

# THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

OR

“SELLING OUR BIRTHRIGHT FOR A MESS  
OF POTTAGE”

The written views  
of  
A number of Americans,  
(present and former)  
on  
Immigration and its results.

*Edited*

*by*

MADISON GRANT  
AND  
CHAS. STEWART DAVISON

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## Foreword

The contributors whose articles appear in this book are; save doubtless the signers of this Foreword; men of eminence or distinction in the life of the United States. As individuals, they represent various races, various occupations, various professions, and various regions of the Country. Some of them are students, others are essentially practical men. In fine they are a cross section of the best thought of the United States; men of judgment, of weight and of experience; the official representative of Labor, the official representative of the Manufacturers, lawyers, doctors, students, employers of Mexicans, professors at universities, members of Congress, leading natural historians and scientists. Extracts from the writings of eminent men who have passed away also appear. They are those who were most distinguished in our early history: John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Fisher Ames, Benjamin Franklin, Christopher Gadsden, Alexander Hamilton, Patrick Henry, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, Rufus King, James Madison, Gouveneur Morris and George Washington. Upon this subject; the perils involved in Immigration; all are of a mind—that the introduction of discordant elements into our body politic is fraught with danger.

MADISON GRANT

CHAS. STEWART DAVIDSON

February 7th, 1930.

*“The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body. It is the manners and spirit of a people which preserve a republic in vigor. A degeneracy in these is a canker which soon eats to the heart of its laws and constitution.”—Thomas Jefferson.*



## CONTENTS

PAGE

IMMIGRATION AND NATIONAL UNITY	105
Henry Pratt Fairchild	
WORDS OF THE FOUNDERS . . . Benjamin Franklin	111
WORDS OF THE FOUNDERS Christopher Gadsden	113
WORDS OF THE FOUNDERS Alexander Hamilton	114
WORDS OF THE FOUNDERS . . . . . Patrick Henry	117
WORDS OF THE FOUNDERS . . . . . John Jay	118
WORDS OF THE FOUNDERS . . . Thomas Jefferson	119
WORDS OF THE FOUNDERS . . . . . Rufus King	123
A BRIEF REVIEW OF IMMIGRATION LEGIS- LATION . . . . .	126
Roy L. Garis	
IMMIGRATION FROM MEXICO . . . C. M. Goethe	134
THE QUESTION AT ISSUE . . . Charles W. Gould	143
STOPPING THE GAPS . . . . . Francis H. Kinnicutt	145
THE CONTROL OF TRENDS OF THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE	158
Harry H. Laughlin	
EUROPEAN PREJUDICES AND AMERICAN POL- ITICS . . . . .	180
Edward R. Lewis	
ORIENTAL IMMIGRATION IN CALIFORNIA	188
V. S. McClatchy	
WORDS OF THE FOUNDERS . . . . . James Madison	198
WORDS OF THE FOUNDERS . . . Gouveneur Morris	199
POLITICAL ASPECTS OF IMMIGRATION	200
William Starr Myers	
SHALL WE MAINTAIN WASHINGTON'S IDEAL OF AMERICANISM? . . . Henry Fairfield Osborn	204

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE IMMIGRATION TIDE . . . . . Paul Popenoe	210
MEXICAN IMMIGRATION IN THE SOUTH- WEST . . . . . Kenneth L. Roberts	214
EXCERPTS FROM THE WRITINGS OF GINO SPERANZA . . . . .	220
THE PERMANENT MENACE FROM EUROPE Lothrop Stoddard	225
FALLACIES OF THE MELTING POT IDEA AND AMERICA'S TRADITIONAL IMMIGRATION POLICY . . . . . Robert DeCoursey Ward	230
WORDS OF THE FOUNDERS . <i>George Washington</i>	237



## IMMIGRATION SHOULD BE REGULATED

BY WILLIAM GREEN

*President American Federation of Labor*

Control is essential to carrying out definite plans. This is why the American Federation of Labor favors regulation of immigration.

When our country was unsettled and our resources undeveloped it was impracticable to attempt to direct or regulate immigration. But the time is long past when we can afford to be without regulation of the kind of persons to be admitted to our citizenry.

The United States is the product of those who have helped to develop the country. Though there is still opportunity here, it is no longer merely the opportunity furnished by Nature but opportunity that is the result of human endeavor. The citizens of this country have helped to establish definite ideals of government and life. We believe in representative government, we attach importance to individual responsibility, we have an appreciation for our language, our institutions and our history, and do not wish to see them supplanted. We do not believe the capacity of our nation to assimilate is boundless.

As wage earners our contacts with immigrants have been constant and close. Upon our labor movement devolved a responsibility for Americanizing those we worked with. Competition with low stan-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

dards weakens higher ones, so we have had to teach them to appreciate American standards of life and work. Before they learned they were, of course, a downward pull. Employers sought immigrant labor because they believed low wages meant low labor costs. But employers have learned the economy of efficient workers at high wages. American standards have been a very considerable factor in bringing management to study its cost problems, and seeking and applying machinery and efficient methods.

At the present time we are in an era of rapid technical change and resultant displacement of wage earners. There are many out of work and looking for jobs. Though industries are expanding and new industries developing, large numbers of immigrants at the present time would be most embarrassing. Labor therefore believes that we should continue our policy of regulation of immigration.

During the past quarter of a century, the American Federation of Labor has advocated legislation to control immigration into the United States. We felt that such control was necessary in order to keep the United States a land of opportunity. To guard our gates we feel is necessary to the preservation of our national characteristics and to our physical and our mental health. In addition we believe immigration restriction is necessary to our economic progress. This Labor believes is a constructive, practical view of one aspect of our population problem.

The fact that several European nations have passed under the rule of dictators for their own preservation in the last few years is enlightening. A

## WILLIAM GREEN

republican form of government is the result of centuries of growth and of training in the exercise of self-restraint in political affairs. Its maintenance demands a high degree of intelligence. It cannot be successfully adopted by a nation inexperienced in the exercise of rational liberty any more than the language of a people can be changed instantaneously. The political institutions of each given country are recorded in history, and in the long run are due to the self-development of the people of that country. Our republican institutions are the outgrowth of ten centuries of the same people in England and America. They can only be preserved if the Country contains at all times a great preponderance of those of British descent.

—WILLIAM GREEN.

# THE EFFECT OF RECENT IMMIGRATION UPON THE FUTURE OF THIS COUNTRY

JOHN E. EDGERTON

*President National Association of Manufacturers*

In spite of the daily prognostications of business and professional optimists America has never been confronted by so many grave problems and dangers as at this moment. The chief of these undoubtedly lie in the moral and political realms of our national life, and the responsibility for their solution is the common heritage of all citizens. I shall not discuss these problems at length, but I wish to emphasize their intimate relationship to those which are native to industry and business.

Our industrial and economic structures have been builded through the one hundred and forty years of our national existence upon the moral and political foundations laid by the hands of our fathers. We have paid too little attention to these foundations as we have proceeded with the building of our material temples. We have been prone to leave their guardianship and conservation to the professionally moral and political forces, and to excuse ourselves from the tasks of common defense, except in the emergencies of threatened invasion of our special domains of effort. It is not surprising, therefore, that the moral and spiritual ideals fashioned and set up by our forefathers have been crumbling under the increasing pressures

## JOHN E. EDGERTON

of inflowing alien influences, and that under the same pressures we have been receding from the political standards and philosophies of the creators of our unprecedented type of political architecture.

In the matter of the preservation of these ideals and standards by which our progenitors undertook to found a nation we have become a nation of compromisers and concessionists. In the name of tolerance and liberalism we have permitted until within very recent years, the practically unrestricted invasion of our national household by foreign hordes, many of whom have brought and kept inferior moral and political conceptions, ideals and habits. By the millions they have come to our shores through the last half century, and while the sturdier elements have made contributions to our progress, an infinitely larger number have been a continuous national liability.

Drunk upon the wine of a freedom which they had never before tasted, they have attempted, with menacing success, to teach us new and strange lessons in tolerance, liberalism and alleged personal liberty. As fast as they have complained at any of our moral or political conceptions and practices, we have in the pride of our good sportsmanship compromised with them.

They have not liked the way that we once observed the Sabbath Day of our fathers, and in our larger cities it has been abandoned to the uncultured and uncontrolled uses of irreverence.

They did not like to see the Holy Bible in our public schools, and as good liberals we gave it up to placate their dissatisfaction. They did not admire

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

our Constitution and laws, and we have been doing our best for many years to adjust them to their liking.

The courts of our land have been irksome to them, and have interfered too much with their conception of personal liberty and there are many Americans who would compromise now in this vital matter.

It is not to be inferred that I am charging the foreign elements of our population with all the crimes that have been committed against our institutions, nor that I discredit the values which the best of them have added to our national greatness. On the contrary, it is to be remembered that many pages of our history have been illuminated and embellished by names of foreign suggestion. I honor good people who come from other countries, and are willing to give up, in exchange for the privileges and opportunities of this one, their attachment to the conflicting ideals and standards of the countries which they left.

If that which I have suggested is shocking or requires proof, I ask you to call the roll of the armies of gunmen in our cities, of the worst criminals in our jails and penitentiaries, of the anarchists, communists, foreign-language newspapers, and other lists of disturbers containing unpronounceable or exchanged names. Then go back to the time when the foreign tides began to sweep into our country and measure the distance that we have retreated in those years from the moral and political standards which we then commonly recognized and accepted.

There would be less objection to this situation, if all in our country who are American in blood, and who know and understand its institutions would

## JOHN E. EDGERTON

stand together and assume the leadership to which their inheritance entitles them, and would see to it that we make no trades or concessions which involve the surrender of any part of our moral and political ideals.

Unless we do preserve those bases of our economic structure against the corroding influences which have already weakened them, I do not see how we may continue our industrial and economic progress.

Because Americans at large and manufacturers in particular, and the real producers of our country in general are for the most part native, loyal, God-fearing citizens, I am daring to bring to your attention these matters which seem to me to be of primary importance. By no intemperate word or incautious act would I encourage snobbishness or any intolerance of such invidious nature as would deny to any citizen all of the rights and opportunities promised by our Constitution and written indelibly into every truly American institution. But I am one of those who believe that these rights and opportunities and all of the liberties established by our forefathers are safest while kept under the guardianship and control of the most competent of their descendants. We can serve best the ends of civilization and all the peoples of the earth by retaining at all cost the uncontaminated identity of that nationally distinctive political, social, moral and spiritual character by the power of which we have become one of the greatest nations on earth. As fast as we fall under the spell of any seductive idea or catch-word, coined and put into circulation by alien minds, and, at the behest of expediency,

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

compromise the principles underlying our tower of national greatness, it will surely crumble as did others which have preceded it. It should, therefore, be matter of first concern to every worthy citizen to so conduct himself and so order his individual conduct as to conserve these certain essentials to assured progress.

As a manufacturer I feel the primary importance to the entire manufacturing interests of this country of the views which I have expressed. The economic prosperity of the Country cannot be divorced from sound morals, social progress, and political stability. Due primarily to the operation of uncontrolled alien influences our national integrity is threatened at these points. I have indicated the cure which should be applied. Both the obligation and the right of leadership in all corrective or forward movements involving interpretations of American ideals belong inseparably to those natives of our country having no divided allegiance or attachments and having in their very blood an appreciative understanding of our institutions.

—JOHN E. EDGERTON.

## THE OPPONENTS OF RESTRICTED IMMIGRATION

BY ALBERT JOHNSON

*Chairman Immigration Committee House of Representatives*

The opponents of the policy of restricted immigration are much less numerous than they were 20, or even 10 years ago. Both as classes and individuals they have come over to the side of heavy restriction. The manufacturers have become aroused to the fact that they would be only inviting a general depression in the manufacturing industries if they sought cheap labor at the expense of buying power.

Humanitarians have become imbued with a consciousness that the self-degradation of the United States by the steady lowering of the standards of its moral life would injure and not aid the world and that the temporary alleviation of the conditions of life of a comparatively small number of individuals would be too slight a gain for the world as against adding another seething mass of misery.

Labor is more organized than ever for restriction, as it sees the continued increase of labor-saving machinery, and the great increase in production with fewer better-paid men and shorter hours.

