusively to the scarcity of employment.

The inability of the removal office to obtain the same favorable results in 1909, as during the period before the industrial crisis set in, does not mean, however, that there was any very large falling off in the number of applicants who were desirous of being sent out for employment elsewhere. A very considerable number of applicants for removal was rejected or action upon their applications deferred, pending the return of more favorable industrial conditions. It is to be expected that many of these applications will be renewed during the ensuing year, and present indications point to an even larger number of new applications in 1910 than in the preceding two years. The volume of Jewish immigration, which seems to rise or fall automatically as industrial conditions in this country are good or bad, has been increasing steadily for the past six months, and as it has been our experience that the larger the immigration the greater the number of applicants for removal, it becomes obvious that in order to meet this situation, the cooperation from the interior cities will have to be steadier and more extensive than has been the case in the last two years. The total number of Jewish arrivals at the port of New York for 1909 was 61,145, as compared with 45,172 in 1908.

At this writing we are pleased to be able to report that most of the agencies which had formerly cooperated with us, and which had been forced to suspend for reasons already noted, have resumed their activities. As a direct result of these increased outlets, we were able to send away a larger number of persons in December than in any other month during 1909. This augurs well for our activities in 1910, although, because of the normal midwinter dullness in industries, a marked increase in the number of removals may not be apparent until the early spring of 1910.

By reason of his election to the presidency of the United Hebrew Charities, a post second to none in the communal work of our city, Mr. Cyrus L. Sulzberger felt obliged to tender his resignation as chairman of the removal committee. The many years which he had given to the development and upbuilding of the work of distribution mark a devotion and love to the cause of his fellow men which no mere words can fairly describe or justly appraise. To him, perhaps, more than to any other one person can be attributed such success as has rewarded the efforts of the removal office. In recognition of the general public demand that he accept the presidency of the United Hebrew Charities, his resignation was accepted most regretfully. However, we are happy to state that he still remains with us as one of our directors, in which capacity he continues to give us the benefit of his wide experience and sound judgment.

We wish to record our deep sense of appreciation of the unselfish labors of our many individual friends and committees throughout the country. That they have not tired of the demands upon them in the trying year just past, augurs well for the future of the work of distribution.

Respectfully submitted.

REUBEN ABKUSH, *Chairman.*

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STATEMENT OF THE FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL AND  
COOPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA.

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**STATEMENT OF THE FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA.**

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This statement, which was submitted to the Immigration Commission by Hon. John L. Burnett, M. C., is an extract from hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, Sixty-first Congress. There is also included a resolution relating to immigration, adopted by the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America September 7, 1910.

**EXTRACT FROM HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION  
AND NATURALIZATION, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SIXTY-FIRST  
CONGRESS.**

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,  
*Washington, D. C., March 8, 1910.*

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Benjamin F. Howell in the chair.

Others present were Representatives Gardner, Bennet, Hayes, Küstermann, Edwards, Elvins, Moore (Texas), Sabath, and Goldfogle.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. HAYES. I believe we have with us this morning some representatives of the Farmers' Union, who desire to be heard. I think that is the special order for this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. We shall be very glad to hear them.

**STATEMENT OF T. J. BROOKS.**

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the other gentlemen here with me are F. D. Wimberly, of Georgia; A. C. Shuford, North Carolina; R. L. Barnett, Kentucky; and H. S. Mobly, Arkansas.

The gentleman whom we had expected to present our views, Mr. R. F. Duckworth, was called home by a telegram yesterday. There is sickness in his family, and it has been necessary for me to take his place. I have hastily gotten together my material with which to present our attitude. That being the case, if it is entirely satisfactory to the committee I would ask that I be allowed to make a statement before I am asked any questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. BROOKS. But before I proceed, if you want to know the extent of this organization and where it is located, I will state that.

Mr. ELVINS. We shall be glad to hear it.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BROOKS. I will give you the list of States and Territories where we have organizations complete. I will have to call them from memory, and I will go over them in rotation as well as I can recall them: Washington, Oregon, Idaho, California, New Mexico, Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and Louisiana. I am not sure whether I missed any.

Mr. ELVINS. What is the total membership, if you know?

Mr. BROOKS. I could not state definitely—

Mr. ELVINS. Approximately.

Mr. BROOKS. But the national president states that we have initiated 3,000,000 members.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. Are most of the members from the Southern States?

Mr. BROOKS. Well, perhaps over half of the entire membership might be considered as coming from south of the center of the United States. I will now proceed.

At a hearing before this committee on February 22 last Mr. Holder read several of our resolutions, as a result of which a member of this committee said, according to the printed hearings:

"Mr. Chairman, before Mr. Holder passes on I would like to say that my attention was called to one of the resolutions stating that, 'Whereas the present flagrant lax enforcement of existing immigration laws' is one of the causes of

this immigration that they protest against. I would like to ask Mr. Holder if it is possible for us to receive from this organization any definite details as to any flagrantly lax enforcement of the immigration laws. Let me ask you whether any member of the Farmers' Union, or has the organization itself, any letters of protest or information that would give us specific facts showing where there has been any flagrant laxity in the enforcement of the existing laws? And that a statement like that, if it is not so, certainly vitiates the whole resolution."

The matter was called to our attention by a message from Mr. Holder that the committee would hear us this morning. We quite agree with the opinion expressed, that if there was not reasonable ground for that part of our resolution the entire resolution would be more or less vitiated. Likewise we would respectfully submit that facts and expert opinions substantiating it vitalize the resolution.

In the first place, it must be remembered that that particular resolution was adopted September 3, 1908, and was not, of course, dealing with the present administration of our immigration laws or their administration by the present Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Hon. Charles Nagel. No such resolve is to be found in our resolution adopted at Birmingham, Ala., last September, which I beg to read here for the purpose of showing that we felt laxness in enforcement had been remedied, and for the further purpose of further showing the attitude of our organization toward the immigration problem:

"Whereas the United States Immigration Commission will report to the next session of Congress recommending legislation; and

"Whereas we are unalterably opposed to the present foreign influx from southeast Europe and western Asia, its proposed distribution and diversion to the South and West, and have in local, state, and national conventions resolved in favor of the enactment and vigorous enforcement of rigidly restrictive immigration laws: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America in fifth annual convention assembled at Birmingham, Ala., this 9th day of September, 1909, representing more than 3,000,000 of farmers, reiterate and reaffirm the immigration resolutions adopted unanimously at Memphis January 8 and at Fort Worth September 3, 1908, calling upon our state, and particularly our federal, officials to exclude the present foreign influx by means of an increased head tax, a money test, the illiteracy test, and other effective measures; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the national legislative committee send copies of this and previous resolutions to the President for his annual message, to the Immigration Commission for its report, and to the Senate and House Immigration Committees for legislation, and to do all it possibly can to secure legislation along the lines of this and previous resolutions; and be it still further

*Resolved*, That the national secretary send copies of this resolution and previous ones to the various state secretaries, with the request that the matter be taken up by locals with their Senators and Congressmen with a view to congressional action."

These resolutions do not criticize the present enforcement of our immigration laws, but really commend their vigorous enforcement and the enactment of an increased head tax, the illiteracy test, a money test, and other effective restrictive measures.

In regard to our reasons for believing that the immigration laws were not being enforced properly in 1908, we would submit an extract from an editorial published in a paper here in Washington, extracts from a brief left by New York state officials with President-elect Taft some time before his inauguration, extracts from a statement given out to the press upon the appointment of Hon. William Williams as Mr. Watchorn's successor at Ellis Island, and certain statements made by two members of this committee upon the floor of the House during the administration of Mr. Nagel's predecessor.<sup>a</sup>

Here is an article which was reprinted in the Farmers' Union News, of Union City, Ga., February 10, 1909,<sup>a</sup> being copied from a monthly published here in Washington, called the Journal. I read only a few sentences from it.

Mr. SABATH. What is the name of the paper?

Mr. BROOKS. The Journal.

Mr. BENNET. There is no such paper in Washington.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. That must be a mistake.

<sup>a</sup> See page 362.

Mr. BROOKS. It was copied from a journal. This clipping was taken from the Union City News. This is not the original.

Mr. HAYES. Perhaps the Wilmington Journal.

Mr. BROOKS. This [exhibiting copy] is the paper I got it out of—the Farmers' Union News.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. You ought to give credit to the original paper.

Mr. BROOKS. I will read it:

"Mr. Straus succeeded Mr. Metcalf as Secretary of Commerce and Labor on December 17, 1906, and immediately proceeded, in the face of a continued deterioration in the quality and character of immigration, to reduce the percentage debarred during the next six months from 1.3 per cent, which it was under Metcalf during the previous six months, to 0.8 per cent reduction, or rather breaking down in the administration of the law of over 38 per cent.

"One need only visit New York or Boston to get an idea of what is beginning to take place. A talk with any of the old immigration officials will readily convince the interviewer of the scandalous relaxation that has taken place since December 17, 1906. The inspectors, members of the boards of special inquiry, and other officials will tell you how they have had to respond to the subtle but unmistakable signs from the Secretary's office at Washington."

Mr. SABATH. That is an article purporting to have been copied from some other paper that is not in existence; is that right?

Mr. HAYES. I would suggest that it is probably the Washington State Journal.

Mr. J. H. PATTEN. I believe there is a paper published here called The Journal, with an alleged circulation of 100,000.

Mr. SABATH. In this city?

Mr. J. H. PATTEN. Yes, sir; I have seen it. I think John W. Hayes is editor.

Mr. C. S. ATKINSON. It is a labor paper.

Mr. J. H. PATTEN. I believe it is the Knights of Labor Journal. I am sure I can get a copy in five minutes, if you wish to have it.

Mr. BROOKS. It was credited to a paper of that name, and that is all I know about it.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. I assume you are simply reading from the clipping.

Mr. BROOKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. You are not stating you own views with regard to Secretary Straus?

Mr. BROOKS. No, sir.

I have here the copy of a brief<sup>a</sup> left with President-elect W. H. Taft, on January 20, 1909, at Augusta, Ga., by two New York state officials, Dr. Albert Warren Ferris, president of the state commission in lunacy, and Dr. Sidney D. Wilgus, chairman of the New York state board of alienists, both of whom were sent there by their respective state bodies to protest against the lax enforcement of the provision in our immigration laws debarring certain insane aliens.

Among other things, the brief says that they believe that "the immigration laws of 1907 are ample and adequate" to debar the insane, "if properly enforced according to their terms." The brief complains of Secretary Straus "stretching" the law and admitting insane aliens under bond. It states that "if the Secretary held a brief for the defective, diseased, and insane aliens he could not have devised a more specious argument to nullify the immigration laws than appears in decision 116, issued October 12, 1908;" says that "New York State is no longer willing to receive the insane he is landing through executive clemency or on worthless bonds;" and that "we regard the Secretary as prejudiced, unreasonable, and dangerous."

I have that brief here in full.

Mr. SABATH. From whose brief are you reading now?

Mr. BROOKS. It is right here in full.

Mr. SABATH. Prepared by whom?

Mr. BROOKS. It is a copy of a brief left with Judge Taft, at Augusta, Ga., on January 20, 1909, by the New York authorities I quoted. The committee was sent down there by their respective boards for that purpose.

On the 18th of last May (1909), the resignation of Robert Watchorn as commissioner of immigration at New York City, according to the official White House statement, "was accepted for the good of the service," although there

<sup>a</sup> See page 358.

have been interested in his retention a number of good people who did not understand the facts in respect to the condition of the office.

Mr. BENNET. What Member of the House is that?

Mr. BROOKS. I am not quoting a Member of the House now.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. You referred to decisions 116 and 117 of the Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor. Did you quote from those decisions, or have you quoted from some one else?

Mr. BROOKS. I was quoting from comments on those decisions.

Mr. HAYES. Mr. Chairman, I think the gentleman should be allowed to make his statement without being interrupted further.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. I would like to get my mind clear on the statement as he goes along, although I am very anxious to hear the gentleman.

Mr. BROOKS. I shall proceed.

The statement also said that Mr. Watchorn's "administration of the office proved to be unsatisfactory to the President and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor," and that "the President and the Secretary (Mr. Nagel) were anxious to have the office administered with a single view to its efficiency in the enforcement of the immigration laws."

Now, here is a quotation from the Congressional Record of February 25, 1909. A Member of the House and of this committee said:

"Not only has there been of late great laxity and indifference on the part of the Department of Commerce and Labor in the deportation of Chinese unlawfully in this country but the same spirit has pervaded the whole administration of the law.

"A gentleman connected with the Chinese service, and well up in the service, too, told me not long ago, and I have no doubt that he is correct, that he believes that 500 Chinamen are here in the city of Washington in violation of the law, and yet he says: 'I am not allowed to make any move to discover these men, nor to arrest or deport them.' The only thing that seems to have been done about it (conditions reported to Secretary Straus by Professor Jenks in 1907) was that the honest inspector who gave Jenks his information was shorn of his credentials and transferred, and the dishonest employee retained, just as Doctor Salmon was transferred from Ellis Island in the fall of 1906 for giving J. B. Reynolds information."

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. Give the Member's name.

Mr. BROOKS. I suppose the gentleman recognizes his own words and might acknowledge them.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. He may not be present.

Mr. BROOKS. I think he is present.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. Read further.

Mr. EDWARDS. It is no secret if it is printed in the Congressional Record.

Mr. BROOKS. I think it was Mr. Burnett.

Mr. HAYES. He is not here.

Mr. BROOKS. Well, I am not acquainted with each one of you gentlemen. I will commence again.

"Not only has there been of late great laxity and indifference on the part of the Department of Commerce and Labor in the deportation of Chinese unlawfully in this country, but the same spirit has pervaded the whole administration of the law."

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Who said that?

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Burnett, I think.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Can you give the date of the speech?

Mr. BROOKS. Yes; February 25, 1909.

"A gentleman connected with the Chinese service, and well up in the service, too, told me not long ago, and I have no doubt that he is correct, that he believes that 500 Chinamen are here in the city of Washington in violation of the law, and yet he says: 'I am not allowed to make any move to discover these men, nor to arrest or deport them.' The only thing that seems to have been done about it (conditions reported to Secretary Straus by Professor Jenks in 1907) was that the honest inspector who gave Jenks his information was shorn of his credentials and transferred, and the dishonest employee retained, just as Doctor Salmon was transferred from Ellis Island in the fall of 1906 for giving J. B. Reynolds information."

Mr. BROOKS. I took these statements hastily, and, as I said, I did not expect to appear before you. Mr. Duckworth was to perform this service. That is all I wish to say on that subject.



Now, Mr. Chairman, as considerable discussion has been had on the necessity for immigration in the Southern States, and being from the South myself I would like to make some observations along that line.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. What State are you from?

Mr. BROOKS. Tennessee.

Mr. ELVINS. Before you proceed, do I understand that what you have been reading here is simply offered here for the purpose of showing that your association had a reason for adopting the resolution?

Mr. BROOKS. Yes, sir; and that we are not charging the same now, as our last resolutions of the national convention did not make those charges.

Mr. SABATH. So you believe the laws are now being strictly enforced?

Mr. BROOKS. So far as I know, they are being properly enforced; but my intimate knowledge is not sufficient to bank on.

Mr. BENNET. I would like to ask in what respect the administration of the laws under Secretary Straus differed from the administration of the laws under Secretary Nagle.

Mr. BROOKS. I do not know that I could answer your question exactly.

Mr. BENNET. You say that your organization at one time adopted a resolution criticising the laws as they were administered by Secretary Straus?

Mr. BROOKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BENNET. But at your last annual convention you not only did not adopt such a resolution, but approved the administration of the laws as being carried on under Secretary Nagle? I think it would interest the committee—it certainly would me—to know what the evidence was on which you based your statement that there is a difference in the administration of the laws now and as it was administered by Secretary Nagle, and what the difference is.

Mr. BROOKS. Well, the percentage has been strikingly increased of those who were rejected. That stands upon its face as one kind of evidence.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Assuming the fact to be so, would that be evidence of a lax administration of the law?

Mr. BROOKS. And we see no complaint here as to the nonenforcement of the law. Those complaints were current then in Congress and out of it, and through the press generally, and now we do not see such complaints.

Mr. BENNET. Was your body aware at that time that in the last year of Secretary Metcalf's administration there were 925 aliens ordered deported, and in the first year of Secretary Straus's administration there were 1,955—an increase of over 100 per cent in the deportation?

Mr. BROOKS. Well, perhaps the increase in deportations were greater, and yet the percentage of rejections might not have been as great.

Mr. BENNET. It has been practically the same in the last five years, under all administrations—a trifle over or under 100 per cent.

Mr. BROOKS. Well, have not the rejections been increased since Mr. Straus went out of office, and since his successor took his place?

Mr. BENNET. I would not want to say so, because we have not any report that divides the fiscal year into two parts.

Mr. SABATH. I think it has increased, because a great many people are rejected that ought not to be rejected, and they are rejected without any warrant of law on the part of our present officials.

Mr. BROOKS. Of course the law should be enforced, but it should not be overstepped one way or the other.

Mr. BENNET. Well, I agree with you.

Mr. BROOKS. I am not in a position to substantiate your position. Of course, my knowledge is not intimate enough for that.

Mr. EDWARDS. Anyhow, your organization passed the resolution which it did, calling for a more strict enforcement of the law, based upon the newspaper reports and expressions contained in speeches of Members of Congress which you have submitted here; and those criticisms not existing now, and not appearing in the daily press, lead your organization to believe that the law is being more strictly enforced, and you are, therefore, so far as your information goes, better satisfied with the present administration?

Mr. BROOKS. Yes, sir; you have stated it fairly.

Mr. BENNET. Were you aware when that resolution was adopted that these charges against Doctor Ferris and Doctor Wilgus, both from my State, New York, had been brought to the attention of President Roosevelt, and involved but three cases, none of which had been passed upon by Secretary Straus, and

that President Roosevelt sustained the Department of Commerce and Labor in every way?

Mr. BROOKS. Well, that might be the case and still not prove anything. Of course, an isolated case might be wrongfully rejected or wrongfully admitted, but the general trend of affairs would have more to do with it than an isolated case.

Mr. BENNET. The charges only covered three cases, as to all of which I have read every line, and none of which was passed on by Secretary Straus.

Mr. HAYES. Is it not generally understood that the administration of the law is more strictly enforced at present than it has been for some years?

Mr. BENNET. At the particular moment I would not say it was. There was a time when they had a former Assistant Secretary, since Mr. Straus went out, when the law was rigorously enforced. Families were separated, and I agree with Mr. Sabbath that the spirit of the law was violated absolutely.

Mr. ELVINS. Is it being violated now?

Mr. BENNET. At the present time I think it is being administered according to the spirit and intent of the law. I agree with this gentleman that there is no reasonable cause for any criticism whatever of the present administration of the law.

Mr. HAYES. There was plenty of it before. It came to my personal knowledge.

Mr. SABATH. It is coming to my knowledge now that the law is being violated by families being separated and being rejected without any warrant of law. I have several cases now that I desire to bring before this committee at the first opportunity that presents itself.

Mr. EDWARDS. I think the gentleman ought to be permitted to proceed with his statement.

Mr. SABATH. Yes.

Mr. BENNET. To resume my discussion of the attitude of the organizations in my section of the country on immigration—we are organized in the 29 States I have just named—but I am speaking now of the attitude of the Southern States, in particular, because it is there it is proposed to divert and distribute immigrants.

We feel confident that in this matter of the substantial and material restriction of the present enormous foreign immigration we also voice the sentiments of the people generally in the agricultural States and Territories of the South and West.

In support of that opinion, we beg to cite a few typical resolutions and the actions of a number of southern state legislatures, and the results and conclusions of such a canvass as was made several years ago by such a leading trade paper as the *Manufacturers' Record*, of Baltimore, Md.

For some time certain land speculators, large employers, transportation lines, and apparently foreign interests have been endeavoring to divert, distribute, and direct foreign immigration particularly to the South. One phase of this agitation has taken the turn of establishing a southern commercial congress here in Washington, and the proposal to build opposite the Shoreham Hotel, on Fifteenth street, a million-dollar building for "A greater nation through a greater South," i. e., the immediate development of all its resources by the means of immigration. The project is in the hands of a foreign-born gentleman who spent but one year in the South. Last winter banquet after banquet was held at the New Willard, and there seemed to be no end to the funds available for the purpose. The *Manufacturers' Record*, of Baltimore, the leading trade paper of the country, in commenting on this and similar other enterprises, said editorially in its issue of March 4, 1909:

"We have in our archives complete records of every one of these attempts made during the last 10 years. It appears from these records that there is almost something more than mere coincidence in the means adopted and even in the language employed in trying to persuade representative southern men to give them countenance.

"A later gathering, into which an utterly alien element dominantly but in cloak entered, over which a southern governor presided, and which also became 'permanent,' was, from the earnest standpoint of the southern men concerned in it, for the benefit of the South. But it was in reality the outcome of a plan originating in Italy to flood the South with Sicilians. That plan in that form was successfully combated by the *Manufacturers' Record*, but it emerged again under another form in another 'permanent southern organization,' with another

southern governor as president, but with a trans-Atlantic steamship company engaged in transporting immigrants from southern Europe as apparently the chief beneficiary had the scheme developed. Biding their time for another venture whenever the South might be off its guard as to immigration, the actual promoters in this country of both these 'southern' undertakings which had deceived representative southern men were found joining hands in an organization in New York designed to blind the eyes of this country to the evils reeking in immigration from southern Europe, of the kind being sent to this country, and to make the National Government an unwitting party to the scheme to turn the noxious flood into the South.

"The Manufacturers' Record knows that representative southerners would be astonished to learn how close they have come in southern gatherings of various kinds with the witting or unwitting agents of these alien-fostered immigration schemes directed against the South and its best interests. But immigration has been but one of the schemes for the ostensible benefit of the South which in the past 10 years have lived their little day as long as financial support, usually by the way of New York, has been maintained.

"At the risk of losing long-time friendships and of being misunderstood as criticising public officials and business men of the South in our disinterested efforts to prevent them from being committed to mistakes for the South, the Manufacturers' Record has never hesitated to call attention to the chances for mistakes in all these movements. We know that deliberate misrepresentation of us has been made by the real promoters, but seldom coming into the open, of the movements, which in later years have been largely different phases merely of the same movement, but we have been content to rest upon the conviction that time will prove the wisdom and good intent of our advice."

Another phase of this same effort has been the endeavor to have the States of the South and West establish state immigration bureaus. States like Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, and Tennessee have repeatedly refused to induce even "desirable immigration," although their legislatures have been annually urged to by certain interests. Virginia and North Carolina were persuaded to appropriate money for such purposes, but have discontinued them. Two years ago last month the Virginia Assembly adopted the following resolution:

*"Resolved by the senate of Virginia (the house of delegates concurring), That our representatives in both Houses of Congress be, and they are hereby, requested to oppose in every possible manner the influx into Virginia of immigrants from southern Europe, with their Mafia and Black Hand and murder societies, and with no characteristics to make them with us a homogeneous people. Believing as we do that upon Anglo-Saxon supremacy depends the future welfare and prosperity of this Commonwealth, we view with alarm any effort that may tend to corrupt its citizenship."*

North Carolina, through its bureau of labor, in 1906 made a very thorough and careful canvass of the wishes and need for immigration and found an overwhelming opposition to the inducement or distribution and diversion of the present foreign immigration to that State. The results are published in the Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor, and take up 284 pages of that report.

A few years ago South Carolina established a state bureau of immigration, appropriated considerable money, and with a fund generously contributed to by certain cotton-mill men, real-estate speculators, and others peculiarly interested, its commissioner of immigration went abroad and brought two cargoes of immigrants to South Carolina, distributing and finding places for each one of the 762 in various parts of the State. To make a long story short, on the 4th day of March, 1909, an act was approved abolishing the bureau of immigration and forbidding a state official "to attempt directly or indirectly to bring immigrants into the State of South Carolina."

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. Can you tell us where those 700 immigrants came from? I understood they were Belgians.

Mr. BENNET. They were Belgians.

Mr. BROOKS. Yes; Belgians.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. They were not from the south of Europe.

Mr. BROOKS. No; they were from the north of Europe.

Mr. KÜSTERMAN. You were speaking of undesirable immigrants.

Mr. BROOKS. I think they would have been still more undesirable if they had been from the south of Europe instead of from Belgium.

Mr. SABATH. That depends upon the representations made to them at the time they were induced to immigrate.

Mr. BENNET. They were undesirable largely because they did not stay in South Carolina?

Mr. BROOKS. It seems that South Carolina was undesirable to them, and it was mutual. [Laughter.]

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. I think that is the reason.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Don't you personally, as a rule, regard immigration from Belgium as being fairly desirable?

Mr. BROOKS. Taken as a general principle, any of the people from north-western Europe—the average citizen of those countries is more desirable.

Such action on the part of South Carolina is typical not only of the attitude of the southern legislatures, but of other less official assemblages, frequently gotten up as immigration "conferences" and "conventions." I have in mind four recent state and interstate immigration meetings of this character, really initiated and promoted by the same interests, which in spite of the promoters adopted restrictive resolutions. The Alabama Immigration Conference, held at Birmingham, Ala., June 13, 1905, adopted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That we express to the Representatives in the Federal Congress from this State our earnest desire that they support any reasonable measure looking to the elevation of the standard of foreign immigration, to the end that criminals, paupers, and illiterates be excluded."

That conference was called for boosting immigration. The transportation and real-estate interests were there in full force.

The famous Chattanooga Conference on Immigration and Quarantine was a similar gathering, but indorsed President Roosevelt's messages on the subject, one of which, at least, I understand, argued strongly for an economic test and the educational or "literacy" test. There was a similar outcome to the Nashville conference of November, 1907.

The last effort was made at Tampa, Fla., where a convention of various persons from many States and representing different societies, commercial clubs, unions, associations, corporations, railroads, and the like, met February 13, 1908; and a number of resolutions were adopted, among which is to be found the following:

*Resolved*, That the several States carefully consider the question of foreign immigration as a national question, and that our Representatives in Congress be asked to urge upon Congress the enactment of such federal legislation as will effectively stem the tide of undesirable immigration now pouring into this country through the great ports of entry, and such laws as will look to the careful examination of applicants for admission at the ports of departure."

My attention has been called to the symposium, incorporated March 1 in your hearings, of 93 letters secured from parties three years ago in 36 States, in answer to a letter sent out by the New York City National Board of Trade. Three carefully worded questions seem to have been asked in that letter.

There is nothing to indicate the number of letters sent out. Only 17 governors seem to have answered the letters in person or through a secretary or some state bureau. Over one-fourth of the replies are from railroads, and the other letters come principally from mayors, commercial clubs, and real estate men. The origin of the symposium and the source of the replies would seem to corroborate my statement that the only demand for foreign immigration throughout the agricultural districts of the South and West comes really from the transportation interests that wish to develop traffic; real-estate boomers, hoping to sell land thereby; the large employers, always demanding cheaper labor, and certain other financial and gambling interests, anxious to prevent the farmers properly controlling the production and marketing of their crops sufficiently to secure a fair and reasonable price.

According to the letters from South Carolina and Georgia, for instance, the National Board of Trade of New York City would have this committee believe that those two States were in favor of not only the present foreign immigration, but its distribution and diversion to those States.

There are two replies from South Carolina, one from former Mayor Rhett, of Charleston, and the other from former Commissioner of Immigration and Agriculture E. J. Watson. As I have pointed out, Mr. Watson's office has been abolished by the state legislature of South Carolina, which affirmatively forbade a state official "to attempt directly or indirectly to bring immigrants into" that State. Mr. Rhett ran against Mr. Smith for the United States Sen-

ate just one year after he wrote the letter quoted, on just such a platform, while Mr. Smith stood for the abolition of the immigration bureau and for rigid restriction of foreign immigration. It was fought out in joint debate in every county, Mr. Rhett favoring "the restriction of undesirables." Mr. Smith received in the second primary the largest majority ever received by any senatorial candidate in South Carolina, Mr. Rhett having been eliminated in the first primary.

With regard to the replies from Georgia, it is to be noted that three are from railroads and two from chambers of commerce, which are, as a rule, controlled by the real estate and transportation interests. There is no reply from Governor Hoke Smith, although he went abroad that summer to investigate the matter, began to support it, and as a result, although out on the stump every day of the campaign, was denied a reelection by the people of Georgia largely because of that trip abroad, the present governor being elected without making a single campaign speech.

In both of these States the matter of restriction has really been a live campaign issue since these letters, published in the National Board of Trade Symposium, were written, and the popular verdict has been overwhelmingly in opposition to foreign immigration.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE, One moment. Decisions 116 and 117 have been referred to on this hearing and on previous hearings, and many misstatements concerning those decisions have been made and much misconstruction placed upon them. So that we might have clearly before us the crux of the two decisions, I wish to call attention to them now. It may save considerable misstatement and misconstruction hereafter.

In decision No. 116 of Secretary Straus, dated September 28, 1908, it is stated:

"At the hearing—

That is, the hearing of the case upon which the decision is based—

"At the hearing, however, it has developed that the person so certified is not coming to the United States with the intention of remaining or of mingling with the body of the people, but solely for the purpose of receiving medical treatment at some sanitarium or health resort in the United States, and of departing from the United States at the conclusion of such treatment and after only a temporary stay therein."

Then, after the matter had been argued out by the Secretary in this decision No. 116, the Secretary proceeds to say:

"With all the foregoing considerations in mind, and having in view the special facts and circumstances of the several specific cases of the character hereinbefore described which have arisen on the Canadian border, the department has been constrained—"

The Secretary referred in this decision to the cases decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, and quoted from those decisions. He says:

"The department has been constrained to hold that the particular persons involved were not 'aliens' of the kind intended to be reached by the immigration law, nor comprehended in the enumeration of classes excluded thereby, and to permit, under conditions stated in each case (to insure their eventual departure, to provide against possible contagion, and to save the community from expense) the temporary admission of such foreigners, who were merely seeking an opportunity to recover their health in some place or at the hands of some person in the United States. To have done less would, in its opinion, have constituted a failure to properly exercise the broad, practical discretion necessarily vested in a great executive department of the Government charged with the administration of so comprehensive a statute as the immigration act."

I now turn to decision No. 117, dated December 1, 1908, made by Secretary Straus, and in it the Secretary says:

"It having been repeatedly held by the courts that an alien who has in good faith acquired a permanent domicile in the United States is not precluded by anything in the immigration laws from returning thereto after a temporary absence abroad, the department has, of course, governed itself accordingly, reserving, however, the necessary discretion and authority to determine in particular cases as they arise whether an alien seeking admission to the United States on the ground of former domicile shall be permitted to enter. To entitle an alien to admission on said ground it must appear that the domicile acquired was a permanent one, and has not been abandoned. This is a question of fact to be determined finally by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. An alien

may have made frequent visits to the United States and may have previously resided therein for a considerable period of time, but may nevertheless be liable to exclusion."

So that, you see, there has been much misstatement concerning decisions Nos. 116 and 117, and evidently the gentlemen who appeared here—no doubt in good faith—have misconstrued decisions 116 and 117.

Mr. BROOKS. I was quoting from a construction placed on them by others—that is, New York state officials, for instance—who spoke from their experience, I suppose.

Mr. HAYES. It is not necessary to put them in the record.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. I prefer that so much of them as I have read be printed in the record to preserve the continuity of them.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, it is found that the great percentage of these immigrants come over here and stay a short while, and then return home with their savings. I believe it is claimed that 40 per cent do return, and that shows that they are not the kind of citizens upon which you can build a permanent republican form of government, coming, as they do, from the countries where their surroundings are so different from ours. That is an unfortunate phase of the question, and another unfortunate phase is that in case these citizens do not come up to the requirements of citizenship of a Republic like this, they are really a greater hindrance to us if they stay here than if they return.

Every condition is a prophecy of something that is to follow. It can not be otherwise, and it is in the purview of statesmanship to interpret the effect of conditions. A condition once existed in France that was a prophecy of the reign of terror, but its statesmen did not see it. A condition once existed in England that was a prophecy of Cromwell, but the statesmen of England did not see it. The laws passed by Parliament at one time were a prophecy of Cornwallis handing his sword to Washington, but they did not see it. Every slave ship fanned across the Atlantic Ocean was a prophecy of Sherman's march to the sea, but the people of that day did not realize it, did not see it.

Now, if this enormous undesirable immigration continues, and if it is really undesirable, as the Commissioner-General says in his last annual report, from the standpoint of American citizenship, it is a prophecy of something that will follow that is certainly appalling to contemplate.

There is such a thing as a people being unable to maintain the civilization that is handed down to them. The Indian was unable to sustain the civilization the white man presented to him in this country. The negro was transplanted from Africa here into the bosom of civilization, and he will be unable to sustain that civilization, should he be admitted to full citizenship and equality in the South with the white man. He would be a hindrance to the South, and nobody denies it.

Now, it is absolutely unfortunate that these things are true. Perhaps we feel that we are encroaching upon a sentiment in denying the immigration of anybody that wants to come here, because our ancestors came here from somewhere, and, of course, lots of good men are not born in this country. Jesus Christ, for instance. But that does not—

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Some members of the committee, for instance. [Laughter.]

Mr. SABATH. You do not have to go that far back.

Mr. BROOKS. And I assure you that our organization and the farmers generally would be as far as anybody from wanting to restrict immigration if that immigration was voluntary and came up to all the requirements of the standard of citizenship required in this Government. It is our patriotism to mankind and to our country that makes us enter our protest against this immigration from southeast Europe, western Asia, and the apparently least desirable citizens of other parts of the world. I do not know all the powers that are behind the movement that has shifted our foreign immigration continually to the less desirable—to that which is so different from us. I will not take your time to give my views further on it, even; but we know it has been done; the Commissioner-General says so, and we are simply presenting to you the attitude of our organization that has been repeated year by year in its conventions.

I believe I have no further remarks to make, unless you have some questions.

Mr. SABATH. You seem to be well posted. Will you permit me to ask you one question?

Mr. BROOKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SABATH. You claim there is no objection to certain immigration. You divide immigration into the desirable and undesirable classes, and you say that there is no objection to the desirable immigration. Is it not a fact that about 40 or 50 years ago the same objection was made, as being undesirable immigration, to what is now called desirable immigration? Were not the same questions and the same objections raised to them as being undesirable immigrants?