Capitalists, financiers and investors see the danger of dragging down the institutions of our Republic.

Experience is often a severe but always a beneficent teacher. Experience has taught us not to be

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

meanly selfish; experience has taught us that we owe a duty, not only to this country, but to the world at large. We must not fill the broad acres of the United States of America with so much population that the bulk of it lives without hope; without aspirations, without anything which makes existence endurable.

How shall we apply rigorous self-restraint even to ourselves, much less to immigrant additions, if a steady stream of individuals of lower standards of life, mentally and morally, seep in among us from overcrowded and distressed countries? How shall the Republic endure if there be steady deterioration of standards by ever-recurring new foci of infection, arriving in the land?

I believe that considerably more than one-half of the people of the United States favor a complete suspension of immigration to the United States. This is remarkable inasmuch as all of us are descended from immigrant stock. The United States is now the fourth nation of the world in population, exceeded only by China, India and Russia. I have been pegging away for restriction of immigration for more than 30 years—sixteen of those years as a member of the Committee on Immigration of the House of Representatives, including 10 years as Chairman. In the line of duty during my entire service in Congress, I have listened to the pleas, the arguments, the demands, and the testimony of several hundreds of persons interested on one side or the other of the subject. I have read the arguments and appeals set forth in thousands of letters.

## ALBERT JOHNSON

The results of the experience and of the study of some hundreds of intelligent persons have been unrolled before the members of the committee as in a panorama. I have listened with attention. I have weighed their testimony. I have evaluated their arguments. I have been learning. I have become impersonal. I have no feeling against the peoples of any Nation, rich or poor, great or small, advanced or retarded.

As a result of all this, I have become convinced that the safety of our institutions, the continuity of our prosperity, the preservation of our standards of living, and the maintaining of a decent level of morals among us depends upon a most rigid limitation of immigration and the maintaining of a rigid standard as to even those few who may be admitted.

In fact, I have all but arrived at a firm belief in absolute exclusion with the few exemptions necessary under our treaties, and permission for admission of the comparatively few wives and children, now abroad, of aliens legally in the United States.

As a matter of fact, we need no more immigrant labor. We need no more increase in population than that which will come from our present 121,00,000. Our net increase in population is one every twenty seconds, or three per minute, or 180 an hour.

A birth occurs somewhere in continental United States every twelve seconds on the average. A death occurs every twenty-four seconds. An immigrant arrives every one and three quarters minutes. An immigrant departs every five and three quarters minutes. The net result is an increase of one person

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

every twenty seconds in the United States, or about 1,500,000 per year, (more than 1,000,000 being the increase of births over deaths). Legal and illegal immigration supplies the difference, thus the population is increasing at a rate of one and one half per cent per annum and that increase is an arithmetical progression.

In fifty years there will be 230,000,000 inhabitants in continental United States.

Our present immigration laws may seem drastic, but they are not complete. The attempt to close the doors by the Immigration Act of 1924 was experimental. It has worked well, but is not final. That which is needed for the well-being of the Nation is an immigration law that actually restricts almost to the point of suspension. Heed not those who would lower the bars from personal, selfish, or racial impulses.

The United States has one great race problem always with it. Unless prompt action is taken the southwest will fill with an alien and racially different people and give us another. In fact, that problem is here. Admixture is impossible. Assimilation of most of the various European races is slow and difficult.

In my opinion, the United States will never again adopt a liberal policy of immigration. How to make the policy still more restrictive is the problem.

—ALBERT JOHNSON.

## “CLOSING THE FLOOD-GATES”

BY MADISON GRANT

Our Federal Republic has been more fortunate than other modern nations in the exceptional character of its founders. The end of the colonial period was marked by the appearance on the scene of action of an extraordinary group of statesmen. These men were deeply versed in the lessons taught by classical history as well as in the practical application of representative government, which had been slowly evolving in England. Thus equipped, they formulated a written constitution which has been sound enough and elastic enough to stand the strain of 150 years. During this period the nation, organized under its provisions, expanded across a continent and emerged from the scanty resources of the backwoods into one of the great powers of the world.

The group of men who formulated that constitution was drawn from a population scattered along the Eastern seaboard and numbering from three to four millions. It is doubtful whether our present one hundred millions could produce an equal number of statesmen—even if we admit that the best brains of the present are not devoted to the service of the state and have not been so devoted for the last fifty years.

The work of the founders was so well done that our chief concern today is to maintain the original spirit of the Constitution rather than to change or improve it. The last six or seven amend-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

ments have weakened rather than strengthened that instrument and certainly do not indicate any great degree of statesmanship.

The Revolution brought about by these Founders was political rather than social or religious. But ruling power was not taken from one class and given to another, though the governing classes of Colonial times were greatly weakened by the loss of many thousands of Loyalists who were driven from the country.

The Colonists were overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon and were still more Nordic. Over ninety per cent were British, including 82.1 per cent pure English and the balance Scotch and "Scotch-Irish." Over ninety-eight per cent were Nordic, including two and a half per cent Dutch and five and a half per cent German. This does not include the small Huguenot element, which was to a very great extent Nordic. Some, however, if not a majority, of the Pennsylvania Germans were Alpine. The only discordant elements were the Germans in Pennsylvania and small colonies of Portuguese at points on the New England coast, but the last were of little importance. The Founders, however, realized clearly that even these small minorities embodied a potential menace to the unity of the Republic. They realized also that the growth of the Colonial population was so rapid that there was no need of immigration.

Subsequent events have justified these opinions, and it is now known to the well-informed that the population of the United States would be as large as that of the present day, if there had been no immigration whatever. The originally large birth-rate of the

## MADISON GRANT

native American falls wherever immigrants push in. Immigration means that for each new arrival from across the sea, one American is not born.

The introduction of serf labor to do rough work causes the withdrawal from such manual labor of the native Americans. One hears on every side, as an excuse for bringing in immigrants, that native Americans will not work in the field or in railroad gangs. It is true that they will not work alongside of Negroes or Slovaks or Mexicans, because a mean man makes the job a mean one. In the mountains of the South where there are no Negroes, and in those portions of the Northwest where there are few foreigners, native Americans can be seen today doing all the manual work, as was universally the case two generations ago.

A race that refuses to do manual work and seeks "white collar" jobs, is doomed through its falling birth-rate to replacement by the lower races and classes. In other words, the introduction of immigrants as lowly laborers means a replacement of race. These immigrants drive out the native; they do not mix with him. The Myth of the Melting Pot was the great fallacy of the last generation—fortunately it is utterly discredited today.

If the considered and recorded views of the Founders had prevailed and the nation after the Civil War had not made frantic efforts to "develop a continent" in a single generation and had not imported cheap serf labor for this purpose, the United States would have had today not only a population as large as its present one, but a population that was Nordic and Anglo-Saxon and homogeneous throughout.

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

Instead of a population homogeneous in race, religion, traditions and aspirations, as was the American nation down to 1840, we have—inserted into the body politic—an immense mass of foreigners, congregated for the most part in the large cities and in the industrial centers. The greater part of these foreigners, even if naturalized, are not in sympathy with American ideals, nor do they either understand or exercise the self-restraint necessary to govern a Republic. Many of these aliens, especially those from Eastern and Southern Europe were drawn from the lowest social strata of their homeland and mistake the liberty they find in America, and the easy-going tolerance of the native American, for an invitation to license and crime.

The closing years of the decade between 1840 and 1850 brought in the first of these foreigners. Germans, fleeing from their fatherland after the collapse of the revolutionary movements, for the most part took up unoccupied lands in the West, although some of them settled in the large cities, notably in St. Louis and Cincinnati. While it cannot be said that they improved the American population either physically or intellectually yet they accepted our form of government and made effort to maintain its traditions.

The Irish, on the other hand, who arrived a few years earlier, settled in the large cities and industrial centers of the North. These Irish were drawn from the submerged and primitive peasantry of South and West Ireland. In race they were partly Mediterranean and partly Nordic mixed with remnants of an aboriginal population. They were, for the most part,

## MADISON GRANT

day laborers and domestic servants and Catholics. They came into conflict with the native Americans by trying to introduce their church institutions and parochial schools, which were and are regarded as hostile to the public school system of the United States.

When concentrated in large cities these Irish were responsive to the leadership of bosses and were organized in the solid blocs which demoralize our municipal politics. Our republican representative system, coupled with universal suffrage, does not work any too well even in rural districts, but it breaks down utterly in our cities. In recent decades the Irish have advanced somewhat in the social scale, because newcomers, the Poles, Slovaks, and Italians have in turn replaced them in the more menial tasks.

It must be noted that these later Irish differ racially, religiously and spiritually from the so-called "Scotch-Irish" immigrants of a century before. The name "Scotch-Irish" is a misnomer, for they were racially pure Scotch-English and had nothing in common with the native Irish of South Ireland. Being staunch Protestants, mostly Presbyterians, they were in antagonism to the Catholics from the South. The fathers or grandfathers of the so-called "Scotch-Irish" who migrated in the early part of the eighteenth century to America, were born in Scotland and England and had migrated to North Ireland. The descendants of these Scotch-English again migrated to these (then) colonies, mostly through Philadelphia, also to the Carolinas. From there they found their way into the backwoods beyond the old English settle-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

ments and southwest along the valleys of the Alleghenies. They formed a class of frontiersmen who settled Kentucky, Tennessee and the States beyond and were the chief Indian fighters of the later Colonial times. These facts were important at the time when the question of the quotas of Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland were being adjusted.

There were few Roman Catholics in the colonies. The Colonial laws were everywhere drastic against Catholics and even in Maryland, which is constantly referred to as a "Catholic colony", the Catholics were in such a great minority that in 1715, they were actually deprived of the franchise by the Protestant majority. John Fiske estimates the number of Roman Catholics at only one-twelfth of the population of Maryland in 1661-1689. The alleged tolerance said to have been exhibited by the Catholics of Maryland cannot be claimed as voluntary on their part for Lord Baltimore received his character from a Protestant King on the express condition that no religious restrictions against Protestants were to be enacted.

Of their numbers in the United States the Official Catholic Year Book for the year 1928 says: "In 1775 there were only about 23,000 white Catholics in the country, administered to by thirty-four priests, the larger portion living in Maryland and Pennsylvania". In a book published in 1925, under the sanction of M. J. Curley, the Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, in attempting to estimate the strength of the Catholic population in colonial times, it is stated that in 1790 the total Catholic population of the United States was 35,000 of which about 25,000 were Irish.

## MADISON GRANT

From this it is obvious that a large proportion of the immigration even from Southern Ireland, and nearly all the immigration from Ulster in colonial times, was Protestant.

Undesirable as was substantially the whole of the immigration of the nineteenth century, it might have been partially Americanized, but, just when that transformation was beginning, two events of great portent happened. One was the exhaustion of free public land open to settlement, and the other was the extension of manufacturing with its call for cheap labor. America entered on a career of industrial development, which, while producing great wealth for a few, transformed whole countrysides and farming villages into factory towns.

The New England employer utilized the Irish who were at hand and imported French-Canadians. The mine owners in Pennsylvania imported Polish and Slovak miners. The industries of Ohio and of the adjoining states employed in large numbers members of nondescript races.

We may note, in passing, that the French-Canadians had nothing in common with the Colonial French Huguenots. The "habitant" from Quebec was and is a docile, sturdy undersized Breton peasant, speaking an archaic Norman dialect, while the early French Protestants, who escaped to America from persecution at home, were, to a very large extent, Nordic and were drawn from the skilled artisan and merchant classes and the lesser gentry.

In all the industrialized states, the replacement of the native American went on rapidly, but silently

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

and unnoticed, except by a few patriotic men, until the drafts during the World War revealed that Vermont was full of French-Canadians; that farming lands along the Connecticut River Valley had been taken up by Poles; that Boston was overrun by the Irish; that New Haven had become almost an Italian city; that Rhode Island was swamped by aliens, and that Detroit and Chicago were to all intent foreign cities.

The native American element in New York City had been hopelessly submerged for half a century, but it came as a shock to the country to read the names in the draft lists, and to realize how complete was the transformation of some of the States. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Jersey are regarded by politicians as submerged areas and the effort, which was made in the 1928 election, was practically an effort to unite politically all these non-assimilated foreign and urban elements and to take over the control of the Federal government.

This new grouping has been for some time foreshadowed by the singular political alliance in Boston, and later in New York City, between the Jews and the Catholics but the alien elements in the North are still too weak to gain control of the Federal government without the support of the Southern states.

Americans were shocked to find what an utterly subordinate place was occupied by the American stock in the opinions of some aliens. An example of this was in a poster issued by some thoughtless enthusiast in the Treasury Department in one of the appeals for Liberty Loans. It showed a Howard

## MADISON GRANT

Chandler Christy girl of pure Nordic type, pointing with pride to a list of names and saying "AMERICANS ALL". Then followed the list:

DuBois	Villotto
Smith	Levy
O'Brien	Turovich
Cejka	Kowalski
Jaucke	Chriczanevicz
Pappandrikopolous	Knutson
Andrassi	Gonzales

The one "American" in that list, so far as he figures at all, is hidden under the sobriquet of "Smith", and there is, we must presume, an implied suggestion that the very beautiful lady is the product of this remarkable melting pot.

The South has not been industrialized as yet, and fortunately for the nation as a whole, has refused to welcome foreign immigrants. It has thus escaped the tragic fate of New England, where the native American element in many places has been actually crowded out and is regarded as a negligible political factor. It is tragic to realize that many old Puritan villages have passed into the hands of foreigners. The greed of employers seeking cheap labor and the strange sentimentalism and altruism of New England, which a century ago, sent its missionaries to the South Seas and became hysterical over slavery and "Uncle Toms Cabin", were chiefly responsible for this result. Thus it was that after the Civil War the North sold its birthright for a mess of industrial potage, while the impoverished South has been able to maintain its inheritance of American blood. The

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

universal trend of population from country to city has also played its part. Cities are the consumers of men and the countryside the nursery of the nation.

This racial transformation is a terrible comment on the results of the Civil War, but such unexpected outcomes of victory and defeat are not unknown in history. The native American population of the South and of the North was substantially identical in race, religion, and political capacity. The differences between them were in reality trifling, although much emphasized. Mason and Dixon's line corresponds in latitude to the north coast of Africa and south of this line no Nordic race has in the past, been able to maintain itself in full vigor and without reinforcement from the more virile North. With New England and the lake States swamped by aliens, the South can no longer rely on the invigorating effect of Northern migration and will have to depend in the future upon its own energies.

It is the duty of all Americans from Maine to Texas and from Washington to Florida to forget the dissensions of the past and unite in an effort to reduce immigration to the lowest possible point or stop it altogether, and to compel the foreigners now here either to accept our traditions and ideals or else to return to the land from which they came, by deportation or otherwise.

All this was clearly foreseen by the wise men who made our Constitution and founded our government. Their warnings were forgotten during the delirium of sudden wealth after the Civil War, but it is the

## MADISON GRANT

duty of this generation to preserve what we have left of our racial heritage.

We have lost our national homogeneity of race, tradition and religion. All we have left of our splendid inheritance is our language. The decline of the native American rural population continues. The birth-rate of the native American family is falling, in contrast to the high birth-rate of the newly-arrived immigrant.

At the same time we have facing us a serious Negro problem with an ever-increasing number of quadroon and octoroon types which often pass for Cubans, South Americans, Portuguese or Italians, and it is by no means certain that the percentage of individuals with Negro blood in their veins is not increasing relatively to the pure Whites in spite of all statements to the contrary.

We have with us also, men of standing like Dr. Simon Flexner, who openly express the hope that we shall continue to maintain "our Polyglot Boarding House" and that each race will maintain its separate "culture" and men like Israel Zangwill, who writes that "America is not a nation, but a continent" and that we have no right to deny admission to any so-called "human being". The future thus looks ominous, but on the other hand, we have the increasing force of science, of eugenics and of an ever-widening acceptance of the fact that heredity and not environment dominates in the evolution and development of man.

Under these circumstances, America must cut down immigration to the absolute minimum. It may

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

even be well to suspend it altogether to give the country a chance to stagger up from the burden already imposed.

Those who peruse the extracts from the writings of the Founders contained in this book will be surprised at their far-seeing wisdom, and will recognize the fact that racial problems remain the same throughout all time, and from generation to generation.

—MADISON GRANT.

## JOHN ADAMS

16th May, 1797

“IT must not be permitted to be doubted, whether the people of the United States will support the government established by their voluntary consent, and appointed by their free choice; or whether by surrendering themselves to the direction of foreign and domestic factions, in opposition to their own government, they will forfeit the honorable station they have hitherto maintained.”

“*The Works of John Adams*”, by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. IX, page 118.

2nd May, 1798

“Republics are always divided in opinion, concerning forms of governments, and plans and details of administration. These divisions are generally harmless, often salutary, and seldom very hurtful, except when foreign nations interfere, and by their arts and agents excite and ferment them into parties and factions. Such interference and influence must be resisted and exterminated, or it will end in America, as it did anciently in Greece, and in our own time in Europe, in our total destruction as a republican government and independent power.” (Page 186)

14th August, 1800

“Why should we take the bread out of the mouths of our own children and give it to strangers?” (Page 77)

31st March, 1801

“A group of foreign liars, encouraged by a few ambitious native gentlemen, have discomfited the education, the talents, the virtues, and the property of the country.” Page 582)

NOTE: The reference is to Mr. Jefferson having been elected President by the foreign vote.

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

16th April, 1801

“The plan of our worthy friend, John Rutledge, relative to the admission of strangers to the privileges of citizens, as you explain it, was certainly prudent. Americans will find that their own experience will coincide with the experience of all other nations, and foreigners must be received with caution, or they will destroy all confidence in government”.  
(Page 584)

## FISHER AMES

18th December, 1798

“THE *salus Reipub.* so plainly requires the power of expelling or refusing admission to aliens, and the rebel Irish and negroes of the West Indies so much augment the danger, that reason, one would think, was disregarded by the Jacobins, too much even to be perverted.” “*Works of Fisher Ames*”, edited by his son, Seth Ames (1856), Vol. 1, page 247.

31st October, 1803

“\* \* \* as to principles, the otters would as soon obey and give them effect, as the \* \* \* *omnium gatherum* of savages and adventurers, whose pure morals are expected to sustain and glorify our republic.” (page 329)

12th January, 1807

“You describe our dangers and disgraces with so just a discernment of their causes, and with so much feeling for the public evils that will be their consequences, that I am ready to acquit former republics from a good deal of the reproach that has survived their ruin—the reproach of wanting sense to see it, when it was obvious and near. Probably, however, we shall yet find evidence enough in the works of their great writers, to prove that the wise and good among their citizens did foresee their fate, and would have resisted it, if they could: but that a republic tends, experience says, irresistibly towards licentiousness, and that a licentious republic, or democracy, is of all governments that very one in which the wise and good are most completely reduced to impotence.” (page 385)

## THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION.

### A New Problem

### Resulting From New Developments

BY RICHARDS M. BRADLEY

During the last five years the people of the United States have gradually become conscious of an unexpected development in their industrial life.

In spite of a law which has limited immigration, we find a serious problem of unemployment affecting in many places the very class of manual labor that has been most largely kept out by our immigration laws. Where scarcity was predicted, we have labor in excess.

An industrial revolution has come upon us, in which we have reduced the use of man power in nearly all of our industries. By producing more wealth with fewer workers, through quantity production and improved methods, we have raised living standards and have multiplied savings and profits throughout a large part of our industrial system. At the same time, dislocations have been caused and readjustments are necessary before all can share in these advantages. Many have been thrown out of their jobs or, in the case of agriculture, have seen their earnings reduced. The industrialization of the South has tapped an enormous supply of native labor, heretofore confined to agriculture. We are slowly

## RICHARDS M. BRADLEY

waking to the knowledge that a new problem confronts us.

For upwards of a century we have been told that our problem was to get enough people into the country to help us lick into shape the virgin continent that we controlled.

We now find that the pioneer stage is past and that, in the face of improved agricultural methods, calling for less man power to produce the same crops, and as a result of economies of labor on nearly all lines of production and distribution, the problem of our immediate future is to find a sufficient number of jobs to carry those already here. We need all our jobs for our own people and for our own children, as they come forward by the million to take their places in our industrial system.

We are now realizing the fact that our country does not need to increase its working population by immigration, and that under existing conditions additional workers do not add to production but merely add to our unemployment problem, and reduce the amount available for each, whether they fail to get jobs or take the job of someone else. Under these conditions, immigration now means only so many more to carry, without increasing our carrying ability.

Considerations of excess supply of labor were once thought to concern only the workman; and they still do concern him most vitally. But there are other interests that are waking up to the situation. It is no longer considered good economy, or good business for an employer to load down his community with an excess of cheap under-employed labor that someone

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

has to carry. It results, in excessive taxes that sometimes cause the very parties mainly responsible to pack up and leave, after they have burdened their home town with an extra population.

Our present aim is to have workmen who are sufficiently well employed and well paid, to be good customers and "pull their weight" in the boat. The new index of success for a community is, not the size of its slums, nor the thickness of its directory, but its ability to give to its own people the largest amount per capita of constant employment at good pay. We have more use for the two or three skilled men who are capable of running the ditch digger than for the hundred or so with picks and shovels who once did its work, but who also increased our housing, school, hospital, poor house, insane asylum, jail, and other problems.

These new considerations have become self evident, but as yet we have not adjusted our minds nor our immigration policy to the changed circumstances. There are whole States where labor unions, individual employers, and industrial committees are puzzling their brains over the problem of how to give proper employment to a laboring population that is twenty to thirty per cent greater than they can take care of with their present facilities for employment, while they fail to notice that many thousand immigrants are still pouring into these same States.

Meanwhile Congress, our State Department, and both political parties are still wrestling with a problem that ought to be obsolete; namely, how to apportion quotas which we do not need and which should not

## RICHARDS M. BRADLEY

exist. Among the people themselves, there are as many opinions on the subject as there are races. Each citizen appreciates the virtues of his own kind a little more clearly than he does those of his neighbor, because, forsooth, they are usually his own favorite virtues. Each of us, likewise, feels that the country would be just a little better if there were a few more of his own particular origin. We lose too often the American point of view and are strangely reluctant to accept each other and our country, as it is, for better or worse, seeking simply what is just and right for our own country and our own countrymen.

It is charged that a refusal to take more people into our prosperous country, when there are so many suffering people outside, is a selfish point of view. Many persons, among whom a certain class of social workers is conspicuous, look only to the individual and to the immediate obstacles to getting into the country those in whom they are personally interested. These have been most emphatic in calling immigration restriction a narrow and selfish policy. The facts, however, do not bear them out. The world has tried free emigration as a cure for excess population for over a century, and on a scale that, for lack of more new continents, can never be equaled. The results have shown conclusively that over-population in a given country is not cured but increased by emigration, except in those rare cases where mass emigration has been possible. There is no need of going into this at length, for the census returns of the countries involved show beyond question that as a

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

rule the countries of greatest emigration are the ones whose home population has tended to increase the more rapidly.

Certain regions of the world afford inexhaustible sources of poverty, where it multiplies itself indefinitely, and—contrary to a prevailing belief—the infecting of new regions with poverty and lower standards of living does not cure the trouble at the place of origin. The cure of hopeless, grinding, abject poverty, caused by mass conditions and not by individual fault, is a goal for which we may strive, not only with hope, but with confidence; but we must segregate the disease, confine it to home territory and attack it at the sources. Dissemination is no remedy. Also it behooves us, if we would conquer mass poverty, first to master the trouble in our own house, and then to help attack it elsewhere. We have already tried the other course and have infected large areas of our own country with congestion and poverty. We have forced millions of our own people into unfair competition with the cheapest labor that could be brought from some of these main sources of poverty, so that hundreds of thousands of honest and industrious native American workers have found it impossible to make a decent living for their families or provide for their old age, and we are still doing this as concerns the importation of low standard labor from Mexico. We have come to realize that the advocate of unrestricted migration is the advocate of the most effective means of increasing and perpetuating human poverty, and that a wealthy and prosperous community can be built on a better foundation

## RICHARDS M. BRADLEY

than that of hopeless and underpaid labor.