Mr. BROOKS. I think the immigration that was protested against then was quite different from the kind of immigration that we are protesting against now. And, then, conditions are quite different in this country—

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Was it not then called "undesirable"?

Mr. BROOKS. I did not live then.

Mr. SABATH. You go back and tell about France and England and other countries. You seem to know something about history. This is not such a long way off.

Mr. BROOKS. I think, at least, that if this immigration which is coming now were coming then the protest made against it would have been much more pronounced and effective than it was, and there would have been far better grounds for it, to say the least.

Mr. SABATH. So you admit that there were no good grounds for objecting to the immigration then?

Mr. BROOKS. No; I do not think that at all. Why not say there were not as good grounds as we now have?

Mr. ELVINS. You think the Know-Nothing Party would have been more successful in those days if the immigration had been as bad then as it is now?

Mr. BROOKS. Yes, sir; if you want to use that term.

Mr. SABATH. Are you really acquainted with the present immigration; have you any in your own State?

Mr. BROOKS. We have enough, thank God.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. What State are you from?

Mr. BROOKS. Tennessee.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. When you say, "Thank God," you mean you are glad you have them?

Mr. BROOKS. We are glad we do not have any more.

Mr. SABATH. What immigration do you object to, what country?

Mr. BROOKS. Well, it is the quality of citizens, not the country; but, of course, certain countries furnish a much greater percentage of undesirables than others.

Mr. SABATH. Can you give us the countries that furnish those?

Mr. BROOKS. The Sicilian, the southern Italian, the Greek, the Syrian, and some from that belt of Africa and Asia surrounding the Mediterranean Sea, and farther east, including all Mongolians and Hindus.

Mr. SABATH. Those are the people you most object to?

Mr. BROOKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. Can you tell us why you object to those?

Mr. BROOKS. We do not think they are qualified. Their standards and ideals are totally different.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. Don't they eat enough, or don't they live high enough, or don't they behave well?

Mr. BROOKS. We do not think they come up to the standards or requirements for citizenship in this country.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. That is a generality.

Mr. SABATH. Some of these people had a high grade of civilization long before this country was ever dreamt of.

Mr. BROOKS. Yes; but the policy which they pursued in conquering inferior people and bringing them home as slaves and later allowing them to enter into their citizenship caused the better element to be submerged.

Mr. SABATH. We have been doing a little conquering ourselves of late, have we not?

Mr. BENNET. Would you bar out the Armenian Christians who are being massacred?

Mr. BROOKS. Well, that is rather a sentimental question.

Mr. BENNET. No; it is a practical question.

Mr. BROOKS. It all depends on what class they come under. The laws as passed and executed would determine that, when they came here.

Mr. BENNET. That is quite an answer.

Mr. GARDNER. Would you object to our passing a special act which would admit people who are suffering from religious persecution?

Mr. BROOKS. I do not know as to the difficulty of that kind of a law. It might be abused, and it might be necessary, in a special case.

Mr. GOLDFEGGLE. I want to call the attention of the gentleman from Massachusetts to the fact that an amendment to a bill having in view the proposition of the gentleman from Massachusetts referred to was offered in the House and advocated and supported by me on the floor, and was adopted by the Committee of the Whole, but by a bare majority.

Mr. GARDNER. I think I voted for one of those amendments.

Mr. BROOKS. If that is all, I thank you very heartily.

Mr. BENNET. You did not give us your office in the union.

Mr. BROOKS. I am at present a member of the national legislative committee of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union.

Mr. BENNET. I would like to ask you the direct question, Is it a fact that the negro vote is suppressed in the South, as you stated?

Mr. BROOKS. The negro vote in the South is a subject that you people in Congress can thrash out.

Mr. BENNET. You referred to that subject, or else I would not have brought it up.

Mr. SABATH. You mentioned that the majority of your members are in the Southern States. There are also a large number of other States in which you have membership—Washington, and Western States—are there not?

Mr. BROOKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SABATH. Is Kansas one of the States you have mentioned?

Mr. BROOKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SABATH. And a few others?

Mr. BROOKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SABATH. Washington and Oregon and several others?

Mr. BROOKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SABATH. So it is not only a few Southern States that are members of this organization?

Mr. BROOKS. Oh, no.

Mr. HAYES. You have a very large membership in my own county in California.

Mr. BROOKS. I have a statement here referring to the sentiment in that part of the country, if you wish to put it into the record.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. Have you come to the conclusion in your own mind that an illiterate person is a bad person?

Mr. BROOKS. Not necessarily and invariably by itself, without anything else to be considered, but an illiterate person is on the average less able to discharge his duty as a citizen here than a man who can read and write.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. Can he not do his work as well?

Mr. BROOKS. It is not altogether a question of work. Man does not live by bread alone. A mule is a servicable animal, but you can have too many of them.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. I hope you will not compare them with a mule.

Mr. BROOKS. I am not meaning any reflection at all; but it is not simply and solely a question of work.

Mr. KÜSTERMANN. Is it not because you want to find some way of restricting immigration to a greater extent; is it not thrown up just for that purpose? Could you not just as well ask us to keep out all the people who are red haired and have freckles in their faces as being undesirable, because if you read novels you will always find the villain with red hair?

Mr. BROOKS. I suppose the gentleman intended his suggestion to be humorous—

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Brooks, I would like to ask whether this organization, known as the Farmers' Union, representing something like a membership of 3,000,000, and extending from the great Northwest all through the central part of the United States and the Southern States, is not in favor of loosening up on the immigration laws, and does not see any great need for a distribution of these immigrants through this section of the territory as represented by your organization?

Mr. BROOKS. Yes, sir. They do not desire foreign immigration.

Mr. EDWARDS. You do not consider that the farming industry and the other industries of these great States are in such need of more labor that they should establish these agencies for the distribution of these immigrants?

Mr. BROOKS. No, sir.



Mr. EDWARDS. And these representations that have been made to that effect you do not consider as fair representations of the desires and needs of these great States?

Mr. BROOKS. I am quite sure of it, from intimate association with farm organizations throughout the country. We have never had a protest against our resolutions on the subject from any State.

Mr. BENNET. I did not catch the last sentence.

Mr. BROOKS. I say we do not have any protests at all against restrictive resolutions passed from anyone in any State where it has been offered.

Mr. BENNET. It has been often said through the press and in other ways that because of the high prices of farm products consequently the high cost of living is, to some extent, at least, brought about by the scarcity of farm labor, by reason of the fact that the farmers can not get sufficient labor to enable them to cultivate the farms and to produce the agricultural products, and your organization does not find that to be the case?

Mr. BROOKS. We do not find it to be the case. As it is, we find it hard to keep our own people on the farms. The necessity for their being there is not great enough to keep them there, and they are drifting to the cities and towns.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Especially are they coming over to our city of New York.

Mr. BROOKS. Not much of this foreign immigration seems to want to go to the country when it comes. If it does take the place of our laborers, they generally drift to somewhere else, even over the border into Canada. That shows that they do not fill a place that needs them, but they cause others to leave.

As to the South and the North, the North having absorbed the greater part of this immigration, I have some figures here which might be looked upon as egotistical, being a southern man, giving the population and growth and industrial development of the South and the North since 1860, and I will ask to have them copied in the record.

This, taken from the Tradesman (Chattanooga, Tenn.), one of the leading trade papers of the South, shows that the South has not suffered from its lack of foreign immigrants—their not going there to any large extent—and that in population, labor supply, out of its own loins, bank deposits, railroad mileage, and in every material and commercial way, the South has increased at a faster percentage than the North with all its influx of aliens, where there is race suicide, etc.

	United States in 1860.	South in 1900.
Population.....	31,000,000	25,000,000
Bank deposits.....	\$252,000,000	\$745,000,000
Railroad mileage.....	39,000	62,000
Coal production, in tons.....	15,173,000	67,700,000
Pig iron, in tons.....	884,474	2,743,000
Exports.....	\$333,570,000	\$557,242,000
Cotton spindles.....	5,035,000	8,615,000
Valuation of property.....	\$16,159,000,000	\$15,500,000,000

The 18 Southern States and Territories have received practically no foreign immigrants during the last 50 years, only a few hundred going to each State or Territory; still its total population, either white or black, or both, has increased at over 30 per cent per decade, while the population of the North, the labor supply, has not increased quite as fast. The native birth rate in the Northeastern States, where the bulk, about three-fourths, of the present alien influx settles or is destined, has fallen off until it almost equals the death rate in some localities—race suicide. Forty per cent of the present influx of aliens goes back within a few years with its savings; three-fourths of it is male adults, unmarried, and does not come back again after returning to its native lands, as is shown by official statistics, which show that only about one-tenth of the number that comes has ever been here before.

Mr. BENNET. Nobody denies that the industrial development of the South has been tremendous. I am a northern man myself, but everyone knows that fact.

Mr. HAYES. You were speaking of the need of agricultural laborers in the South. Are you personally acquainted with any case where any of the farm

products of the South, like cotton, has perished or been destroyed because there has been no labor to harvest it?

Mr. BROOKS. No, sir. The crops are all gathered, so far as I am acquainted with the facts. Of course it may be that an unusual storm will delay the picking of cotton a while, but it will be gathered eventually, and that periodic short seasonal demand for labor could not be supplied by immigration. It could not come and go every fall, and it would not be desirable if it could, and if they stayed there and raised more cotton they would be in the same fix that we are in. The demand for it is mostly in the papers.

Mr. SABATH. So you do not depend very much on the articles that you see in the papers from time to time about the scarcity of labor in the South?

Mr. BROOKS. As to this, I am sure it is exaggerated greatly.

Mr. EDWARDS. Right there; your organization is composed of employers; that is, the individual members of your organization are many of them employers of labor?

Mr. BROOKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. EDWARDS. Being farmers, they have to employ more or less labor?

Mr. BROOKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. EDWARDS. And you find no scarcity?

Mr. BROOKS. No, sir; we do not find a scarcity. If we did we would make a different record in our proceedings.

Mr. BENNETT. If you do not rely on newspaper articles in that regard, why do you read before our committee, as evidence, certain articles from newspapers in relation to an alleged laxity in the administration of the immigration laws?

Mr. BROOKS. Well, those articles purport to be quotations from government officials, and I simply offered them. I hated to take up the time on that subject, but I wanted to show why those references were in the resolution.

Mr. BENNETT. You do not, then, indorse from your own knowledge, any of the statements in those papers?

Mr. BROOKS. So far as my own personal, intimate knowledge of the facts is concerned, I do not, because I am not stationed at any of those places.

Mr. GARDNER. I am entirely in favor of your position, but, in justice to our immigration officials, I believe that they are most careful in enforcing the law, and they are most excellently enforcing the law, with the exception of the laws relating to Mongolian immigration, which are enforced as well as they can be enforced, considering the vast extent of our borders. Although I am entirely in sympathy with your position on the main question, I think you are wrong on that question.

Mr. BENNETT. You said something about bringing illiterates into our citizenship. Are you aware of the fact that since the 29th of June, 1906, when the naturalization statute was passed, no one can be admitted to citizenship who can not sign his name in English?

Mr. SABATH. They must speak the English language.

Mr. BENNETT. Yes; and must be able to write his name in English; so that no illiterate can now become a citizen of the United States.

Mr. BROOKS. Well, I can only repeat that if the requirements that are now made are not sufficient for the restriction, we simply want more.

Mr. BENNETT. I am not talking about the restriction at all; I am talking about citizenship, which is an entirely different thing. You were not aware that there was such a statute, were you?

Mr. BROOKS. I do not know that I knew of the particular act you refer to.

Mr. BENNETT. Or of the requirement?

Mr. HAYES. The gentleman from New York is referring to the naturalization law, not immigration. A man can not be naturalized unless he can speak English.

Mr. BROOKS. Oh, I see the point. Well, it is rather unfortunate for a man to emigrate to a country where he can not be naturalized.

Mr. EDWARDS. It would be unfortunate for the country, too, if we would admit a lot of people here whom we can not naturalize.

Mr. BENNETT. That presents another question. I will ask him if he knows that statistics show that 25 per cent of the aliens admitted to this country can not read or write, and that when these people present themselves for citizenship, the illiteracy decreases between the time of the filing of the declaration and the time of admission to citizenship, over 50 per cent—over half.

Mr. BROOKS. I do not really see that there is much in that. Of course it does not take a man that has any sense at all a long time to learn how to sign his name.

Mr. BENNET. I am not talking about signing his name; I am talking about illiteracy.

Mr. BROOKS. I look upon that as merely an incidental part of this question.

Mr. BENNET. Don't you think we ought to take into consideration, in considering the so-called illiteracy test, the fact, if it is a fact, that in some of the countries from which the immigrants come they are prohibited by statute and by usage from sending their children to school?

Mr. BROOKS. Well, of course that allowance would appeal to our sentiment, but it would not be worth anything practically.

Mr. BENNET. It would not be what?

Mr. BROOKS. I say it would appeal to our sentiment, but it would be of no service to us practically.

Mr. BENNET. Don't you think there is any difference between a man who has had an opportunity to learn to read and who does not do so and a man who would like to learn to read if he could but who is prohibited by law from doing so?

Mr. BROOKS. Of course there would be a difference of allowance, as a mere matter of favor.

I thank you.

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,  
*Washington, D. C., March 9, 1910.*

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Benjamin F. Howell in the chair.

Others present were: Representatives Hayes, Moore (Texas), Sabath, O'Connell, Goldfogle, Burnett, Küstermann, and Elvins.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, we are to meet this morning to hear Mr. Roe, who represents various railroad organizations and employees. Mr. Roe, you may make your statement.

Mr. BURNETT. What branch of the railroad service, Mr. Roe, do you represent?

Mr. ROE. I represent the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. Mr. T. J. Brooks, who appeared yesterday for the Farmers' Union, would like to have just a moment to say something to the committee, and I give way to him.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, I wish to make a statement merely for the sake of justice to the record. It was called into question yesterday as to whether or not there was such a paper as *The Journal* published in this city, from which I quoted, and I now present a copy of *The Journal* [laying a copy on the table], from which Mr. Duckworth took the *Farmers' Union News* article.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. BROOKS. It is published here in the city of Washington, at 43 B Street NW., and the editor tells me that he has a circulation of 180,000.

Mr. O'CONNELL. Is that circulation certified to the post-office people?

Mr. BROOKS. I could not say. The editor, Mr. Hayes, stated that to me. It is published right across the street here, in the same block as the Immigration Commission is situated.

Mr. O'CONNELL. Is that paper connected with the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. BROOKS. No, sir. The Knights of Labor.

Mr. O'CONNELL. Has it any affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, I mean?

Mr. BROOKS. The affiliation between the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor I am not acquainted with.

Mr. HAYES. No; there is none.

Mr. BROOKS. There was also a question raised—in particular by Mr. Bennet, I believe—with regard to whether any member of this committee had said on the floor of the House on the 25th of February, 1901, the words which I read. Those words were taken from a speech reported on page 3216 of the *Congressional Record*, and delivered by Congressman E. A. Hayes, who, I believe, is a member of the committee and is present here to-day. The other extract was taken from a speech delivered in the House by Congressman John

L. Burnett, who, I believe, is a member of the committee and a member of the Immigration Commission, and is also present.

Mr. BURNETT. What was that extract? I was not here yesterday.

Mr. BROOKS. It appears on page 3921 of the Record of the same Congress; that is, volume 43. Mr. Bennet must have been present when the speech was delivered in the House, as he asked a question, according to the Congressional Record, nine lines above the portion from which I quoted.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement you made yesterday was in regard to Mr. Burnett, and then you said another member of the commission, not of the committee. That is what was taken exception to.

Mr. HAYES. I am not a member of the commission.

Mr. BURNETT. What was the statement of Mr. Burnett that Mr. Bennet challenged?

Mr. BROOKS. Do you want it read?

Mr. BURNETT. Yes.

Mr. HAYES. He did not challenge it.

Mr. BURNETT. Oh, then, I do not care for it.

Mr. BROOKS. That is all I wish to submit. I thank you for your giving me permission to do so.

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[Copy of brief left with Judge Taft, Augusta, Ga., January 20, 1909.]

In re protest against the reappointment of Secretary Straus as Secretary of Commerce and Labor of the United States, by Dr. Albert Warren Ferris, president of the New York State commission in lunacy, authorized by the three commissioners to make this protest.

JANUARY 20, 1909.

New York State cares for 30,000 insane persons in her 15 public state hospitals.

About 45 per cent of these insane persons are of foreign birth, whereas less than 35 per cent of the total population of the State is of foreign birth.

New York receives 35 per cent of the entire foreign immigration into the United States.

Of immigrants admitted to hospitals or certified as defective or diseased on arrival or held for special inquiry, over 70 per cent remain in New York.

New York State maintains a board of three alienists who detect as far as possible the incoming alien insane, with a view to securing their deportation under section 2 of the immigration act of 1907 and to deporting alien insane who appear in the different hospitals throughout the State, from time to time.

Following the example of New York State, the Marine-Hospital Service also established a board of three alienists, who work in harmony with the New York men.

The immigration laws of 1907 are ample and adequate if properly enforced according to their terms. Under certain rules, established by the Commissioner General of Immigration under the direction of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, certain alien insane are landed whose landing is especially forbidden in plain terms by section 2 of the immigration laws. Now, these rules, according to section 22, shall not be "inconsistent with law." Yet rule 6, Appeals, page 31, paragraph 2, is inconsistent with the law in that it provides for the admission of an insane alien if not "likely to become a public charge." Section 2 of the laws, although containing other provisos, makes no provision for landing insane aliens who may not become public charges. The same paragraph of rule 6 arranges that the medical certificate of mental defect and the determination of the existence of insanity by qualified medical experts shall be considered by a lay "board of inquiry," who shall "reach their own conclusions," since it is stated that "the question to be determined is a practical one quite as much as a medical one." We hold that this rule is unlawful, that the question is purely a medical one, and that section 2 grants no opportunity for such interpretation or amendment.

Rule 20 (p. 39) provides for admission under bond of aliens suffering from "some physical defect" only. The Secretary stretches this rule, improperly, to cover cases of insanity, and admits them under bond, whereas section 2 of the laws gives him no such authority. The Secretary here falls back on

section 26, which gives limited authority, as follows: An alien "liable to be excluded because likely to become a public charge or because of physical disability other than tuberculosis or a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease may, if otherwise admissible, nevertheless be admitted in the discretion of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor upon the giving of a suitable and proper bond," etc. The Secretary lands insane aliens under such a bond illegally, we claim, because they are not "otherwise admissible." While not suffering with a contagious disease, they are positively forbidden to land under section 2. We hold he acts illegally when he lands them under bond.

According to section 20, when landed in violation of the law, an alien shall be taken into custody and deported after becoming a public charge from conditions existing before landing. Cases landed improperly by the Secretary are brought to his notice after they become public charges in our State hospitals for the insane, and even if it is proved that they were brought from foreign insane asylums to this country, he still refuses to deport them. Yet section 20 is mandatory.

If the Secretary held a brief for the defective, diseased, and insane aliens he could not have devised a more specious argument to nullify the immigration laws than appears in "decision No. 116," issued October 12, 1908, from the Department of Commerce and Labor, and termed an "interpretation of immigration act."

On page 2 of this decision he suggests that "the Secretary may hold in individual cases that the particular person concerned may not fall within the general scope of the act." By what authority can he hold that a particular insane alien does not fall within the scope of the phrase "all insane persons" of section 2 of the laws?

He states (p. 2) that "the immigration law deals with individuals in the mass" and that the act "is concerned with a stream of immigrants rather than with immigrants singly." Is not this a cunning evasion? Shall we judge our drinking water as a stream, disregarding the typhoid units we see are in it? Shall we admit several anarchist units because the stream averages well?

He adds that the act "provides for the exclusion of aliens by classes rather than by specific enumeration." What does this mean? Are the forbidden insane belonging to the industrious classes or the well-to-do classes to be admitted with the class, even though insane? He entirely misses the meaning of the term "class" in the law.

On page 3 of the decision he says that "alien" used without the word "immigrant" nevertheless means "alien immigrant," and then by specious reasoning decides that the temporary sojourner has not migrated, and hence is not an immigrant, and, further, that the law which expressly forbids the landing of an "alien" afflicted with disease or mental defect really means to admit such an "alien" if not an immigrant, for he insinuates that the framers of the law undoubtedly meant to insert the word "immigrant" where they expressly omitted it. Our answer to this shift is that section 2 of the laws does not say "immigrant," but "all insane persons" comprised under the term "aliens." Is not the Secretary perilously near assisting forbidden aliens to land? The case the Secretary cites, bottom of page 3 and top of page 4 of the decision, argues strongly against this position.

On page 6 of the decision the Secretary tries to identify landing "with the intention of deporting therefrom after a temporary stay" with "passing through in transit," the latter being allowed by law, the former not being allowed by law.

The Secretary tries to distract our attention by altruistic sentiments regarding "our conceptions of liberty," "health and happiness and fortune;" but we can not swerve from our plain duty as laid down in section 2 where it says "all insane persons" shall be excluded.

We regard the Secretary as prejudiced, unreasonable, and dangerous.

New York State is no longer willing to receive the insane he is landing through executive clemency or on worthless bonds.

Appended hereto are some instances of what we consider improper landing, by the Secretary, of forbidden insane aliens.

In some instances of the landing of insane aliens our physicians are told at first that there is not sufficient evidence produced to warrant belief by the Secretary that the cause of insanity existed prior to landing. In many of these instances affidavits are immediately obtained which give ample and sufficient evidence, and then there follows a plan of allowing the retention of these aliens

through their friends giving bond that they will not become public charges and paying "the reimbursing rate" to our hospitals. This "reimbursing rate" of \$3.50 per week is about one-half of the actual cost of maintaining a patient, and therefore the patient is certainly a public charge. Besides this, it is a fact that the New York State hospitals are intended for the people of our State and not for deportable aliens.

The following cases have all come up within the past year:

No. 1923, Fannie Cannon. Located at Manhattan State Hospital, January 23, 1908. Landed March 29, 1906. Had been insane five years prior to landing and gained a landing in violation of law. Was bonded by Mr. Lauterbach and the board of directors of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum. Five children became public charges, one or two having been born in this country, and they were cared for by the Hebrew Orphan Asylum.

No. 2092, Rosie Golupchuch. Located at Central Islip State Hospital, March 26, 1908. Landed May 22, 1907. As in all of these cases, no attempt was made to dispute the fact contained in our certificates. The alien was landed under bond, September 29, 1908.

No. 2118, Bertha Cerowsky. Located at Manhattan State Hospital, April 3, 1908. Landed November 12, 1907. Bonded September 29, 1908.

No. 2177, Cecelia Bonne. Fresh from Morningside Asylum, Scotland. Landed March 9, 1908. Admitted Poughkeepsie State Hospital, April 24, 1908. Then about two months out of the asylum in Scotland, but landed under bond.

No. 2178, Florence Bonne. Daughter of the above was from the same asylum. Landed same date. A chronic lunatic.

No. 2218, Minnie Drucker or Trener. Landed September 17, 1907. Admitted May 13, 1908, to Central Islip State Hospital. An imbecile with episodes. Landed under bond.

No. 2436, Joseph Zaharia. Landed June 16, 1907. Admitted to Manhattan State Hospital, August 1, 1908. Insane for ten years. Given a landing under bond.

It is to be understood that in all of these cases all of the alienists agreed that the cause of insanity existed prior to landing. The fact that this existed is not disputed by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, but he maintains that by bonding these people to pay the reimbursing rate in the public institutions that they are no longer public charges and hence not amenable to deportation. (Note.—Rule 20 does not permit landing insane aliens under bond.)

The following cases also were considered to be "prior to landing" cases by everybody except the Secretary, who gave them a landing without bonding them and without specific excuses.

No. 1691, Fannie Heyman. Landed October 5, 1906. Admitted to Manhattan State Hospital November 1, 1907. Insane twice prior to landing. Secretary refused to deport. This case was recently readmitted to Manhattan State Hospital, following the birth of a child who, of course, is an American citizen. Another attempt will be made to deport this case, as this is her fourth attack of insanity within the last four years.

No. 1855, Paula Cohen. Landed January, 1907. Located at Central Islip State Hospital, December 28, 1907. The alien was given a landing notwithstanding both certificates.

No. 1996, Sure Medmann. Landed October 9, 1906. Located at Manhattan State Hospital, February 21, 1908. Secretary refused to deport notwithstanding both certificates.

No. 2119, Bessie Wodofski. Located at Manhattan State Hospital April 6, 1908. A chronic case. Landed under bond.

Doctor Mabon wrote to-day that the people going on the bond in this case have expressed the desire of giving up the bond. This is the case in which some of the friends told Doctor Mabon that they would take this step as soon as three years had expired. Only two years have expired at this time, and the commissioner has been asked to take up the case again and dispose of it on its merits. Of course we are ignorant of the ultimate disposal of the case at this time.

[Extract from speech of Hon. E. A. Hayes in House, February 25, 1909.]

In 1906 President Roosevelt appointed a commission, composed of J. W. Jenks, R. M. Easley, and J. B. Reynolds, to consider the Chinese boycott and the smuggling of Chinese into the United States. That commission reported

to Secretary Straus in 1908, and the concluding paragraphs of that report are as follows:

"Our commission, therefore, has reached the conclusion that the demoralization of the bureau in its Chinese service is widespread, and unless radically reformed serious complications, both political and commercial, are threatened. Our commission did not consider that its duty was to make definite, formal charges against particular officials, except as incidental results of investigation, but to present to you as full a statement as possible of the bureau's relation to the causes of the boycott, leaving it to you to determine what action should be taken.

"In no point does the demoralization of the bureau appear more striking than in its failure to prevent the smuggling of coolies. We found no evidence of systematic efficient effort to check such widespread violations of the law. The recommendations of Greenhalge to the commissioner general that the Government should attempt to catch the leading white smugglers, upon whom the smuggling system depends, seemed to your commission the most practicable method of securing substantial results. This suggestion appears to have been unheeded. From my present knowledge of the situation I am confident that with intelligent and energetic handling the extensive smuggling which exists to-day might be practically wiped out.

"It is therefore the earnest hope of your commission that the relations between the Chinese in this country and the American Government, through the Bureau of Immigration, may be essentially improved; that more determined effort and persistent effort may be made for the suppression of blackmail and the smuggling of Chinese coolies, and that a higher standard in the selection of immigration officials may be enforced."

These conditions were brought to the attention of the proper department long ago. In August and September, 1907, Professor Jenks, of the Immigration Commission, with Mr. Atkinson, secretary of that commission, visited the Canadian and Mexican borders, investigating and reporting conditions to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. On his return from that trip he gave to Secretary Straus evidence of complicity on the part of a number of inspectors in the wholesale smuggling of Chinese on both borders, and I ought to say that I do not get this information from Professor Jenks.

[Clipping from the New York Tribune, May 19, 1909.]

#### W. WILLIAMS NAMED—PRESIDENT APPOINTS HIM COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION.

The President to-day sent the name of William Williams, of New York City, to the Senate as Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, regarded as the most important post in the immigration system of the country. The following statement was given out at the White House:

"This post has been recently held by Robert Watchorn, whose administration of the office proved to be unsatisfactory to the President and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, although there have been interested in his retention a number of good people who did not understand the facts in respect to the condition of the office. Mr. Watchorn's resignation was not requested, but he was under investigation by Mr. Nagel, the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and his course in office was the subject of inquiry at the time he tendered and insisted upon his resignation. His resignation was accepted for the good of the service.

"Mr. Williams has had a very long and thorough experience in the administration of this office, and resigned it voluntarily to resume the practice of law in New York City. The President and the Secretary were anxious to have the office administered with a single view to its efficiency in the enforcement of the immigration laws, and to a proper protection of the immigrants coming into this country. Mr. Williams's record in his previous administration insures this result. Mr. Williams is a Yale man and a friend of the President's, and was not a candidate for appointment, but most reluctantly yielded to the insistence of the President and the Secretary that he take the office in order to put it again on a proper basis.

"It has been reported that Mr. Watchorn's resignation was due to political exigency. This statement is utterly unfounded, and the appointment of Mr.

Williams is the most complete refutation of that statement that could be made. The Secretary of Commerce and Labor and Mr. Williams have had conferences about the administration of Ellis Island and are in complete accord as to how the island should be administered."

Mr. Williams, who was born in London forty-six years ago, was appointed to succeed Thomas Fitchie as Commissioner of Immigration of this port in April, 1902. He held the place until January, 1905, when he sent his resignation to President Roosevelt, who, after expressing his regret that Mr. Williams desired to resign, appointed Robert Watchorn as his successor. Mr. Williams was graduated from Yale University in 1884 and from the Harvard Law School in 1888. He spent much of his early life at school in Germany. After his admission to the bar he opened a law office in this city, and in 1892 was one of the junior counsel for the Government in the Bering Sea arbitration. At the time of the Spanish war he took the field with Squadron A in 1898, and was commissioned as major in the Quartermaster's Department. Mr. Williams is a Republican, but has not taken any active part in politics. For many years he has made the University Club his home.

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[Matter showing attitude of the Northwestern States and that our public domain is gone and that our population is recoiling upon itself and crowding into our cities and across into Canada.]

Recently in an elaborate address before the St. Paul Commercial Club, James J. Hill said: "Our public domain is exhausted. Last year over a million people came from across the Atlantic to the United States, and the natural increase certainly is a million and a half more. What is to become of these people? They are to be driven into the factories and workshops. They can go or crowd us over into the Canadian Northwest, as many have been crowded. But that country will be populated to its comfortable extent very soon, much sooner than you think. It has not an unlimited area."

The 1909 annual report of the superintendent of immigration shows that during the twelve months ending March 31, 59,832 United States citizens settled in Canada, taking with them money and effects valued at \$60,000,000.

Like the Italians, Greeks, and Slovaks, many of the Austrians and Hungarians are here only for a few years to earn and save a little money and then return to their own country, while others come to take their place. (Wisconsin Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1905-6, p. 318.)

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[Article from the Farmers' Union News, Union City, Ga., February 10, 1909.]

On October 13, Mr. Oscar Straus, the present Secretary of Commerce and Labor, a member of President Roosevelt's Cabinet, and under whom and in whose department is the Bureau of Immigration, gave to the Associated Press at Washington another one of his slick, ingenious news items.

The opposition of Straus to all immigration legislation is already notorious and proverbial, and yet he is in charge of the enforcement of our immigration laws; his pro-immigration attitude is nothing short of scandalous. Coming, as he does, from Wall Street, and being identified, as he always has been, with its financial exploiters, his fragrant relaxation and breaking down of the administration of our immigration and other laws which further the selfish interests of cotton gamblers, stock waterers, and predatory cliques has not been in the least surprising.

Mr. Straus succeeded Mr. Metcalf as Secretary of Commerce and Labor on December 17, 1906, and immediately proceeded, in the face of a continued deterioration in the quality and character of immigration, to reduce the percentage debarred during the next six months from 1.3 per cent, which it was under Metcalf during the previous six months, to 0.8 of a per cent reduction or rather breaking down in the administration of the law over 38 per cent.

Such statistics, indisputable as they are, contain a very meager indication of the violence that Oscar Solomon Straus has done to laws and regulations which have been found absolutely necessary to protect the Northeast, and, in fact, the whole country, from the stream of the lower foreign classes that have been poured in upon us from the worst sections of Europe and Asia. One need only



visit New York or Boston to get an idea of what is beginning to take place and the necessity for sifting out the very undesirable elements, social dregs, and really scum of foreign populations that are being dumped upon us by foreign countries and foreign steamship lines. A talk with any of the old immigration officials will readily convince the interviewer of the scandalous relaxation that has taken place since December 17, 1906. The inspectors, members of the boards of special inquiry, and other officials will tell you how they have had to respond to these subtle but unmistakable signs from the Secretary's office at Washington. They will tell you how the personnel of the force has changed, how men who did not respond have lost their positions or been transferred, and how foreigners of Mr. Straus's religious faith have been promoted and appointed to every official vacancy occurring in order to carry out his outrageous anti-restriction views.

At Washington Mr. Straus has under him as chief of the new Division of Information Mr. Powderly, who several years ago was forced out of the commissioner generalship.

Powderly was, until Mr. Straus got hold of him, a restrictionist. He has spoken and written so often in favor of restriction that some writers are still quoting him because of the weight and authority naturally attaching to the utterances of one occupying the high office of Commissioner General of Immigration. He knows this, and, knowing it, must feel greatly embarrassed when, to keep a job, he manufactures new speeches and opinions at variance with those of only yesterday.

We have no particular objections to his holding down a Government job. He is as much entitled to it as the man who made his appointment. What we do object to is his touring the country at our, the Government's, expense in favor of more immigrants; and to his manufacturing officially a lot of supercilious, cheap, humanitarian talk in favor of immigration, which the European immigration societies, the foreign steamship companies, and American employers of cheap labor, land speculators, and stock gamblers will use at home and abroad to increase the influx of foreign undesirables. It is his tommy-rot gabble about the large amount of uncultivated cotton lands in the South and the great need of southern lands and planters for farm labor with which to increase the amount of cotton produced to which we make serious objection. He is not telling the truth when he says that southern farmers need and want not only the prospective foreign influx of brownish races from southeastern Europe and western Asia, but will also be glad to have distributed among them the foreign classes from the city slums of the Northeast, which are the cause of so much poverty, disease, crime, and political corruption there.

This proposal of Mr. Straus and Mr. Powderly to distribute the incoming tide and the stranded thousands of poverty-stricken, diseased, and disruptive foreign elements now in the northeastern cities has, of course, met with the approval of the weary charity workers and others of the Northeast anxious to get rid of the serious immigration evils from this country being made a dumping ground for undesirable foreign immigration. It is by means of this false distribution wrinkle that Secretary Straus plans to prevent, not only the enactment of additional needed restrictive measures, but the decent enforcement of existing immigration laws which are such a very poor protection to the country's welfare, even when vigorously enforced. This distribution hoax is gotten up to silence the Northeast's demand for additional restrictive legislation. All that is necessary to make it good is a little evidence tending to show that there is room down South. Now, Mr. Straus proposes to supply this, for, according to his last news item, he is sending out \$06,000 return postal cards. These cards will go to the various rural-delivery carriers in the States of Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and other Southern States for distribution among the farmers with whom he desires to get in personal touch, and whom he says need and want aliens.