Something new and inspiring is almost within our grasp. The partial stopping of migration by the war, and the sudden and almost miraculous developments of our forces of production, have shown us the possibility of raising the living standards of whole masses of our population. Our industrial system has shown its power of adaptation to that higher standard and our employing class, except a very limited number of survivors from a former age, has discovered that well-paid workers are profitable customers and also pay their own taxes. Much of the vast wealth, on the possession of which we now congratulate ourselves, would not be wealth at all; it would be mere useless junk; had we not been enabled to find users of these things among our own working masses, by raising their living standards.

Here is the most interesting fact of our era. We are actually on the threshold of something that the world has never seen before; a civilization developed beyond the pioneer stage and yet one in which wealth, power and prosperity are not based on great masses of labor that is either forced labor, or so ill paid as to be ever close to the border of starvation, or dependence.

If we are to retain this success, we must be ready to meet its consequences.

We have raised our general standard of living to a marked degree, for, with the exception of Canada and Australia, the average American is from fifty to five hundred per cent better off than the average man in other countries, and now—the means of transpor-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

tation being at hand—a large part of the human race shows itself more than willing to come in and get the benefit of our better living conditions. With unrestricted admission, however, that benefit, would be wholly illusory: a few individuals might profit temporarily, but such migration would merely extend their poverty to us without reducing it in the places from which the migration came.

We would, therefore, be entirely justified, both in our own interest and in that of the world, in announcing that it is not our intention to increase our working population by immigration from any quarter. If poverty is to be conquered, it is not to be conquered in that way.

This does not mean that we should make ourselves into another Japan before Perry, nor erect a legal Chinese Wall about our borders. It means that our legislation regarding migration should have a different objective from heretofore; namely the prevention of any substantial increase of our population by immigration. Other countries have not hesitated to do this when necessity required and England is doing it now. Such a change from the quota system would cause few regrets except among those whose chief interest is alien and not American. The unfairness of the recent attempts that have been made to tamper with our national legislative policy in the interests of one and another racial group, calls for but one answer from Americans whatever their origin. The answer to an abuse of our hospitality is the strengthening of our restriction laws. There appears to be little hope of having in quota regulation anything but a football

## RICHARDS M. BRADLEY

of politics, with a certainty that all conceivable plans will find strenuous objectors. Like political patronage, quotas make as many enemies as friends.

That we have not already decided to stop immigration is probably due more to a sort of mental or moral inertia than to anything else. We have been in the business of receiving overflows for so long that it has come to be looked upon as our regular job, even by ourselves. We now need another tradition and another declared policy; and to this, once accepted and understood, our legislators and our State Department would adapt themselves with a sigh of relief. No longer would our diplomats be embarrassed by the passing of laws dealing with great races in ways that seem to them to imply inequality. All races would be on an equality so far as migrating into the United States is concerned. Such coming and going as would not be capable of manipulation so as to increase or change our population would be welcome, and anything else would not be permitted. No longer would a Congressman be driven to distraction in striving to explain to various constituents of British, Irish, Swedish, Italian or Polish origin why he is in favor of so many of one kind and not so many of another kind, knowing all the time that it is not a matter of reason but race prejudice that causes most men to differ as to whether quotas are to be apportioned from the 1890 census, or from some other census, or whether they are to be apportioned on the eminently fair principle of national origins or from some other equally just and logical principle, if such there be. He could simply say "I am for

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

restriction. We are all Americans and we need all our jobs for ourselves and our children. I am in favor of welcoming all reputable strangers regardless of race, color or religion; let them come in to know us, learn from us and teach us, but not in such a way as thereby either to increase or to change our population. That is something we cannot afford to let them do. Let us take our own country as it is and each other as we are. Let those who do not like this kind of a country move somewhere else. If circumstances be such that a large part of the world wants to move in, we cannot afford to let them, and that's that."

It would be unwise for any single individual to attempt to set forth what should be the exact legislation resulting from the acceptance of this principle governing our immigration. The main thing is to have that principle consciously and formally accepted and the methods of its application thoroughly discussed. This has almost been foreshadowed by the platform declaration of both great parties in favor of restriction. Dickering over quotas presents a vista of infinite discord within and trouble without, with which we all are getting weary. Release from this can be got by stopping all immigration that will increase our working population.

Our present need is to wake up to the fact that we have a new and real problem and must solve it.

—RICHARDS M. BRADLEY.

## CAN OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM ENDURE?

BY D. CHAUNCEY BREWER

*Boston, Mass.*

The outstanding political problems before the Nation today have to do with the retaining of old forms of government or the substituting therefore of other forms—and arise because of past immigration and naturalization policies or rather practices, not yet entirely corrected.

Both deflections from political rectitude have been made in defiance of the warnings of the founders of the Federal Union—in defiance of the widely advertised complications, demonstrating the need for caution, which attended the beginning of mass immigration and naturalization—and in defiance of the representations and protests of contemporaries.

What shall the Nation do? Shall it continue to operate as a Republic—or substitute some other form of government? These are pressing questions that will not down.

To answer them—(1) we ought to know why the American people have refused to heed the admonitions of respected leaders that further blundering may be avoided, and (2) we must inform ourselves as to the present dilemma caused by past derelictions!

It was not unnatural for the early generation of Americans to overlook warnings which had to do with matters then regarded by the unthinking as

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

minor. Men are keen to preserve their right to life, liberty and property but when life is not immediately in danger nor liberty particularly cramped, they are apt to concentrate on the acquisition of property and power.

Pioneers who built up the industries of the United States and opened the West saw visions and dreamed dreams. Therefore it came about that before the Nation had fully found itself, it was engaged in laying deep foundations for the industrial and commercial expansion which inevitably brought in immigrants by the million.

The cause, then, of the Nation's errancy and the occasion for its failure to listen to wise political counsel was absorption in industrialism, which—in absolute disregard of dearly acquired political institutions—brought in foreign labor for its own selfish purposes. This is a strong statement, but one that cannot be challenged and there will be no way out from further blundering—unless business finds a way to correct the errors which undermine the government which fosters it.

Now consider the dilemma in which the Nation has tangled itself by encouraging naturalization! To get a proper insight, it must always be borne in mind that a self-governing political entity, such as the United States, cannot exist if the larger part of the people are ignorant or vicious. If this truth is not forgotten, the whole situation will lie open to view as soon as one informs himself in regard to the personnel of the people now constituting the United States of America—and their main objectives.

## D. CHAUNCEY BREWER

For present purposes the people of the United States may be characterized as Native and Foreign.

The Native element inherits to a considerable degree the individualistic notions shaped in the minds of Colonial forebears during the period in which the provinces were asserting the right of self-determination. Its ways of thinking have been developed through generations in an effort to maintain Anglo-Saxon ideas of personal rights and duties under wilderness conditions and separated from the influence of decadent European civilizations. In action it is direct, not very tolerant, and rather assertive. This stock has definitely inherited a remarkable faculty for self-government.

The Foreign element likewise inherits the ideas of its forebears, which by necessity have been badly cramped by Old-World conditions. It frequently reflects cultures quite alien to the larger part of the Native element. Certain of the races represented have the same instinct for government that characterizes the Native. But most of them so entirely lack this quality that it is a fair question whether they will ever understand the affairs of a self-governing people, even if they participate therein. These millions of persons feel the urge of cultural forces which had their beginnings in their respective races before man began to chronicle history. Governed by potentates and satraps, their forebears in monotonous succession have applied themselves to other cultural objects than those which lie in the field of self-government. They inherit the faculty for working worthily under such government as is provided for

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

them, but many of them have at some period since immigration been embittered by the Nation. That fact has opened their ears to the appeals of revolutionary agencies. A fair proportion cannot talk English, and too many who do, are ignorant of things an American citizen should know.

With this prefatory comment, let us consider certain facts.

In 1920 the population of the United States numbered 105,710,620, and of this, one-third, or 36,398,958 were aliens or of foreign parentage. Having in mind the individuals whose parents were born in America but who had not assimilated American ideas, it would seem that Old-World racial methods of thinking persisted in at least two-fifths of the population in 1920. This proportion may be referred to as of foreign lineage. The other three-fifths, which includes some ten million Negroes, a large number of whom are illiterate, can be characterized as native.

Also it must be borne in mind—

First, that aside from lawful immigration, the foreign element has received great accessions since 1920 through illegal entrants, who are constantly pushing in swarms over the national borders.

Second, that death records indicate a greater mortality in the native than in the foreign stock, and the birth returns show that the foreign receive larger additions than falls to the native element.

So much for data roughly characterizing the whole population of the United States. One cannot fairly face present conditions without such facts in mind.

## D. CHAUNCEY BREWER

Here are other figures—equally important. In 1920, according to the fourteenth census, 51,137,566 or 48.3 per cent of the whole population above referred to, was resident in New England, the middle Atlantic States and the East North Central States, or in an area covering only 13.7 per cent of the country. Although the census figures of 1920 do not indicate that more than one-half of this population, or 25,672,250 were at that time of foreign parentage, if data (as to illegal entrants and accretions by birth) already submitted when considering the entire country be borne in mind, there will be few to challenge the statement that the majority (perhaps three-fourths) of the people occupying the section thus set apart for consideration, are foreign-minded. The States thus listed to a large degree control the commerce, the industries and the political policies of the United States.

To come to satisfying conclusions in regard to the political future of the country—we should review the direct influences which are affecting the major groups which inhabit it!

These are the platform, the political coterie, the politician, the press, the agitator (domestic and Soviet), the schools (which include a noxiously disloyal element) and many other forces.

We must also consider certain agencies which grip and control the whole people,—Labor and Capital as well as the Intellectual propaganda.

Labor is stressing the need of shorter hours and of a longer pocketbook. It claims that its clientele needs time for relaxation and amusement, and asserts that it

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

should be in a position to buy gewgaws as well as necessities.

Capital assumes that the Nation is a body industrial rather than politic, and is recording its desire to provide equality of opportunity—a thing which every American a generation ago regarded as a birthright.

The Intellectual is anxious to install government machinery to clothe, feed and shelter the derelicts. This greatly appeals to the discontented, who are a unit in lurching toward the same objective.

How far these forces are getting the mind of the people is anyone's guess! It is my observation that the part of the population which is native is responding to forces which make for business efficiency. It venerates the founders of the Republic as masters of political science, but it assumes (I quote an industrial journal) that "the great problem of to-day is industrial cooperation". It affects to believe that there is something like industrial democracy. It is listening to business adepts rather than to students of government. It is also my observation that the part of the population which is foreign is at present dominated by padrones, foreign bankers, and club leaders. These are for the most part shrewd, and sagacious. The cause which secures the allegiance of a few thousand of these will have the backing of the enormous foreign element of the country.

The facts thus collated, when considered in connection with the requirements of the American Constitution and the de facto activities of our bureaucratic government of latter times, constitute the dilemma in which the American people find them-

## D. CHAUNCEY BREWER

selves! It has arisen because of blundering immigration and naturalization policies which put the governmental machinery of the Union largely in the hands of an untrained and perhaps unfit electorate.

How shall America answer the political questions that arise because of this dilemma? Shall it retain familiar political forms or substitute some other kind of government?

For one I am frank to say that I do not see—in view of existing conditions—how the Nation can continue to function advantageously as a self-governing republic without drastic reforms. Suppose it does not so function. Since the American people have fallen into the habit of accepting the dictation of industrial captains and racial magnates, are there not some indications that they will substitute a Government by the Few in place of Self-Government. That sort of political entity stresses order and minimizes liberty!

I do not like it. Assume, if you like, that the framers of the new constitution provide (at least on paper) for the same capable and unselfish administration of affairs that we expect from individuals who handle a private trust—still I do not like it!

If put in operation, will an oligarchy of that sort abide? Presumably not long.

—D. CHAUNCEY BREWER.

## THE HOWL FOR CHEAP MEXICAN LABOR

BY MAJOR FREDERICK RUSSELL BURNHAM,  
*Los Angeles, Cal.*

Another futile racial experiment is thrust upon us. A slight yielding to the greedy impulse latent within us all has blinded us to our duty to our children and to our own best interests. We are told by some of our editors and writers that a million or two or any other number of Mexicans can be absorbed into our racial "melting-pot" without harm. It does seem strange with all the living failures around us, to say nothing of the teachings of history, that we should again be trying to mix the unmixable.