Let every union man be on the watch for these postal cards. They are coming \$06,000 strong. Ask your rural-route carrier for several of them, and sit right down and tell Messrs. Straus and Powderly what you think of their subtle scheme to commit the South to foreign immigration. And if you don't get a return postal card, don't wait, write him at Washington, D. C., on one of your own. And don't forget to make your meaning clear. Tell him that you see through his crafty scheme to go to Congress and the United States Immigration Commission with these replies as proof that the South is in favor of this present foreign influx of brownish alien races, and that you want to register

an emphatic protest against their admission and in favor of the vigorous enforcement of existing laws and the enactment of additional restrictive measures, such as the money test, and increased head tax, and the illiteracy test. And go him one better, and tell him that you don't want any more outside interference or intermeddling with not only southern government but also southern industry and labor. And tell him further that you want to see the Bureau of Information and Display, at whose head is Mr. Powderly, and which is being worked over into a foreign employment agency and a bureau of distribution of aliens to the South, abolished—and ask him to kindly turn your card over to the Immigration Commission, with the request that your protest be noted in its report. Don't forget to tell Messrs. Powderly and Straus and also your Congressmen and Senators that what you want is not the distribution of these aliens, but their exclusion. Tell them that you have had experience with one alien race, and that you do not care to run the risk of history repeating itself by bringing in a kindred race of brownish people who are sure to cause all kinds of trouble, as they have in the few localities to which these brownish people have gone in the South. Tell them that you do not want any more of the Mafia, the Black Hand, the Camorra, the Hunchakist, and other murderous bands. Tell it to them now, and tell it to them in as strong, plain, and unmistakable language as you can find. Don't wait. Do it now, else it will be too late, and lest you forget. (The Journal, Washington, D. C.)

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**RESOLUTION OF THE FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION  
OF AMERICA RELATING TO IMMIGRATION.**

**LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.**

FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA,

*Texarkana, Tex., September 19, 1910.*

IMMIGRATION COMMISSION,

*Washington, D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: The Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, in delegated convention, representing 21 Commonwealths of this Republic, unanimously adopted the report of its committee on immigration, which contains a resolution, copy of which I am submitting to you by their instructions.

I hope that you will give this very careful consideration.

Very respectfully,

A. C. DAVIS,

*Secretary-Treasurer.*

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**RESOLUTION.**

Whereas at the last session of Congress our national legislative committee made a statement<sup>a</sup> before the House Immigration Committee of our intense opposition to the distribution of aliens, and showed the need of restrictive legislation, as well as its rigorous enforcement; and

Whereas local and Federal officials, as well as the Immigration Commission, familiar with the evils, are continually calling attention to the great necessity for relieving the northeast and for meeting the demand of the Pacific slope; and

Whereas we are unalterably opposed to the present enormous alien influx of southeast European and Asiatic population, so differ-

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<sup>a</sup> For statement referred to, see p. 344.

ent racially, politically, and socially from us, and feel that the agricultural sections are in great danger of becoming a dump for these objectionable elements: Therefore be it

*Resolved by the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, in national convention assembled, this 7th day of September, 1910,* That we approve the statement of our national legislative committee, commend the present better enforcement of our weak immigration laws, urge upon Congress, with the final reporting of the Immigration Commission this winter, an increased head tax, a money qualification such as Canada has, an illiteracy test such as Australia and other civilized countries have, the defeat of all distribution schemes, and such other enactments as will substantially exclude the present enormous, artificially stimulated, foreign immigration from foreign lands, which, until the foreign steamships found it the most profitable traffic, sent us no immigrants; and be it further

*Resolved,* That we heartily commend the Manufacturers' Record, the Farmers' Union News, and other papers for the great service they have done in exposing such alien influences as the Southern Commercial Congress and such selfish interests as the cotton-mill men, who are trying to settle any and every acre with any and every kind of foreigner for the money in the traffic and in order to increase the production of cotton and other agricultural products, without regard to the racial, political, economic, and social consequences; and be it further

*Resolved,* That our national secretary send a copy of the resolutions to President Taft, the Senate and House Immigration Committees, the Bureau of Immigration, and the Immigration Commission at Washington, D. C., and supply the press with copies; and be it still further

*Resolved,* That our national officials, and particularly our national legislative committee, be directed to do all they can, in every way, to further the object and purposes of this resolution.

(Signed)

B. W. GIBSON, *North Carolina, Chairman.*

H. W. WRIGHTSON, *California.*

P. W. COX, *Washington.*

C. C. CONNER, *Oregon.*

E. W. WINSLETT, *Alabama.*



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STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

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**NOTE.**

The accompanying statement was submitted by Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, on behalf of that organization.

## STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

At the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Toronto, Ontario, in November, 1909, the following resolution respecting immigration was adopted:

Whereas the illiteracy test is the most practical means for restricting the present stimulated influx of cheap labor, whose competition is so ruinous to the workers already here, whether native or foreign; and

Whereas an increased head tax upon steamships is needed to provide better facilities, to more efficiently enforce our immigration laws, and to restrict immigration; and

Whereas the requirement of some visible means of support would enable immigrants to find profitable employment; and

Whereas the effect of the Federal Bureau of Distribution is to stimulate foreign immigration: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, By the American Federation of Labor in twenty-ninth annual convention assembled, That we demand the enactment of the illiteracy test, the money test, an increased head tax, and the abolition of the Distribution Bureau; and be it further

*Resolved*, That we favor heavily fining the foreign steamships for bringing debarable aliens where reasons for debarment could have been ascertained at the time of sale of ticket.

The attitude of the American Federation of Labor, as expressed in the foregoing resolution, is the logical result of years or even decades of serious study and investigation that its members have given to all phases of the immigration question. In earlier days the majority of the membership subscribed to the then quite prevalent belief that the country could go on indefinitely absorbing all immigration that might come, but as time passed they realized that their kindly sentiment and good heartedness toward the immigrants and laborers of the Old World were being exploited by large employers for the purpose of reducing wages as well as by the steamship combine and its myriad of parasites for their own profit. Moreover, as the question became better understood, it was realized that after all our sympathy for the Old World toilers, which so strongly influenced the earlier attitude toward immigration, was in a large measure misplaced. This aspect of the matter was alluded to by President Gompers in his annual report for the year 1903, as follows:

We assert in the interests of the masses of foreign countries as well as our own, the floodgates of immigration to our country should be, if not entirely closed, at least so guarded that we may not be overwhelmed. So long as large numbers of the peoples of Continental Europe can freely and without restraint or restriction come to our shores, not only will they help to bear down the conditions of the toilers of our country, but will afford the relief to the conditions obtaining in the countries which they left; in other words, the awful economic conditions obtaining in those countries, through tyranny and misrule, are bolstered up and given a new lease of life, whereas if proper restriction of immigration into our country obtained these people would remain in their own countries, and compel changes and reforms to the betterment of their own conditions in their own homes, thereby contributing to the uplifting of the entire human family.

Likewise has it been realized by American workmen that in advocating restriction they are not selfishly seeking to close the door of opportunity to their fellow-man, for considering the opportunities now existing in Europe for the advance of the working classes the net gains to be made on the whole by European immigrants now coming to this country may fairly be questioned. The manifold sufferings of immigrants, the sacrifices necessary to enable them to come to America, the trials of the ocean voyage, the discouragements in seeking work after arrival—in getting a foothold in the wage-working ranks—the oppression they suffer at the hands of employers, and their sickness and death rate all serve to counterbalance much of whatever success may eventually come to them.

Turning to another and perhaps more practical phase of the matter, it may be said that at last the great body of the American industrial wage-workers have come to see one supremely important fact, which is, that the immigrants are assimilated in America through the wage-working class. This means that the American-born wage-earners, in common with their foreign-born fellows who have been here long enough to aspire to American standards, are subjected to the ruinous competition of a never-ending stream of immigrants who are accustomed to so low a grade of living that they can underbid the wage-earners established in this country and still save money. Whole communities, in fact, whole regions, have witnessed a rapid deterioration in the mode of living of their working classes consequent on the incoming of the swarms of lifelong poverty-stricken aliens. Entire industries have seen the percentage of newly arrived laborers rising, until in certain regions few American men can, at present, be found among the unskilled.

This remarkable change in the population of so many American communities, it must be kept in mind, is almost wholly confined to the wage-working class. That a very radical change in this regard was taking place was recognized by our wage-workers in many parts of the country, and hence delegates to the trade-union conventions began some years ago to give their testimony as to the need of restriction of the evidently assisted, or artificially promoted, immigration. Opposition to those who supported these views brought about a continual sifting and searching for the truth as it affected trade-unionism and the general wage level. The matter was one of great seriousness to the labor cause, and it was given careful and serious consideration. Not only in a general way, but most strikingly in certain occupations and in certain districts of the country, what had been brought home to trade-unionists as going on through immigration was the rapid change in the membership of the unions as well as in population. In no other country do such rapid transitions in industry and in population take place as in ours, and after taking careful note of the effect of such transitions on American wage-workers it was inevitable that in time the general opinion among union men on immigration should be such as was expressed at the Toronto convention.

It may be stated emphatically that the attitude of our wage-earners toward immigration is not the product of narrowmindedness, nor can it truthfully be charged that such wage-earners are ungenerous. On the other hand, it can be said that the action of the trade-unions on this



important question involves a step that touches the heart of every man contemplating it. That step—the advocacy of immigration restriction—is not prompted by any assumption of superior virtue over our foreign brothers. We disavow for American organized labor the holding of any vulgar or unworthy prejudices against the foreigner. We recognize the noble possibilities in the poorest of the immigrants who come to us from European lands. We know that their civilization is sufficiently near to our own to bring their descendants in one generation up to the general level of the best American citizenship. It is not on account of their assumed inferiority, or through any contempt for their abject poverty, that, most reluctantly, the lines have been drawn by American workingmen against the indiscriminate admission of aliens to this country. It is simply a case of the self-preservation of the American working classes.

The foregoing statement shows, in a general way, the attitude of organized labor on the immigration question, and it is now desired to direct the commission's attention to some specific phases of the matter which are referred to in the previously quoted resolution. With this purpose in mind there are submitted an article by Mr. John Mitchell, which deals primarily with the so-called money test, and extracts from the proceedings of a labor conference held in the office of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, February 10 and 11, 1909, which extracts indicate the attitude of organized labor relative to the scheme of distributing immigrants in force in the Division of Information. Incidentally both of these exhibits contain statements relative to the immigration question as a whole, which may be considered as supplementing what has already been said in that regard.

#### THE MONEY TEST.

Mr. Mitchell's article, which appeared in the *American Federationist* for October, 1909, follows:

#### PROTECT THE WORKMAN.

By JOHN MITCHELL.

"Certain steamship companies are bringing to this port many immigrants whose funds are manifestly inadequate for their proper support until such time as they are likely to obtain profitable employment. Such action is improper and must cease. In the absence of a statutory provision, no hard and fast rule can be laid down as to the amount of money an immigrant must bring with him, but in most cases it will be unsafe for immigrants to arrive with less than \$25 besides railroad ticket to destination, while in many cases they should have more. They must, in addition, of course, satisfy the authorities that they will not become charges upon either public or private charity."

No official bulletin upon the subject of immigration has attracted more attention or caused more discussion than that issued under date of June 28, 1909, by the Commissioner of Immigration at the port of New York, from which the above excerpt is taken. It is both interesting and significant to observe the expressions of approval and disapproval of the principle laid down by Commissioner Williams for the guidance of prospective immigrants and the steamship companies through whose instrumentality large numbers of aliens are induced to leave the countries of their nativity and seek temporary or permanent homes upon our shores.

While this article is written from the standpoint of a wage earner, the subject is approached from the viewpoint of an American, because, fundamentally, no governmental policy can be of permanent value to the wage earners as such

that is not beneficial to our country and all our people. And it is because a high standard of living and a progressive improvement in the conditions of life and labor among workmen are essential to the prosperity of the whole people that the wage earners believe in a reasonable and effective regulation of immigration.

The commissioner at the port of New York in serving timely notice upon steamship companies, and indirectly upon the people of the Old World, that "in most cases it will be unsafe for immigrants to arrive with less than \$25, besides railroad ticket to destination," has laid down a rule that, if followed, will not only afford some measure of protection to American labor, but will also protect the poor and oppressed of other countries by deterring them from coming here without adequate means to enable them to maintain themselves until such time as they can secure employment at a rate of wages comparable to the standard prevailing in the trade in which they seek work. When it becomes known in the countries of Europe that it is necessary for an immigrant to have in his possession a sufficient amount of money to pay his own way to the interior of the United States and to live until he can secure work at the prevailing rate of wages, only such immigrants will seek admission as are of the better class, and the danger of lowering the American standard of living will be materially reduced. It goes without saying that it is no advantage to society when an alien gains admission to our country and is forced by his necessities to accept employment at a rate of wages lower than the established or prevailing rate in the class of work he undertakes to do. And it is real hardship to the American workman and a loss to society if the newly arrived immigrant underbids him and secures the job held by one of our own citizens.

The standard of wages for both skilled and unskilled labor in the United States has been built up as a result of years and years of energetic effort, struggle, and sacrifice. When an immigrant without resources is compelled to accept work at less than the established wage rate, he not only displaces a man working at the higher rate, but his action threatens to destroy the whole schedule of wages in the industry in which he secures employment, because it not infrequently occurs that an employer will attempt to regulate wages on the basis of the lowest rate paid to any of the men in his employ. Any reduction in wages means a lowering of the standard of living, and the standard of living among a civilized people can not be lowered without lowering in the same ratio the physical standard and the intellectual and moral ideals of that people.

Of course it may be said that this observation is not borne out by the experience and the history of our country. It is admittedly true that our population is largely an immigrant population, and that the standard of living has gradually tended higher; but in considering the influence and effects of stimulated immigration it is necessary to contrast conditions now with conditions prevailing in the past, and also to keep in mind the change that has taken place in the extent and the character of the immigration.

If the number of aliens coming annually to the United States were no greater now than in any year between 1820 and 1880, there would be, and could be, no reasonable ground for complaint; indeed, there would be little demand from wage earners for the enactment of laws restricting immigration if the number of aliens arriving did not exceed the number admitted in any year up to 1900, provided, of course, that such aliens were not brought here as contract laborers, or were not physically, mentally, or morally defective.

That immigration in recent years has been stimulated beyond the line of assimilative possibility will be apparent even to the casual observer when the volume of immigration at the present time and in the recent past is compared with the number of immigrants who arrived here during the first eighty years for which statistics have been tabulated. For illustration, more aliens were admitted through our ports in one year, 1907, than were admitted during the entire twenty-four years from 1820 to 1843, inclusive; and nearly as many aliens were admitted in the five years from 1904 to 1908, inclusive, as were admitted during the forty years from 1820 to 1859, inclusive.

It is important to an intelligent understanding of this subject that at this point consideration be given not only to the extent of present immigration as compared with the immigration of early times, but also to the character and intention of many aliens who in recent years have gained admission to our country. It is safe to say that prior to 1880 nearly every immigrant, except contract laborers, left his own country for the purpose of making a permanent home for himself and his posterity in the country of his adoption. The immi-

grant of those days was a sturdy, adventurous pioneer, who was willing to undertake and withstand the struggles and the hardships incident to the development of a new and oftentimes dangerous country. He expected to carve out a career for himself, to build his home, and to find employment on ground and in fields upon which no other man had claim. The avenues and the opportunities of employment and home building of early times have largely passed away. To-day the alien has not the chance, even though he have the inclination, to be a constructive factor in the development of a new and high civilization. Large numbers of the immigrants of recent years regard our country simply as a foraging ground, in which they expect to make a "stake," and when they have done so, to return to their own countries and spend the remainder of their lives there; and this "stake" is too often accumulated by eating and living in a manner destructive of physical and social health. An immigration of this character is of absolutely no benefit to us. The alien who enjoys the advantages and protection of our Government, and afterwards takes or sends his accumulated savings back to the country of his birth, is not unlike our butterflies of fashion whose parents invest American millions in the purchase of foreign titles.

That the question of immigration presents a real problem, which is rapidly approaching a crisis, is evidenced by many circumstances, all of which point in the same direction—not the least of these being the act of Congress creating a commission to make an exhaustive investigation into the effects of immigration upon our national life. From public and private institutions of charity comes the ominous warning that the means at hand are insufficient to relieve the cry of distress; the bread line, that standing indictment against society which has been duplicated in other cities and in other sections of the city of New York, proclaims louder than words that something is radically wrong. Trade-unions, ever jealous of their prestige and of the dignity and self-respect of their members, have given out millions of dollars to buy bread for those of their number who can not find work to do. And all this time, during which able-bodied men anxious and willing to work are tramping the streets and the highways in idleness, hundreds of thousands of immigrants are pouring in upon us—some to make the struggle of the American worker more difficult to bear, and others to be recruited into that army of unemployed which threatens to become a permanent institution of our national life.

It is not sufficient to say that these are abnormal conditions, the result of a temporary industrial depression, or that the evils will vanish with the return of "good times." While there can be no doubt that a revival of industrial activity will relieve, in a measure, the strain of the situation, and perhaps the cry of want and the mutterings of discontent will be less frequently heard, nevertheless a cure will not be effected and the problem will remain unsolved. The world does not owe a living to an able-bodied man, but society does owe its workmen an opportunity to earn a living under fair and reasonable conditions. The first duty of a community is to give its own members the opportunity of being employed at decent wages; then, and not until then, its arms should be held wide open to welcome the less favored of every nation and of every clime.

The American wage-earner, be he native or immigrant, entertains no prejudice against his fellow from other lands; but, as self-preservation is the first law of nature, our workmen believe and contend that their labor should be protected against the competition of an induced immigration comprised largely of men whose standards and ideals are lower than our own. The demand for the exclusion of Asiatics, especially the Chinese and the Hindus, is based solely upon the fact that, as a race their standard of living is extremely low and their assimilation by American impossible. The American wage-earner is not an advocate of the principle of indiscriminate exclusion which finds favor in some quarters, and he is not likely to become an advocate of such a policy unless he is driven to this extreme as a matter of self-preservation. He fails, however, to see the consistency of a legislative protective policy which does not, at the same time that it protects industry, give equal protection to American labor. If the products of our mills and factories are to be protected by a tariff on articles manufactured abroad, then, by the same token, labor should be protected against an unreasonable competition from a stimulated and excessive immigration.

And it is highly important to the peace and harmony of our population, whether it be native or alien, that discrimination against Americans shall not

be permitted. Every good citizen will view with regret and foreboding the publication of advertisements, such as the following, which appeared in the Pittsburgh papers a few days ago:

"Men wanted. Timmers, catchers, and helpers, to work in open shops. Syrians, Poles, and Roumanians preferred. Steady employment and good wages to men willing to work. Fare paid and no fees charged."

The suggestion that American labor is not wanted is likely to arouse a sentiment of hostility against the foreign workers whose labor is preferred by the companies responsible for advertisements of this character. Nothing but evil can come from discord and racial antagonism. At the same time that the American workman recognizes the necessity of reasonable restriction upon the admission of future immigrants, he realizes that his own welfare depends upon being able to work and to live in harmony and fellowship with those who have been admitted and are now a part of our industrial and social life.

There is perhaps no group in America so free from racial or religious prejudice as the workmen. It is a matter of indifference to them whether an immigrant comes from Great Britain, Italy, or Russia; whether he be black, white, or yellow; whether he be Christian, Mohammedan, or Jew. The chief consideration is that, wherever he comes from, he shall be endowed with the capacity and imbued with the determination to improve his own status in life, and equally determined to preserve and promote the standard of life of the people among whom he expects to live. The wage-earners, as a whole, have no sympathy with that narrow spirit which would make a slogan of the cry, "America for the Americans"; on the contrary, we recognize the immigrant as our fellow worker; we believe that he has within him the elements of good citizenship, and that, given half a chance, he will make a good American; but a million aliens can not be absorbed and converted into Americans each year; neither can profitable employment be found for a million newcomers each year, in addition to the natural increase in our own population.

That there is an inseparable relation between unemployment and immigration is demonstrated by the statistics which are available upon the subject. There are, of course, no complete data showing the extent and effects of unemployment, but from the records of 27 national and international trade unions it is found that during the year 1908 from 10 to 70 per cent of the members of various trades were in enforced idleness for a period of one month or more. These 27 unions are selected from the highly skilled trades, in which organization is most thorough and systematic. Their records show that an average of 32 per cent of the total membership was unemployed. If this ratio applied to other organizations it would indicate that approximately 1,000,000 organized workmen were without employment during the past year. Assuming that unemployment affected the unskilled and unorganized wage-earners in the same proportion, it would mean that 2,500,000 wage-earners were unemployed; and while there has been a marked improvement in industrial conditions during the past few months, it will not be contended that unemployment is not still a serious problem and the cause of great and general suffering. Indeed, it is perfectly safe to say that the unskilled and unorganized workmen suffered more from unemployment, both as to the proportion who were so unemployed and in actual physical and mental distress, because the organized workman, in most instances, had built up in normal times a fund upon which he could draw to tide him over his emergency; whereas the unskilled and unorganized workmen—many of whom are recently arrived immigrants—were forced to depend upon charity or upon the munificence of their friends to carry them over the industrial crisis.

In connection with this subject, a significant feature of our immigration problem presents itself. Of the 113,038 aliens admitted in March, 1909, which figures are typical of all other periods in recent years, only 10,224 were skilled workmen, while 77,058 were unskilled laborers; the remaining 25,756 being women and children, professional men, and others having no definite occupation. In other words, these figures show that less than 10 per cent of the aliens admitted in the month of March were equipped and trained to follow a given line of employment, whereas 77,058 were thrust upon us, in most cases so situated that they would be compelled to accept the first job, and at any wages, offered to them. It is true that many thousands of these laborers are classed as "farm hands," but it requires no exhaustive inquiry to discover that a farm hand from continental Europe rarely seeks employment as a farm laborer in America. Farming in Europe and farming in America are two

separate and distinct propositions; in this country farming is done with modern machinery, in continental Europe the work is done by hand, and the European farm laborer is little better equipped to operate the machinery on an American farm than is a section hand to drive a locomotive. The facts are that the immigrant who was a farm laborer in his own country seeks employment in America in the unskilled trades. He becomes a mill hand, a factory worker, an excavator, a section hand, and in large numbers he becomes a mine worker. It is only necessary to visit the mining districts of the Eastern and Central Western States, the mill towns, and the centers of the textile industry to find these erstwhile European farm laborers. They have been colonized, and because of the large numbers who are congregated together, the opportunity for or the possibility of their assimilation is greatly minimized. The temptation to establish and perpetuate the customs and standards of their own countries, instead of adopting the standards of our country, is so great that if the system of colonization continues it will take several generations to amalgamate these races and blend them into an American people. This condition is not best for them; neither is it good for us; it is simply the result of an unregulated immigration and an unwise distribution of aliens.

While wage-earners will undoubtedly indorse the principle laid down by the Commissioner of Immigration at the port of New York, the enforcement of that policy should not be discretionary with him. If we are going to regulate immigration at all, we should prescribe by law definite conditions, the application of which would result in securing only those immigrants whose standards and ideals compare favorably with our own. To that end wage-earners believe:

First. That, in addition to the restrictions imposed by the laws at present in force, the head tax of \$4 now collected should be increased to \$10.

Second. That each immigrant, unless he be a political refugee, should bring with him not less than \$25, in addition to the amount required to pay transportation to the point where he expects to find employment.

Third. That immigrants between the ages of 14 and 50 years should be able to read a section of the Constitution of the United States, either in our language, in their own language, or in the language of the country from which they come.

While the writer holds no commission that gives him authority to speak in the name of the American wage-earners, he believes that he interprets correctly in this article their general sentiment upon the subject of immigration.

#### ARTIFICIAL DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS.

The proceedings of the labor conference, previously alluded to, have been published by the Department of Commerce and Labor under the title "Labor conference: Proceedings of the conference with representatives of labor held in the office of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor February 10 and 11, 1909," which publication is the source of what follows. It should be explained that various subjects not related to immigration were considered at the conference and that the record of such proceedings is not included in this exhibit.

## LABOR CONFERENCE.

### OBJECT OF THE CONFERENCE.

By direction of Secretary Straus, Daniel J. Keefe, Commissioner-General of Immigration, submitted in a letter to the leading representatives of labor the following propositions, to which the Secretary had referred in his annual report for 1908, inviting them to a conference with him to discuss these propositions and such other questions as the Department of Commerce and Labor and the representatives of the wage-earners might be interested in; the conference to be held on February 10 and 11, 1909:

1. The advisability of recommending legislation so as to extend the Steamboat-Inspection Service to include the inspection of locomotive boilers on interstate roads.

2. To consider the work of the Division of Information under the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, and how the division may be administered for the best interests of the wage-workers generally.

3. To discuss the problem of the unemployed, and how and to what extent the department, through its Division of Information or otherwise, could be most helpful, especially in periods of depression.

4. The statistics of emigration in connection with immigration, which were for the first time made accessible for the last fiscal year, indicate that much of the immigration that comes to this country is induced to do so under misleading information as to labor conditions in the United States.

5. To consider how the Nobel Peace Prize, which President Roosevelt devoted to the Foundation for the Promotion of Industrial Peace, can be made most effective.

### BODIES REPRESENTED AND DELEGATES PRESENT.

The responses received to the letter of Mr. Keefe were extremely gratifying, practically all of the organizations invited signifying their intention of sending representatives to the conference, and on February 10 there were assembled in the office of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor—

Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Secretary of Commerce and Labor;

Daniel J. Keefe, Commissioner-General of Immigration and Naturalization;

Charles P. Neill, Commissioner of Labor;

Terence V. Powderly, Chief of the Division of Information;

And the following delegates, representing the principal international labor unions in the United States:

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor.

John Mitchell, Second Vice-President American Federation of Labor.

Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor.

Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

W. G. Lee, Grand Master Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

W. S. Carter, Grand Master Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engine-men.

A. B. Garrettsom, Grand Chief Order of Railway Conductors.

Henry B. Perham, President Order of Railroad Telegraphers, and Chairman Railroad Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor.

Timothy Healy, President International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

T. J. Dolan, General Secretary International Association of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men.

William F. Yates, President Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association.

Thomas Nolan, Boilermakers and Iron-Ship Builders' Union of North America.

Joseph F. Valentine, President Iron Moulders' Union of North America.

Frank P. Hawley, President Switchmen's Union of North America.

Thomas F. Tracy, Cigarmakers' International Union.

J. R. T. Auston, Secretary Order of Railroad Telegraphers, Dispatchers, Agents, and Signalmen.

D. J. S. Baird, President Order of Railroad Telegraphers, Dispatchers, Agents, and Signalmen.

P. J. Conlon, International Association of Machinists.

#### OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1909.

#### MORNING SESSION.

The conference was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m. by Mr. Keefe, who made the following statement:

Mr. KEEFE. Some time ago Mr. Straus, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, expressed a desire to meet the representatives of the large labor unions, with the purpose in view of discussing a number of questions that he deemed of great moment to both the wage-earners and this department, which are set forth at length in the letter I addressed to you on January 27. \* \* \*

In order that the questions referred to may be discussed from the broadest possible view point, we have prepared a programme embracing the following speakers, after which there will be a general discussion of the different subjects:

The Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

Mr. Warren S. Stone, for the railroad organizations.

Mr. William F. Yates, for the marine engineers and marine organizations.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, for the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. T. V. Powderly, for the Division of Information.

In conclusion, I wish to say that the Secretary of Commerce and Labor is very much interested in having the questions fully discussed, so that he may, with your cooperation, arrive at a clearer, better, and more harmonious understanding.

#### ADDRESS BY SECRETARY STRAUS.

Secretary STRAUS. Gentlemen, I thank you for responding to the invitation that has been sent you for the purpose of giving me the benefit of your views and cooperation in connection with what I regard as some of the most important work intrusted for administration to this Department. The Department, as you know, is new; it is in a developing stage; and while I have been here I have been solicitous to direct its activities so as to perform in a practical way the varied and various governmental functions within its large scope.

One of the gentlemen, as he came in, humorously remarked, "Usually when we meet so many labor men together, the first question that is asked is, 'What is the trouble now?'" This gathering is unique. It is the first of its kind that has ever assembled in this department. There is no trouble now for which this gathering has taken place. My idea, which has been expressed by Mr. Keefe, was to get the benefit of your wisdom, your experience, and by your cooperation to show how to eliminate and avoid much of the trouble that brings about many of the disturbances in the labor world.

Our purpose is constructive. A year ago, in furthering the scope of the Department, I called together the commercial interests of the country in a consultative way, just as you are here now, and representatives of some forty different commercial and industrial organizations assembled from as many cities of the country, and they subsequently formed the National Council of Commerce. The object I sought to attain, and which this organization, I think, will attain, was to bring about a cooperation between this and between the other departments of the Government having to do with commerce and the great commercial interests of the country—in other words, to get the benefit of the vast experience, the intimate knowledge, of the men engaged in the various industries, so that this department, in moving forward for the extension of commerce, should have the help and advice of the commercial bodies of the country.

This is the Department of Commerce and Labor, and I am very desirous that we should have on the labor side that cooperation which you, gentlemen, who have devoted your lives for the benefit and uplift of the wage-earners, and who understand intimately their requirements and what can be done for their betterment, can give. This Department desires your cooperation in considering the

problems that come within its scope; so that it can move, and, if you please, you can move, in cooperation, where it is possible—and it is very often possible—to come to an agreement as to the measures to be promoted.

I do not contemplate the formation of any organization, as was necessary to be done on the commercial side. That is not necessary, because you are already nationally organized, and you have the machinery by which you can always place yourselves in touch with the governmental departments. Eight years ago I had the pleasure of meeting a number of the gentlemen who are here to-day, representing important national organizations, at the conference in New York in the rooms of the Board of Trade and Transportation for the purpose of organizing the National Civic Federation, over which it was my privilege to preside. I am very much indebted to that and the many subsequent meetings and conferences for not only my deep interest in the labor problems, but for the increase of my knowledge upon the subject and for my ability to see both sides of the shield.

This department was brought into being under the administration of President Roosevelt, and he outlined its scope and work. I feel I am acting in his spirit in summoning this conference here, though I have not consulted him. One can not be associated with him as the members of the Cabinet are privileged to be without being thoroughly imbued with his spirit; for I tell you the work that he has done, and much that he has recommended and which is yet unfinished, may be largely summed up as a desire and a purpose to redress the justified grievances of the masses. I think there is no higher duty than that. It is a duty that is not confined to this country; it is a duty that is accentuated by our commercial age; and while fortunes grow and the opportunities for amassing them grow, likewise should the opportunities of the wage-earners to improve their standard of living be advanced.

I have had a study made of the relation of some of the leading European governments with labor and the cooperative plan or method that has been adopted in those countries. That study was prepared at my request by Mr. Morris Jacobson, of the Bureau of Statistics, together with Dr. H. G. Friedman, of the Bureau of Labor. Of course, we know we can not follow here the plans and methods that are adopted in European countries, but we can learn from them and we can profit by many of their experiences. The outline of the study gives a brief account of the relation of government with labor in Germany—the German Advisory Council on Labor Statistics; also the relation in Austria, entitled “The Austrian Labor Council;” also the relation in France, entitled “The French Superior Council of Labor.”

Without dwelling longer upon the subject, it seems to me that from the Austrian plan we probably have most to learn, because it is the most adaptable. Just to give you an idea, I will read a few extracts from the study of the Austrian Labor Council. [Reading:]

“The Austrian permanent advisory council on labor represents an attempt to bring together the leading interests concerned for the consideration of labor problems and labor legislation. Its membership comprises groups representing the various departments of the central government, the large employers, organized labor, and the public interests at large. \* \* \* This council was created in 1898. In that year the Austrian Government laid the foundation for systematic study of labor conditions by inaugurating a division for labor statistics in the ministry of commerce. \* \* \* The membership in the council is made up of four groups, representatives of the government departments, the large employers, organized laborers, and the public at large. The Government is represented by officials of the following ministries: The interior, justice, finance, agriculture, railroads, commerce, and furthermore by the head of the bureau of labor statistics, the president of the central statistical commission, etc. The interests of capital are represented by ten men appointed by the minister of commerce. These are selected from various industries. \* \* \* Careful consideration has been given to the government bill providing for an elaborate system of government employment agencies.”

In my last annual report I have in outline proposed several measures, which are embodied in the paper that has been sent you in connection with the calling of this conference. Immigration, for instance, has always been—or at least during the last twenty years—a very important subject. It has been viewed by labor variously. There has been very much misinformation upon the subject; in fact, our statistics have been most misleading. They have been right substantially, and yet entirely wrong in the impression they convey.



Under the immigration act of 1907 for the first time provision was made to obtain statistics of outgoing immigrants, returning immigrants, and we have derived a great deal of information from these figures. The past fiscal year has been abnormal—we must not be misled by that—but four or five months of the past fiscal year were entirely normal, and, judging from that as a basis, and from other data at our command, I feel entirely justified in saying that the immigration figures that have heretofore been given out by this Department, when judged in the light of the net addition to our population by immigration, have been 48 per cent in excess of the net addition to our population by immigration. In other words, the returning immigrants, of whom we have taken no account heretofore, were 48 per cent of the total of the incoming immigrants. That is to say, the net immigration is only 68 per cent of the accepted immigration figures.

This leads up to this point, which is embodied in one of the questions here submitted: All agencies are at work in foreign countries—steamboat agencies, ticket agencies, and scores of other agencies—to induce emigration to this country. A great many immigrants, as a result of false, misleading, and intentionally wrong information, are induced to leave their homes and come over here, not knowing that while labor receives higher compensation here the standard of living is much higher. The laborer who succeeds in this country is more energetic in his work, he is more individualized, he develops a higher order of efficiency; the lazy, slothful man who can not succeed in his own country soon finds that lack of success is spelled in larger letters in this country. The class of immigrants to which I refer, who are beguiled to come, through ticket agents and others who are interested in transportation—when their eyes are opened, what is the result? Some remain here as pitiable jetsam, and others return to the country of their origin. Now, it has occurred to me that you could render a humane service and be of help to this Department if we could devise some plan by which a statement of labor conditions from time to time in this country could be drawn up in such a way as you all may agree upon, so that the truth might be known and the misleading and false information corrected and counteracted at its source, so as to reach the people who are by false information induced to move and come to this country, believing it to be the great El Dorado, where high wages await slothfulness. This is a subject for you to consider—what measures would best counteract the evil I have referred to.