We have been in contact with the Mexicans for several generations and I defy any one to point to a community that has gained in any way by the admixture and I can point to a hundred that have suffered racially in every way.

Think of the grief, woe and bloodshed it has cost this nation through the importation of the black man. That trouble is still with us, held in abeyance for the time being, but gathering strength every year.

Look across at Africa; brought to the verge of civil war by importing Chinese, only averted by sending them all back to China, leaving still the thorny question of the Indian population to estrange the white nations and the Union of South Africa.

And so, without turning to the history of lost

nations and empires, we can see now working among us the very virus that turned the civilizations of the past into mournful ruins. The Mexicans can no more blend into our race than can the Chinaman or the Negro, any biological scientist to the contrary notwithstanding. The blood of a game cock and that of a dorking may mix in a test tube but the birds will not fight alike in the pit, nor even crow alike. Even the strongest advocates of the open door will illogically say "Oh, we believe in purity of race. We don't want to mingle our blood". On being asked "Then why do you want them to come in?", the invariable answer is "Cheap Labor"!

That same old mess of pottage is offered us for our inheritance just as in Bible times: and the poor, blind public, not liking the voice of its Captains of Industry, but lulled to quiescence by the fallacious promise of prosperity, acquiesces.

"Cheap Labor"! That is an old cry. It echoes down the corridors of time through all the centuries. I heard it first as a small boy from slave owners and again from empire builders in San Francisco, next from the great imperialists of South Africa and now I hear it from the great subdividers and agriculturists in our own South West. They mean well and would not knowingly do this country harm, but they have forgotten the past entirely and their history books are covered with dust from lack of use.

Mexican labor, if they but knew it, is the dearest labor ever brought into our country. Every year, like that other importation from Mexico, the boll-weevil, this creeping blight goes further afield and robs more

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

of our own people of the chance to live on a civilized plane. Yet some of our leaders plead that we must have some one to do our menial work, some one to work on our railways and city streets. They claim that the white man won't work and if this work is not done by somebody, then even the jobs now held by the whites will be vacant, all of which we know to be a huge mistake. It is old Chinese stuff, an echo of the seventies, word for word.

How quickly the lessons of the past are forgotten! If the present voter of California will dig up the files of the great dailies of those years he will see what a burning question the Asiatic immigration was in those days to all of us on the Pacific Coast. This agitation grew stronger and more bitter until finally it led to riots and massacres in many of our western States. I remember in my boyhood when eighteen innocent Chinese were hanged at one time in Los Angeles. After many years and much abuse of this coast by the East, which looked upon us as savages, Washington took action and the Asiatic Exclusion Acts were passed.

Then a strange thing happened. All the prophecies about the terrible, hard times that would fall upon us were proven groundless. Asia did not declare war upon us as the ministers and missionaries told us would happen. The ships did not rot at anchor as ship-owners expected. The railroads did not rust away or go into bankruptcy as the all powerful managers declared would be the case. The farmers continued to farm. Even the women, who fought for Chinese cheap labor for fear their kitchens would

## MAJOR FREDERICK RUSSELL BURNHAM

grow cold, were delightedly surprised, as nobody starved or ate cold food. Bankers, editors, writers, teachers and all the intelligentsia of those days were obsessed by fear, fear, fear. The inarticulate mass of the people was, in this rare instance, brave and right. They felt it in their hearts. Justice to both Asiatics and ourselves was attained. The slogan that the white man "won't work" was sent to limbo with that other one of national disgrace that he was "too proud to fight". The white man, when not mixed with other races, always has and always can do his own work, the drudgery of which grows less and less each decade as machinery takes its place.

California then began a long career of prosperity, which—with only local setbacks—has lasted down to the present day. Nothing except a racial question like the present Mexican problem can permanently injure us.

Financially it might be to my temporary present advantage to have the Mexicans with us. The writer is an employer of Mexicans and at this time they are picking cotton on one of his ranches in California. They have been employed by him in Mexico for years. On the whole they are the most docile of workmen. They are often imposed upon both by their own employers and by foreign employers as well. One often wonders that they are not more resentful. As a people and a nation I wish them well. They have a wonderful country of their own that if developed would be as wealthy and prosperous as ours. If the tide of immigration to the United States were stopped, Mexico would be developed

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

faster than it is now. Leaders of vision, in Mexico, see this and regret it but are powerless to prevent it. Instead of making hard feeling between the nations, it would lead to an even more friendly feeling and an immense gain in commerce from Mexico's increased prosperity. A nation that imports her labor remains poor and poor nations have no commerce. It would not be good for Mexico if millions of Americans invaded it even peaceably and absorbed the land economically, politically, or racially, and certainly it is disastrous for us to racially blend or share with them our political power and economic status.

The Hawaiian Islands are already lost to us racially and the whole Pacific Coast would have been Asiatic in blood today except for the Exclusion Acts. Australia and New Zealand have saved themselves by similar laws and so did British Columbia. Our whole South West will be racially Mexican in three generations unless some similar restriction is placed upon them. This question is far bigger than the importance of Burnham having cheap cotton pickers and of my banker friend's unnecessary fear of not getting his interest on his mortgage, or even than a great railway's dread of possibly passing a dividend.

Let us refuse cheap labor. It is the thirty pieces of silver in a new form. Let us restrict Mexican immigration and go steadily on to prosperity and wealth just as we did after the Asiatic Exclusion Acts were passed.

—FREDERICK R. BURNHAM.

## “AS THE TWIG’S BENT”

BY CHARLES B. DAVENPORT

*Carnegie Institution of Washington,  
Director Department of Genetics*

When Columbus discovered North America the vast continent was inhabited by perhaps a million Indians. They were largely nomadic, living by hunting, though some cultivated the soil in primitive fashion. They were, speaking at large, of good mentality and unusual self-control. They were, however, out of contact with the traditions of Europe, and ignorant of the scientific knowledge which had been developed there in the preceding century or two. Lack of a literature and the primitive nature of their defensive weapons prevented both solidarity in and strength of resistance to the Europeans; to whom they were destined to give way; for pressure of political tyranny and religious persecution, as well as political rivalry for new possession and outlets for trade, caused the Europeans to start migrations to the new continent.

Here, in North America, was practically a clean slate on which was to be written a history of one branch of European peoples.

What should be the nature of that history?

It would, doubtless, depend upon the qualities of the people who settled it. If to an uninhabited island were to be brought a number of feeble-minded

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

men and women we have every reason for believing that, at the end of any given number of generations, the population would be made up almost entirely of feeble-minded persons. If to such an island were brought a colony of Negroes, there is every reason for believing (indeed we know by Haiti and San Domingo) that after the lapse of a few generations we should have a population of Negroes with the characteristics of the ancestral country. In the various coastal islands, under similar environmental and economic conditions, the results would be widely differentiated, depending upon the nature of the original settlers in each island.

What was the actual nature of the earliest immigrants from Europe to North America?

To the vicinity of Boston came principally yeomen from England, largely led by scholars, including ministers who were among the scholarly people of that day. Also artisans came in response to the demand for their crafts. Until today, the vicinity of Boston remains rather markedly the more intellectual part of our country and Yankee ingenuity has become a household word.

To New York came a group of merchants from Holland. They were generous in receiving people of all nations who by their numbers would increase the wealth of the colony and its capacity for trade. New York has never lost the commercial ascendancy which it gained in the early years of the Dutch settlement.

To Virginia came a certain number of the English ruling class, eager for rich holdings of land. From

## CHARLES B. DAVENPORT

among them arose most of the political leaders of the colonies and of the United States in its early years.

Besides these excellent stocks there were sent by England to certain of the new colonies many persons convicted of various offenses, including such as sheep stealing, burglary, highway robbery and street walking. Though the descendants of these people cannot be definitely traced in any instance, it seems highly probable that among their descendants may be the "white trash" of the South. On the whole, the settlement of the east coast of North America was made by a vigorous, solid, moral and intellectual class of Europeans.

At about the time North America was settled, it was discovered that Negroes of the West Coast of Africa could be brought here and sold to the colonists. Traders who had commercial ends to serve easily induced them to purchase Negro slaves, as their large farms were often too great for them to till without assistance. The arrangement proved profitable economically and the slave trade spread rapidly. Probably those who permitted the slave trade to extend itself to North America had little thought of what it would later mean to the population of this continent. They were concerned merely with making money by obtaining "cheap labor".

Today we realize that the transported Negroes, even when they remain in close contact with a white culture, show a lack of foresight, planning and thrift that puts them at a disadvantage in the progress of the people as a whole. Many of the hybrids that arose between the blacks and the whites show them-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

selves, in some respects, less capable than either the whites or the Negroes; though they do show, on the average, a capacity intermediate between that of the average of the two races. It is clear that were the whole population of this country to become hybridized the average capacity for intellectual development would fall to a position lower than that of the average of the whites and would stand at a position inferior to that of most European countries, despite the greater economic advantages they would enjoy on the new continent.

The immigrated European stock, with its high native capacity might, despite the Negroes, have established here the highest type of civilization. But those who are interested in making money by exploiting the resources of the country have steadily demanded and even today mistakenly and to our peril demand persons of a low type of intellect who will work for the lowest possible wages. After the abolition of slave trade they lured, or welcomed, the Chinese in great numbers on the western coast. When this door was closed they sought to import the cheapest and lowest grade of labor from Europe. With the cutting out of the contract labor supply they nevertheless continued to lure the cheapest labor from those parts of Europe with the lowest ideals of living—laborers who would underbid those whose scale of living was higher. To a lover of his country, who has watched its history, it seemed a decade ago as though our population were irretrievably ruined and the future of the nation fatally clouded through the grasp which the economic interests on the land had in determining

## CHARLES B. DAVENPORT

the nature of the hereditary strains that were coming to our country. When a few years ago Congress became converted to the principle of making some selection of stock from the Europeans, the great hope was awakened that our population might be saved.

To the biologist who has read history and who knows the conditions of the population of different countries, it is perfectly plain that a people will be what its hereditary qualities determine. Hence we must rejoice that our inheritance of "blood" was at the beginning so fine; that we have received so many additions from among the best of Europeans. We may trust that the errors committed in the past in admitting diverse and "cheaper" stocks may not be fatal in the outcome. We may expect the ever-broadening appreciation of the value of hereditary quality to support henceforth the policy of limited and selected immigration.

—CHARLES B. DAVENPORT.

## A PLEA FOR THE REPUBLIC

BY CHARLES STEWART DAVISON

In "The Passing of the Great Race" the author, Mr. Grant; an article from whose pen appears in this Book; calls attention to the fact that in the animal kingdom, to which the particular animal known as man belongs, half-breeds inherit the less desirable aspects and traits of both the races from which they spring rather than the better. In saying this he is in agreement with all thoughtful writers past and present and with all scientific investigators. Mixture of blood is not beneficial. The fantastic formula known as the "melting pot" is a rank absurdity. When we come down to the facts of human experience we find certain great rules or, if you choose, great principles steadily prevalent. From early Scripture to the last scientific brochure, the same concrete lesson of experience is reiterated. We do not gather figs from thistles—nor grapes from thorn-bushes. The leopard does not change his spots. The crab cannot be made to walk straight. The sea-urchin remains prickly.

The various races, radically and fundamentally differentiated from each other by the slow process of the specialization of thousands of years, cannot be brought together in one or two or ten generations through an arbitrary admixture of blood. The crude example, of course, is the Negro and the White. By

## CHARLES STEWART DAVISON

as much as any two present existing nations are descended from a common secondary stock by so much is the process of assimilation advanced as to time limit, or numbers of generations. But equally, by as much as what we are pleased to now call "original stocks" differ from each other by so much is that process delayed or, where the difference is radical, is it wholly unobtainable.

The practical question for this Country is whether or not the Republic shall persist—shall be maintained—be preserved. This Country and its institutions were set up by the one race here at the time: the presence of an insignificant proportion of other races was immaterial for they exercised no influence on the structure of the Republic. We were instituted as a Republic and down to today have remained a Republic. Through the steady increase of aliens we have however steadily, dangerously verged toward mob rule—the apotheosis of the Demos—Democracy. Few, if any, know or appreciate the fundamental difference between a republic and democracy. They use the names, but know nothing of their meaning. There is only one differentiation of principles involved. The theory of a republic is that no man shall speak for himself, that every man shall be heard in governmental affairs through his representative. The theory of democracy is that every man shall constantly have his own way, shall speak for himself, shall judge for himself, shall act for himself. There can be in this world but one pure democracy—a single individual living alone in a desert. Here observe, that this however, constitutes a pure autocracy.