I wish to lay before you a draft of a bill amending section 40 of the immigration law so as to enlarge the scope of the Division of Information, which more correctly should be styled "Division of Information and Distribution." The law as it stands was intended primarily for the distribution of immigrants, but it says "immigrants and others"; and I felt thoroughly justified in giving a broad interpretation to the word "others," for certainly we should always be willing to do for our native labor as much as we do for the immigrant labor, and I could not conceive that it could have been within the purview of the legislation not to carry out that point of view. The bill that has been drafted after careful consultation with Mr. Powderly, the head of the division, purposes to enlarge the scope of that section of the immigration law. This conference affords the occasion and opportunity of doing a far-reaching piece of work. And I must not conceal from you the fact that one of the main reasons I called this conference—which I hope will be but the beginning of such consultations, called either by the Department or asked for by you—was to lay before you the possibilities of this law, to have you consider it, and to see whether something practical and effective could not be done to meet to a large extent, so far as this country is concerned, the great problem of unemployment.

Our country is large; it has all climates; it has more diversified industries than any other, and so many forms of agriculture. Of course, in times of depression, such as we have had in the past year, the question of unemployment becomes more acute; but there is always before us the problem of unemployment. At certain seasons of the year most manufacturing plants slow down. Then some of the men are thrown out of employment—a certain percentage of them. I think there is nothing more detrimental to labor—even more detrimental in a way than the standard of wage—than this lack of steady employment. If we can do something to render some aid to the laboring man who is thrown out of his work through no fault of his, who is ready and willing to work—if we can help him to a job, I feel it is our duty to do it. It has appeared to me that a large percentage of this unemployment could be prevented if the information were daily accessible as to where and what kind of labor and at

what wage rate and under what conditions it is in demand in every section of the country. The problem of unemployment, as I understand it—I speak before a body of experts and I am prepared to be corrected—affects more particularly the unskilled laborer. It affects the skilled laborer, but more generally, in numbers, the unskilled laborer.

Now, it so happens that when industries, say in the East, slow down there is a large demand for labor for limited periods in agriculture or in other industries in other parts of the country. Why can not that labor be supplied? There are two reasons. One is lack of information. The Division of Information can supply that, so that any man out of employment near Boston, or New York, or Chicago, can go to the Division of Information of this Department and find out where labor is in demand; and he can decide in what direction he wants to go and what occupation he desires to enter. But there is another obstacle, and that is the question of transportation. If, for instance, in the agricultural districts west of the Mississippi Valley there is a demand for the period of sixty or ninety days for agricultural laborers or labor for certain industries—a demand for a limited period—the question is always one of transportation—how can a man from the Atlantic seaboard go to the place where the labor is wanted, and then, of course, return when the employment is over, say, after three months or four months? It is an important problem. My idea of meeting that problem—and if it is properly presented it can be met—in this: I do not know, because I have not yet received an authentic decision, whether under the interstate-commerce law the railroads can make what I choose to term a “labor-exchange” rate. I feel a certain degree of confidence that they would be inclined to make it in their own interest, because if, for instance, a harvest is to be gathered, or certain industries in the West, if you please, are unable to work their full shifts of hands because they can not get the labor, if that labor could be supplied from the East the amount of product would be increased and the increase of the amount of product would mean an increase of freight. In some countries the railroads find it to their interest at a very nominal sum to transport labor and again return that labor when it wishes to return.

These are questions that you probably have thought over. I may be in error in many of these suppositions that I lay before you; and before moving forward I consult you whether it meets with your approval; whether we can have your cooperation; whether you can aid us; and I propose to place before you a draft of an amendment of that section of the law to which I have referred, to enlarge the scope of the Division of Information, as a material aid in the solution of this great problem of unemployed. \* \* \*

Our meeting is purely of a deliberative and consultative nature—informal. I want everyone here to have an opportunity to say whatever he pleases. We will first give consideration to the propositions that have been submitted, and then I shall be glad to entertain discussions upon any other subject affecting labor which comes within the scope of the administrative functions of this Department.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Secretary, I would like to ask a question before you sit down, in relation to the furnishing of information through the consuls of European countries in regard to the unemployed in this country. To what extent will your Department be able to use the consuls to secure the thorough distribution of information throughout those countries?

Secretary STRAUS. I think there will be no difficulty on that subject whatever. The draft of the bill to which I have referred provides for that.

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#### AFTERNOON SESSION.

The conference resumed its session at 2.30 o'clock p. m.

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#### ADDRESS BY MR. YATES.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Secretary. \* \* \* There is one point that struck me with a great deal of force this morning in the Secretary's speech, and that was the matter of dissemination of information as to the labor market and labor conditions. I thoroughly believe that that might be extended with good effect, not only to the individual man who must work with his hands for his support, but it would help organizations and strengthen them materially, because it would

teach the other fellow the benefit of organized effort. I have been in contact with a great many immigrants, or at least a great many aliens, and others. and I find too that, as was stated this morning, thousands and thousands of people come to this country and are bitterly disappointed by their experience; and I believe that if information as to actual conditions and the things which they must contend with when they reach here were in their hands before they left their homes they would avoid a great deal of suffering themselves, and also on the part of other people who are here. \* \* \*

#### ADDRESS BY MR. GOMPERS.

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Secretary and gentlemen, when the subject of a conference was first submitted to my colleagues of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, we very heartily gave our cooperation to the project and accepted the invitation, and only the fact that the other seven members of the executive council are so thoroughly engrossed with the affairs of their respective trades and the men employed in them or following them has interfered with their coming here.

We realized that there should exist a sort of programme by which representatives of the wage-earners would occasionally have the opportunity of conferring with the officers representing the Government of our country. We were in hopes for a long time—and it is no reflection upon the present incumbent of the office of Secretary of Commerce and Labor to say that we have always been in hopes, and have never surrendered the hope—of finally having the Government of our country establish a Department of Labor with a Secretary at its head who should have a seat in the President's Cabinet and who might speak by the card as a representative of the wage-earners of our country. Without surrendering that hope or our work in that direction in the meantime, we welcomed very gladly the inauguration of this conference, and I think I speak advisedly when I say we entertain the hope that the conferences may take place periodically, wherein we can meet and discuss problems which need the attention of the best men and the best minds of our time. For, as you, Mr. Secretary, said this morning, this Department deals more thoroughly with the human side of the affairs of our people than possibly any other department of our Government. And that is true. And I may add this: That how to meet and deal with, intelligently and wisely, this great labor problem is the most important subject of our age.

In addressing myself to the subjects under consideration, I just want to make some cursory remarks affecting them. I take it that, after all, if we are in a conference of this sort wherein great questions are to be considered, we must speak very plainly and very broadly in order that we may all of us have the benefit of those things which are in the innermost recesses of our minds. We are not diplomats and we are not expected to deal in diplomacy. I might say, by the way, that the use of that phrase by myself just now recalls an incident that may not be entirely uninteresting. I remember that during the life and activity of the late Senator Marcus A. Hanna, when some trouble arose between some of his furnace men at Buffalo and his overseers, the Senator, with his usual good common sense, rather upbraided the foreman for his conduct, and the foreman said that these furnace men had acted "without any diplomacy at all." One of our friends said to Mr. Hanna, "I wonder whether this foreman expects that the United States is going to raise diplomats at 18 cents an hour?"

Plain speaking, I think, is what will help, and is better than any other thing. I am, of course, interested not only as a representative of labor, but as a citizen and as a man, in the propositions relative to boiler inspection, whether on a steam vessel or a railroad. There are men here who are as competent, if not more competent, who can address themselves to that subject particularly. I want to bring your attention to some matters other than, for instance, that important subject.

May I first say that I regret very much that an invitation was not extended to the Farmers' National Union, an organization of more than 2,000,000 people who are vitally interested in a number of the subjects under consideration. I am under the impression that if that organization had been invited it might have helped to dissipate some of the notions which are prevalent and particularly in the phase of employment and unemployment.

We have heard some statements put forth, in the public print and elsewhere, that what we should direct our attention to is to see to it that the railroads and other transportation facilities should be at a lower rate to the fluctuating conditions of the labor market (if I may use that term) in one or another section of our country. Of course, those who are observant realize that there are differences in the state of the labor conditions and the state of employment in different parts of the country, but that there is an exaggerated view of that situation I have not the slightest doubt.

Before pursuing that thought further, I want to present this fact for our consideration also: That even if that be practical, the fact that we have to appeal to our Interstate Commerce Commission or to other departments of the Government to find out whether the railroads and other transportation companies of our country may do that is an evidence in itself of how far we have gone in the enactment of laws that cripple while undertaking to regulate industry. The notion gets possession of so many of our people that we want others to do a thing by law, and we so handcuff ourselves or obstruct our opportunities that we have got to try and seek some other interpretation of the laws or to secure some legislation in order to loosen the fetters that we have ourselves permitted to be riveted upon our endeavors.

The fact of laborers being wanted here, there, and elsewhere, at least for the past year and a half, has been largely imaginary. You can go to New York and you may hear there the statement that there is an opening for workmen in upper New York, or in the middle West, or far West; and when you go in turn to each of these places you will find the same remarks made about some other place.

I have here two resolutions which were adopted by the farmers' organization, to which I have already referred. One of them reads:

"Whereas it is proposed to distribute and divert foreign immigrants to the agricultural districts of the South and West; and

"Whereas a Federal bureau has been established, and State immigration bureaus are proposed for that purpose; and

"Whereas we are unalterably opposed to such, and to the present enormous alien influx, as detrimental to the best interests of the farming communities and the welfare of our own country:

*"Therefore be it resolved,* That the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, in national convention assembled, at Memphis, Tenn., this 8th day of January, 1908, and representing two millions of farmers, urge upon Congress the immediate abolition of the Federal Bureau of Distribution and the speedy enactment of laws substantially excluding the present enormous alien influx by means of an increased tax money requirement, the illiteracy test, and other measures, and that we call upon our public, and especially our city officials, to prevent our agricultural sections from becoming a dumping ground for foreign immigrants."

The other resolution reads:

"Whereas foreign immigration is being advocated for southern and western farming communities, the United States Immigration Commission is investigating the subject, and a Federal bureau is being established for the purpose of distributing and diverting foreigners;

"Whereas the present flagrant lax enforcement of existing immigration laws and the urgent need of additional restrictive legislation will soon result in the agricultural sections in the South and the West being made a dumping ground for undesirable southeast European and Asiatic population:

*"Therefore be it resolved,* That the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, in its third annual convention at Fort Worth, Tex., this 3d day of September, 1908, and representing over two millions of farmers, hereby adopts the immigration resolutions passed last January at the annual meeting in Memphis, calling for federal and state legislation abolishing immigration bureaus and substantially excluding the present alien influx of cheap labor from southeastern Europe and western Asia, and urge upon federal officials the vigorous enforcement of all immigration laws, in order to properly protect the country's welfare and to preserve its institutions, safeguard its citizenship, and preserve its Anglo-Saxon civilization for posterity; and

*Be it further resolved,* That a copy of these resolutions be sent to each Member of Congress by the chairman of the national legislative committee, with request that they be printed in the Congressional Record, and to the Immigration Commission, with request that they be incorporated in its report; and

*Be it further resolved*, That the State presidents and lecturers emphasize this one question with a view to having members take it up in conference and by letter with their Congressmen and Senators."

I should say that these two resolutions were handed to me within the past few days by the legislative representative of the National Farmers' Union.

Permit me to call attention to this: At the beginning of December, 1908, I sent out a circular letter to the executive officers of a number of international trade-unions of America and got from them a report as to the state of employment and unemployment, and from the reports which were made to me within fifteen or twenty days I culled the following information.

The blacksmiths report during the past year about 50 per cent of the trade unemployed; those employed averaging about four days a week.

Boiler makers and iron-ship builders, 30 per cent unemployed.

Boot and shoe workers, 25 per cent unemployed.

Bridge and structural iron workers, 25 per cent unemployed.

Carpenters and joiners, 40 per cent unemployed.

Wood carvers, 30 per cent unemployed.

Cement workers, 30 per cent unemployed.

Cigar makers, 10 per cent unemployed.

Commercial telegraphers, 15 per cent unemployed.

Coopers, 15 per cent unemployed; two-thirds of the employed working half time.

Elevator constructors, 40 per cent unemployed.

Steam and hot-water fitters, employment in the West fair; in the East fully 40 per cent unemployed and working about 180 days a year.

Freight handlers, about 30 per cent unemployed.

Glass-bottle blowers, about 20 per cent unemployed. On account of conditions of the trade, no work is performed during July or August.

Window-glass blowers, 20 per cent unemployed.

Granite cutters, about 15 per cent unemployed.

Hatters, men working about three-fourths time.

Hod carriers and building laborers, 60 per cent unemployed.

Hotel and restaurant employees, 30 per cent unemployed.

Machinists, 20 per cent unemployed.

Railway maintenance of way employees, 25 per cent unemployed.

Butcher workmen, 40 per cent unemployed.

Coal miners, work about 200 days during the year.

Painters and decorators, 70 per cent unemployed.

Pattern makers, 30 per cent unemployed.

Pavers and rammer men, 25 per cent unemployed.

Printing pressmen, 20 per cent unemployed.

Shipwrights, joiners, and calkers, 50 per cent unemployed.

Tile layers, "state of employment very poor."

Tin-plate workers, 40 per cent unemployed.

Tobacco workers, working on two-thirds time.

Iron molders, 70 per cent unemployed.

I am sure it is not an exaggeration to say that there are now in our country, and have been with little variation since October, 1907, nearly 2,000,000 wage earners unemployed.

Secretary STRAUS. Do you mean by that that before that period those 2,000,000 were employed?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do, sir.

Secretary STRAUS. Are there not always some unemployed?

Mr. GOMPERS. In some trades, some callings, and seasons, yes, sir; but up to October, 1907, and for a few years just prior thereto, it was a practical fact that any man who could work could find work to do. I refer to the condition now of the men who want to work and who can find no work to do.

It is probably one of the greatest tributes that can be paid to all our people—and, I think, in a great measure that credit belongs to the organized workers, organized labor—that during that whole period of nearly 18 months, and two winters, with so vast a number of unemployed, life and property have been secure and public order has been maintained; and I know of no force in all our country so potent as a conservator of the public peace as the much-abused and maligned labor organizations. In this morning's papers we read of a demonstration of the unemployed in Berlin yesterday, where the sabers of the soldiery were drawn to disperse hungry crowds. It is set forth in the cablegrams that

the unemployed there proposed socialistic remedies for relief. I do not know of what those remedies or propositions for relief consisted. I take it that any proposition coming from the poor crowd of fellows who want work or relief would be regarded as extremely radical. But the American workmen ask for no relief that can at all be construed as socialistic. The relief which we ask for the men and women of our country who have been walking the streets in idleness for eighteen months, we ask upon high patriotic, practical, and humane grounds, and for good economic reasons. I know, of course, that we are often met, when these matters are presented, with the statement that they are paternalistic, and that our form of government does not admit of the Government undertaking projects that would smack of paternalism. Yet in the great calamity which overtook the people of Italy quite recently the Government of our country generously and promptly appropriated \$800,000 as the direct gift of the American people as a whole—this, in addition to the many generous contributions of our people in their individual capacity. No word of adverse criticism has been indulged in. On the contrary, the appropriation of this vast sum of money was looked upon as a duty, which, in common humanity, the people of our country owed to a stricken people. It is only referred to to illustrate the thought that the lingering hunger and misery due to the unemployment of our people, brought about by forces entirely beyond their control, should receive consideration at the hands of our Government, both National and State.

Of course I realize, as we all must, the difficulties that stand in the way of carrying into effect a comprehensive plan or project, yet with due regard to the amenities that are due to another branch of the Government, it is not amiss to say that in all the eighteen months of industrial stagnation brought about by the financial crisis, by which so many of our people have been unemployed through no fault of their own, there has not been a proposition for relief that has been proposed, much less considered, in the Congress of the United States. Think of 2,000,000 of our people, wage-earners, and not only 2,000,000 wage-earners, but those who are dependent upon them, suffering by reason of the nonemployment of the workers; and yet the whole thing is passed over by the Government of our country as if it was a merely normal and desirable condition of affairs.

We believe that the projects which are now being considered might be helpful—the improvement of our rivers and harbors and other waterways; the improvement of our public domains, our public roads, the clearing of land, irrigation, construction of roads, etc. The Panama Canal construction—Heaven knows that every patriotic American looks forward with bated breath and expectant hope to the completion of that great undertaking. When that project was still in the brewing before Congress the organized workers of the United States urged the prosecution of the work and presented to the consideration of the officers of our Government the thought that America's workers rather than aliens absolutely foreign either to our people or our institutions might be employed upon the construction of the Panama Canal. And yet out of the thousands and thousands employed there there is comparative a small number of Americans. I know that it may be urged that our people can not become acclimated to that country. Well, there are large numbers of even colored workmen, negro workers, in this country who are acclimated almost to anything, to any climate; and instead of there being an eight-hour law applied to the construction of the canal it was repealed in so far as it applies to the laborers not citizens of the United States.

There must be some practical means devised to give employment on useful labor to the hundreds of thousands of our unemployed workers. Of course, we realize that we want as many foreign markets as can be obtained; but we must not lose sight of the fact that as the number of our unemployed increases it will unquestionably have a corresponding limitation not only upon our foreign markets but also upon the consuming and using power of the people of our own country.

It is quite a commentary upon our economic wisdom that so much of our tremendous energy is put forth in various forms of speculation, so-called commerce—really speculative commerce—which, indeed, adds not a sou to the wealth of our country or of the world. And yet these forms of activity dominate to the greatest degree the public attention.

I am glad to find myself in accord with the best thinkers on economics in the view that after all the best ever-increasing market for the products of any people is the people themselves; and there is no movement that will help in

a greater degree to enlarge, to increase, and to maintain a home market than the movement of the workers to reduce the hours of their daily labor, that they may enjoy more leisure each day. The establishment of a normal work day of eight hours ought to be a matter upon which unanimity of opinion should prevail among all thinking men in public affairs as well as in the affairs of labor. I am quite satisfied that the action of the men of labor first in contending for a reduction in their long hours of daily labor, and secondly, and primarily in its effect, the declaration of the men of labor a few years ago of their purpose to resist any attempt at the reduction of wages has done more to prevent a more acute condition of unemployment and hunger and misery than all other agencies put together. And the debt of gratitude which the people of our country owe to the wage-earners, and particularly to the organized wage-earners, in that movement, standing as a check to resist the pressure downward to diminish the consuming power of the workers—that debt will some day be acknowledged and paid. The fact of its accomplishment is the reward which the men of labor have obtained; the advantage to their fellow-men is all that they ask.

I received a memorandum from a gentleman who is dealing with the affairs of the Italian immigrants, and it recalled to my mind a matter which was discussed at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, based upon a report which, with my colleagues, I had the honor to submit to that convention. It dealt particularly with Italian laborers, who are employed in such work, say, as the construction of railroads, waterways, improvements of roads, and so on, in which the laborers' work is conducted some considerable distance from any city, town, or village—probably, 8, 10, or more miles away, probably 50 miles away from any organized community. These laborers frequently have no camps. They are usually housed in freight cars—in old, worn-out freight cars; and the number of them in each car compares—I was going to say very favorably—very unfavorably to the Chinese bunking in Chinese quarters. The men have no opportunity to attend to their ordinary natural wants; there is not opportunity for washing, for disrobing, for dressing. They contract all sorts of filth and diseases while the work is being constructed, and upon its completion they are dumped into the towns and the cities again, where they mingle with the people in the towns and cities. The way they are treated is as inhuman as it is possible to imagine.

Let me say, too, that some considerable criticism has been made relative to the administration of the immigration laws, particularly the laws relative to the laborers coming to this country under contract, written or implied; and our friends are insisting that the laws be so administered and enforced as to comply to the fullest extent with their intent and purpose. Liberal interpretation of laws is one thing, but when it acts to the detriment of the American workers, the American standard of life, a stricter enforcement of the laws to conform to that purpose would seem to commend itself.

Let me say that some fault was found, for instance, in regard to the boards of special inquiry at our ports of entry, which have time and again made rulings ordering the deportation of aliens who have come here, and, as these special boards have found, in violation of the laws of our country. I am told that their interpretation of the law is not so strict, is not so thorough, as to do any injustice to anyone seeking our shores, and yet they are so frequently overruled and new interpretations given to the laws as to make them of questionable practical value.

When the new Bureau of Information and Distribution was created by Congress the representatives of labor recognized in it a means of utility in directing the immigrants lawfully coming to our country from the congested industrial districts to points where their labor might be more useful and valuable. At the first convention of the American Federation of Labor held after the bureau began operations, its honored chief, Mr. Powderly, was invited to address the convention. I took great pleasure in extending that invitation on behalf of the Federation to Mr. Powderly. His declarations as to the purpose and administration of the bureau were met with hearty and cordial response, and our cooperation was enthusiastically pledged. I and my colleagues of the executive council have tried to do our share to cooperate as best we could in having that bureau as efficient as possible. But let me say that since then instances have arisen—more than likely without any fault of the chief—just grounds for suspicion have arisen as to the real purpose, and particularly the work, of the bureau. Some have, with good reason, complained that it was

being turned into a labor bureau to help tear down existing standards of life even in industrial centers. We know that shipping agents, railroad agents, land agents, agents for companies and corporations, and employers of all sorts have made it appear to the workers of these several countries that the United States has established a bureau that will find work for them when they come to the United States, and that, as a matter of fact, it has acted as a means to encourage and induce the workers of those countries to come to the United States, and they are only holding off until there shall come a rift in the clouds, an industrial revival, to overwhelm the ships that ply between foreign ports and our own. The South Carolina legislature has under consideration, and, if I am not mistaken, has already passed, a law repealing the legislation of a few years ago by which a bureau was established to induce immigrants to come into that State.

Now, we have every respect for the secretary and for his assistants and chiefs in the various bureaus, but we do believe that there must be some radical change either in the administration of the law or the law itself; some action must be taken, or should be taken, if the purpose of that bureau is to be carried out as we understood its purpose to be when it was created, that shall prevent it from being a vehicle to the great injury of America's workers. I have reason to believe that some suggestion will be made—and I should prefer that it be made in due time—that will be helpful in making one of the changes necessary.

There is but one word more that I desire to say, because I realize that I have already taken more time than was properly allotted to me, and I should prefer that others address this assemblage and make some suggestions.

Surely, in return for the obedience and patriotism that the people give to our Government and our country, it owes some duty to its citizens. It seems to me that the American workmen are justified by every sense of self-protection, justified by their love of their wives and their children, justified by their love of their country, in taking every action within the law to prevent the growing up in our country of a permanent standing army of unemployed. Such a calamity must not befall our people and our country. We do not want to become the subjects of commiseration and investigation by highly enlightened people to find out from what kind of an economic bug we are suffering. The American people have their destinies in their own hands, and unless they perform their duties—and I refer, too, to the enlightened employers of labor, and, thank God, we have quite a number of them—the appeal is to them to prevent this disintegration and demoralization that follows such an anomalous condition of affairs in a country so rich and bountiful, with its millions of people so intelligent and energetic and industrious, that any man or woman in our country that needs work shall not be able to find it. It is a sad commentary upon our civilization and upon all our boasted progress.

Secretary STRAUS. I do not like to interrupt the debate or the discussion by interjecting anything. I am very sorry that Mr. Gompers, in his very interesting address, instead of dwelling upon the general evils attending, if you please, upon our civilization as a whole, did not confine himself to some specific remedies for the evil that we fully appreciate exists. In the propositions that have been presented one remedy was at least partially proposed. I am sorry that was not discussed. I am sorry it was not shown what remedy might be effective or might not be effective. That would give us light. This department is controlled by the law. If the immigration laws are not what Mr. Gompers would like to see them, that is a matter of legislation, and no doubt his side of the subject was presented in the debates that resulted in the enactment of the law.

Now, I do not know whether I understood Mr. Gompers correctly; I hardly think he quite meant what he said, or what I understood him to say, in criticising the administration of the contract-labor laws. That the contract-labor laws are not as stringent or comprehensive as he may like to see them may be true, but that is another matter, and for which the administration should not be criticised. I make the statement unequivocally that the contract-labor laws have been enforced as stringently, as thoroughly, as the law would permit, and to have gone beyond that would have been a perversion, and violation of the law. The contract-labor laws have developed since 1885, and have been made as stringent as Congress was able to make them, considering the discussion that led up to the enactment.



During the fiscal year ended July 1, 1908, 1,932 contract laborers were rejected at the United States ports and returned to their countries of origin, an increase of 34 per cent over the rejections for the year 1907, notwithstanding a falling off of 39 per cent in immigration. In addition thereto there have been arrested within the United States and deported therefrom 240 aliens found here in violation of the alien contract-labor laws. Thus it will be seen that a total of 2,172 contract laborers have been removed from the country.

It should be stated that several of the most flagrant violators of the contract-labor laws have been organized labor unions themselves. I think I brought that to the attention of the American Federation of Labor at the time, and I invite a very careful investigation of this subject, because it is one that I have given my closest attention, with the assistance of the late Commissioner-General Sargent and of Commissioner-General Keefe since he has taken office. I can state that the contract-labor laws have been vigilantly enforced in every instance; that the greatest care has been taken, and in every case where it has been possible the papers have gone over to the Attorney-General's office to bring suit against the violators of those laws. There may be very many defects in the administration of this Department, but you have touched upon the very branch of it upon which I invite the most exacting scrutiny. I would be very glad if Mr. Gompers would appoint a committee of his federation—I invite him to do so—to investigate the administration of the contract-labor laws during the past two years; because I want labor generally to be satisfied as to the fair and just administration of this law. They have been right to demand that the contract-labor laws be honestly, fairly, and properly enforced, and if they have not been I want the department criticised; but if they have been—and I assert that they have—I think it is unfair and unjust to make a criticism that can not be sustained.

#### ADDRESS BY MR. POWDERLY.

Mr. POWDERLY. Mr. Secretary and members of the conference, I do not apprehend it is necessary for me to explain to you the methods employed in the Division of Information, so I shall leave that, inasmuch as the Secretary has so very clearly and lucidly stated to you how it was organized and what it proposes to do. What it wants to do and what it ought to do seem to me to be the subjects for discussion to-day; but I deem it necessary, in view of statements made, to say a word concerning the manner of distributing the information.

The law, as you know, reads something like this:

"It shall be the duty of said division to promote a beneficial distribution of aliens admitted into the United States among the several States and Territories desiring immigration. Correspondence shall be had with the proper officials of the States and Territories, and said division shall gather from all available sources useful information regarding the resources, products, and physical characteristics of each State and Territory, and shall publish such information in different languages and distribute the publications among all admitted aliens who may ask for such information at the immigrant stations of the United States and to such other persons as may desire the same."

Under that law correspondence was had—I need not tell you, because my annual report, a copy of which will be given to every one of you, will explain what was done. The information which the law provides shall be given to admitted aliens who may ask for it has remained untouched, for no immigrants ask for it. When they come up from the steerage, they are excited; they are worried and hurried, anxious to get to their friends, and they do not ask for information. And so when they go to their friends, and are there a week or ten days, when their money is gone and their welcome is worn out, then, it seems to me, was the time for the Division of Information to extend to them its aid. With that idea in view, a branch of the Division of Information, as a test, was established in New York at 17 Pearl street. Mr. Watchorn, the commissioner at Ellis Island, knew, and from his experience stated to me, that it would be unwise to give information and documents or pamphlets to people just arriving, and suggested the advisability of establishing a branch upon the mainland, and that was done. The Secretary issued his order, a branch was established, and others are in course of formation in different cities.

The information which we are to give to them is of this character: We seek to find out, not the conditions in the industrial centers alone, because that is a matter easily obtained, and since the formation of the division the country has gone through such a stress of bad times that looking for work in the cities is practically useless; but we are tapping every available source of information throughout the country, have reached the individual farmers and employers, and are now sending out some two and one-half millions of letters to individual farmers throughout the country, asking them what they know of conditions in their localities as to purchase of land, number of acres obtainable, whether for sale or rent, or whether they may be worked on shares; whether they are in need of labor; if so, what kind, what they will pay as wages, and in fact every question relating to conditions surrounding the worker, and they are answering these questions.

But we find in the large cities honest industrious men out of work; willing, able, and anxious to work; we have the places to direct them to, for we send no one anywhere. The mistaken idea has gone abroad that we send men to different places, but we do not. We simply provide information, and those who apply may act upon it or not, as they please. We find men who are willing to go to distant points, but are unable to do so because of a lack of funds; the connecting link, the money to defray the cost of transportation, is missing, and it is in that respect that the law should be amended so as to provide the means whereby the man who wants the place may get to the place where he may find employment.

Narrowed down, that seems to me the only thing in relation to the Division of Information to be discussed here to-day and on which your combined wisdom should be exercised in order that we may have your views upon it. It seems to me that the Government should take a hand in this matter and provide means whereby these men may be transported from the place or places where they are obliged to live in idleness to points where they may secure employment. I do not know how it may be done, for that is a matter that has not been thought out carefully as yet, and I do not wish to propose it to-day in its crude form, but later on may do so.

I note what has been said about the resolutions passed by the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America on the 8th of January, in Memphis. At the time the resolutions were passed the Division of Information had not directed a man to go anywhere, for our branch office was not organized or in operation until about the 1st of March, 1908. It did not begin the work of distribution until long after that convention had adjourned; therefore their resolutions could have no bearing upon anything that had been done by the Division of Information. They acted upon a surmise as to what might be done. They have had no cause for complaint in the South as to the activities of the division, for up to the 31st of October we directed but nine persons to Texas, and for the entire time that we have been distributing men or directing them to places of employment, out of about 3,000 people who have gone out under our direction but 165 have gone to the Southern States, and of this number 45 were citizens of the United States.

I regret to say that I do not know all I would like to know about the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, for copies of the resolutions to which you refer were mailed to the division shortly after they were passed, and notwithstanding the efforts which have been put forth to secure the addresses of the officers of that organization we have failed, our letters having been returned uncalled for; and surely an organization claiming to represent 2,000,000 people should have some place where they may be reached, some official to represent them, or some way by which communication could be opened up with them.

The Farmers' Alliance and the Grange—old, standard organizations—have not disapproved of our work, nor have they had any cause to do so.

In one of the resolutions, as originally drawn and sent to me, there was a distinct and separate clause calling for the exclusion of certain nationalities from southern Europe. They say that they do not want them in the South, and we are not directing any there. I may go still further and say that they have no desire to go to the South and could not be induced to go there even though we were ever so much inclined to direct them.

This document, which comes from Mr. Di Castiglione, of New York, and to which Mr. Gompers referred a moment ago, does not disapprove of the work of the division, and we are working in harmony with that and other organiza-

tions of like character having the welfare of the unemployed workingman at heart.

There is no cause for fear on the part of the South or Southwest that they will have "aliens dumped on them," as has been intimated, and I may say in passing that, while alarmists and bigots are protesting against certain people being sent to the South, the agriculturists of the South are clamoring for industrious, sober, honest workmen regardless of their race or religion.

The action of the South Carolina legislature in reference to the repeal of the immigration law of that State, to which reference has been made, was not caused by anything the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization or its Division of Information has done. An effort was made to bring immigrants direct from Europe to South Carolina, but the state officials, on learning that they could not do so except in violation of the alien contract-labor law, abandoned the project. I have had consultations with various officials from the Southern States, and their desire is, not only to secure a good class of immigrants, but industrious citizens of the United States who would be willing to locate in the South, and 45 of the 165 directed to the South by the Division of Information are of that class, so that the bogymen that has been dangled before us has no real existence in fact.

It is true, Mr. Gompers, that I received your invitation to attend the Norfolk convention, and I gladly and willingly accepted it. It has been a source of pleasure to me since that time to recall the cordial greeting that I received there. It will always be a great pleasure to know that what I said met with your approval and that of the convention; but I will say the same thing now that I said then, and it is as true now as it was then, that in no single instance has a man been directed anywhere by the Division of Information to take another man's job.

A case that has occupied some space in the papers of late was that in relation to cigar workers having been directed to Pennsylvania. I received a letter on the 24th of October last, written on the 23d, by Mr. Green, the representative of the division in New York, who told me he had opportunities for 400 cigar workers in Pennsylvania, at Columbia and Harrisburg, and wanted to know what to do. You will remember, Mr. Gompers, that on the same day I wrote to you and asked for information concerning conditions there, and you answered that you could not tell me. I did not know the address of the local secretary of the cigar makers' union at Harrisburg, but obtained it through a friend. On that same day I wrote to the secretary, but it was weeks before I got an answer from him. In the meantime the agent of the firm in Harrisburg and Columbia had advertised in New York papers, and some men and women went forward—not all directed by the Division of Information, although some of them claimed to have been so directed—in response to advertisements published in the languages of the people who were required. Poles, Hungarians, and Bohemians, but no Italians, responded to these advertisements.

Mr. Green wired me that an immediate investigation ought to be made as to conditions in Pennsylvania, and a very capable man was delegated to go and conduct the investigation. In the meantime some one circulated the rumor that we were sending cigar workers to break a strike in Pennsylvania. As a matter of fact, we sent no one. There was no strike, and the secretary of the local cigar-makers' union so stated in his letter to me. The man who made application for laborers said: "We want 400 cigar workers. We pay the union scale. There is no strike or labor trouble in progress." It was for that reason particularly that I wrote to the secretary at Harrisburg. From the time the investigation was ordered Mr. Green directed no one to go to either Harrisburg or Columbia. The inspector who made the investigation reported a condition of affairs in some factories that was deplorable, and I would not feel warranted in laying information before anyone which might have a tendency to cause him to go to such a place, but there was no strike, no talk of a strike, and there was no shadow of truth in the statement that we were sending strike breakers to Harrisburg or anywhere else. The attention of the Secretary was called to the matter by representatives of the Central Federated Union in New York, and the Commissioner-General had a conference with representatives of that body in New York City. I accompanied him there, and the matter was fully and frankly discussed at that conference. Out of it grew an invitation to me to attend the meeting of the Central Federated Union on Sunday, January 17. I went there, made a statement of facts just as they existed, and had the proud satisfaction of having that body pass a vote of thanks to me for the work that had been

done by the Division of Information. Not only that, but they resolved to cooperate with the division by giving it all the information obtainable.