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

The theory of representative government is not a democratic theory, it is a republican theory. It denies democracy. It is the expression of Liberty under Law. In other words, of constitutional liberty. Whereas a democracy is alternately the shouting of the mob and the passive, or refractory, obedience of the mob to a tyrant, a ruling autocrat.

Observe further that, for many years we, in this country permitted an enormous influx of races, alien by habit of mind, by thousands of years of inheritance, to the form of government, to the traditions and to the institutions under which this Republic has existed and along which lines it was instituted. Steadily, as they have increased in number, we have been presented with wilder and wilder theories each with its infringement upon constitutional liberty, and accompanied by a disappearance of a body of men in our political life who were influenced not by the selfishness of the moment, but by the desire and intent to transmit our institutions to their successors unimpaired, and equipped with the knowledge how this could be done.

Let us consider a glaring example in the immediate past. Has our safety as a Nation, which phrase imports the safety of each individual dwelling therein, been improved and increased by the popular election of Senators whereby our two National Legislative Houses have become practically one so far as their underlying structure is concerned? Has that upsetting of the nice balance provided by our Constitution aided the United States? Has the dignity, the wisdom and the usefulness of the Senate been in-

## CHARLES STEWART DAVISON

creased thereby? Sitting as a specially selective body, representing the sovereign states as such, designated by and responsible to the legislatures of those states, the Senate occupied a position not alone of power, but one necessary to the curbing and controlling of vagaries which might develop in the popular branch. What have we substituted for it? The "bloc" system, involving a destruction of responsible party government. I have instanced only one of the innumerable things in which the insistence of alien groups within the United States has been weakly yielded to, to the detriment of our system of Government, to the danger of the life of the Republic.

In the foreword, which appears in the collection of the views of "The Founders of the Republic on Immigration, Naturalization and Aliens", I took opportunity to call attention to the fact that these new peoples among us, peoples alien in mind, in outlook and in instinct, unfitted to either understand, or to uphold the form of government and traditions and institutions which they found here, were never needed in this Country for any purpose and pointed out that it was agreed by all the best authorities that their introduction into this Country had been in substance merely the substitution of aliens for the native stock. The population of the United States would have reached by its natural increase, approximately its present figure had all immigration ceased with the Declaration of Independence. This is vividly illustrated by the fact that our population during the period of seventy years from 1776 to 1846 increased from approximately three millions to approximately

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

twenty-one millions and during that entire time the total immigration into the United States did not exceed a million and a half.

Benjamin Franklin referred to this lack of need of immigrants, Writing in 1751 on the Increase of Mankind and the Peopling of Countries he said:

“The importation of foreigners into a country that has as many inhabitants as its then employments and provisions for subsistence will bear, will in the end produce no increase of people unless the newcomers have more industry and frugality than the natives and then they will provide more subsistence and increase in the country; but they will gradually eat the natives out.”

His whole paper is most interesting and enlightening, and should be read in extenso.

Thomas Jefferson, making his calculations for Virginia said:

“The present desire of America is to produce rapid population by as great importations of foreigners as possible. But is this founded in good policy? The advantage proposed is the multiplication of numbers.”

He then goes on and shows that relying “on natural propagation” the same figures would be reached as to any given degree of population in a comparatively short additional time (twenty-seven and one-quarter years) as would be reached by, at the outset, doubling the population through the importation of an equal number of aliens to the then indwellers, and he points out that “—there are inconveniences offsetting the one advantage; rapid increase of popu-

## CHARLES STEWART DAVISON

lation; which are to be expected from a multiplication of numbers by the importation of foreigners.”

“It is for the happiness of those united in Society to harmonize as much as possible in matters which they must of necessity transact together. Civil Government being the sole object of forming societies, its administration must be conducted by common consent. Every species of government has its specific principles. Ours perhaps are more peculiar than those of any other in the universe.”

And, speaking of immigrants from other countries than Great Britain, he says:

“They will bring with them the principles of the government they leave, imbibed in their early youth; or, if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing, as is usual, from one extreme to another. It would be a miracle were they to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty. These principles, with their language, they will transmit to their children. In proportion to their numbers, they will share with us the legislation. They will infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its directions, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass. . . . Is it not safer to wait with patience twenty-seven years and three months longer, for the attainment of any degree of population desired or expected? May not our government be more homogeneous, more peaceable, more durable?”

There are certain crazy people—half baked and half educated—in the United States, calling themselves Behaviorists and Environists and by similar fantastic designations who: flying in the face of all

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

history, of all knowledge, of all experience and of all deductive reasoning: have invented the insane theory that the fundamental traits and defects of heredity do not exist. If there were any truth in their views, it would follow that Negroes would become white if brought up in white families—that Saxon eyes would darken in a few years under Italian environment—in short that there is no such thing as an inherited “racial trait”, mental, moral, physical or spiritual. Naturally they stop their reasoning at the point where even their intelligence is offended by crass and absurd deduction, and admit that “breed” is important in respect to every other animal than man: i.e. that cart-horses do not procreate race-horses, that a scrub bull spoils the herd, etc. But they swallow absurdities equally gross, without a whimper. It is these extraordinary people and their kind who advocate free immigration, on humanitarian grounds, and admixture of bloods to improve the race by miscengenation. It is needless to say that they; as also the Pacifists—another branch of the unreasonable people—are made use of by interested parties, in this case by “the foreign blocs”. Also it is almost unnecessary to add that they, as again the Pacifists, succeed in laying the certain foundation for innumerable future wars and revolutions with their wild substitutions of theories for facts: whereby they will, if allowed their way, destroy the nation, dreaming that they are aiding humanity.

To turn momentarily to the lesson of history. We find that every Republic which has opened its doors and its citizenship to aliens has perished from

## CHARLES STEWART DAVISON

that cause. Except in the cases of Andorre, San Marino and Switzerland (the three cases where there was nothing to be had which greed and selfishness desired) Republics subjected to free immigration have perished from the earth. It is not that the institutions of all Republics and quasi-Republics have necessarily been superior, that they are worth preserving. It is, however, that they were suited to those who instituted the given Republic and therefore permitted that particular race, whatever it may have been, to develop coherently and consistently. When alien minded peoples were admitted, they influenced and affected the race which was there. The mixed breed which arose through the mixing of bloods was no longer competent either to understand, or to appreciate, or to carry on the institutions of the particular Republic—institutions peculiar to it and appropriate to its people. Patriotism and self-sacrifice for the ideal of the Republic diminished or ceased, lofty ideals disappeared. No Curtius came forward, to leap into the gulf. No Horatius and his companions, to keep the bridge. So will it be with this Republic. So is it today to a large extent.

It must be borne in mind that immigrants in the the great mass are those from whom the country to which they migrate can expect but the smallest proportionate number of desirable citizens. Even our friends the Environists, would grant that a larger proportion of desirables are produced by desirables—though they would attribute it solely to family influences and surroundings. For that is the foundation of their entire argument. Now there are

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

not at any given time any too large a percentage of "desirables" in any Country whatsoever. Patriots and those willing to sacrifice themselves for the ideals of liberty and justice are but too few in any land at any time. Moreover the tendency of a Republic is to level its people down to a somewhat lower standard. Jealousy of those who raise themselves above the common herd has ever distinguished every land and to "succeed"; for success is apt to be the criterion in this world; in a Republic, it is even more necessary than in an empire to carefully study not to excel. To take no attitude to which can be attributed by the tongue of malice an effort to claim superiority. Yet it is in a Republic, more than in any other land, that a lofty patriotism, using the term in its broadest sense, is essential to the preservation and continuity of its institutions.

From this point of view we were unfortunate in this Country in driving out the Tories. Their descendants would not have been Tories. They were driven out for the most selfish of reasons—in order to confiscate their lands and goods. Our population at that time was a short three millions. It is not to be wondered, where revolution against existing form of government occurs, that the larger proportion of those who adhere to the existing government are people who represent, to a considerable percentage, the better bred, the better educated and the more intelligent classes. If we assume that one man out of fifty in this country (probably far too large a percentage) at the time of the Revolution was a person of education and breed-

## CHARLES STEWART DAVISON

ing, it is probably fair to say that out of the sixty thousand Tories who were expelled one out of ten was, save for his adherence to the prior existing form of government, a desirable citizen. This was too great a proportion of probable breeders of desirable citizens for us to afford to lose, and, when we consider that during the last forty years we have been almost swamped by the intrusion into the land of millions of the lowest classes of various undesirable peoples, it is astounding that we still retain the semblance of our Institutions!

Note that all this is in substance a plea for the absolute exclusion of immigrants. Had reason prevailed in the past, it might not have been necessary. Had proper regulations, insuring the coming of only desirables, been adopted we could have continued to admit desirables, but, having admitted the enormous number of undesirables that we have, the commonest dictates of prudence demand an absolute exclusion of immigrants. I have preached this doctrine for now at least ten years. The process of education was slow in my own case, and I have found it so in the case of others. But little by little it has made its way. There is I think, no contributor to this book who will not say that ten years ago he would have considered such a proposition as absolute exclusion "unheard of", and there is not, I think, one of them who today by reason of his study of this subject, has not become practically persuaded of this necessity.

To take up another branch of the subject—we, as a nation, are supposed to be practical people, and, even if not penurious, at least moderately careful as

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

to the public's resources. But has anyone stopped to consider the annual cost to the United States of America of the aliens and their immediate descendants who are now here. No computation places the annual cost at less than three billions of dollars, and some of the computations run up to three times that amount. Hospitals, jails, insane asylums, police, the administration of criminal justice and similar items throughout the entire length and breadth of the land swell the aggregate. It is not the Federal disbursements alone. Every State, every City, every Town, and indeed every Village pays through the nose, to regulate and govern the aliens. Beyond a peradventure, our expenditure in this respect would in ten years pay our National Debt. Neither do even thoughtful people, except those who have made a study of the matter, begin to appreciate the facts as to the great horde of aliens and their immediate descendants who are here. Many of the figures are of moment: should be considered carefully. Their meaning and relation is, generally speaking, lost from their being scattered in and out among the mass of statistics which the Census Bureau puts forth. To gather together a few of the more pertinent and striking of the figures we find—At the last Federal Census (1920) out of the 28,442,406 white males over 21 years of age, only 15,805,063 were of native parentage, and it is to be noted that "native parentage" takes in all those who have even one generation of native-born parents behind them! That is to say that four-ninths of the white males over 21 years in this Country in 1920 were to all intents and purposes foreigners—were

## CHARLES STEWART DAVISON

either foreign-born or brought up in foreign families. The proportions in this respect grew steadily worse from 1920 onwards, but until 1930 the exact figures will not be available. The next census will tell the tale. When we take into account the Indians, Chinese and Japanese, the figures for 1920 are even worse. The native white males over 21 years including those of even one generation of native born parents were only 50.3 per cent of the whole.

Concerning the present density of population in continental United States thought should be taken. It should be premised that it has been confidently stated by thoughtful and disinterested persons that for the best conditions and the greatest happiness of the people of this Country the population of continental United States should not exceed sixty-five millions. That number was reached as near as may be in 1891. In 1920 by the Census reports, it had reached 105,710,620 and the estimate by the Census Bureau for 1927 is that the population had then reached 118,628,000. In 1920, the ratio between the urban and rural populations was 51.4 per cent of the total population urban, and 48.96 rural. Such percentages as between city and country are not conducive to the greatest happiness of the people at large, and it has grown steadily worse since 1920. Again as to the density per square mile. The figures rose in 100 years (1820 to 1920) from five and one-half persons per square mile in continental United States to thirty-five and one half persons per square mile. The density in Massachusetts rose from 65.1 per square mile to 479.2. In New York State in the one

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

hundred years to 1920, the density increased from 28.8 persons to 217.9 per square mile. In Rhode Island from 77.8 to 566.5. In Connecticut from 57.1 to 286.5. In New Jersey from 36.9 to 420. These were the figures of nine years ago, and the figures at the next census will show a still greater increase in density.