I know of no other instance where it has been charged that we sent strike breakers.

Mr. GOMPERS. What seemed to make the case quite flagrant was that this manufacturer at Harrisburg had the advertisement published stating that the headquarters of the bureau was the place to which these applicants for work should make inquiry as to their being engaged.

Mr. POWDERLY. That is true; and as it turned out, it was a mistake on his part, for when they applied at 17 Pearl street they were told the truth; they were informed of conditions as they actually existed, and that would not have been the case had they applied to some employment agency.

Mr. GOMPERS. The report made to me on that subject does not clear that up. It does not vary with your statement as to your conduct; I have already spoken about that; but I am speaking of the matter in New York, which seemed to be a very flagrant case.

Mr. POWDERLY. You can not, of course, guard against having anyone advertise. Things have been said of all of us which are not true; but when proper explanation is made that, it seems to me, should settle the matter. Of course, we could not prevent him or anyone else from advertising in the papers. That is all that can with truth be charged against the Division of Information, and it amounts to just nothing at all, for those who went to 17 Pearl Street in response to invitations of Mr. Cadilek, the agent of the cigar firm, were informed of exact conditions, and were told that the division did not recommend that they should go there.

As to statements concerning conditions in this country being made abroad, I was over there two years ago and made some inquiries. I found that the great volume of immigration from Europe which was formerly directed to this country by steamship companies and by agencies here is to-day directed by relatives or friends who are living here. I will give you an instance that came under my personal notice in Pennsylvania. An Italian who had learned to speak and write the English language wrote a letter at the instigation of a coal operator who wanted men. That man received a compensation for writing the letter, though not believing, as he told me, one word in it. He knew it was not true. He sent the letter to Italy; it went to a person presumed to be a relative of his, but who was in reality neither friend nor relative. It was taken throughout an entire district and read to family after family; and many of them, anxious to better their condition, left their homes and went to Scranton. I had been told that there was a letter of like character in circulation while I was in Italy, and went to Bellavista, close to Naples, to see the man who received it. I found that a letter similar to that had been read to stonecutters in the neighborhood of Bellavista to the number of over 100, and these men, all anxious to better their condition, working for 40 cents a day, reading in a letter that they would get \$4 a day, or 400 cents, and not knowing the difference between the purchasing power of our money and theirs, were anxious to come over here. When I came back I recommended in my report to the Department that actual conditions in this country, in every part of it, in every city, in every county and State, should be accurately set forth and sent over to our consuls to be given to people there who, contemplating emigration, would make inquiry. I would tell them the truth that they might not be deceived into coming here and being missed when they got here. I think that is the right thing to do still. I believe it is the proper thing to tell the truth and prevent deception of these people.

As an evidence that the steamship companies are not working with the division, not one immigrant, either at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New Orleans, has ever applied to any one of our agents. They have steered clear of them immediately on landing and gone to Greenwich street, where there is an employment agency that directs them to where there is or may be a strike, and the first intimation they have of a strike is when they get it at headquarters in the shape of a brick.

I contend, too, that a strike breaker has never been directed to go anywhere by this division, and if I were inclined to do it, the Secretary of the department would not permit it. The Commissioner-General would not tolerate it, and if I were asked to do it, I would resign. I make this statement to you now, that if I were asked to send a strike breaker anywhere to take the place of a man contending for his rights, I should feel it my duty to resign, for the

Division of Information should not interfere in labor difficulties. I would not do it; I could not do it and feel that I was doing the right thing. There is no necessity for it. And yet, on the other hand, I think that when there is a strike and an employer wants labor to take the places of the strikers, all the information connected with it should be laid on our table at 17 Pearl street, and in every other city, and when the men apply for information they will be told the truth as to actual conditions. When a man is told that he will not be apt to invite trouble, but when he goes around the corner to Greenwich street, where he is told nothing at all about a strike and is sent off with a number of others, he knows nothing about the conditions ahead of him and is in trouble as soon as he lands. Therefore I believe in giving the fullest information to all who apply.

Mark Twain, in his *Roughing It*, tells about a sea captain. He had a colored cook who went on shore in some place and was shot. He discovered the man who shot him; he was a boatswain on another vessel. The captain rowed over and got him, took him to his vessel, and sent word to the officers of all the ships in the harbor to come over next morning and see the hanging. They came and said: "What are you going to do; are you going to hang him?" "Yes," said the captain. "Without trial?" "Why," he said, "didn't he kill the nigger?" "Yes," they said, "he did." "Well, there is nothing else for him," he said. "I want the fact, that is all, and I have got it. There is no use in trying him." "Well," they said, "you had better try him." He said, "All right, you go on and try him, and while you are trying him I will hang him." But they prevailed upon him afterwards not to do that; so he had his trial and was duly hanged.

I would like to see the nigger in this case. When a statement is made of any kind of any act done by the Division of Information, I want the finger of the accuser to be placed upon that specific act, so that the whole world may know what is being done. There is not a thing, there never has been a thing, done by the division that the entire world might not know. The books and records are all open to everybody. I have made it a point, since I accepted the position under the direction of the Secretary of this department, to throw open everything to everybody who came seeking information. There are no secrets there, and if you can point out a single instance where anybody has been unjustly sent or directed to any place, or willfully misinformed, I will leave the department.

Now, the thing to do is to find a way to connect the man who wants the job with the job. I have recommended in the draft of the bill as proposed that we give information on shipboard after leaving the last port on the other side. We have here, and I will give a copy to everyone of you, the pamphlets on information as to naturalization of aliens and information for immigrants concerning the opportunities in the United States, also the report of the division—its first year's report—and I feel that you will be able to draw your own conclusions from these and be able to see that the division has done fairly good work.

My idea of the division is this, and in that the Secretary and Commissioner-General are in hearty accord: When men come to a city and stop there and are out of work, the germ of anarchy is sprouted at once, and it grows and grows; and my aim has been to take them away from the cities and place them upon the land, where they may be self-sustaining; place them among the farmers; get them out where they may be in touch with nature, on the land. That has been done. Only a few have gone to the cities, and when you read in that report that carpenters have been sent or one or two more blacksmiths have been directed, you understand that these have been directed to villages or small towns in farming localities. Some of them are at work on farms. When we receive an application for help it is recorded in Washington and then forwarded to our branch offices, where the information is placed at the disposal of all who call. I believe that if our labor organizations would take an interest in this division, give it the information that they can give, give it the cooperation that they know how to give, and uphold our hands and our work, no men will be found idle in our cities or anywhere else. We can direct them to where they may find employment and take them away from places where they are now a menace. The best time to stop a strike is before it begins, and the best way to do that is to take the men from places where they remain in idleness and where they are a constant menace to the men who work. As I said at the meeting of the Central Federated Union in New York, it is not the

employers that they have to dread so much as the idle men who want their jobs. This division can direct idle men to where they may earn an honest living, and I repeat, we are doing the very best thing in the world to avoid strikes and prevent the strike breaker from drawing upon these reservoirs of idleness.

Here is a picture which I will pass around. When I was in Trieste, in Austria, I saw a number of men working on the docks. In the picture you will see three men dressed in what we call "pajamas," carrying a handbarrow. Their fellow-worker has the old, patient ox, and these men were walking over the broken stones, the glass, and splinters along the dock in their bare feet. I examined their feet, the soles of which were as thick as a horse's hoof, and discovered that they never had known the uses of shoe leather. When I asked permission to have them stand for half a minute, so that I might take this snap shot of them, their employer charged me a penny apiece for the time they were idle. I inquired if he gave them the penny. He said, "No." I asked him if he gave them a penny for every half minute's work that they performed. He said, "No; I give them 30 cents a day;" that is, they get 30 cents a day of our money, or 90 cents all told for the three. Here, as you see, are three strong, strapping young men working for 90 cents a day. Can you wonder that they want to come here where they may get 150 to 200 cents a day? I believe that we have nothing to fear from men of that kind when they do come, for they will furnish a better market for the produce of others in this country for \$1.50 to \$2 a day apiece than they will while working for 90 cents a day in Trieste. We have nothing to fear from honest men coming among us if they come of their own free will, if there are places for them. But in any event, let us be frank and truthful with them. Let us tell them what we have; conceal nothing from them. They are being deceived by others; let us not be a party to the deception.

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#### ADDRESS BY MR. HEALY.

Mr. HEALY. Mr. Chairman, I represent the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen. We are all very much interested in the immigration question, and I am strongly of the opinion, and have been for a long time, that the most successful way to handle this problem would be through the representatives of our Government—the United States consuls—in the countries where those people come from. It is true, and has been stated, that large numbers of them have been brought here by their friends. There is no doubt in the world about that. But at the same time I believe that there is a large percentage of them brought here through the advertising of steamship and transportation companies throughout Europe. Take it even in England; if you will pick up any newspaper, particularly the English weeklies, which are largely read by workingmen, you will see glaring headlines setting forth great opportunities in our Northwest and Canada. Well, we know the great opportunities there are when they go to Canada. There are no more opportunities there than anywhere else for a man who has not got the money.

There is no doubt in the world that a large part of the Italians and the Poles and the Slavs that are coming to this country are doing so through this advertising. Over in Italy a man who is getting along and making a living with a mule, if he picks up a paper and sees these advertisements, will sell his mule and come to this country. He may be making a living with a grapevine or an olive grove, or something of that kind, and he will read the promises of 6 or 7 or 8 francs a day working with a pick and shovel in the United States. Why, that is a fortune to him. He does not take into consideration the difference in the cost of living. Now, I know myself from my own observation—and I have investigated places right in the city of New York, where Slavs and Poles do the work; take, for instance, Williamsburg, where the Havemeyer Sugar Refinery is located, which employs steadily in the neighborhood of 5,000 men, if vacancies occur the men to fill them are brought over by their friends. The jobs are secured by their friends from the foremen before they leave the other side.

Down on Barren Island, in New York, one of the most disgraceful spots on this earth to-day—probably none of you have ever been there, but I have, and it would be worth the while of somebody to investigate it—on that island there are, I should judge, about 2,500 souls, all Slavs, working under the most miser-

able conditions. One shack there was pointed out to me with four rooms and in those four rooms lived seventeen people, and the engineer of the plant, an English-speaking man, told me that they are working one another out in order to bring relatives from the old country. There are other places of similar kind.

These are things, of course, that are hard to get at. These are places where English-speaking men do not work and will not get work.

I had occasion to meet the general manager of a great industrial corporation at a time when there was a strike. The men went to see the general manager and I went with them. He said to me, "Mr. Healy, we are giving them all they are worth." They were all Poles. He said, "They are not worth any more to us; they are only cattle;" and he turned to them and said, "Yes; you are cattle, and you know it." I said, "No, sir; they are human beings, the same as you and I." He said, "No; you have to lead them around to their work like a horse." I said, "Why don't you hire Americans?" He said, "They won't work." I said, "They would if you paid them the wages."

The way the men are treated in some of these industries is something awful. Take the sugar-refining district; possibly not a man here has been through those places, and you have to go through them to get any idea of the conditions. Of course, conditions differ in different industries, but you find places where the surroundings and wages are disgraceful, and still those people keep coming and their friends keep bringing them.

Now, I want to get down to one complaint that affects my own organization, particularly in the city of New York. I might also confine this complaint to the city of New York. We have great steam plants in that city, such as the Brooklyn Rapid Transit—three or four big steam plants. They hire their men almost entirely from steamships coming into the city of New York. They have agents that go down aboard of the Spanish ships and Italian ships and bring them in directly from the ships and put them to work in those plants. The New York companies, such as the Interborough, get their men mostly from the White Star Line and Cunard Line and the other English lines. There are other plants, especially in Jersey City and Hoboken, where they get their men mostly from the German ships. There are thousands of men every year stolen from those ships and taken into those big establishments. Most of the conditions in those plants are very hard and very bad for the men, and those who have friends on the outside, as soon as they get an opportunity, take them away and put them into better positions, and the result is that their places are filled with more men from the ships.

Some time ago Mr. Moffett was in New York getting some data for this Bureau of Immigration. He interviewed me, and I told him at the time that I intended to bring this matter before your Department. I would have done so, but did not have the time until now. This thing is done every time there is any trouble on. If there is a strike, men are taken entirely from the steamships. I know at one time, less than two years ago, the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company paid men \$35 a week for stealing those men. One of those fellows that we got after was a Spaniard, and we had him arrested and helped the United States district attorney in New York to indict him on 19 counts. He stole those men off the ships—they were all Italians—put them aboard a troop ship, and told them they were going to Manila, and they went to Newport News and were discharged at Newport News. We had Italians and Spaniards there looking this fellow up, and they got a line on him, but he was let go. It seems he hired them and shipped them, and they paid him \$5 each in a saloon in the second ward in New York. His counsel made the point that there was no saloon open on Sunday in the second ward; and they brought on the New York police captain and the district leader to prove that the saloon was not open, because "there was no saloon open in the second ward on Sunday." I never knew one of them in that section of the city to be closed. [Laughter.] However, the counsel gained his point all right.

As to the question of your Department opening a bureau of information, I believe that will be beneficial to us all. I know in the city of New York we have had some agencies (and have yet, no doubt) that will distribute men anywhere. I know at the time of Mr. Mitchell's coal strike any man would be hired. I was hired myself to go to Shamokin; I put a blue shirt on me, and I was hired all right. Now, I have in mind several of those employment agencies that were pretty active. We put one of them out of business for sending men down to West Virginia during the coal strike less than two years ago. We

put another agent out of business for sending them into Buffalo—men of my own craft. I want to say that we have a man at the head of the license bureau in New York, a member of the typographical union, and he has done good work in driving these agents out of business or making them be good.

I believe in the idea of Mr. Powderly, that if this information, such as the Department collects, could be handed out in different languages to the workers as they go aboard ship for this country, so that they could read it on the way over when time is hanging heavy on their hands, they would land at Ellis Island with their eyes open, and I believe it would be of great benefit.

The matter that I refer to, about the stealing of men from steamships in New York for those plants, I will probably later have an opportunity to take up with the Commissioner-General of Immigration, as I intend to do.

Secretary STRAUS. I appreciate very much the opportunity of getting your judgment upon this question of the Division of Information, and I have here a draft of a bill which I have held back especially for the purpose of consulting you gentlemen, which provides for enlarging the scope of this Division of Information, and upon which I would like to have your judgment and advice. There may be reasons why this Division of Information and Distribution in the long run may not be practicable; it may be unwise. I have thought it over very carefully. Mr. Powderly has given the matter his attention ever since he has been head of that division, and he is devoted to the subject.

We feel that it can be made a great success with your cooperation. We believe that if you look into the subject you will find it of the greatest benefit; and we would like to get from you your advice upon this subject. I would be pleased to place this copy in your hands. I can make it very clear to each of you by reading the law as it stands and then reading the amendment that is proposed.

Now, I can well understand that this division is subject to misinformation. I am very glad that Mr. Gompers and others have brought out those questions, because it will enable us to place the subject in its true light. That is the value of this conference. The ideas that Mr. Gompers has referred to I know have been entertained by a good many. I have received letters to that effect. I have endeavored to answer them fully at the time; Mr. Powderly has answered them; and now that we have you here together we invite your objections.

Now, it may not be the best thing to do—but is it the most practical thing that we can do in our legislation? We may not be proposing the best that it is possible to do, but the best that it is practical to do. I could suggest different ways, perhaps, of meeting this problem of the unemployed; there are a great many theories as to how we can give everybody employment; but here is a practical, concrete matter. Is it good? Is it bad? Is it desirable? Is it undesirable? Can we improve it, or can we not? Those are practical questions, and I really would esteem it a great favor if you would give the Department, the Bureau having the subject in immediate charge under Mr. Keefe, the Commissioner-General, and the division which is singly devoted to this purpose under Mr. Powderly, the benefit of your advice.

#### ADDRESS BY MR. MITCHELL.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Secretary, I do not presume to speak as an expert as to whether the Division of Information has been a useful division or not; but I can, I think, say with a reasonable degree of accuracy that unless the prevalent idea is soon dissipated that the American Government contains a bureau of information which directs foreigners coming to our country as to where they can secure employment, the division might better be discontinued. The very fact that it is advertised abroad that the American Government has in this country a division the purpose of which is to find employment for men arriving here acts as an encouragement to the subjects of other countries to seek employment here.

Now, I quite agree with the Secretary when he says that the United States Government has taken no position as to the desirability of encouraging immigration or discouraging immigration. It is entirely an open question. But it seems to me that it should not always be an open matter. I, in common with every other man who has some feeling for humanity, am glad to see men escape from surroundings that are onerous to them; but I think, in common with everyone else, that we are more concerned about the men who are already here. It is very well that a man should get away from Russia or some other country



where the conditions are not good; but the matter of chief concern is the welfare of the man who is now here—either the man who was born in our country or who has already been admitted to our country. And no doubt many thousands of men come here annually laboring under the impression that the conditions of employment here are much better than they really are.

I am heartily in accord with the suggestion made in the address of the Secretary this morning that the American consuls be furnished, through whatever department or through whatever agency that can be done, with information as to the condition of affairs in this country. I think that all through Europe, through all the districts where these men are recruited or from which they come, the information should be disseminated as to the number of men who are unemployed in this country. Mr. Powderly, I believe, spoke of some men working for 30 cents a day, and said that those men were not dangerous people. Well, I should say that probably those men would likely in time adapt themselves to conditions prevailing in America; but to a man who is working for 30 cents a day and is informed that Americans get \$2 a day, that would seem to him to be such a tremendous advance in wages that he would do anything in his power to get here. Probably he does not know that his \$2 a day might not be so much here as his 30 cents is there, and that, after all, the improvement would not be as great as it would seem to be on the surface.

I just want to make one further observation, and I shall give way. I do not want to be misunderstood; but some remarks have been made to the effect that half a million letters had been sent by the Bureau of Information to farmers throughout the country to ascertain conditions as to what land can be purchased for or rented for, what men can be employed, and at what wages.

Now, I am not going to criticise what you have proposed, but what you have failed to propose, and I am only assuming that there has been some failure to make this inquiry. If, after asking for information as to conditions in some rural community as to men wanted, the answer is "Yes," and if the question is asked, "What wages?" and they state that they are willing to pay \$15 or \$20 a month—I care not what it may be—unless along with that inquiry you ask what wages are being paid there now, your information will be of little value.

And you should also get the information from an independent source as to what wages are being paid there. I have the distinction of having been a farmer; that is to say, I worked two years on a farm, and worked seventeen hours a day, and I know something about farming; but if a farmer were asked if he could employ a man and how much wages he would be willing to pay, I dare say that a farmer is a good deal like the rest of us, and usually is about as anxious as anyone else to make money, and that he would probably say he would hire a man, whether he really needed one or not; he would hire one, at any rate, if he could get one for less than he had to pay for the farm labor then in his employ. And \$14 or \$15 a month and his board might seem to a newly arrived immigrant a considerable wage, whereas to the American farm laborer it would scarcely be a living; at any rate, it would be less than he now receives.

It is a question in my mind whether the publication in all of these districts of the wages paid here may not induce more immigrants to come than would come if that information were withheld. My suggestion was not that there be distributed through Europe the schedules of wages paid to different classes of labor in America, but that information be distributed through the districts from which these men come as to the conditions of employment here—that is to say, the number of unemployed and opportunities for securing employment. In my observation I have known of only a very short period when there was a considerable demand for labor in this country, and I think that period ran over some two years preceding the 18th of October, 1907. I think for some two years preceding that the demand for labor in some industries possibly exceeded the supply, but it was particularly in the seasonal trades—that is to say, in the fall, during the harvest, there were not quite enough men to make the harvest; and in some particular industries—the building trades, I believe, for a short time—there was some want of laborers. They never needed any in the mines. But these were seasonal trades, and these men were only wanted for a few months. I say, with the exception of those two years, I do not remember any time in my life when we were really in need of additional labor in America. We absorbed it as it came, in some way or other; we took care of it, and now, with two or three million unemployed—I do not know how many it is; some

say five million, some two million, and some less—we are reaping some of the reward of our two years' season of prosperity; and the unfortunate thing, Mr. Secretary, about this is that too often the man who came here last fall is at work, while the man who has been here all his life is on the street. We who were born here have no more claim than the man who came yesterday, probably; but nevertheless it is not the best thing for our country and for its future that the man born here or the man who has been here for years shall be on the street and the man who arrived on a ship yesterday shall have a job. It seems to me that our own people, the people who are already here, must be our first consideration, and after we have taken care of our own let us then reach out our hand to the poor fellow on the other side and help him.

#### ADDRESS BY MR. MORRISON.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Secretary, I have only a few words to say in regard to the different propositions. The first proposition I am heartily in favor of; that is, the inspection of locomotive boilers, and, in fact, all boilers, or anything that will insure the safety of the people. The second proposition I have perhaps given more consideration to than any of the others. When Mr. Powderly suggested it, it looked to me to be a good proposition to relieve the congestion of the industrial centers. But when I discovered that it had been heralded throughout Europe that the Government had a department for the purpose of placing the immigrants to this country in sections of the country where they could secure employment, I then doubted the wisdom of the Division of Information and Distribution. Now, in proposing to amend it as suggested by the Secretary, so that it would include the labor that was in existence in these centers, and make provision to place these men in localities where they could secure employment, it occurred to me that you were building up machinery to increase immigration from foreign countries, because if you can take the immigrants when they come here and immediately place them in localities where they can secure employment, that information will be heralded in the foreign countries by the agents of the transportation companies and by those who come over here, and instead of finding a benefit from this Division of Information, in ten years you will discover that you have increased the immigration to this country.

I would rather see the efforts of the department, and the force that it exerts to secure better conditions for the unemployed, diverted to solving the problem of taking the unemployed out of the great cities and connecting them with the land, or placing them in positions where they can secure work in carrying on irrigation of our lands; on the public works; and, as Mr. Dolan suggested, that Congress should appropriate sufficient to carry on a great amount of dredging, which would give employment to the members of his organization, and would also give work to a hundredfold more laborers who would be required to carry on the work. I fear that if you strengthen that Division of Information by making it possible to take these men and transport them where they can secure employment, you will simply place yourself in the position of increasing, as I said before, the immigration from foreign countries to this land, instead of decreasing it.

Mr. KEEFE. You had in mind a moment ago, when you referred to this department, that its services should be utilized in taking the unemployed who are already in the country out of the industrial centers, and distributing them in rural districts. Did I understand you correctly?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes; providing it could be done without creating the impression in foreign lands that we had a Division of Information and Distribution to handle the people that came here. You have divided—and rightly—the proposition in your schedule, and have made the question of the unemployed a separate subject; and that will have to be met in this country the same as in other countries.

Secretary STEAUS. The proposed bill has been presented to you, and a good many of the observations that are being made are met by the proposed amendment; and if you [addressing Mr. Morrison] will read the proposed amendment to the gentlemen I think it will clarify things very much indeed; and when you speak upon the subject criticise the bill. Mr. Gompers suggested that this morning, and I ought really to have done it then; but perhaps it is not too late to do that now.

Mr. MORRISON. I am predicating my remarks on your statement as to what you had in mind.

Secretary STRAUS. Yes; but there is the proposed bill; it is not long, and I think if you will read it it will give all a clear idea of what is intended.

Mr. MORRISON. I will be pleased to read it. I take it that the underscored portions are amendments.

The SECRETARY. Those which are italicized are amendments.

Mr. Morrison thereupon read aloud the proposed bill, which is as follows:

A BILL To amend an act entitled "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States," approved February twentieth, nineteen hundred and seven.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That section forty of the act entitled "An act to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States," approved February twentieth, nineteen hundred and seven, be amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 40. Authority is hereby given the Commissioner-General of Immigration to establish, under the direction and control of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, a division of information *and distribution* in the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization; and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor shall provide such assistance, *clerical or otherwise*, as may be necessary. It shall be the duty of said division to promote a beneficial distribution of aliens admitted into the United States *and of persons resident therein* among the several States and Territories desiring immigration. Correspondence shall be had with the proper officials of the States and Territories, and said division shall gather from all available sources useful information regarding the resources, products, physical characteristics, *and industrial conditions* of each State and Territory, *and such other information as may be useful or necessary*, and shall publish the same in different languages and distribute the publications in *foreign countries through our consular officers* and among admitted aliens, *either at the immigrant stations in the United States, or at such other points as may be found necessary*, and to such other persons as may desire the same; and the division of information *and distribution may distribute this information in the industrial centers as hereinafter provided, and on ship-board after leaving the last port of foreign embarkation, under such regulations as the Secretary of Commerce and Labor shall prescribe. Branches of the division of information and distribution may, in the discretion of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, be established in the various industrial centers of the United States, where facilities shall be afforded to disseminate the information gathered in conformity with this act. The Secretary of Commerce and Labor may, whenever it is deemed necessary to verify information furnished to the division of information and distribution, detail officials thereof for that purpose to any part of the United States. All expenses incurred in establishing, equipping, and maintaining the said branch offices of the division of information and distribution, including the cost of renting additional offices for the accommodation of the said division in the city of Washington, if necessary, and of making the investigations herein authorized, shall be paid from the permanent appropriation, 'Expenses of regulating immigration.'* When any State or Territory appoints and maintains an agent to represent it at any of the immigrant stations of the United States, such agents shall, under regulations prescribed by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, subject to the approval of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, have access to aliens who have been admitted to the United States for the purpose of presenting, either orally or in writing, the special inducements offered by such State or Territory to aliens to settle therein. While on duty at any immigrant station such agents shall be subject to all the regulations prescribed by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, who, with the approval of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, may, for violation of any such regulations, deny to the agent guilty of such violation any of the privileges herein granted."

Mr. MORRISON. Now, Mr. Secretary, that is about in line with what I had gathered from your statement, and while it does not contain any proposition for arranging for the transportation of these immigrants to those points, yet you suggested that an amendment of that character might be added and would be of benefit.

Now, there is the point in which I consider the greatest danger lies. If as a result of the establishment of this division many thousand people come to

this country, would it not be a greater inducement if these agents could be able to say, "The Government has such a division, and they will not only find work for you, but they will pay your transportation to the point where you can secure work?" I think that the giving of that information in a community by an agent could only result in increasing the number of immigrants to this country, and no matter how many people you might take out of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and other industrial centers, they would be immediately flooded with immigrants from foreign countries; and since I have discovered the manner in which they have used this division, I question whether it can be carried on under the present name without baleful results to the great mass of the people of this country. I would almost be inclined to suggest, unless some way could be devised whereby that use of it could be prevented, that the division should cease to exist.

Now, while that covers the matter of statistics of immigration, I believe that every effort should be made to secure the enactment of the immigrant legislation that the American Federation of Labor has been endeavoring to have enacted these many years—for instance, the educational test and such other amendments as will restrict immigration.

Mr. POWDERLY. Where is the evidence that this has been published abroad and that it has stimulated immigration?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, Secretary Straus, in his statement that he made to me, without the information that I had previously, intimated that such was possible, if it did not exist at the present time; and we know—you know—that where transportation companies are going out to secure emigrants they have no difficulty in getting them. When President Gompers and Mr. O'Connell and I went down to New York a few years ago and personally examined—you might put it "examined," because we stood there and watched three shiploads of Italian immigrants coming in in one day—we were asking questions for the purpose of finding out if it was possible to draft a law that would prevent immigrants from coming in here under contract; and I want to say that so far as I can find out it is very difficult to do. When they hire them over on the other side they are given sufficient information to enable them to pass any examination anyone may want—or at least that any inspector has power to impose.

Secretary STRAUS. It is very difficult.

Mr. MORRISON. And the only man that is caught is the poor devil who has come over perhaps of his own volition with a letter from his brother stating that there is a situation over here that he can get, and he has not had the benefit of the trained, experienced men who are promoting immigration to this country.

Mr. GARRETTSON. He has not been coached.

Mr. MORRISON. I have given it some thought—not as much as other men, perhaps—but the department, of course, is to be congratulated that it has been able to capture even 2,100 during the past year. Of course, I had reference to the lithographers that came over here and some other protests that were made, where—not your department, Mr. Secretary, but the Department of Justice—

Secretary STRAUS. I remember that case; I gave it very careful consideration.

Mr. MORRISON. They decided that these people could come in legally.

Secretary STRAUS. Yes.

Mr. MORRISON. Now, it does not make any difference whether it is the Department of Commerce and Labor or the Department of Justice that decides they can come in. They come in.

Secretary STRAUS. But it makes a difference in reference to the criticism because the question is, Are you administering the law correctly? That is the point. We claim that we are.

Mr. MORRISON. The result was that these people came in and during the time of the strike they were used as strike breakers in New York City. With our own men, born and raised in this country, walking the streets endeavoring to secure certain conditions these men came in under contract and were put to work and assisted materially in breaking the strike.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Secretary, I want to either get myself straight on this point or to offer some criticism of it. On reading it now, if I were asked to speak of it, I should say it was an amendment to encourage immigration. Now, if it is proposed to amend our law to encourage immigration, this is the thing to do; but if it is proposed to deter people from coming here under a misapprehension—and I take it that that is the thing we ought to do—then certainly we should not enact this amendment. I want to read this part of it:

"Correspondence shall be had with the proper officials of the States and Territories, and said division shall gather from all available sources useful information regarding the resources, products, physical characteristics, and industrial conditions of each State and Territory, and such other information as may be useful or necessary, and shall publish the same in different languages and distribute the publications in foreign countries through our consular service."

That is to say, we are to ascertain what are the conditions, get information regarding the resources, products, physical characteristics, etc.—information which, if placed in the hands of an alien, would no doubt induce him to seek our shores. Now, if we are going to advertise our resources, Mr. Secretary, it will certainly act as an inducement for men to come here.

Secretary STRAUS. The idea of that amendment was precisely what you referred to before—to bring home to the people about to emigrate, or upon whom influence is being used to lead them to emigrate, what are the conditions surrounding labor in a particular industry and a particular calling; what the wage means, translated into language which he will understand; what the expense of living is, and all that. It was in order to prevent this misinformation that is now drawing a great many to our shores. That is the object of that amendment.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Secretary, I trust that nothing I said indicated that I favored any such plan. I trust that I did not fail to make myself clear. If anyone understood me to say that I favored the distribution of information abroad, comparing our wages and the purchasing power of our money with theirs, as a means of keeping them from coming here, I want to correct myself now, because, as a matter of fact, what I meant to say and what I thought I said was that we should send information as to the conditions of employment here, the possibility of getting employment, and the fact that there are numbers of men who are unemployed.

Secretary STRAUS. That is all included.

Mr. MITCHELL. But there is more included, Mr. Secretary. If we were to take the 30-cent workman that Mr. Powderly spoke about and compare him with our \$2 workman, and then compare what his 30 cents would buy with what \$2 would buy here, it would be a surprise to that man; because he could buy more with \$2 here than he could buy with 30 cents there. The conditions would be improved here; there is no question about that. The worst of our conditions is better than theirs. If we advertise the worst wages we have in America, they will compare favorably with the best wages in continental Europe.

Secretary STRAUS. That was suggested in connection with the large number of immigrants who become emigrants and return; and the reason for their return is that they have been deceived as to the conditions over here; that they were represented to be much more favorable than they found them. It was believed that such an amendment would prevent the 40 per cent that the figures show returned to their country of origin. You see the point?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes; I see the point, but I doubt if it will have the result that you hope from it; because, I repeat, if you advertise on the continent of Europe the real conditions that prevail here, it will induce immigrants to come. If you tell them every real condition existing here, they will come.

Now, what do we want to do? It seems to me that what is needed in times like these, even all the time—but I will say in times like these, anyway, so that there will be no disagreement about it—is to deter immigrants from coming here, and they must know the number of men in America who can not get work, whether it be a million, two millions, or three millions. If you start to tell them, as this law provides you shall, as to what the resources of this country are, and tell them what our wages are, even now, they will be so far in advance of what they get over there that they will lose no time in coming to America as soon as they can get the funds.

Secretary STRAUS. Don't you believe—in fact, we have ample evidence to that effect—that those facts, which you are afraid might have an attractive force, are now being given by steamboat agents and by other agents who are interested in bringing about immigration, without the other side of the picture?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes; I think you are right, Mr. Secretary. I think a much exaggerated form is given to them.

Secretary STRAUS. Now, the question is, Can we not correct that very evil or sneek it? Because this information about this country being prosperous, when there are prosperous times, will get out anyway. We want to give the other side of the picture. Now, the question of the unemployment—the men out of employment—would be important.

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes; but, Mr. Secretary, I respectfully submit that if you tell the truth under the seal of this Government—here is a man digging a sewer who gets \$2.50 a day, and you may say that there is not any work for a man getting \$2.50 a day. That does not make any difference; that will not deter him so much. The information that a man digging a sewer is getting \$2.50 a day, where the man digging a sewer in Russia would be getting 25 cents a day, will in all probability induce that man, if he has got money enough, to come to America and try his chances getting a job. If he is getting 25 cents a day there, he might think he could get \$2.25 here, and he would come here and compete for one of those better jobs. I appreciate your desire to put an end to this misinformation that is being given out by agents of the steamship companies and others, and to give correct information; but if this correct information is going to increase our immigration, then it is not going to relieve this condition of unemployment; and that is fundamentally, I understand, what you are desirous of doing.

Secretary STRAUS. That is correct.

Mr. MITCHELL. And I ask, at least, that that possibility be given some further consideration.

Mr. KEEFE. When those subjects were discussed with the Secretary some of the very criticisms that have been made at this time by Mr. Morrison and Mr. Mitchell were brought to the attention of the Secretary, and perhaps out of that, as much as anything else, grew the desire to have this meeting and to have a free and full discussion of these matters. We want you to criticize it honestly from every conceivable standpoint, so that we may see if something more tangible, something that would be more beneficial, can be worked out. I am quite in accord with the statement made by Mr. Mitchell that if we acquaint the prospective immigrants with the kind of food we eat, with how we are housed, and our earning capacity, it will not check immigration; it may have a tendency to encourage it. If, on the other hand, they are furnished with information showing the number of men out of employment in the different centers, not at any one period but at several periods, and how difficult it is for the American wage-earner to get employment, that may have something to do with checking this overflow of immigration.

Mr. VALENTINE. Mr. Secretary, I would like to ask one question in connection with this matter. You made the statement that 48 per cent, as I understand it, of the immigrants return after being in the country a short time. I would like to ask how that information was obtained. I thought perhaps they might return like the Chinese in San Francisco do at New Year's—return for New Year's and come back again.

Secretary STRAUS. That is not quite the right figure, but I will tell you what I prefer doing. I have the whole question, the table and everything, in my annual report. I will give you a copy of that report, and you will find that information on page 10, under the head of "Statistics of net immigration."

Secretary Straus thereupon read the abstract referred to, which is as follows: "The immigration figures published by the department in past years, while as nearly correct as possible, either have not been fully understood by the general public or their real significance has misled it. After all, the main consideration is not how many immigrants come to this country, but rather how many remain, and to what extent the population is augmented from year to year by this alien migration.

"Based upon the alien departures for those months of the past year which preceded and were not affected by the industrial depression, the statistical expert of the bureau has made a calculation of the net immigration for each year from 1899 to 1908, inclusive, giving the total alien arrivals, the total alien departures (in part estimated), and the ratio that the net immigration bears to the immigration figures heretofore published during that period. This calculation will be found as an appendix to this division of the report. The statement shows that the net immigration for the period is only 68 per cent of the accepted figures of immigration as heretofore published; in other words, the accepted figures of immigration are 48 per cent in excess of the net immigration."

Mr. POWDERLY. I would like to read a letter which I have here from the Brotherhood Welfare Association, of St. Louis, Mo., addressed to you as Secretary of Commerce and Labor, as follows:

Hon. OSCAR S. STRAUS,

*Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: This will introduce Mrs. Georgia Ferguson, our delegate from the unempLOYed convention here. We know that you will be greatly interested in

doing what you can for the great army of the unemployed, and we should be glad if you could give Mrs. Ferguson all the assistance within your power.

We feel that the situation is grave. Many worthy men and women are out of work, unable to obtain it. We feel that it is the duty of the Government to give heed to the cry of distress that arises from all parts of the country.

Sincerely, yours,

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,  
 J. EADS HOW, *Chairman*,  
 CORA D. HARVEY, *Secretary*.  
 COMMITTEE ON COLONIZATION,  
 C. B. HOFFMAN, *Chairman*.

Mr. Secretary, the lady who bears this with her is present. She has taken no active part in the deliberations of the conference, but she is here, and inasmuch as the subject of discussion is the unemployed, and she is to talk for the unemployed, I think it would be no more than proper that she might remain over to-morrow and sit with us.

Secretary STRAUS. I merely want to say that I have had applications from a number of persons and a number of organizations of a sociological and philanthropic nature, and I have informed them that this is a preliminary conference, and that I desire to have that conference with the representatives of labor exclusively, and that if afterwards it was thought best to extend the conference we would do so. Notwithstanding, Mrs. Ferguson is here and is deeply interested in our problem, and personally I certainly have no objection to her attending. I simply want the reason for the exception known, and if you gentlemen have no objection, certainly I have not. I should be very glad to have Mrs. Ferguson remain. If I hear no objection I will understand that it is universally desired that Mrs. Ferguson shall remain.

(There was no objection.)

I understand it to be your wish, then, that we reconvene to-morrow at 10 o'clock, and I beg each one of you to remain with us, because it will be very favorable to the department, and we are really, I believe, on good ground.

(Thereupon, at 5.30 p. m., the conference adjourned until Thursday, February 11, 1909, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

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THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1909.

MORNING SESSION.

The conference convened at 10 o'clock a. m.

ADDRESS BY MR. GOMPERS—Continued.

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Secretary, yesterday when I read a list of a number of trades, giving the state of unemployment of men, I mislaid the second page, and if I may be permitted I would like to read the balance of it, which I now have:

Pattern makers, 30 per cent unemployed.

Pavers and rammer men, 25 per cent unemployed.

Printing pressmen, 20 per cent unemployed.

Shipwrights, joiners, and calkers, 50 per cent unemployed.

Tile layers, "state of employment very poor."

Tin-plate workers, 40 per cent unemployed.

Tobacco workers, working on two-thirds time.

Iron molders, 70 per cent unemployed.

In giving figures in round numbers, I have kept them within the limit of the percentages given to me.

Secretary STRAUS. Mr. Gompers, to clarify matters a little I would like to ask you several questions: To what particular time do these figures refer?

Mr. GOMPERS. My questions were for the year just about closed.

Secretary STRAUS. What do you mean by "just about closed?"

Mr. GOMPERS. My circular letter was sent out in December, 1908, and my information was for the year just then closed.

Secretary STRAUS. Are you pretty well satisfied that the information which you obtained is reasonably correct? It depends so much upon the sources from which you obtained your information.

Mr. GOMPERS. My information was obtained from the executive officers of the national or international trade unions, and their reports are based upon reports made to them by the secretaries of their local unions, their local lodges, or local branches of the representative trades. Many of them are so absolutely accurate that there can be no doubt at all. It may possibly be within the limit, but not beyond it. For instance, there are a number of organizations which provide, in some form or other, for a benefit to the men who are unemployed, either in stated sums, say, \$2, \$3, or \$4 a week, or through the remission of the dues of the individual member. Now, it frequently occurs that a man does not avail himself of the benefit to which he is entitled by reason of his nonemployment, but the benefits are only paid to those who comply with certain conditions which make employment impossible during such period. So that the figures are as accurate, I think, as any figures which can be obtained from any source.

Secretary STRAUS. Another question: Do these figures which you have given apply only to organized labor, and might not the conditions be much more favorable in labor that is not organized?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir.

Secretary STRAUS. Do they apply only to organized labor?

Mr. GOMPERS. They do not, sir; they apply to the trade generally. In some instances they apply to the membership of the organizations. My questions were predicated upon the conditions of the trade, not upon the membership of the organizations, although in some instances the answers were upon the basis of the membership in the organizations. And I might say this: That from the experience, I think, of every man engaged in the labor movement it will be verified that generally the average of employment will be greater to the men in unions than to those outside. I might mention several reasons, perhaps one of them being that usually the members of organized labor are somewhat above the average of intelligence; second, that they are usually somewhat above the average in skill; and third, it is one of the purposes of the organization of labor to see to it, if they can, that the men of organized labor have the preference.

Secretary STRAUS. Do these figures of unemployment refer to a specific date, or do they refer to the year 1908?

Mr. GOMPERS. As I said, the circular letter which I sent out was issued in the early part of December, and I want to explain that the circular letter which I issued was not to ascertain the information for myself, but it was based upon a question propounded to me by one of the big men of our country. I drafted the letter and the questions, and when I got the information it seemed to me too important to give out to private individuals, and its importance did not occur to me for publication or for presentation anywhere until day before yesterday, when it occurred to me that the question of unemployment would be considered here. I then took these reports and culled the information which I have submitted; and it is based, as I say, upon the average state of unemployment for the year, say, closing with October or November of 1908.

Secretary STRAUS. Were there any great strikes on about that time?

Mr. GOMPERS. Very few strikes; or very few strikes of importance or of large numbers.

Secretary STRAUS. Might I ask you, from your judgment, knowledge, and experience with reference to labor conditions, as head of the American Federation of Labor, whether the conditions at present in regard to employment are not considerably better than those indicated by the information which you have given?

Mr. GOMPERS. My information is the contrary.

Secretary STRAUS. You think the percentage of unemployment is even greater than that shown by the statistics that you have given?

Mr. GOMPERS. I say my information, where I have information, is to the contrary. For instance, I am told that in the iron-molding trade conditions are even worse than they were a year ago. The condition of the machinist is worse than it was a year ago. I received a letter from the secretary of the Cigar-Makers' Union of New York yesterday in which he tells me that additional shops have closed down and men have been discharged for want of work. These are in response to your question—these and a few others that I can not now recall—and my information as to those trades upon which I have information, since that was conveyed to me, is that the conditions are not changed for the better.



**Secretary STRAUS.** I shall ask you still another question: What is, in your judgment, if you are able to answer it, the percentage of unemployment in normal times? I assume that the times that your questions covered were abnormal times for unemployment.

**Mr. GOMPERS.** Let me answer that as comprehensively as I can. For about eight or nine years as editor of the American Federationist, the official journal of the American Federation of Labor, I have compiled a chart of the state of employment. It is, so far as its figures are concerned, absolutely accurate. Its figures do not cover a very large number of workers, but they cover a diversified character of industry. The reason I did not include the largest number of workers obtainable was that the organizations of labor generally did not have the machinery to ascertain absolutely accurate figures, and I asked only the officers of those organizations which had the machinery to ascertain the figures accurately to furnish me the figures, or at least within the limit. These figures would not vary very much either one way or the other, but they are within the limit. They have varied, of course, with the seasons, but during the period of industrial revival and activity, say from 1903 to 1907—and including October in that year—other than the seasons which in certain industries make employment impossible, the percentage, speaking offhand, would be about 1 or 2 per cent; not more than that. Pardon my long way of getting around it, but it is necessary to explain the way I got the figures.

**Secretary STRAUS.** Mr. Gompers, I am going to put one more question to you, which will be rather in the nature of a subject that I wish to place before you for consideration. Taking into consideration this percentage of unemployment of labor in this country in periods of depression, which are apt to come upon us and do come upon us periodically, do you not believe that a very great and important service can be rendered to remedy to a considerable degree this problem of the employable unemployed if the Division of Information, or some other branch of the Government, should gather and have always open a complete and daily statement of the demand for labor in all parts of the country, in all industries (of course including agriculture), and if this information could be accessible in various parts of the country, so that when the laborers, or any portion thereof, in any special industry are out of employment they could go to this Government branch and be informed where there is a demand for labor, together with all of the conditions surrounding that labor? Would not that be a very material help, and a help of a kind that would not be charitable, but such as would maintain the self-respect and dignity, if you please, of the employable unemployed?

**Mr. GOMPERS.** Let me say that I consider that any species of information founded upon fact, to the people of our country, would be of advantage. In 1883 the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, of which Senator Henry W. Blair, of New Hampshire, was chairman, undertook an investigation of the labor conditions of the country. At the time I had considerable to do for the Senate committee in helping it to ascertain the information from the labor men of the country and a considerable number of the business men. During the course of the testimony and argument I had the honor to submit a suggestion—I think very much upon the order of the question that you, Mr. Secretary, asked me—and I made this comparison: That we had, within a few years immediately preceding that, inaugurated upon a scientific basis the Weather Bureau of our country, and we were publishing every morning to the whole world not only the conditions which prevailed within the past twenty-four hours, but also the prediction as to the weather that was coming within the next twenty-four hours, and that this was done not only for the farmer and for the business man, but for the mariner, and for all people; and that if that work, which was so beneficial, was conducted by the Government of the country it ought not to be amiss for the Department of Labor to issue its regular bulletins as to the industrial conditions of the country for the benefit of the masses of the people.

We have overlooked to a great degree the industrial situation of really the great mass of the people. I believe, sir, that if a bulletin were issued, say weekly, containing the condition of industry, to the people of the country—telegraphed, if you please, in part of it—a bulletin containing perhaps not more than 50 or 100 words, the newspapers, I think, would be just as glad in time to publish that information as they are now to publish the reports of the Weather Bureau. But there is one danger in connection with it. It is not only the industrial progress or the industrial situation, but the storms of industry

which are as necessary to be recorded in such bulletins as are the storms in our heavens. The disruption of the cordial relations by which industry has been stopped, or transportation has been stopped—this information is essential; otherwise such bulletin would be an instrument for downward pressure on the aspirations of the workers for some slight improvement, and would, on the contrary, help to crush down and depress them.

I agree, sir, with the thought and suggestion contained in your question that information of that order could be of inestimable benefit to the people of our country generally; but it must be the actual conditions, coupled with what would be otherwise ordinary information. Say, for instance, there occurs a dispute between employers and employed. It may be due to the initiative of the employer, whether individual or company or a corporation, in the form of a lockout; it may be due to the initiation or the defensive action of the workers, in the form of a strike, and, ordinarily speaking, there would be employment open for unemployed workers of another section of the country. While that employment would be open, it would be to the detriment of men who would be glad to return to work and seek the employment if the conditions were in conformity with what are accepted as the normal conditions of the locality.

#### ADDRESS BY MR. STONE.

Mr. STONE. Mr. Chairman, in corroboration of the statement of Mr. Gompers in regard to the present conditions, I would like to state, briefly, that on the 15th day of October, 1907, I had an application in my office for 1,000 locomotive engineers that I could not furnish. On the 30th day of October in the same year, fifteen days later, I had 1,000 locomotive engineers, members of our organization, out of employment. During the past twelve months it is safe to say that at least 5,000 of our members have been out of employment, and a large percentage of the others have been reduced in their wages at least one-half, because the wages of our men automatically reduce, because our men practically work on piece work—so much per mile or per trip. Take, for example, the Southern Railway, running out of here. We were here on the wage conference last spring. We had figures compiled at that time showing that during the depression the average wage of the locomotive engineer on that system had been reduced from \$142 a month to \$70 a month.

After the presidential election just closed in November—business increased slightly during the months of November and December—we had a small demand for engineers, and a number of our members that had been placed back firing were again returned to running as engineers. But since the beginning of the new year, since January, we are having a depression again. A number of our men are being demoted or put back to firing again, and the empty cars are piling up at the rate of 10,000 per week. That is given by the statistics from the railroads of the country, which I believe are absolutely accurate. So I am sure we are again feeling the effects of the depression more than we did during the months of November and December. I also know that a number of the railroad shops throughout the country are being closed and boiler makers, machinists, etc., are out of work.

And now, while I have the floor, I do not want to take up the time of this convention, but I do want to say this, and I want to go on record: Representing the locomotive engineers, I represent perhaps the last trade that will be affected by immigration; that is, it will affect us the least of any of the trades. We perhaps will be the last one to feel it. But what I am going to say I do not say as the representative of the locomotive engineers; I say it as an American citizen, and I represent nobody but myself. I have a high regard for Mr. Powderly, both personally and in his official duties, but I disagree entirely with his idea, and I want to put myself on record to that effect, for this reason:

I was born and raised on one of the large farms in the West. For five generations back we have been tillers of the soil; and while it is true that I have spent 25 years in the cab of a locomotive myself, I have been in close touch with farming conditions, because I owned a farm all that time and own one to-day and operate it. But I disagree with this idea of taking men out from the cities, men who might become anarchists or strike breakers, and dumping them out on the country. It is a popular watchword at the present time, "Return to the soil." It is a beautiful theory; I agree with the theory all right; but it will take more than a touch of the soil to put principle in the man who has it in him to be a strike breaker and to make him a good

American citizen, such as we like to have out in our rural districts. He will have to be born again. In the old days, in our western country, no windows were fastened, no doors were locked; everyone felt safe. You went away to your mill or you went to market and were gone two or three days. You left your wife and children at home and felt perfectly safe. That is all changed to-day. You don't even dare to leave your wife and children alone in your farming communities. Why? Because of this very identical element that you have dumped on us from your cities. I have seen the harvest fields of the West, thousands of acres, go to waste for the want of help; and I have seen the highways and the railroads and the depot platforms lined with this floating population that will not work. I have seen train loads of men brought in here by the railroads to help save the harvest; I have seen a trainload of 200 men dumped into a farming community and for \$4 a day you could not to save your life get one of those men to go out and do a lick of work.

Now, your theory is a beautiful thing, but you will have to provide some plan behind it whereby you can make a man work after you have him out there, because he will not work.

Secretary STRAUS. If they could find such employment as you refer to in connection with agriculture, don't you think that those men, rather than be idle, would prefer that kind of work, and having undertaken to perform it would do it honestly and properly?

Mr. STONE. Perhaps one out of a hundred was raised on a farm and knows how to do agricultural work. On the other hand, the large majority of them would starve to death on the best farm in the West, because he would not know what to do with it after he had it. And it is also true—and I say this in no spirit of disrespect to the man who works in the factory—he has never worked in the sun, and knows nothing about farming conditions. He has his own ideas about hours. I want to say to you that there is no eight-hour day. He is out in the sun, in a temperature of 102° or 103°, and no matter how willing he may be it is impossible for him to do the work; and if it is possible for him to do the work he will not work twelve, thirteen, fourteen, or fifteen hours, as the average farm laborer does. Those are the conditions that confront you.

Speaking for the railroad organizations themselves, it will be a good thing for us if you put this idea into effect, because you will at once dump these men onto the railroads and we will have plenty of work for our men, because we will be constantly hauling these men to and fro across the country.

Mr. GOMPERS. Is it not also true that the engineers who have had their time cut in two, or who have been laid off, are in constant expectation of having a run, or having a call, or finding regular employment, and that they want to be there subject to that call at any time?

Mr. STONE. Yes, sir; that is correct. And he has this incentive besides: We have seniority; that is, the oldest man has the preference in run. He has perhaps worked six, eight, or ten years to get up to a preferred run on some road. Should he go somewhere else and start in, he will start as the youngest man, and will have to work up again; so he wants to stay right there.

But the point I want to bring out is this, and, as I say, I am speaking simply as a citizen: I am not in favor of dumping these people out of these towns. If we have got people in our towns from the north of Europe, people with the German or the Norse blood in them, they make our best citizens. There is no question about that. Our entire Northwest is stocked with them. But you take the men, as a rule, from the Latin countries and they will not work in your farming communities; neither do they make desirable citizens when you get them there, and your wives and children are not safe in your homes when you have them there.

Mr. POWDERLY. May I ask Mr. Stone to state what my theory is first? I have not explained it yet.

Mr. STONE. I understand your theory is to furnish these people in congested quarters of the towns with information about the rural districts and send them out to these farming districts where they want these men and where there is work for them. Is that correct?

Mr. POWDERLY. Not the people from southern Europe alone.

Mr. STONE. You are going to discriminate against them?

Mr. POWDERLY. Not them alone, but everybody.

Mr. STONE. I draw the line against the people of southern Europe.

Secretary STRAUS. Let me make a statement for clarification. It appears to me, Mr. Stone, you are presupposing conditions and purposes that are entirely foreign to the subject; by which I mean to say this: In the first place the Division of Information does not undertake to send anybody. It simply places information before people that are out of work. And these people that are out of work do not make a move until, looking at it in a concrete and practical way, they have discovered that they can get work. In other words, no man is going on a knight errantry out West, but the information comes to him that here is a section of the country, and here is a farmer by name, who calls for 10 or 20 men to help harvest his crop. That information is placed before the men in Boston, Chicago, or New York, or wherever it may be. They then, of their own accord, correspond with these particular farmers and make their terms, and upon that definite arrangement they move. I want those facts clearly before you.

Mr. STONE. I understand that, Mr. Secretary; they move. I have lived this; this is no theory with me; I have lived it. They move, and they keep right on moving; and when your fields are white with the harvest and going to waste for want of labor, some big, husky, 200-pound man comes to your door and wants something to eat to keep his body and soul together; and you ask him—this is actually true; it has happened time and again—"Why don't you go to work?" "Well, I can't get any work at my trade." It is along in the hot summer and the heat is just shimmering. "What is your trade?" "Shoveling snow." [Laughter.] He does not want work; he does not intend to work so long as he can live without it.

Secretary STRAUS. Do you mean to say that an honest laborer—

Mr. STONE. I mean to say, in the first place, that your honest laborer will not be in your congested districts as a rule—in your towns—and I mean to say that the class of immigration that makes your congested districts would rather stay there and starve in their misery and squalor than go out and live in comfort in your rural districts.

Secretary STRAUS. This is not confined to immigration at all; it is confined to labor. Now, I have a great respect—you gentlemen have helped to teach me that respect in my many years of conference with you—for the honesty of the ordinary laboring man. Now, take the man—it need not be necessarily from the city—take the man from one section of the country who is out of employment, and he is looking for employment, and he goes West, after having ascertained directly that such and such an employment is open to him. Now, that man, I think, is going to act honestly about that, and he is not going to give the answer, "I shovel snow in the East and I am unwilling to harvest crops in the West;" because I maintain that a man who is capable of shoveling snow properly and honestly and who puts in an honest day's work, will put in an honest day's work in whatever work may be assigned to him.

Mr. STONE. In reply to that, Mr. Secretary, I will say that a man who is capable of shoveling snow and will shovel snow where this is plenty for him to shovel will be an A-1 harvest hand.

Secretary STRAUS. That is exactly what I thought.

Mr. STONE. I may have the milk of human kindness soured in me, but I have lived all this; I have come up through it from the bottom, and I want to say to you, with all due respect for the laboring man—and there is no man who has more respect for the laboring man than I have—that a big percentage of these men who are hunting labor are mighty afraid they are going to find it. That has been my experience throughout the West.

Mr. GOMPERS. Is that true of the engineers?

Mr. STONE. Yes; it is true of the engineers, too.

#### ADDRESS BY MR. VALENTINE.

Mr. VALENTINE. Mr. Chairman, I wish to say just a few words in connection with the statement made by President Gompers as to the number of men out of employment in the calling which I represent—molding. Our reports show the greatest percentage out of work in the history of our organization, in the neighborhood of 70 per cent. These figures are absolutely correct, because we have a system of gathering the statistics through applications for out-of-work relief in our organization. At one time, beginning with November, 1907, for a period of four months and a half, we had less than 9,000 of our members employed, and many of those were employed probably three-fourths time or

half time. That was the condition of the molding trade; and as you know, the iron trade, they say, is the key to the trade conditions in this country. That condition obtained for a number of months. During the months of November and December it began to look a little brighter; some of the men found employment; but since that time it strikes me the trade conditions, in so far as the iron-molding industry is concerned, and that applies to steel, brass, etc., are worse than they were at the beginning of the panic, and they are a great deal worse than they were in 1893 or 1873—this morning's paper bears me out in my statement that they are absolutely worse—and no prospects for the future, if you will take the report of the Iron Age this morning, as published in the Washington papers.

Now, there is just another word I want to say. The subject has been brought before us here with reference to the desirable and undesirable immigrants. Our trade, I might say, is the least affected by this immigration, despite what Mr. Stone says; because we do not have very many molders coming from Austria and from Italy and those sections of Europe. They are few and far between. Those men do not take kindly to fire and molding.

But lately we find these conditions coming upon us. In some centers—we will say Milwaukee, for instance—where we had a strike which lasted in the neighborhood of two years, quite a large strike—we go through the foundries of Milwaukee to-day, and no one can say "Yes" or "No" in English. They can not give you any answer—"No savvy," as the Chinaman says on the coast. That is the condition that obtains. Only recently this Immigration Office has had some correspondence with a concern in Dowagiac, the Round Oak Stove Company. In a letter that passed between that company and the New York office occurred the statement: "The last four men that you sent me were satisfactory. Send four more." The Round Oak Stove Company, at Dowagiac—go to that plant to-day and many can not understand you when you ask how the weather is. They can not understand. They are in need of help and sending to New York to get help. In Detroit there are 1,100 molders walking the streets. Why don't they get them from Detroit? They are putting these men into the foundries—and, for one, and as a citizen of this country, I believe the time has come to say whether it is desirable to admit any more of these men to this country for the time being. That is the way I feel on this question; and I believe those who are here to-day should be taken care of in preference to taking care of somebody who intends to come here. That is the way I feel on the subject.

We want to get the expression of those present who represent large bodies of men and who know the sentiments of these men, and who are placed at the heads of organizations for the purpose of trying to bring about some legislation that will benefit their condition, and in benefiting their condition benefit everybody's condition. Now, I mentioned in my statement that some correspondence had taken place between the New York office and a firm in Dowagiac. Before going more deeply into the question I want to say that at some time to-day I should like to have somebody explain the correspondence that took place, as nearly as he can, so we can find out what the truth of the matter is. I have heard that the New York office was furnishing immigrants to this firm in Dowagiac, so they could be taught molding. Some have said that they were coming direct from New York and were sent to Dowagiac by a government agency. I could hardly believe that, and I came to Washington at this time mainly to make some inquiries about it. Now, there is somebody who knows all about it, and I should like to have whoever is in charge of the office at New York say just what the correspondence is, and then we shall know just exactly how to deal with it. Now, Mr. Chairman, I have no more to say in connection with the matter of the best method of furnishing employment to the unemployed, except by the plain statement that I personally believe that if we will do what we can to keep up the bars for the time being we will furnish employment to those of our citizens that want employment. But with the gates wide open, as they are to-day, and the advertisements being put out in Europe, we will never furnish employment to all. Mr. Gompers was asked the question whether he could answer as to the number of men idle during normal conditions, and I think he was about right—about 2 per cent in normal conditions. We have never had those conditions that Mr. Stone spoke of—an order for a thousand men; we never have had that. We have always had idle men, and our books show that we have paid idle benefits in normal conditions.

Mr. Secretary, in conclusion I wish to say this: That I am willing to cooperate with any body of men along proper lines to do what we can to solve this situation. I am willing to sacrifice my personal views if it is for the good of all. That is the way I feel.

Secretary STRAUS. I want you all to understand this question. From the point of view of the head of this department I must look at it from all sides. Now, Mr. Valentine stated in reference to immigration that we do not need any more.

Mr. VALENTINE. Well, not from that section of the country.

Secretary STRAUS. Well, now, wait a moment. I want to show you another point of view which does not and would not likely come within your purview or within the purview of you gentlemen whose time and thought and whole occupation are connected with the problem that is intrusted to your hands as heads of your various labor organizations. This country has international obligations which are as old as the country, which are regulated by treaty, and which spring from the effort of the country to maintain friendly relations with the other countries of the world, and legislation must conform largely to those international relations. We can not throw down those treaties when it temporarily suits our purposes to do so. First of all, those treaties are, by the Constitution, made the supreme law of the land. In the next place, in the making of those treaties suppose we say to England, "We have got enough English laborers over here; we have got enough iron molders over here"—

Mr. VALENTINE. We will never do that, Mr. Secretary.

Secretary STRAUS. Well, then, suppose we say it to Germany—I am only taking an example—"therefore we have passed a law excluding from America all German immigrants." From the standpoint of your particular labor organization, if you please, that may be a wise and good thing; I won't dispute that; but from a standpoint of international friendship and amity it might amount to what would equal a declaration of war. Now, those are subjects that must not be thrown aside so easily, and necessarily must be considered. And, of course, the administration of one of the great departments of the Government has all these various kaleidoscopic sides of the question before it; and I am glad to have the opportunity of asking that you look at the subject not from your own particular point of view.

Mr. VALENTINE. Mr. Secretary, if you will just permit me. I said, just as I was sitting down, that I was willing to set aside my personal views to assist in doing that which was of benefit to all; I qualified that statement. Now, I am a Californian; I was raised in California, and I am in sympathy with the action of the California legislature in doing what the President has requested to be done, because I believe that there is something that we do not know anything of just now that will probably change that situation. But if you were a Californian and you stood at the mail dock, as I have, in the days when the Chinese immigration was coming in so rapidly, and saw those men herded off the ship and into an express wagon and driven to Dupont street by the Six Companies, and if you saw those men going in to make cigars, underclothes, and engaging in all the industries, and saw the girls and young men discharged and walking the streets every day and night and the Chinaman working all the time, and when he was through he would go to Chinatown and lie down and smoke opium and play fan-tan or something of that kind—I want to tell you your blood would boil; it could not help but boil. You must sympathize with those people who have taken the action they have. I tell you when these things come home to you, you see them in a little different light. When some one tells them to you, you do not understand them so well. Now, Mr. Secretary, I want to repeat that I am willing to cooperate as far as I can with any body of men who are trying to formulate some proposition that will be beneficial to the whole people.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Secretary, I will only take a moment. I rise at this time to explain the attitude of the trade unions upon the subject of immigration. The suggestion you made is not the suggestion of the labor organizations that there should be legislation to exclude the immigrants. That has not been the proposition of the American Federation of Labor, nor has it, I believe, been the suggestion of other labor unions. We are not asking for legislation at all inconsistent with our treaty obligations. What the labor organizations and the laboring men of the country have asked for is that there shall be an increase in the head tax, that there shall be an educational test, that immigrants shall be excluded because of illiteracy. That would be applicable

alike to all people of all nations. If it is true that it will exclude larger numbers from southern Europe than from northern Europe, that would not be because of any discrimination against them, but simply that the law would apply alike to all the people of the world. In doing that we are not inconsistent with our treaty obligations. Indeed, we are very considerate of them. I make this statement so that the position of the labor unions, so far as it is to have expression through the American Federation of Labor or its affiliated unions, and I believe also through the organizations of the railway brotherhoods, may be understood. We ask that there be a diminution in the number of people coming to this country, and that the decrease be brought about through the enactment of such amendments to the immigration laws as will keep out the men who are most undesirable. In other words, our desire is that we shall have the men who live the most nearly up to our standard of citizenship here, and that we shall constantly raise our own standard of living and standard of citizenship. That is what I should like to have done; that is really fundamental to the whole question of unemployment.

#### ADDRESS BY MR. GARRETTSON.

MR. GARRETTSON. Mr. Secretary, I believe that every man here, whether on one side of the question or the other, or one side of the desk or the other, is here in a dual sense. He is not only here in the capacity of either a representative of the Government or a representative of a body of men, but he is here as a citizen; and the whole series of questions which we have had under discussion involve, at the bottom, supply and demand, as a solution of the question; and all the others are associated with it in one form or another. If this body is to consider in an intelligent way the question of a correction of the evil of which it complains, it must of necessity go in a degree into the causes that have created the condition; and if immigration is one of the causes that underlie the condition of which we complain, I believe that it is a legitimate action to consider whether or not it can be modified in such a way as to discriminate against no special nationality, but to discriminate against the qualities that may predominate in the men from some given region. I do not believe that there is a representative of any labor union, or any great body of the membership of that union, who ever advocated a style of legislation or a manner or method of legislation that would infringe upon treaty obligations. Many of them believe in such a placing of the qualifications of all immigrants as will exclude largely the ones against whom complaint is made.

Our laws governing immigration were undoubtedly formed and had their inception in the needs of a new country. While the Government may never have gone on record as encouraging immigration, the fact remains that it was based on a desire for a desirable population at a time when we were deficient in population. Therefore, if conditions have changed, the right is inherent within the people of this country to place restrictions that will act against overassimilation. We can apply the principles of the Malthusian theory not only to reproduction but to importation, and we can only assimilate large bodies of men so long as we have an expanding market for our products. If for any reason that market is contracted, we suffer from the same evil of overpopulation that the centers from which those men come do. And I believe it is a proper subject for discussion here as to whether or not added restrictions incorporated by legislation into our immigration laws would produce a desirable result to the whole body at large; because it is an artificial standpoint to assume that it is the unemployed alone that suffer through unemployment. Every portion of the body politic suffers from it, either by reaction or otherwise. The men that I represent suffer as little as any class of men can directly from the importation of men to this country.

There is not in the history of American railroading an instance where an imported conductor ever ran on a train, except from the provinces of Canada, because he might pass a lifetime in the business in any other locality on the globe and he would not be more fitted for the handling of an American railway train than would a Chinaman from the Yangtse Kiang district. Consequently, we do not suffer from it except in the indirect way of reaction from oversupply in other portions of the labor world. We stand in a relation to it in the trade sense of an onlooker who sees the game. But self-defense, as well as the instinct of good citizenship, throws us into absolute sympathy with and support

of the position taken by those classes of workers who are affected thereby. The statement made by Mr. Mitchell is exactly the position taken by our organization: That we ask such reasonable restriction of the requirements for entry as will operate to decrease the number of men that come in, and to allow only those to enter who are desirable; and we do not believe that a reasonable restriction against the men, regardless of nationality, is in any way an infringement of any treaty rights that exist between us and other nations. It is not so very many years ago—men who have been in touch with the problem for many years know that it is not so many years ago—that other nations were objecting to the drain that we made on their population.

They used to throw restrictions around their citizens leaving; and it is absurd to suppose that a nation actuated by desires of that kind would resent any reasonable restrictions that we place on their people coming here, provided it was done in a way that did not offend the national pride. There it is only a sentimental idea that would present the danger. The question of the desirability of this is intimately associated with the extension or the continued existence of what is described as the Division of Information. Now, we will assume that the object of the Division of Information in its inception was to correct misinformation that had been given abroad, and thereby restrict immigration; but I believe that any man that will carefully canvass the situation will arrive at another conclusion. The point was brought up by Mr. Mitchell yesterday that the publication of the facts, dark colored as they might make them, is itself an incentive to immigration. Now, take the man to whom Mr. Powderly refers, who is working for 30 cents a day on the Trieste wharf. The facts as published by the department and bearing the seal of this Government, put out to him as information to deter him from coming, when compared with the actual conditions under which he labors and lives, would of themselves be sufficient to induce him to leave that occupation and come here when he had no very great desire to do so.

It is hopeless to suppose that the Department can ever control and abolish the misrepresentation that is indulged in by steamship companies or by subsidized imported men such as were referred to in a letter that was written by a man to his associate and was circulated all over the district from which he came. The data published by the Department and circulated would simply be to him the proof of a large portion of the misstatements that were contained therein; and he would naturally conclude that it must be at least as good as the Government's statement. So I believe that instead of working as an agency for good in this instance the remedy would be worse than the disease itself. It would be on the same basis that men look at a practice that is said to be prevalent. It has been asserted that there are ladies who will eat arsenic to better their complexions. The average man thinks that the remedy is worse than the disease. And I believe that it would be so in the dissemination of information of this character through a governmental agency. I believe absolutely—this is the expression of one man's opinion only—I believe absolutely that instead of being an agency for good the Division of Information in its foreign sense can develop into a gigantic agency for evil; that it will inure to the benefit of the very thing it was designed to abolish. I believe that, confronted with the conditions with which we are, no possibility should be overlooked that will correct the things that we complain of. If it is to be continued, it should be purely internal instead of external; and it is a very serious question in my mind as to whether or not we shall be able to exercise a desirable influence even in that direction. The problem that underlies every remedy for unemployment by the distribution of the unemployed in certain centers to other points is the same problem that underlies the food problem; that is, transportation represents the difference in cost.