Then again the patients with mental diseases in institutions in the United States increased from 187,791 in 1910 to 267,617 in 1923 (it is stated that the increase has persisted since 1920, year by year). The percentage thereof as to the total population in 1910 was 0.204 and in 1923 it had risen to 0.245. In other words, there was a steady increase in the percentage of the mentally deficient, although modern conditions are supposed to have attained to more or less of an elimination of mental troubles!

As to the strictly foreign-born population in the United States in 1920 (nine years ago), Poland and Russia and Italy show enormous figures. For example, in 1920 there were in Pennsylvania 222,764 Italians, as against 2,446 Norwegians, also 177,770 claiming Poland, and 122,755 claiming Austria and 161,124 claiming Russia as against 19,847 Swedes. In Illinois in 1920 there were 94,407 Italians, 162,405 claiming Poland, and 117,899 claiming Russia as against 27,785 Norwegians and 105,577 Swedes. In New York State there were 776,759 claiming Poland and Russia as against 80,587 Norwegians and Swedes. As for the cities, in sixty years, ending in 1920, the population of New York grew from 1,174,779 to 5,620,048, Chicago from 109,260 to 2,701,705, Philadelphia

## CHARLES STEWART DAVISON

meanwhile rose to about 2,000,000. None of the above facts augur well for the future of this country. Country.

The normal increase of our population with no immigration whatsoever is certainly not less than 1 per cent a year—actually more, but call it 1 per cent. Our present population (1929) is not less than 120,000,000, in sixty odd years it will, by natural increase, reach 240,000,000. That is, a child born today will feel the pinch of actual physical overcrowding through the entire land, and within a hundred years, the conditions prevalent in China will be with us.

It is interesting to note that the number of acres per inhabitant in the United States has already grown alarmingly small in contrast to the popular belief of an abundance of room. It had diminished to such an extent that in the year 1900 there were but 25 acres per inhabitant and it must be taken into account that this includes mountains, forests, deserts, swamps, lakes (other than the Great Lakes), rivers and sterile land. In 1920 it had shrunk to 18 acres per inhabitant. In the last nine years the ratio has grown still smaller so that today it probably does not exceed 14 acres per inhabitant.

If anyone be inclined to wonder whether free land is really no longer available, upon which to settle immigrants, which was the one plea on which they were admitted, let him ask himself the simple question—why have we spent four or five hundred million dollars latterly in reclaiming the desert?

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

It would appear that these figures are a reinforcement of the steadily growing belief that the United States cannot maintain its integrity nor preserve and perpetuate its institutions if subjected to any further dilution of its blood and increase of its population by the introduction of aliens.

In this Country we have had no historic background. European countries, which have been harried in turn by Angles, Saxons, Danes, Huns, Gaels, Ostrogoths, Northmen, Gauls, Moors, Visigoths, Persians and Romans; not to mention the Allemani, Lombards, Helvetii, Turks and others; know that there are different races on the face of the earth. When a given race or nation has stood armed for years against "The Barbarians" and been ultimately overthrown, ravaged, sacked and plundered, it at least, appreciates that there is such a thing as a sharp and fundamental difference between races.

We, as a people, the great mass of us, simply accepted everyone who came, at face value. Indeed, even within my earliest time, it was deemed indiscreet along the frontier to inquire too closely as to any given individual's antecedents of more than say twenty-four hours before. The result has been great public lethargy and great popular ignorance on the kindred subjects of race and immigration. It is not unfair to say that the great impetus given to a study of these subjects in this Country, by any except those who may be classed as students, arose from the publication some ten or fifteen years ago of the book by Madison Grant mentioned in the opening lines of this paper. No one would have believed that twenty

## CHARLES STEWART DAVISON

or thirty thousand copies of a book on racial descent and racial characteristics throughout the world, would have been purchased and read in the United States. It marked the turning point, and pre-figured the increased interest and more general knowledge of the subjects involved in questions relating to immigration, which have arisen and steadily grown. It is to be earnestly hoped that all whose interests are involved in the future of this land—which, in the last analysis, means every living individual within the United States of what name, nationality, or race soever—will give careful consideration to the future of this Country and to the great perils and ultimate destruction to which it is exposed if immigration continue.

—CHARLES STEWART DAVISON.

## THE FRENCH-CANADIAN INVASION

BY ROBERT C. DEXTER, PH.D.

Of all immigrant groups which have come into the United States in large numbers, the French-Canadian has received the least attention on the part of American students. The very fact that there is at the present time no treatment in the English language of the French-Canadian contribution to American life is significant. The reasons for this are two-fold. First, since the French-Canadian has been generally, even officially, up to a few years ago classed with English Canadians and since most Americans feel that English Canadians are essentially similar in race, language and general cultural background and hence very desirable immigrants, there has been little concern about them. This confusion of English and French-Canadian is probably the primary reason why the French-Canadian has not been studied more thoroughly. The second reason is that the French-Canadian immigration has been more localized than probably any other immigrant group. It has been practically all confined to the New England states and to a limited area within those states. While this makes the problem more acute locally it has prevented its receiving the national attention which it deserves.

## ROBERT C. DEXTER, Ph.D.

This confusion as to English and French-Canadian has made it very difficult to secure accurate statistics as to the amount of French-Canadian immigration. A rather careful estimate based on statistics available show, however, that there are probably from one to one and a half million people of French-Canadian stock in the United States, of whom practically a million are in the New England states. The fact that this immigration has been coming rather steadily and in comparatively large numbers ever since the Civil war and that the French-Canadian birth-rate is the largest of any of our immigrant groups, with the possible exception of the Portuguese, is one reason for the large number of French-Canadians in the country at the present time. Since our immigration statistics only give first and second generation immigrants, the number of third and even fourth generation groups has to be very largely estimated. That in the first and second generations of French-Canadians are 5.2 children per married woman must of necessity make for large numbers in the third and fourth generations.

The problems which the French-Canadian immigrant presents are in the main similar to those of other non-English speaking immigrant groups but they have certain peculiar characteristics which tend to make them far more difficult of assimilation. The first difficulty is to be found in their own history. English-speaking Canada has herself never assimilated the French-Canadians. They have always remained a separate group, speaking their own language and retaining their own culture and having succeeded in

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

withstanding whatever pressure toward cultural unity there has been in the Dominion they desire to remain a separate group in the United States.

A second and even more potent reason why they have been difficult to assimilate is to be found in the nearness of their homeland. Most of them are within a night's journey of Quebec and they go back and forth frequently. They come over the line bringing their church and their school with them and the church and the school in the United States is closely connected with the church and school at home. Their priests and sisters who teach in the school are with rare exceptions trained in Quebec and the headquarters of the orders to which many of them belong are located there. Then too the French-Canadian newspapers published in Canada have a tremendous circulation in this country. One paper, "La Presse" of Montreal, according to the last available reports, has a daily circulation of 22,589 in the United States practically all of which is in New England.

Still a third reason is to be found in the localization of the immigration. They come to already well organized French-Canadian communities. In many of these communities in New England, French is the dominant language and the French church is the largest and most important building. All the civic officials are French and even the members of the school committees for the public schools are the majority of them French-Canadian even when there are well developed parish schools. I remember being over an hour in the City Hall—I almost called it Hotel de Ville—of one of our smaller New England

## ROBERT C. DEXTER, Ph.D.

cities and hearing not a word of English spoken by either one of the clerks or by a visitor, even over the telephone.

It might be said that the English-Canadian immigrant is equally close to his homeland; but he comes into a community which speaks his tongue and in which he immediately feels at home. He sends his children, not to parish schools, but to the public schools and he reads not the Canadian but the American press. He still has a sentimental devotion to the land of his birth—he would not be worth much if he did not—but culturally he becomes one in spirit with the American. There is with them no problem of assimilation.

The French-Canadian are in many ways the most racially conscious of any group which it has been my experience in some fifteen years of social work in this country and Canada to have come across. Their newspapers and publicists make extravagant, but none the less significant claims. One recent Canadian writer, who claims by the way three million of French-Canadian stock in the United States, believes that ultimately, owing to their cohesion and their fecundity they will dominate as a racial group all of the United States east of the Hudson River. This does not necessarily mean that they have any intention of annexing New England to the Dominion but that they will culturally and religiously control the New England states. They have as well political ambitions. They have had two governors of Rhode Island, where they are the largest foreign group, and now have a senator from that state. Speaking re-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

cently, an official of one of the largest French-Canadian societies, the Union St. Jean Baptiste, declares that the sooner the French-Canadian obtain political control of New England the better for New England.

This general attitude might not be so serious if it were not definitely backed up by a philosophy of separatism. Ferdinand Gagon, one of the founders of the St. Jean Baptiste society, stated this philosophy in the following words:

"Allegiance to a power does not change the origin of a subject or a citizen; it only changes his political condition. In taking the oath of fidelity to the Constitution of the United States nothing changes in my life . . . . What does take place then? There is simply concluded a political contract which obliges me to observe the laws of the country . . . . to defend its flag and to work for the greater prosperity of the nation . . . . Nothing else passes between my conscience and my oath of allegiance."

Other French-Canadian leaders have gone even farther. Father Hamon, one of their earlier writers, says; "Although resolved to respect loyally the institutions and laws of our adopted country, we are equally well resolved to guard . . . . our language, our customs, and above all, our religion, that is to say, to remain French-Canadian. The English for more than a century have tried to anglicize us but they have never succeeded; the Americans will have no better success." A recent editorial in a Holyoke, Mass., paper claims that it is the mission of the French-Canadians "to put an end to the flood of impiety and barbarism which threatens to destroy this great republic". This last is an essential article of faith among the French, namely, that English-speaking and

ROBERT C. DEXTER, Ph.D.

Protestant America is materialistic, impious and in need of regeneration and that possibly the French through their staunch Catholicism and unsullied tradition may act as the necessary redeemers. Another French writer, M. Wilson, in a recent study in French of Canadian immigration to this country says that they are "fighting without stop or without mercy to conserve their language and dogmas . . ." and that "they will use all human means to postpone the supreme hour of the agony to the race under the mortal blow of assimilation."

Of course it must be realized that these are the statements of their own leaders and their own press and that possibly they are extreme but nevertheless they are their own statements and reflect their own attitude.

A very important aspect of the French-Canadian problem is to be found in the fecundity of the race. No other immigrant group of any size has so large a birth-rate in the first generation and none continues that birth-rate in the second. This very impact of numbers itself when coupled with the separatist psychology presents a problem.

The struggle against assimilation with the French is most bitter in the field of education. Every effort is being made to build up a separate school system where the teachers are French and French is at least one of the languages of instruction. Goodwin says that "it is in the domain of education that there are let loose the most dangerous forces." Every effort is made to defeat laws which provide for teaching in English and which in any way encroach on the do-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

main of the French speaking school. At the present time there are at least 60,000 children receiving their education in these schools. There is also a concerted effort against control by the state of the system of education in the schools which has met with a measure of success. The difficulty has been that many of our schools are largely controlled by local committees without adequate state supervision and where the French are in the majority in the local community they dominate the school committee. This incidentally makes it difficult for the public school to receive adequate financial support and this deprives other children of the education that should be theirs. Where the state has assumed control, the situation is generally speaking not so serious, although with increased French political influence in the state itself there is a danger there. In Rhode Island the French group bitterly oppose legislation calling for more state supervision.

The volume of direct immigration from French Canada is not as large now as it was twenty or thirty years ago. Within the last ten years it has ranged from a maximum of 43,000 in 1924 to a minimum of 9,000 the two years preceding. Last year there were 13,000 immigrants. Since 1910 we have had a net immigration from French Canada recorded at 332,000. The reason for falling off in recent years has largely been the efforts of the Canadian Government to keep the French-Canadians at home or to send them to western Canada. Another reason for the decreased migration has been the depression in the New England textile industry, where the French-Canadians

ROBERT C. DEXTER, Ph.D.

are largely employed. If and when the textile industry recovers, there is bound to be a very considerable increase in French-Canadian immigration, especially since the quota law has restricted other labor supplies for this industry.