I want to say ahead of time that I am not a socialist. In a practical sense I have no sympathy with the application of the theories of that cult. Theoretically, it has beauties, but the difficulty is this: When we try to provide a remedy for sociological problems that are growing too great for us we are of necessity compelled to engraft a certain amount of the socialist idea on a skeleton of government that is absolutely opposed thereto; and the consequence is that we are confronted with difficulties already existing that can not be overcome. For instance, take this transportation problem alone, in the face of legislation such as at present exists. I suppose there is no man present who has come in contact with the laws governing transportation as have the men of the railway organizations, because we are subject to them. The so-called Hepburn Act—all of you will recognize it by name at least—absolutely in its present



form prohibits any form of transportation for men under those conditions, except under the same conditions under which the body of the people can be transported. In other words, a railroad company can not transport a laborer in search of employment elsewhere any cheaper than it can any other citizen who wants to travel the same distance on the same day. The difference between the price of corn in Iowa and in New York is the market price in Iowa with the transportation added. There you have an absolute bar to the distribution of men to where they are needed unless you can transport men on the same basis as that on which articles are transported by a parcel post. In other words, you have got to reform the whole system of railway ownership and of government administration. And I would say to you that I am not a believer in government ownership of railways. In the railway service, as I am, we do not believe in it. But you have got to go there to get the root of your transportation evil. It has got to be administered on a paternal basis before you can transport men from one point to another to meet these conditions. The laborer himself can not stand it, because he can not go yonder for ninety days if he is going to pay half the proceeds of his ninety days' work to get there and back.

It is this kind of a detail: When you have run a passenger train for fifteen years, you come to the conclusion that if God created man in His own image, He either had a very dim model or else He botched the job. I say to you that under an act of Congress that would permit the transportation of needy laborers, millionaires would be riding on the reduced rate under false pretense. Let me tell you, Mr. Secretary, what I learned when I was running a train. The priests and preachers of this country are supposed to be the moral molders—not the iron molders—of this country; and I say to you that the average priest and preacher will beat the conductor if he can. That is the outgrowth of fifteen years' experience punching tickets. But the fact remains that a man whose moral sense is fully developed in another direction will consider it doing a service to God to beat a railroad company. That is every man's experience. I was at the experience end, you know. And as long as that is true it presents an insuperable bar to legislation, because it will be so thoroughly abused, and the experience of legislators has taught them that such is the case. Under present conditions we railroad men stand in a peculiar relation to it.

Under the Hepburn Act the railway service is peculiar in this: In most of the trades a man severs his relation with his employer. In the same community in which he has worked he has other opportunities for employment. In the railway service there is none there. Consequently both the railway companies and the organizations representing the railway men recognize the absolute necessity for the ability to transport those men. Consequently we have got an amendment to the Hepburn Act whereby railroad men who can prove that they follow railroading as a life business can get transportation. It took an amendment to the law to make it possible to transport those men without laying the companies and the men liable to a heavy fine. Until this transportation problem is provided for in some manner, schemes for the distribution of men to centers where labor is needed are of necessity chimerical, because they can not be applied on account of the cost thereof. Therefore the very basic idea that is available to us is to reasonably limit the supply as against a contracted market; and I believe that it is possible to turn the energies of the Department and a gathering of men like this into a channel that both recognize as reasonable to allay that evil, as a primary method—one of the things that will prepare the way for our future dealing with this problem of the unemployed. And I say to you that it is the greatest problem that confronts the public to-day. It may be said that men in our positions get an exaggerated view of it. The men who will give the subject thought, regardless of his location in the body politic, can not arrive at any other solution, because it is not the interest of the unemployed alone that is at stake; it is the interest of every man who is a citizen and who in any way comes in contact with either the business or social world of the Republic.

#### ADDRESS BY MR. CARTER.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Secretary, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen, in the beginning I understand that the purpose of those people who advocated the creation of the position of Secretary of Labor, the occupant to be a member of the President's Cabinet, was to give the working people a chance to be heard where words counted for something. Instead of getting a position known as Secretary of Labor, to the office of which the working people could come, file their grievances

and petitions for redress, we got what is known as the position of Secretary of Commerce and Labor. Fortunately, in selecting material for that position the President saw fit to select a man who recognized the fact that there was a labor end to his job as well as a commercial end.

Now, this meeting, I hope, is the beginning of a movement that will make it known to the working people of this country that the working people are going to be recognized and that attention will be paid to the stories they have to tell, of their conditions, of their hopes, and of their aspirations, as well as the attention given to the associations of manufacturers, who seem to have access on all occasions and to all points. \* \* \*

And now I want to speak about the question of the Division of Information. Railroad men, I believe it can be truly said, suffer less from immigration than any other class of men on earth. In fact, they have been thrown together so much on their trains and segregated from other labor so much that they have been accused of a lack of sympathy with other trades. If there be a lack of sympathy, it is simply because it is a creation of environment; it is not because there is any inherent lack of sympathy in the heart of a railroad man. When we come here and listen to what these gentlemen talk, I want to say we are so sympathetic that we won't dodge the question a bit. We will say that the Division of Information ought to be done away with, and I will tell you why I say so, although it does not cost us a cent; it does not cost us perhaps a job. It may be immigrants, by crowding the men on the streets that work at other trades, may force others to crowd us off the precipice; but so far as immigrants taking our positions, we are not afflicted with that. We have the German people of Pennsylvania, but they were born in Pennsylvania, and perhaps their fathers were born in Pennsylvania. You go to the Northwest and we have many Swedes, but generally they were born in that country. Therefore, we do not come into direct conflict with the new-coming immigrant.

A few years ago there was a strike at Denver, and that strike did not concern us directly. It was a strike of the trainmen's organization. A telegram came to our office saying that the company was hiring Japanese brakemen. We simply stated to the company: "Japanese brakemen do not go with us. If you get those men we are going to make an issue right there." And that is the only reason in the world that the Japs are not running the engines and trains, because we have yet retained the power to prevent it. If ever the pressure gets so great that our power is overcome, then you will have the Japanese on the engines, because the company like them. They use them in their round-houses, in the extreme West, and they are using them almost entirely in their track work, and they are displacing American labor in the section of the country from which Mr. Valentine comes. You go into a hotel in the Northwest, and you will find every man there, except the clerk, is a Jap. Go into the yards, and you will see a Swede boss and a half dozen Japanese workmen. That Swede was born there; he is a native, but the Jap is not and he doesn't want to be.

I believe that the value of this Division of Information depends entirely upon the character of the information it furnishes. If it can so manage to convince the people of Europe to stay at home, it is the best thing we have got. But presumably it will tell the truth.

Concerning this Division of Information—and I want to say that as good a friend as I ever had, and a man whom I have always liked, Terry Powderly, is at its head—if there is anything I can do to help that division, I will do it, because of my feeling for the man who is handling that part of the work.

But here is information being furnished abroad. We furnish information that will discourage immigrants coming here only at a time like this. The Secretary has told you that in these hard times they go back home, and that I think is the best news that we have heard here. If that 48 per cent had not gone back last year, God help us! The most hopeful feature is the fact that they can go back. If the other two million who are supposed to be out of employment would go back, the immigration question would largely settle itself.

But here is information furnished by this department, and that information will tell (even when the truth is told to the people of Europe) that the conditions in this country are so far better than the conditions in any other country that it will induce immigration while we want to reduce immigration. I am going to say something that, perhaps, may be classed as a vulgar illustration. Did you ever see a hen and chickens in the yard, and when the hen found something good to eat how she would cluck and cackle, and how the little chickens

would run? That hen was disseminating information that there was "something doing." And did you ever see your neighbor's chickens fly over the yard fence at that hen's cluck and eat all the worms that your chickens were supposed to eat? Now, I do not want my friend, Mr. Powderly, when he scratches around and finds a good, plump worm, to go to clucking and have our neighbors' chickens fly over here and eat our worms.

This is how the immigration question appeals to us railroad men. Not because we have selfish interests; but notwithstanding the fact that we are supposed not to have any interest. I want to say to you that the railroad men of this country have as great a regard for the welfare of the working masses as any other men on earth. Our business calls us in lines of employment where we do not meet you; we do not have the privilege of assembling many times in your halls; but I want to say to you that at any time when you need assistance and we believe the assistance is due you I do not believe you will ever find a railroad man refusing to respond.

**Secretary STRAUS.** For the information of all here, upon the very subject that the last speaker was discussing, may I just read a brief extract from my annual report bearing upon this subject which induced its consideration here? I think it will clarify it a little. In my annual report, under the head of the "Problem of the unemployed," referring especially to this Division of Information, I said this:

"The scope of this division would be usefully extended in another direction, which I have embodied in the recommendation for the amendment of the law proposed by the division. The emigration figures to which I have referred afford evidence that much of the immigration to this country is stimulated by false, glowing, and misleading information in regard to the opportunities here, as if the country were an El Dorado where laziness is rewarded and large returns await even the slothful. When such immigrants come they find that while the rewards of labor are much greater in this country than in their own the American laborer is more industrious, energetic, and self-reliant than elsewhere, and that while the opportunities in this country are greater the qualities necessary to benefit thereby also require an increase of effective energy, and that the same lack of qualifications which spelled failure at home are writ even larger in this country. With their delusions dispelled they return to their countries sadder but wiser men.

"Much of this kind of immigration could be stopped at its source by the dissemination of correct information throughout foreign countries from which our immigration chiefly comes. Perhaps the best medium through which this information could be disseminated from time to time is through our consuls; also the various labor organizations of the country could be of aid to the division, both in the collection and presentation of the various kinds of information referred to. I foresee great and substantial extension that can be given to the scope and work of this important division, and trust that Congress will enable the department to carry forward this work in the various directions I have outlined."

Having in view the importance of the subject and the many-sidedness of it, I thought it best to refer the whole subject to just such a conference as we have here.

(Mr. Keefe called on Doctor Neill, Commissioner of Labor, asking him to make a statement relative to his investigation of the purpose of the Round Oak Stove Company, Dowagiac, Mich., in communicating with the New York office of the Division of Information about September, 1908, as Mr. Valentine, president of the Molders' Union of North America, stated that he (Mr. Valentine) had been informed from various sources that the Division of Information had advised workmen to go to Dowagiac, where they were to be employed by the Round Oak Stove Company to learn the molding trade.)

#### ADDRESS BY MR. NEILL.

**Mr. NEILL.** Mr. Secretary and gentlemen, I think there is a little misapprehension as to the character of the investigation which was made of the case that has been discussed. The history of the affair, as I recall it, is about this: The Assistant Secretary of the Department and myself were in New York together in connection with immigration matters, and while there visited the office of the Division of Information. We were shown the methods of record keeping, etc., and were also shown some of the recent applications

that had been received. One application in particular from a western plant—I do not remember the name—attracted the attention of both the Assistant Secretary and myself and left us under the impression that the writer of the letter was anxious to secure immigrants, with the ultimate purpose of developing them into skilled workmen in order later on to supplant the force of skilled men he then had by these immigrants, who would work for a lower wage scale.

The Assistant Secretary asked me to look further into the question, and at the next opportunity, while discussing other matters with some representatives of the molders' organization, I incidentally made some inquiries about the conditions in the section from which that application came and in the particular plant from which that application was written. My information was to the effect that the molders had for a considerable time past been having a controversy with that plant and had been engaged in a struggle to maintain the existing wage scale.

I reported back to the Assistant Secretary that I felt that this was a case of desiring immigrants for the ultimate purpose of displacing the skilled employees the plant then had and forcing down the wage scale in that section. We discussed the matter together, and he agreed with me that this was what the affair amounted to. I understood that he was going to bring it to Mr. Powderly's attention.

Reverting now to the other matter that has been discussed here this morning, I agree very thoroughly with a number of the speakers that any effort made by this division to disseminate on the other side of the water information as to our wages and industrial conditions can only result in further increasing the tide of immigration. The division would have to depend to a considerable degree for its information upon the various States or sections desiring immigration; and I think we all know that the prospectuses that would be furnished by these States and sections setting forth their resources and attractions would make even the steamships' advertisements look very mild. On the other hand, if the division should of its own responsibility portray the industrial situation in any part of the country in such a way as to discourage immigration to that section, a protest would immediately be made, and the division would more than likely be instantly stopped from sending out information of that kind.

It seems to me very clear that as a practical proposition any effort on the part of this Government to publish matter on the other side of the water concerning the opening here for immigrants can only result in further stimulating immigration at its sources.

As to the work that the Division of Information can carry on at home I do not entirely agree with the attitude of most of the speakers this morning. I believe there is a very important and useful field of work in this country for this division, but I think that under the law creating it it had to begin its work at the wrong end of the line. It seems to me that we might well begin by taking care of our own citizens before we begin to look after the welfare of newly arrived immigrants. I think that instead of putting this division in operation primarily to find positions for the aliens arriving in New York to-day that the division ought to devote itself first to the benefit of the unemployed who are American citizens, and after this we could take up the case of the immigrants just landed. It seems to me that as long as we utilize this division primarily to find jobs for immigrants and to direct them to where they can secure employment, we are more than likely to be simply aiding in breaking down existing wage scales and making worse working conditions which are already bad.

Take, for example, the steel industry. For a considerable period preceding the panic in 1907 that industry was rapidly expanding, and there was quite a demand for men. There was a regular procession of immigrants from the various ports of entry to the various centers of the steel industry, and had there been any considerable slacking up of immigration before the depression set in, it is quite possible that requests would have reached the Division of Information from steel centers. This brings up a problem which inevitably must confront the Division of Information. Shall it accept the mere statement that jobs are waiting at these points for immigrants and assume that there is a scarcity of labor there and direct men to these places? Here is one of the highly protected industries of the United States, protected for the purpose of securing good wages and good working conditions, and yet a very large part of the unskilled labor in the steel industry at present is still working a twelve-

hour day; and in the blast-furnace branch of that industry men are working twelve hours a day seven days in the week, and this means a twenty-four-hour day once every two weeks, or at the end of whatever period the changes are made from the night to the day shift. A twelve-hour day is not an industrial condition that ought to be encouraged, and the effort of the Government, it seems to me, ought to be to work away from that condition instead of cooperating in continuing it.

In some parts of the country the men in this industry are on a twelve-hour day at a rate of 12 cents an hour. Will the Division of Information assume that there is a scarcity of labor in a community where adult males toiling twelve hours a day six days in the week can earn only \$8.64 a week as their full wages? What is needed is a continued "scarcity" of labor and not further additions to its supply.

These conditions, deplorable as they are from the viewpoint of the welfare of labor, are probably due largely to the flow of immigration to these points.

Here let me suggest that it probably makes very little difference in the aspects of the case how many immigrants return. It makes very little difference whether a million go back this year if another million come in their place, and they continue coming and going in an endless chain. It might be better if they stayed, for the returning ones are very likely those who have been here for some time and who have cleared enough to return to their former homes, but these are the very ones who have to some extent adopted American standards and who have begun to strive for the American wage level. They go back to leave their places to be taken by the kind of men that Mr. Powderly has described who are earning 30 cents a day at home and who would be glad to work for \$1 or \$1.25, where those who had gone would have insisted on \$1.50 or \$1.75 a day.

Take another illustration from the southern section of the country close to Washington. We are constantly assured from numerous sources that there is an urgent need for labor in that section, and yet less than a year ago, as some of the gentlemen here present will easily remember, we sat in conference and listened to a statement of a member of a labor organization pleading for the continuance of an existing wage scale for his men which had been as low as 90 cents a day. Think of it for a moment—able-bodied men engaged in hard and important labor were working for ten hours a day for 90 cents a day, and when the depression came they were reduced to 80 cents a day. Men with families to support, when they worked every hour in the day and every day in week, were earning \$4.80 as the total recompense for sixty hours of labor.

Now, I do not believe it requires much argument to sustain the contention that a community in which able-bodied men can be found to work for 8 cents an hour is very sorely in need of immigration or any additional labor supply. I believe there is no real scarcity of labor any place in the United States where human beings can be induced to work for 80 cents a day.

What I want to suggest is this: If the Division of Information is to be of real benefit to the workers of the United States—and I believe it can be of such benefit—it has got to face the proposition of standardizing wages for various parts of the country and refusing to receive applications for direct immigration to those sections that fail to meet the standard.

Mr. POWDERLY. Mr. Secretary, I wish to read a letter in relation to the Michigan affair referred to by Mr. Valentine. That matter was brought to the attention of Mr. Green in an application from the estate of P. D. Beckwith, of Michigan, for laborers. The application stated that they wanted 10 common laborers, married men; that they would pay \$1.50 per day, board to be \$3 to \$4 per week, employment permanent, work ten hours a day; that there were no strikes or labor troubles; that they wanted laborers who wished to learn the iron-molding trade.

They did not say that they wanted molders or that they wanted men to take the places of molders, just common men, and information was given to some men who went there. Until to-day I had no intimation that there was a strike or any other trouble at Dowagiac, and if there had been it would have been very easy to notify me of the fact.

Let me read a letter dated July 8, 1907, to E. J. Denny, who is, I believe, the secretary of the Iron Molders' Union of North America:

"SIR: With the approval, and by order of, the Commissioner-General of Immigration, Hon. F. P. Sargent, under whose direction the Division of Information is operated, I inclose for your information a copy of a letter now

being mailed to the governors of the various States and Territories. It is the intention to follow this up with a letter of inquiry to every official or person who may be able to give authentic information relative to the distribution of newly admitted immigrants. In a word, it shall be my aim to tap every known source of information on the subject.

"You will observe that in question 2, paragraph f, data concerning strikes, lockouts, and other labor ditliculties are asked for. The object of this is self-evident, and to insure full and reliable information from all sides, I address you in the hope that you will aid in the work of making this division a most useful adjunct to the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization by keeping it constantly in touch with your organization and always informed as to such variations and fluctuations as may affect the employment of your members.

"Congestion of immigrants in any one locality is not desirable; to keep the stream moving in steady current to places where the labor field is not crowded will be good for immigrant and country. You know where your trade languishes and flourishes, and I ask that you do us the favor to keep the Division of Information fully advised on these points, so that while caring for the immigrants the interests of the American wage-earner may be safeguarded.

"I have no suggestion to make as to how you send these data. Your experience will dictate the manner, and your knowledge of labor conditions will enable you to help us in this great work of distributing the alien workers who seek homes among us.

"If you keep us informed of strikes, lockouts, blacklists, boycotts, or the probable coming of same, we will know how to act should applications be made to send laborers to a locality where industrial conditions are unsettled.

"Expressing the hope that you will cooperate with us and that the work will be congenial to you, I remain,

"Respectfully,

"T. V. POWDERLY,

"Chief of Division."

A copy of that letter or one similar to it was mailed to every national and international trades union in the country. Had I the addresses of the local unions they, too, would have received a copy.

I have not up to the present time received an answer to my letter, and if Mr. Denny had acted upon the request contained in that letter, and had a "strike, blacklist, or any other labor trouble" been in progress at Dowagiac, we would have known it.

I want to read this to you, Mr. Stone. The class that you spoke of is not the kind we have been distributing. You will find in the annual report of the division that we have directed to places where they are profitably employed 343 Germans, 128 Norwegians, and 429 from North Poland. You see that the large majority of those distributed are from the countries you speak in favor of and not made up of those whom you describe as "low-browed races from southern Europe and western Asia."

I have made it a point, although it does not appear that it was generally known, to emphasize the fact that American citizens were entitled to the services of the division, and, as Mr. Neill says, they have been "graduated" to the front within the past few months. Before this report was made we had directed 190 United States citizens. You may be surprised to know it, but among the applicants for places are some locomotive engineers who have outlived their usefulness, being over 40 years of age. You gentlemen are not so old as that, and you, of course, are not in that class. You do know, however, that in railroading to-day the man who is past 40, if he is out of a job, is not apt to get one. There are thousands of people of that class in this country to-day; they want to buy farms, want to take their families where they can settle on land, and we are now opening up a line of information for just such people.

#### ADDRESS BY MR. NOLAN.

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Secretary, as the hour is getting late, I wish to make a few remarks on two very important propositions before this conference for consideration, namely, the locomotive-boiler inspection bill and the great question of immigration which now confronts the American wage-worker, and every effort which has been made by them to restrict immigration along protective lines.

Both of those propositions I am deeply interested in and also the organization I have the honor to represent at this important conference of commerce and labor. \* \* \*

On this great question of immigration I will say that just at this time, when thousands of American workmen are out of employment and in enforced idleness, I am unalterably opposed to immigration under present depressed business conditions, as all trades are more or less affected by immigration which is flooding the American labor market. The great motto of the progressive business men of the country is protection.

But under the present system of immigration it simply means destruction, not protection, to the high ideals of the American wage-worker and his standard of living.

#### AFTER RECESS.

The conference assembled at the expiration of the recess.

#### ADDRESS BY MR. PERHAM.

Mr. PERHAM. Mr. Secretary and gentlemen, I desire to revert to the origin of this discussion this morning in relation to information to be furnished by the Division of Information. It seems from the remarks that have been made by many present that there is a divergence of opinion on the subject, as some have stated they are in favor of information of a certain character being disseminated in the United States, while others seemed to doubt even the propriety of that action.

Let us treat this part of the subject as domestic information as contradistinguished from foreign information, as possibly by dividing the subject we may be able to get a more clear idea of what action on the part of the Department would help the American wage-earner.

I assume, Mr. Secretary, that it is understood that we are here representing the American wage-earner; that is our especial mission in life and the reason why we are here. We are aware that this department has two functions, and as a matter of course we have little to say about the commercial end of it.

I will say respecting the men I directly represent—the railroad telegraphers, train dispatchers, station agents, and other similar classes—that they are not affected to any great extent by the immigration question. Most of them are American-born, and there are very few foreigners who enter that class of service. That seems to be the case with nearly all the railroad employees who are directly connected with the transportation department.

But I happen to occupy a dual position. Besides being the direct representative of the telegraphers I am chairman of the railroad employees' department of the American Federation of Labor, which consists of ten affiliated organizations in the railroad service.

Among these affiliated organizations is the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees; and, as no one has spoken for that class of employees as yet, I desire to say a few words about them. The Brotherhood is destined to be a very important railroad employees' organization. I understand that under normal business conditions there are about 350,000 men employed in that class of work. They are not very well organized, and they have not been heard from as much in the past as they will be in the future. The conditions of their employment are very much affected by the immigration question. On that account I would like to have seen present Mr. Lowe, the president of the organization, who is perfectly familiar with all the details surrounding that class of work, as well as the living conditions of the men, and is therefore an authority on the various subjects. Speaking from my rather limited experience with such matters, I will say that most of my observations have been in the Western States. The assertions made here by others this morning about section gangs being made up of Japanese laborers, with Swedes for foremen, are the truth, but that condition generally obtains in the Northwest and the far West. The living conditions surrounding these men were not touched upon. I think the conditions so bad and the subject of such importance that I would like to have some branch of the Government investigate the conditions under which construction men and ordinary section men live. In construction work, especially in desert sections of the country, we often see a string of old worn-out box cars used for bunk houses and eating places, with a total lack of sanitation or any consideration of decency or comfort. The mules

are treated with far more consideration than the men, perhaps because they cost more to obtain.

The men are mostly foreigners, newly arrived immigrants, who are too strange to their work and lacking in knowledge of the ways of the country to make any kind of protest; but we may do it for them, and, therefore, these statements are made from ordinary consideration of the rights of humanity.

The wages paid vary according to locality. I am informed that in the beginning of last year in the far West, \$1.75 per day was paid. One important construction company discharged all of its employees when the panic came on, and after a week or so of idleness hired them back for \$1.50 per day, and I believe that is the rate given at this time.

I will now refer to the section men employed by railroads for the purpose of keeping tracks in good condition, and they are the most numerous of any class of employees. Last year (1908) the question of reducing the pay of all employees on account of slack business was presented by the managers of a group of ten railroads, mostly in the Southeastern States. The matter was referred to the mediation and conciliation board provided for in the Erdman arbitration act. The investigation developed the fact that the section men had been receiving only 90 cents per day during prosperous times, and that they had been reduced to 80 cents per day.

The foremen of the gangs were getting \$1, \$1.05, and \$1.10 was the maximum for that class of service. It may surprise you to learn that the rates mentioned are still being paid and on railroads whose lines run into this city.

Not only are the wages low, but the conditions under which these men live are subversive of good public policy. In other countries the wages paid are small, but where possible the employee is given a plot of ground on one side of the right of way, where he may erect his little home and have his little vegetable garden to eke out his meager income. Under such circumstances he can marry and live the life of a worthy though humble citizen.

In the United States the crowded and ill-smelling bunk house is the rule, where home comforts are but a dream, and life resembles that of enforced domicile in a ship's steerage.

I offer the suggestion that if it is decided that domestic information shall be furnished by the bureau such information should show the exact reason for the shortage of labor in any locality where it may be reported; also how long the work is likely to last; also what are the living arrangements where the work is to be done. If the work is on the desert or in the mountain section, where men are expected to live under the tough conditions I have only inadequately described, the box car, the bunk, and the work train, men should be informed about it before they leave what may be their homes.

Mr. Secretary, I do not know whether you have ever seen such sights, but I can say that I have seen men working where the water was not fit to drink, where the plows and scrapers turning up the alkali soil had the effect of inflaming the lips and eyes of the men so that they could work no longer and were sent to the hospital, and in some cases turned adrift to become a public charge. While men were becoming disabled by the character of the work and surroundings, their places were immediately taken by newly arrived immigrants, and these conditions continued with the regular movement of an endless chain until the enterprise was completed.

Where conditions of that character obtain the bureau should not lend its assistance toward getting more men there until conditions have been changed so that men can live while they work. I do not wish to intimate that the bureau has ever done anything of the kind. I merely point out what may be the result should insufficient information be given out. I speak advisedly when I state that there is far more work of the character indicated to be done in the future than has been accomplished in the past.

I believe that this department will be of great usefulness to the wage-earners if proper consideration for them is brought about by its means. Its prestige could be used to great advantage if it were possible for it to intimate to the employer that comfortable and sanitary surroundings are necessary before anyone can expect its aid.

Therefore I offer these suggestions for your consideration, sincerely hoping that good results will come from them.

Now, reverting to the second part of our subject, the matter of furnishing information to foreign countries, while it is true that we are representing American wage-earners, we are not unmindful of the vast possibilities for



future progress now lying dormant awaiting the magic touch of labor. To make ourselves more clearly understood on this point, I will say we want to see this country make true progress. We want to see the population increased, but at the same time we do not want to see the common people who do the work worsted in the process. You might mistake me for a theorist were I to dilate on what can be done in the United States in the matter of conserving the waters by building dams, conserving the wasted energy of falling water, digging ditches for the purpose of conveying waste water to arid lands, making the desert places bloom like a garden. Whether these are day dreams or not, I am confident that in the end they will prove true. While they are being brought about let us have due regard for the worker by whose brawn and endurance the truth shall be made manifest. I am aware that I am debouching from the subject of discussion, yet I have not lost sight of it.

Present-day necessities demand that in sending out information as to the opportunities for labor in the United States due consideration should be shown for the people who are now here trying to earn a living. To publish broadcast advertisements respecting our wonderful resources, as the transportation companies have been doing for many years past, with the object of booming their passenger business to and from the United States, is a matter that might be taken cognizance of by the department and perhaps remedied. Immigration should not be accelerated at this time by sending out information about our resources that may be taken up by the transportation companies as an official indorsement of the work that they have been doing.

Although I am unable to furnish documentary evidence in support of my assertions, I know from the testimony of hundreds of men that not only have the resources of the country and the possibilities for working people been overly advertised, but very glaringly exaggerated by those companies interested in the transportation of passengers. They would sooner have the immigrants returned than not, as by that means they get two fares instead of one. The interests of the people of the United States, the interests of the struggling people of the world who desire to better their condition, are as nothing to the steamship companies; it is merely business they are after.

I offer the suggestion that the only foreign information that should be given out should be advice to the consuls at frequent intervals as to the exact industrial conditions throughout the United States, so that upon application of those interested the truth might be learned from them.

Secretary STRAUS. I am very glad to hear you make that suggestion, because it is precisely the suggestion that is embodied in the proposed bill that has brought up this discussion, namely, to counteract this false and misleading information that people in foreign countries who are interested in steamboat and steamship transportation put out in order to make a profit. It was suggested that the Division of Information put out correct information, and it was also contemplated that such information before it was put out should be passed upon for the information of the Division of Information by the various responsible labor organizations to be sure that it was correct. That is the very question that we have before us, the very suggestion that we have to make, and the discussion has gone around as to whether that would do more harm than good; that is the real point.

Mr. MITCHELL. Does your bill contemplate not only submitting to the responsible heads of labor organizations the question of the correctness of the information, but the wisdom of disseminating it?

Secretary STRAUS. Well, the wisdom of disseminating the information is not included in the bill, but the wisdom of disseminating is in the contemplation of this discussion; it is the very subject that we want light upon, because if it appears that there is danger of this kind of information that the Division of Information may give out being inductive to immigration instead of having the opposite effect, then it is better that it should not be put out. That is what we are now getting your judgment upon, and that is the real crux of this whole question: Is it likely to do more harm than good? We have discovered a great evil. Misleading information is given out, particularly by people who are interested in the material side of things, in making money out of this transportation. How can we counteract that? What is the best and most practical way to counteract that? Now, we have considered this subject here with a great deal of care, and we have not been able to discover any better method than the one embodied in this proposed bill. Now, we come to you and ask if you approve of this; and I understand that the brunt of the argument has been that there

is danger of such an extension of the Division of Information being conducive to more harm than good. Is not that your understanding?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes; I think that is the very general position I take. May I ask Mr. Perham if, in suggesting the dissemination of truthful information among the people of Europe as to conditions in America your indorsement of that suggestion includes the dissemination of the facts as to resources and possibilities in America?

Mr. PERHAM. No, indeed. Those matters that I referred to as facts should be fully agreed upon here before they are disseminated, and they are for the use of our agents, our trusted people in those foreign countries, who will use them for this country's good. That is my idea of it; but there is a fact in relation to this; that if some large employing interest should state that it required 10,000 men here for certain work, before that information went out it should be passed upon by some one competent to say whether it is true or not. I fully sympathize with what Doctor Neill said this morning, that where those employers are not willing to pay men more than 80 cents per day, it does not matter how they complain about the shortage of labor. They certainly are not willing to pay any man a fair wage or a living wage; they are not willing to treat men as well as they would treat horses, and consequently, they should not have the labor. We are not interested in their welfare, if it is to be taken out of the hardship and toil of those men without just recompense; we are not interested in their affairs at all.

Secretary STRAUS. May I interrupt just a moment? I don't like to do that, but it simply brings down the question nearer and nearer to us, so that it is understood. The evil that is intended to be met is this: Concretely, I will state it as it takes place. We see in our immigration stations a certain class of men who have come here from a certain section; and as they come in we examine them, and we get a pretty good view of what has induced those people to come. A certain section has been tapped by these methods that have been referred to. Now, suppose that it is this very class of men that are under your immediate jurisdiction. The Commissioner-General of Immigration would confer, say, with you, and tell you just precisely what was taking place. You would say to him: "Why, labor conditions out there are perfectly horrible. They are paying men 80 cents a day; they are not living like human beings, but are compelled to live out in the wilderness without proper housing, and where the climatic conditions are terrible." Upon that the Commissioner-General, together with the chief of the Division of Information, would prepare a statement of those things and send it out to the consul in that locality. He would then give publicity to that fact, and that would inform these men, and you may judge yourself whether and to what extent that would stop that immigration that was induced in that way. Now, that is the real idea of the dissemination of information abroad. It is not to show that here is a great country, that it has mighty possibilities, and that a great deal of labor can be used. It is not to be used for positive purposes. The idea is that this information should be used for negative purposes, that I have indicated to you. I should like to know from the laboring men, from their responsible labor leaders here, is that a good move or is it not? Does it meet their favor, or does it not? That is the concrete proposition. Have I got that stated right, Mr. Powderly?

Mr. POWDERLY. Certainly. Mr. Secretary, I should like to state that a bulletin was prepared showing what the physical characteristics and resources and production of the various States and Territories consist of. That would make up a pamphlet about that thick [indicating]. The Secretary himself rather doubted the wisdom of having that published, for the reason that if it were given out—and, of course, it could be given out only on this side—it would find its way abroad, and that, containing the statements, which would be true as to each State and Territory, without the very things he now told you ought to go in, would stimulate immigration; so it was decided not to publish that.

Mr. PERHAM. I believe that is correct. It may be patriotic and it may boost our country and all that, and in a manner that we would all approve of, but it is the result that I look at. What I am pleading for now is that labor's situation shall be correctly shown in that district where it is wanted. Some one mentioned the labor situation on the Pacific coast this morning. I have observed some things there in that country. They seem to want a lot of farm laborers at one season of the year to take in the crops, and they do not want them afterwards. So there will be a wheat crop, there will be a grape crop, there will be a lemon crop, and an orange crop; and I recollect, in days long ago,

when the editor of the San Francisco Examiner ran labor trains all over that State for the purpose of carrying these men to the places where work was to be had. After the labor trains ceased, these men had to put their blankets on their shoulders and walk from one place to another in that State, where there are such big farms and ranches. They had no accommodations for the men. After cutting the wheat they were supposed to sleep in the furrow. It is a regular thing to carry your blanket and your kit with you. I submit that this is no way to treat workmen, and that that offers no inducement for a man to go there to look for two or three months' work, and possibly have to walk back to some other country, possibly across the desert, to get back into civilization. Therefore we do not want to see these people taken out into such localities for a few short weeks of well-paid work and then left stranded. It is a bad condition. Now, these reports would show correctly all of the things in connection with that case, so a man might not be induced to go out there with the idea of getting \$3 a day, which in his mind might mean three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, and when he gets out there find in two or three short weeks that the job is all over and he has to walk across the desert to get back. We want these conditions shown. I believe, if that is borne in mind and the wage-earner and toiler is given a fair show, fair consideration, that there might be some good worked along those lines.

Mr. GARRETTSON. Mr. Secretary, you asked a question a moment ago that brought a peculiar condition to light. You addressed an inquiry to Mr. Perham in regard to the effect that each recurring wave of immigration had in pushing the American laborer up. Now, my only object was to play Yankee—answer a question by asking one. Instead of pushing the American laborer up, don't these recurring waves of immigration simply force him—because these waves of immigration, or the units therein, are ready to perform work at a less rate of wage—force him to seek some other employment that still will pay him his old working rate; and don't these waves bring down the rate of pay in those classes of service that he can perform so that if ever he desires to return to that service he finds that wage rate lowered by these recurring waves of immigration? For instance, the Commissioner this morning stated two instances that every man who has his finger on the pulse of wage knows to be true. In the steel industries, the unskilled laborer—or what he has graduated into—has fallen from an eight-hour day to a twelve-hour day, with no increase in compensation therefor. When American labor dominated that trade, they gave an eight-hour day for the same amount of money that these people had. If the American laborer is forced back into that channel he has suffered a virtual reduction, through the low rate of wage that these people would accept. The same thing is true in the packing-house industry. There are two leading examples. Instead of establishing a new plane for American labor they have established a new low-water mark, and if necessity ever forces him back he has to become subject to those submerged conditions. They do not push him up; they furnish a new level for him to fall to.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Secretary, my observation has not been that the displaced laborer is pushed up. It has been my observation that he is pushed out. I saw a few days ago where my good friend Mr. Powderly was making some very fine distinctions as between the bum, the tramp, and the hobo. I do not know to which class I belonged, but I do know that I found it necessary, at one time, largely as a result of this new labor, to seek employment some 1,500 miles from where I belonged. As I had no means to go there in a Pullman, I either had to walk or ride at the expense of the railroad company; and I observed all along the road in that 1,500 miles and in my travels around the West, that it was not these immigrants who were seeking employment; it was the men like me who were born in America, whose jobs had been taken by men who had come over here. They had pushed us out and we joined the great army of the unemployed. I had to strike for the far West and the new country, and to try to carve out my fortune there.

Secretary STRAUS. Mr. Mitchell, is not your very position you now occupy, and what it has been for a number of years, a denial of the statement that you make in your own concrete case?

Mr. MITCHELL. No; not at all. If it was, then I should say there ought to be about 15,000 John Mitchells who were ex-presidents of the United Mine Workers of America and are now prominently before the people of the United States. Probably of the thousands of men who, like myself, were pushed up, I was the one who rose where the rest fell. Mr. Secretary, I know what it is to fight

against influences that push a man down. The only thing that in my experience I could not do was to beg for something to eat; I always asked a chance to work for my something to eat. But I do know hundreds of men, Mr. Secretary—I have seen them in my life, and talked with them, because I have been interested in these problems—I have found hundreds of men who were not quite so sensitive as I was, but whose hardships had hardened them so that they forgot their desire to rise in the world, and as a result of unemployment they had got into a state of mind and into a condition where they did not want work. A man who starts out of employment is at first a respectable, high-class man, but he has no place to work and no money to buy food, and, just as surely as mingling with depravity lowers a man step by step until he no longer wants to associate with honorable men, so it is that unemployment and beating your way from place to place, and associating only with those who will associate with you, lowers you down until you forget the condition in which you used to be, or until it only comes to you like a lingering memory. Sometimes like a dream these men look back to the pinnacle on which they once were, when they were wage-earners; but they have been driven down and have become of the type that has been described. They are tramps, bums, and finally hoboes, men who no longer want work because they have got away from it, just as we find men in other classes of society who go down, down, down until the better part of their manhood is submerged and they can not rise again. So, instead of these immigrants pushing men up to better planes of society, they push them out. Of course, I know—I have read the books that have been written about one class being supplanted by another in whole communities. I suppose you are familiar with the Slav invasion of the anthracite coal fields; how the English, Irish, and Scotch employees were there first and then came along the Slavs and slowly but surely drove them from place to place and drove them up the valley. Mr. Powderly knows more about it than I do—how the English-speaking men made their last stand right up at Mr. Powderly's home, and now they are going from there. True, some of them have entered the railway service; we have lots of them who are railroad men now, and others have become policemen—strong, big, fine men. But there are hundreds of them, you will find, wandering up and down in America.

Secretary STRAUS. Has the wage standard during this time lowered or raised?

Mr. MITCHELL. It has lowered. By encroachments, and in a hundred ways, the wages have fallen. The actual amount paid for digging a ton of coal may not be less, but the encroachments have been put on here and there, and, of course, the purchasing power of money has changed so greatly that there is no comparison between the wages now and the wages thirty and forty years ago.

Mr. POWDERLY. And the difficulties in mining, too.

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes; everything is changed. I remember reading how in New England the American girls and Irish girls and Welsh and Scotch girls in the textile mills were slowly put out and the foreign girls came in. The French-Canadian girls came in and shoved them out. After that the Lithuanians came. Mr. Carroll Wright has pictured very nicely how they were all pushed up—they were pushed out. And I say, Mr. Secretary, that while here and there you will find men, like the men who are gathered here, who, because of their indomitable will and perseverance, and because of their inherent or acquired ability, have risen above their fellows with no better opportunities, probably most of them subject to the same hardships as I was, yet every man could not do it.

Secretary STRAUS. Aren't the general wage conditions and the life of the wage-earner, generally speaking, better to-day in this country than they were twenty-five years ago?

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes; far better.

Secretary STRAUS. That is the point, it seems to me.

Mr. MITCHELL. There has, Mr. Secretary, been on the average a general uplift of American labor. Generally, there has been an uplift, particularly in the organized trades, and the unorganized have benefited because of the organized effort made by these unions. They are never at our level, but if we go up 50 cents a day they go up 30 cents a day or 25 cents a day, so that they benefit in proportion.

Secretary STRAUS. That is what I understood.

Mr. MITCHELL. I do not expect that anything I say would change your view at all, but I would not like you to believe that it is possible by the coming in of cheap labor to push the men holding those places up.

Secretary STRAUS. Well, I do not understand that the cheap laborer coming in, as you say, cheapened that labor, but that the laborer that came in took the cheaper grades of labor, and those that were doing the cheaper grades of labor went up to the next stage or a higher grade of labor. I understand that that has been generally the tendency—of course, there are exceptions—but there has been a general rise of labor.

Mr. MITCHELL. I think it is not due to their coming in. Of course, every man fights his way up; we all fight up; these men have been fighting their way up. Everybody, I suppose, does that. The goal is up.

#### ADDRESS BY MR. HAWLEY.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Secretary, let me first express my appreciation of the interest you manifest in humanity by calling together here these labor representatives. I see in this a possibility in the future, which is that since now one wing of the Government is interested, eventually the Government in its entirety may become equally interested in the welfare of the American wage-earner. \* \* \*

In relation to sections 2 and 3, they seem to be of such a close nature as to be almost identical. They have, however, been extensively discussed here to-day, but notwithstanding the extent of the discussions and the intelligent opinions offered, the trouble prevails—the evil exists. It exists in the number of idle workmen in the country. Evidently your intention is to overcome this evil, if possible, and you seek advice from these representatives to that effect. First, then, let us determine—is not this department for the protection of the American wage-earner in preference to the wage-earners of any other country? I assume that it is. Hence, then, on the principle that self-preservation is the first law of nature—the principle which transcends every other—we should, as Mr. Mitchell says, give our first attention to the American wage-earner, and then, afterwards, give our sympathy to the others.

Now, let me tell you something, which I know and in which Mr. Powderly will sustain me. I was raised in the anthracite coal regions and began working at 12 years of age, and have been working ever since. I recall distinctly when the miner was paid \$6 or \$7 a day in the anthracite coal mines, and his helper about \$3.50 or \$4. But the condition related by Mr. Powderly followed—the importation of foreigners—the pushing out of the American workman. His place has been taken by those foreigners. Go with me to McKeesport, Homestead, Duquesne, Pittsburg, Youngstown, Niles, Cleveland, Lorain, Buffalo, South Chicago, or any other place where they have the Steel Corporation's institutions, and what do you find? A large population composed entirely of foreigners. Go there to-day and you may become acquainted with every one of those laborers. Go away and return five years hence and you do not know a single one of them—but still they are foreigners. They have accumulated enough money to take them back and live in affluence. That, in my judgment, is a menace to American labor and should be overcome; and my opinion is that in time the propositions advocated by the American Federation of Labor as explained by Mr. Mitchell this morning will have to be adopted as a protection to the American wage-earner—namely, to put a tax upon those people when they come here and demand educational requirements. I ask, is it just to American institutions to bring here such a class of men as that? Is it showing respect to the land of liberty to have America become a dumping ground for other peoples from other countries such as we have?

Now, what I look at is this: The evil which exists consists mainly in the large number of idle men we have here; that can not be denied. It is caused by the peculiar conditions under which the industrial affairs of this country are operated. The men are here, and the women as well, as shown here to-day, and have not any work.

I do not believe that any recommendations we could make here would bring relief to those who are at present not employed, but we can make such recommendations as may prevent the possibility of the recurrence of this condition should another depression take place. It is, then, by means of opinions expressed here that we can determine on this. But my candid and honest opinion is that the dissemination of any information in foreign countries from any

branch of this Government will be an encouragement to the men over there to come here, even though we may relate a degrading condition, because, as Mr. Mitchell stated yesterday, the worst condition here is better than the best conditions in other places. Go with me to some centers where those people are located. You, I suppose, have in your possession the information. Just as soon as one family moves to a locality, or within sixty days or ninety days, there is a whole colony there. They depreciate property and drive other people out, and this is the class of people you have there. They do not become citizens; they do not become interested except as to the amount of money they earn; and they do not learn what the standard of American labor is. To-day those men are working and the American citizen is walking the streets. In our city, or just adjoining, we have soup houses. Where the Lackawanna Iron and Steel Company is located, outside of Buffalo, they decided to assist those people when the works closed down, and I will tell you of an instance which occurred there. A woman sought assistance from the board which was established by those who were charitably inclined, and in order that they might determine on how much assistance she would be worthy of they asked her to go home and get her pass book, so that they might learn how much she consumed each month. She went home and brought her bank book, which showed that she had \$2,500 in the bank. That is the class of people that are driving American labor out of positions to-day. If, then, that is true, should we not overcome that condition? In my judgment, no matter what resolutions, no matter what investigations, no matter what communications you may carry on, you can not remove that evil unless you put a tax upon those people.

We want to shut the undesirables out; that is all. It used to be when you went into the mills and the furnaces any man you might meet could answer you any question you could ask; but to-day you have to hunt the boss, for nobody else understands the English language.

Mr. KEEFE. \* \* \* It seems to me that the amendment that the Secretary has prepared to the present law creating the Division of Information, to which he has called your attention repeatedly and asked whether or not that amendment met with your approval—it seems to me that amendment is not being discussed as fully as it should. The amendment ought perhaps to be reread and an expression obtained on it. Do you think so, Mr. Secretary?

Secretary STRAUS. If you think so.

Mr. KEEFE. I think it should be reread, if you agree to that—whether or not that amendment or any other would be helpful which extends the scope of information of this division.

Mr. MORRISON. Just a word. Would it not probably come in better form through a motion that we are opposed to the amendment?

Mr. KEEFE. That is all right.

Mr. MORRISON. Yesterday my position was that I was opposed to the division; I gave my reasons. Now, what I have in mind is that to assist the unemployed we should recommend here to the Secretary that he should recommend certain amendments—I think the department would have that power—to the immigration law. The federation has taken three very distinct positions. In 1905 it adopted the following, which I will read. It is not as full as what was passed upon by the executive council. It said:

"A further check should be put upon assisted immigration. The law now permits the passage of an alien to be paid by any relative or friend living in this country. Every employer that wants to bring in cheap laborers is, of course, a friend to them or can find somebody to play the part. It is one of the readiest means of avoiding the contract-labor law. The privilege of paying the passage of others should be restricted to the nearest relatives—fathers, mothers, children, brothers and sisters, husband, and wife."

Secretary STRAUS. I think that is practically the fact now.

Mr. GOMPERS. That is the law now.

Mr. MORRISON. That is the law now?

Secretary STRAUS. Yes.

Mr. MORRISON. Well, that was one of the points, but in accordance with the views they recommended that there should be an educational test and an increase in the per capita tax paid. Now, we do not want a per capita tax from the revenue of which we can run a part of the Government. We want a per capita tax from which there is no revenue—call it a prohibitive per capita tax if you want to. They have adopted that in Canada. We want what is practical.

Secretary STRAUS. You are mistaken; they have not adopted it in Canada.

Mr. MORRISON. Against the Chinese.

Secretary STRAUS. Oh, well, we have something more drastic than that.

Mr. MORRISON. That may be, but I am only pointing out that if we increase the per capita tax \$4 it would prevent the immigrant from coming in here to work for an employer that can use him to take the place of a man at a reduction of 50 cents a day. Now, for my part, I would like to see this conference go on record for an educational test and for a high per capita tax which would be more or less prohibitive and for such other recommendations that in their judgment will give relief. What they want is something that will prevent the immigrants from coming here at the rate at which they are coming at the present time. An educational test will do it in part, and a high per capita tax can be made so that it will be almost prohibitive, anyway, to the immigrants, particularly the undesirables. For my part, I am opposed to the amendment. I believe so far as it affects the people of foreign countries that we might as well abolish the division, and that that department could be transferred so that it would be utilized for the benefit of the unemployed that we have at the present time. I believe that that is speaking directly to the amendment, but if you would like to have it in the form of a motion I move that—

Secretary STRAUS. Just a moment. Before you do that I should like to say a word. I don't think it would be wise to put anything in the form of a motion, because I think it misconceives the purpose of this conference. This is not a legislative body; it is a consultative body. I think it would be best—from my long thought in bringing labor in closer touch with that department of the Government that is in closest touch with labor questions—that this should simply be a consultative conference, because as soon as you go further than that and pass motions you are constituting something that will prove impracticable. Now, you have referred to the question of a capitation tax being raised so high that it will be practically prohibitive. That is the object of it; not for the purpose of revenue, but for the purpose of raising a capitation tax. If \$50 won't do it, let \$100 be put on; if \$100 won't do it, let \$500 be put on. Now, I deem it due to you to say that I am unalterably opposed to a measure of that kind, and the reason I am opposed to a measure of that kind is this; I think it is wrong—not from a short point of view, but from a long point of view—toward the wage-earner to put a capitalistic test upon him. It is not fair; it is not just; it is not the kind of test that labor wants to put upon any form of labor. I think labor is putting itself on the wrong side in doing it, and I would use my best effort not to have labor put itself in contradiction to the very things that labor stands for. It is doing by indirection that which you would wish to do directly. I do not like that; I do not think that it is square.

Mr. HAWLEY. If you thought that your method could not be successful, what then would you suggest to prevent the importation of these undesirable people?

Secretary STRAUS. I will tell you. I have still another plan. I would select eight or ten of your most enlightened men that you would give me, and I would send them to Europe to study the conditions there themselves; and I would have them come back and make a report to this department from observations that they had made in foreign countries after having studied the problem there. That would be one of my plans.

Mr. HAWLEY. What effect would the information you got there have upon the importation of these foreigners here?

Secretary STRAUS. You would then know precisely what circumstances operate there.

Mr. HAWLEY. Well, could that be used as a basis for legislation here? Is that what you mean?

Secretary STRAUS. It might be used, and probably could be used. It would throw light upon the subject by which we could reach it.

Mr. HAWLEY. You believe, though, in meeting immediate necessities, do you not, rather than in procrastinating?

Secretary STRAUS. I do not regard that we are in the midst of any immediate necessities when I know that for the past twelve months emigration from these shores has exceeded the immigration to them. I think that just at the present time we are not in the face of pressing necessities; I think it clearly shows the other way. What I aim after is this; I regard precisely what Mr. Gompers referred to. This question of unemployment is not confined to our own country. This question of unemployment is one of the great

questions of our civilization. It is the reverse side of the shield of prosperity, if you please. It is one of the incidents of this great commercial development that has characterized our age, not only in this country but in all countries. That era has brought many blessings—a great many. I think it is the happiest we have ever had, taking it all in all—the commercial era. Now, there is a train of evils that come with these advantages. One of the evils is this unemployment. The eras before this had other evils that were greater than unemployment, because with this unemployment comes a very large area of employment, and I believe Mr. Gompers and you gentlemen will agree with me, when all is said and done, that within the last hundred years the wage standard has risen, the individual laborer has become more and more a higher class of human being, and there has been a great development along those lines. I am free to say I give great credit for the advance that has been made in the last twenty-five or thirty years to your organizations, to the strengthening of organized labor. I think there can be no higher concrete proof that such is the fact than that I see before me a body of men such as I am now addressing, who are leaders in their own various lines of organized labor and who have graduated from those ranks.

Now, there is no use of our being so pessimistic. I am optimistic; you make me so. As Mr. Mitchell says, the standard of the laboring men has risen. He wants more: he requires more than the laborer of a generation or a hundred years ago. He wants to do more for his family; he is a better educated man; and he is striving for more and more—and I want to see him get it. But I do not want to see him get it by doing injustice to himself, because there are some who come after us, and I want to see them go a step higher, the same as those who are with us now have done. If I am wrong in this statement—and I make it with great deliberation, and I make it after education on the labor side in your ranks—I shall be very glad to be informed of that error. But don't make a capitalistic test against your own people. You talk about the laborer who is not an American citizen. Look back, most of you, upon your own esentecheons. If it is not you, your fathers came over here. I can not get away from the old American idea that was voiced by Roger Williams at a time when the great question in this country was not the wage standard, but the right of the individual to worship as he chose to, under the narrow restrictions of the Puritan commonwealth. He said: "When you have crossed over the black brook of some soul bondage yourself, leave a plank for distressed souls who come after you." Take every precaution that you think is fair and just, but do not make it a requirement for an honest, upright laboring man to be a capitalist before he can come to this country, because what you will do will be done against you. I may have the historical view; I know I have, but in the long run that is usually the right view.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Secretary, inasmuch as a statement of mine inspired you in your remarks, I want to say that my desire for an expression of opinion through motion was inspired by Commissioner Keefe's statement that we had not directed our attention to the amendment. I appreciate your position in regard to immigration, as I believe we are all descendants of some one who came across at some time. I might call your attention to the fact, though, that there is a tariff on the product of the laborers of foreign countries who come here. The employers, of course, are protected. Such being the case, a great number believe that there might also be a protective tariff so far as the laborers that are coming over here are concerned. I understand this is a conference and your desire opinions.

Secretary STRAUS. Yes.

Mr. MORRISON. And the remark that I made was for the purpose of, perhaps, getting the opinion by an expression rather than by each individual making a statement. And I want to say that while years ago I had your views in regard to immigration, my experience in the labor movement has caused me to change my views; and I believe if we are going to solve the problem of unemployment in this country, some remedy will have to be found and put into operation by legislation whereby the continual flow of immigration to this country can be diminished.

Secretary STRAUS. You have, have you not, in the past presented those views to Congress when they were legislating on the subject?

Mr. MORRISON. Oh, yes; and your department very vigorously worked for the educational test. Of course, there were other great forces. Every employer, every manufacturers' association, every representative of every rail-



road, the representatives of the Steel Trust—that corporation which is hiring men now at 12 cents an hour—were there with their paid attorneys and overcame the efforts of labor, which was not in a position to have such an array at the Capitol. They had the advantage, these corporations, in reaching the Representatives and placing before them their arguments. And that is one reason we feel that this department, for the purpose of assisting labor in remedying some of the evils, should come to the front and by its recommendation assist organized labor in limiting the evils that now exist.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. Secretary, I want to put myself right with you before we conclude, please. I had reference to that class of people who come here and accumulate their earnings and go back with them, and that live here in a rather disgraceful condition, as may have been demonstrated to you through your examiners—not those who come here and stay—because if I took that position I should be showing disrespect to my father, who came here from Ireland and stayed here and spent the money that he earned.

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Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Secretary and gentlemen, the tribute which you, Mr. Secretary, paid to the labor organizations for the efforts they have made and the fair measure of success which has been achieved in the uplift of the conditions of the working people of the country, I think, is appreciated by all of us; and a word in connection with that, as well as its bearing upon the subject under consideration, may not be amiss. You must bear this in mind: That, though almost all of us here assembled, and whom you have honored by an invitation to participate in this conference, all have their daydream—I doubt if there is a man or woman here but who indulges, once in a while, in a daydream and the building of castles in the air, not necessarily for himself or herself, but in the highest hope and aspiration for the common uplift—yet we are not theorists—that is, we do not permit our theories to interfere with the practical work and the practical questions and how to apply ourselves practically to their solution. The men assembled here, I suppose, in almost any condition which might arise in our country by reason of a great influx of immigrants, would find it possible to get along in the world—at least to make a living and support themselves and those dependent upon them—as well in any other walk of life as in the pursuit which they now follow.

It is not the peculiarly selfish purpose, therefore, that we have in view in trying in some way to restrict or to limit the great influx of immigration which we have experienced within recent years. It is not ourselves that we have in view. It is true that we have primarily in view the great body of workers we have the honor to represent, but we do so in the interests of all our people. It is not purely selfish; it is a broad patriotism and a deep conception of our duty not only to our fellows of to-day but to those who are to come after us. For one, I would not want to appear as an advocate of the old notion of "America for Americans and no one else;" but we are confronted with a condition with which we must deal. It is true that for three or four years the great revival and development in industry absorbed the hundreds of thousands that came here annually, until the number reached, I think, in the close of the fiscal year of 1907 over 1,100,000 immigrants. No country on the face of the globe can permanently assimilate such a constantly increasing number of immigrants; and the ratio of increase that prevailed, say, from 1902 up until the close of the fiscal year 1907, was so great that it is difficult to foresee where the figures would lead. The men of labor took occasion to call attention to the fact that this great inrush of almost unrestricted immigration to our shores would some day come to burden us. We are now and have been for a year and a half in the midst of an industrial stagnation. Without the necessity of specifying the exact number or the approximate number of the unemployed, all admit that it is a very large number, and all too large. But unless something is done now or in the very near future we shall witness the constant increase of immigration, for the reports since the close of the last fiscal year indicate that there is now an increase month by month, and this in spite of the fact that it is not only demonstrable but is an absolute fact that industrial conditions are as bad, if they are not a little shade worse, than they were last year about this time.

Mr. Valentine just now called my attention to the Iron Age of to-day and that it indicates a large falling off in industry and trade as compared to last year. If that is so, it is the first publication of that fact that I have seen in six months.

Some few months ago—whether as the result of a natural revival or whether it was superinduced by some desire, or whether it was by some species of stimulus—there seemed to be a revival in industry, and that fact was published broadcast throughout the country. The closing down of establishments since then and the discharge of many workers in establishments that did not close down have not been published, however, and are little known except to the men in the labor movement whose business it is to know these things when they occur. If there shall be no further limitation or some further restriction of immigration, it seems quite evident that when a revival of industry shall make itself manifest at all we shall witness again the immense numbers coming to our shores. I said we were all practical men. Sometimes we may not know the weapons which we might employ in order to accomplish a given end. Perhaps the suggestions which we make may seem unseemly. But we come to present the conditions as they are and to submit that some relief ought to be established, in order that we may not be overwhelmed. Whether that be by a per capita tax; whether it be by an educational test; whether it be by some other process is of less consequence than is the accomplishment of the purpose. The labor organizations which have done so much, first, to help build up the condition of the American worker, both directly as to the membership and indirectly in its influence upon the unorganized, and which have, without question, maintained somewhat of the standard of life during this era of depression, and which have prevented the reductions in wages attempted by the old school of political economy as a way out of an industrial stagnation—that is, wage reductions—these organizations are even now hampered by restrictions upon their normal activities. Yesterday I called attention very briefly—perhaps all too insufficiently—to the fact of the restrictions which have been placed around the railroad management and that make it exceedingly difficult to find even a way out to the transportation of laborers from place to place under a preferred or a low rate—find their expression equally with the labor organizations, which by legislative enactment or judicial interpretation are circumscribed in their activities. It is true that we are not lawyers—although some of us have had some law rubbed up against our furs the wrong way recently [laughter]—but in the plain, matter-of-fact way we come, in sincere appreciation of and in answer to your invitation, to meet and confer with you, and in our way, as best we can, to present to you the thoughts that permeate our minds and which are the result of the experience of years—the thoughts that come from the great undercrust of the industrial world.

Secretary STRAUS. You know, Mr. Gompers—of course you would not have referred to it unless you knew—that in the case of the larger emigrating countries, as distinguished from immigrating countries, that in the countries from which the immigrants come, like Germany and Great Britain, the question of unemployment is much more acute than it is in this country. Have you taken that into consideration in an effort to find what is the cause?

Mr. GOMPERS. Let me say, Mr. Secretary, there were some thoughts that I was in hopes of being able to store up in my mind and only to let them escape me to an unsuspecting British and German people when I got there during this summer, but your question provoked me to anticipating my statement.

England was the first industrial country of the world; that is, historically speaking. It was practically the workshop of the world. In its trade-union activity it secured a reduction of the hours of labor and an increase in the wages of its working people. Then other continental countries of Europe developed industrially and only in a measure secured shorter hours and higher wages. Paradoxical as it may seem, I hold it to be a fundamental economic truth that the reduction of the hours of labor of the working people, followed necessarily by an increase in their wages, makes for the industrial mastery of the country and of the world. Of course it is not necessary for anyone to quote to me the result leading to an absurdity; that is, that following out logically, that if a man did not work at all he would be better paid than the man who works twelve hours a day. (Sometimes that is true, but it is not generally true as an economic proposition.) But when the hours of labor are reduced, say, to eight per day, you will find the highest efficiency and the best wages and the best results, both in quality and quantity. During the last ten years or more the British workmen have not gone on in their movement to reduce the hours of labor and to increase wages. The last effort made of any importance was that of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, when it undertook to establish an eight-hour workday; and by the combination of the manufacturers and

employers generally of Great Britain that movement was defeated, and it checked the movement for a reduction in the hours of labor of the British workman since that time.

Not only is the question of unemployment, in London particularly and in Great Britain generally, an acute question with the workers of that country, but it is a great social question with which every thinking man and woman in that country are now concerning themselves. Of course, this is a long-distance view from here to Great Britain, but I make it my purpose to think of world problems, however faulty my solutions or my conclusions may be; I make it my purpose to learn the conditions obtaining in other countries besides our own, and, if I may be permitted to make this statement in advance of what I may have to say to my fellow-workers and friends in Great Britain, I believe that it will be necessary for the people of Great Britain to make several movements, one of which is that the eight-hour day shall become generally applicable to the workers of that country; and, secondly, that the women shall be kept at home rather than encouraged to supplant the men, and that the children shall be kept at school and on the playground until they are at least 14 years of age. In England it is not an immigration question. It was for a considerable period of time.

In our own country the American workmen, through the labor organizations, have asserted their rights. Perhaps it may have appeared a little epigrammatic or grandiloquent when I made the statement almost at the close of my remarks yesterday that there must not be permitted to grow up in our country a permanent standing army of unemployed workers. But it was not an idle statement, and it was not a statement made grandiloquently, nor merely, as some one suggested, an epigram; it was uttered advisedly. The American workingmen won't permit such a condition of affairs to grow up in our country. We are made of different stuff—this great conglomeration, this great crucible of America, made up of the peoples of different countries. We have developed a labor movement in this country that proposes that the workers shall not be constantly driven down. Call it a militant movement, if you please, but it is a sociological force that meets greed and power of combination and stands absolutely for the principles and character and independence that must form the substratum of American sovereignty and American manhood. In countries that are based upon a king, where "the king can do no wrong," "the emperor is all wise," they make a mistake and the people suffer by it; but we are sovereign citizens. Every man who becomes a citizen of our country is supposed to help. Theoretically, at least, his say so is as much as any other man's in determining either the officers or the laws of our Government and our country, and we can not conduct a republic based upon the sovereignty of the masses unless that sovereignty shall be assertive, shall be imbued with character and every concept of duty and obligation as well as rights. We are a nation, great, wonderful. I wish I could write something that would portray my highest ideal of it—of an apotheosis to it. All that I have said or tried to say in regard to it I find has been only short of the very merest conception that I have in mind. But yet we are only a country in the making. In England, with its history, with its traditions and its legends, with its thousands of years of growth of nationality, of individuality, and of character, the question of immigration does not affect them as it does us.

Out of this crucible of contending opinions, of different make-up and character, and manhood and prejudice and ignorance and enlightenment of all our peoples, has come this American labor movement of ours, in which we try to express what we believe are some of the essentials to maintain a rational and natural movement of the American wage-workers.

And, though the thought I am about to express now may not be germane to the subjects under consideration, I may be permitted to digress for a moment and to say that it will be a sorry day for all of us and for our country when the American labor movement as we see it to-day, with its men, some of whom you have seen to-day—when our organizations are outlawed and our activities declared unlawful. The American workman has imbued the spirit of independence, even though he was not born here. The American union men revere the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of our country, and they are working along the lines of the Anglo-Saxon—the Americanized Anglo-Saxon idea of progress. Make the movement impossible by outlawing it and its men—the men of labor of America—are not going to stoop their backs to have yokes placed upon them.

This is entirely foreign, perhaps, to what we were called upon to discuss, but I could not help saying it. Mr. Secretary, I do not know that I shall have another word to say in the conference—perhaps I have already taken up more time than I should have done—but I express the hope that when you go out of office good fortune may attend you. Whether in office or out of office, I think you will carry the good will of the men of labor with you. I am speaking now for myself and express my own opinion.

I want to add another thought, and that is that the movement inaugurated by you for these conferences may, whether you are in office or your successor is at the head of this Department, be continued. We have not lost our hope of some day having a Department of Labor which shall continue in that work, and we hope that it may be achieved some day; and until that day we do believe it to be in the interest both of good government and of all our people that these conferences may be repeated at such frequent intervals as may conduce to a better understanding of all that may make for the public good.

Secretary STRAUS. Mr. Gompers, I wish to express to you my very high appreciation of what you have said. I consider it no special cause for pride that I should be interested in one of the greatest questions that concerns American life—the welfare of the wage-earners of the country. I do not expect to be in this office after the 4th of March. Public office is not a private franchise. I have deemed it a great privilege that I was called to preside over the work of this department. That I was able to look upon the labor side of the jurisdiction of this department perhaps with as open a mind as I have done I owe largely to you, gentlemen, with whom I have been associated in connection with the Civic Federation. I have felt that the head of this department ought not to lose the benefit of your counsel and advice and, wherever possible, your cooperation. I have, since I have been here, kept the doors wide open for the labor side of the department, and I have had conferences with a great many of you individually. I have been fortunate in having as my aids while here men who have graduated from your ranks, such as Mr. Sargent, Mr. Powderly, and now Mr. Keefe. I regret not the leaving of office; on the contrary I welcome the relief from official care, but I regret the loss of the opportunity in furthering this movement, this very cooperation between this department of the Government and the men of labor. I appreciate that. Even where we disagree I can make allowances for your point of view and I think you can make allowances for mine in trying to find a way to solve, if not entirely, then so far as may be practical the great problems that confront us. I regret the loss of the vantage ground which is afforded as head of this department. But I shall not abandon this work. Very often in unofficial place one can do, if not as much, still a great deal in furthering and helping on these humanitarian movements.

I have the same feeling in connection with the commercial side. I have succeeded—pardon the egotism; it is not intended as such—in building up a new movement on the commercial side, namely, the National Council of Commerce. Having made the contact between this department on the one side with the commercial bodies and on the other with labor the next step is to bring the two wings together. Now, that may be somewhat ideal, but it looks to me like a tangible thing to do and it can be done from this vantage ground and I hope that you will insist that these conferences shall be continued. I am deeply interested that this feature should become a success because I see great good to come from it.

I desire at this stage to express to you my hearty appreciation of the response you have made to the invitation that has been forwarded to you, and of the light you have given me in discussing these important problems. I was pleased to receive an expression of your views upon one of the main points that you were called upon to consider with me, namely, this proposed new activity of the Division of Information. Do not dismiss this subject hurriedly, consider it again—not here, but among yourselves—whether this problem of unemployment can not be met, if not fully, at least to a considerable degree, by extending this Division of Information. Consider whether it would not be a great advantage to labor to have accessible daily information regarding employment throughout the country. If it can be done in another way more effectively, then let it be done in that way; but the question is, Will such information not be of great benefit to you? I would be disinclined to do it, having together a set of men such as I see before me, if they should decide against it. Perhaps this law as it now stands might be amended in a way

that has been suggested: That in the first place it should apply to American citizens, and then, secondarily only, to others. I am not prepared to say whether that would be wise or unwise; that is a question I think you all ought to consider.

Now we will take up a subject in which you all are interested, and in which I am interested simply in an official way as the head of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and that is this proposition with reference to a Nobel peace prize.

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Following a discussion of the subject last referred to Mr. Keefe said in part: I am now going to ask the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to close the conference. Before doing so, I wish to say that in the event of Mr. Straus's not continuing as head of the department, an effort will be made to call other meetings, not only of those who are here on this occasion, but of others also, to discuss questions in which this department and the wage-earners generally are interested.

I am quite sure that the results of this meeting will be beneficial, and great good accrue therefrom. We have here representatives of all the wage-workers of America, those who are represented by the great American Federation of Labor, as well as those who compose the brotherhood organizations. For that reason I consider this the most important meeting of its kind ever held in this country, and I am strongly of the opinion that the industrial atmosphere is much clearer than it was before this conference was called.

Mr. Straus, as I have said, informs us that he does not expect to continue as Secretary of Commerce and Labor after March 4, which we all deeply regret. However, I can say confidently that the good work for which he has laid the foundation will continue and develop. I now have the pleasure and privilege of asking our esteemed friend, the Honorable Oscar S. Straus, to make a few remarks before bringing the meeting to a close.

Secretary STRAUS. As before stated, after the 4th of March I expect to join the great army of the unemployed [laughter], and I shall then be able to speak even more feelingly from that side than while I am occupying my present position. I thank you very much for having responded to the invitation to confer with the chief of this department upon the subjects that we have discussed for the past two days, and I shall feel that the meeting is of even greater importance if the initiative that now has been taken will be continued. Out of office I shall always take an interest in these subjects. I hope to address myself—as one of the subjects which will occupy my thoughts and attention—to this great question of the employable unemployed. I have received a great deal of light from your various presentations of the subject. I look upon that problem of the unemployed as being a kind of tribute—unhappy tribute—that our civilization is paying for many of the blessings it has enjoyed. The tribute is very costly. It should be the object of everybody to make that tribute as small as possible; and no one whose heart beats for justice and right can fail to be impressed with the fact that where there is wealth and riches, overabundance and plenty on the one side, and on the other men willing and capable of working and unable to find work, there is something materially wrong. What the remedy should be is the great problem of our civilization. The man who discovers it will erect a monument to himself that ought to, and will, forever perpetuate his good work. Many of the isms that have been propounded do not commend themselves to the thoughtful; they embody remedies that are worse than the disease.

I thank you very much, and with Mr. Powderly's historic mallet I declare this conference adjourned.

(Adjournment at 6.10 p. m.)