Since the French-Canadians are unquestionably a difficult group to assimilate, it would seem as though in common with the Mexicans to the south they should be placed under quota restriction. Whether it would be possible to do so without including English-Canadians, I am not certain. A suggestion has been made, that if a quota is extended to the inhabitants of the other American nations that it be limited to non-English speaking groups. A good argument could be made for this type of restriction, as after all the language difficulty is an important one in the way of assimilation and such legislation would include all the Spanish-speaking countries and the French from Canada. The restriction that would follow such legislation would in any event keep out the drifting immigrant who moves back and forth over the border and would help to make possible the assimilation of those already here, as the quota has done with the European groups.

The most important aspect of the French-Canadian problem, however, is with the group already here. Just what can be done to break down the separatism of the French-Canadian group is a very vital question, particularly in New England. The only positive suggestion which I am able to make from my own experience is that state legislation in regard to private schools should be much more stringent than it

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

is and especially that the control of the public schools should not be left to the local communities alone. This is especially important in regard to the language question. The teachers in the parish schools should meet the same tests as are required in the public schools and not only should the existing legislation regarding the teaching of the bulk of the subjects in English remain on the statute books but there should be some adequate method of enforcing it. No one would wish for a moment to restrict the teaching of religion or of the French language to children of French parents but it would seem to me that it would be far more desirable for this and other groups if all children were required to attend the public schools. In the public school system arrangements might be made in connection with the churches to give religious instruction in the mother tongue in connection with the public school system. Whether that is at all possible I do not know but I am quite sure that efforts in that direction would do more than any other one thing to assimilate the French group.

Whether in the future, as the ardent French-Canadian separatists maintain, the French-Canadians will be the dominant political and social group in New England no one knows, but the ideals and aims of these leaders certainly differ from the ideals and aims of the native stock. We cannot afford to build up groups with a divided allegiance. It is unfortunate for the members of such a group and it is equally detrimental to the development of an American national culture. The English-speaking Roman Catholic church is one of the great factors in Ameri-

ROBERT C. DEXTER, Ph.D.

canizing this group, as with some of the other foreign speaking elements. Those who are interested in cultural unity should do everything possible, whether members of that communion or not, to aid the hierarchy in their efforts to make the American Catholic church an American institution. As Cardinal Gibbons said some years ago at Baltimore, there is no room in the church for nationalistic societies.

It is difficult to present a solution of this problem, as it is difficult to deal with any of the solidly integrated nationalistic groups in America, but at least we should realize that such a problem exists and be ready to utilize any force that is attempting to reduce its possibilities for danger in our national life.

—ROBERT C. DEXTER.

## ALIENS AND CRIME

BY NORMAN S. DIKE

*Justice Supreme Court, New York*

The world is knocking at our portals. A wise provision by the Federal authorities has placed a limit upon the immigration quota for a number of nations and the general subject of immigration is at the present moment under consideration by our Congress. Its decision thereon may be considered as a most vital one to this nation. Nothing should be more interesting to ourselves than ourselves. The weakening of the standard of our population by the diseased or criminal foreigner, marks the beginning of the decline in our national life from its present standard.

There are a million alien law breakers, perhaps two million at the present time, in the United States and unconvicted. This is a startling charge and a startling figure, but it is absolutely true.

I allude more particularly to those who have broken our law in its most vital part when first entering this country in defiance of our immigration laws.

Their initial step has been an illegal one and their presence in our midst is tainted by the fact of their being law breakers and unconvicted. This evasion of our laws, strikes at the very heart of our national life. The immigrant who in entering breaks down the barriers that have been built up by our law makers, does so because he could not

## NORMAN S. DIKE

have gained admission under our immigration regulations and laws. To that extent such entrance has lowered our standard of citizenship and has introduced among us those who are a menace. From the criminal proclivity they have already shown in evading our laws they are adding to that appalling number of our inhabitants who handicap us by reason of their mental and physical disabilities from the point of view of good citizenship. Unhappily for us there are only too many easy means and methods of entering the broad frontiers of the United States illegally. Our thousands of miles of seaboard and of border, are too great to be properly policed and thus to prevent illegal entry into our country. Every day furnishes renewed evidence of the activities of these law breakers against our immigration restrictions.

The Canadian wood trails and the Rio Grande's shallows—which permits the entrance of the most undesirable of all of the peoples—render it but too easy to evade our regulations. The aeroplane furnishes another and the latest means of all.

Diseased, ignorant and belonging to a greatly lower class, the Mexican elements are lowering in the West the standard of our population as far north as Wyoming.

Across the line from Canada into the United States comes the Oriental.

How can this situation be met and how can we recover from such a taint and to what extent do these undesirables appear in the lineup among the prisoners in our jails?

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

Nothing is clearer in the realm of interpretation of documents than that the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established in all its provisions "by and for the people of the United States." The provisions of the Constitution are applicable to the people and to the people only of the United States. There is nothing therein enacted that we may find to benefit aliens who have stolen their way into this country. No such individual by any stretch of constitutional consideration can be considered "one of the people of the United States."

As Chief Justice Fuller said in the case of *Turner V. Williams*, 194 U. S. 279: "He (an alien) does not become one of the people to whom these things are secured by our Constitution by an attempt to enter, forbidden by law."

Great Britain ever since 1847 has enacted restrictive acts to protect her population, and provides in one of her laws for the expulsion of the alien criminal at the end of his prison term, and happily, our Government has provided at last along those lines so that an alien at the end of his prison term is fixed by his sentence after conviction, may be deported. Unhappily, the Government provides wholly inadequate sums to carry out this law, and citizens could aid in no greater work along these lines, than by urging upon Congress and upon their particular Congressmen, a greater appropriation for this ridding us of the unfit, the undesirable and the criminal. At present, the deportation of aliens, both criminal and those illegally present, does not keep up with the steady stream of illegal arrivals.

## NORMAN S. DIKE

After 14 years of highest criminal work in the City of New York and from the data I am able to procure, I find that about one-quarter to one-third of those charged with crime are aliens.

In the largest courts of criminal jurisdiction in this country I have obtained the latest figures upon the question of the percentage of those who have been convicted of crime in relation to their being citizens or aliens. Of the 1000 cases considered native born defendants of foreign parentage constituted 26.7 per cent. Native born defendants of mixed parentages constituted 2.4 per cent. Naturalized aliens constituted 5.6 per cent and non-naturalized aliens constituted 22.4 per cent.

In the second largest court of criminal jurisdiction about the same proportion exists.

The alien who shifts his habitat is a difficult problem for the police. There is no method of identification. He leaves one locality without regret, and takes up life wherever he finds it most promising. If good fortune does not attend him he feels that he possesses always the protection that comes from our utter and entire ignorance of his past. Were there methods of identification he would not be so immune.

What can we do logically to protect this country upon this subject of the alien? To my mind there is but one solution, and that is, finger printing and identification cards. Personally I should like to have finger printing applied to everyone within the confines of the United States. The objection of the public to such a system is purely sentimental. Because criminals have been finger printed, citizens and others feel that

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

there is a stain upon their honor in the carrying out of such a system of identification. Why should not every alien be obliged to make some permanent record and carry some token of identification? What possible objection can there be? Is it because he might be offended in his dignity? He is accustomed to such procedure in his own country in almost every case. He need never fear as long as our laws are obeyed, and in the case of the alien who transgresses them this country surely possesses the power of self-protection without fearing criticism from the stranger within our gates. There is only one place for the criminal alien and that is the place from whence he came and the public should back all measures of this kind. The patriotism of the citizen has indeed reached the vanishing point when he fears to be disturbed in his present privacy by advocating universal finger printing. In opposing it one would be practically aligning oneself with those who are breaking our laws and rejoicing in the omission of our Government to adopt methods of identification. The guilty alien fears investigation and identification. The hundred per cent American does not.

In many ways such a system would prove of benefit. It would be of great assistance in the apprehension of criminals and the identification of lost persons. There should be greater care in the identification of immigrants before leaving foreign countries and finger printing is the surest method. This would also check illegal immigration and lead to the deportation of those unable to show proper evidence of their identity.

## NORMAN S. DIKE

The lawlessness of today is difficult of analysis. The prizes are great and the richest communities are naturally attractive points for operation. There is nothing that deters from crime more than the imposing of properly severe sentences. In the case of an alien there should always be deportation immediately after he has paid his debt to the State for having broken its laws by serving his sentence. The elimination of the undesirable, the building up of the higher standard of citizenship, or rather, a return to the higher standard of citizenship from which we are departing, should be the aim of the American people.

The topic of the alien in our midst is always of interest. What is he doing—What is his motive for leaving his native land and coming here—Is he sincerely desirous of enrolling himself as a citizen as soon as possible, with the intention of abiding by the law of this land and justifying us in regarding him as a serious minded and desirable citizen? The United States has become more critical of its personnel. The generosity of our forbears has been too frequently availed of by those whose only desire has been to take advantage of us.

—NORMAN S. DIKE.

## POPULATION PRESSURE and IMMIGRATION

A few years ago,<sup>1</sup> I drew certain conclusions regarding the trends of population and of agricultural production in the United States, based largely upon pre-war statistics. Briefly, the situation was as follows. The country contains about 800 million acres of arable land, of which nearly two-thirds was in use in 1913. The presumable rise of agricultural efficiency, under existing conditions, could be calculated. Similarly, the rise in population at the rate then current, could be calculated. It was a mere matter of arithmetical calculation to conclude that the curves of the food supply and of the birth-rate and immigration-rate could not continue to have the then existing forms for another fifty years, unless both lower standards of living and higher death-rates prevailed. Superficial critics accused me of predicting calamities, including mass starvation, within the next century. That was not true. I gave definite reasons for believing that the trends of the day in agriculture and in population could not and would not continue. One did not need to be a second Daniel to read this in the declining birth-rate. My conclusions, therefore, need not be modified today.

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<sup>1</sup>Mankind at the Crossroads. N. Y. Chas. Scribner's Sons. 1923.

## E. M. EAST

We can now look back and see exactly what has occurred since the war and can compare the existing situation with what was occurring during a similar period before the war. In agriculture, through the introduction of better types of plants and animals, novel mechanical inventions, increased use of power machines, greater control of parasites, and more efficient methods of storage and distribution, marvelous progress has been made. O. E. Baker, agricultural economist of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, calculates the production increase for 1922-26 over the previous five year period as 14 per cent, whereas the population increase was only 9 per cent. And this increased production occurred despite a decrease<sup>1</sup> in the number of acres cropped and in the number of people on farms.

Let us endeavor to realize just what has taken place during this period. The birth-rate has continued to decline to such an extent that the birth-rate curve has taken on a new form. Immigration has been restricted to such a degree that only a half-million or so aliens have entered annually. This situation—according to Marx, who wanted quantities of the proletariat for the industrial revolution, or to industrial magnates who want cheap labor, or to other labor exploiters with devious arguments—was enough to make the country practically moribund. Yet the

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<sup>1</sup>Lest erroneous conclusions be drawn from these facts, let me add that several million acres of land which could not be cropped profitably under present economic conditions, have been allowed to go fallow. Part of this land was forced into cultivation, artificially, by war conditions; and the attempt to retain it was, in a measure, responsible for the recent agricultural depression.

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

actual fact is that there has been a period of prosperity of a magnitude never before seen in the history of the world.

With conditions as they are today, therefore, it is often assumed that the entire population problem has been solved for all time. This is not the truth. There are numerous factors to be evaluated and kept in mind if development is to continue along sound lines. There has been an unprecedented industrial progress. Every citizen now has some twenty-five or more robots working for him. How long can this mounting use of machinery continue? The increase in agricultural efficiency has not been so great as that in the remaining industries. It has gone along about as predicted, a moderate annual increment, with less and less people needed on the farms. How far can the pendulum swing in this direction? Can we expect ultimately to have only twenty per cent of the population engaged in agriculture? If so, what provision must be made for those now engaged in that profession who turn elsewhere? What changes in dietary are going on, and where will such changes end? How fast may crop production be expected to mount, and to what peak? Is not soil fertility being exploited rapidly? Can permanent systems of agriculture be devised—systems in which soil fertility will remain constant?

Moreover, though these matters are important, they concern only one phase of the situation. The human side is of still greater consequence. Here there are two questions with which to deal. First, there is the question of numbers. The birth-rate has fallen

## E. M. EAST

somewhat more rapidly than could be predicted a decade ago. And I have no hesitation in saying that this fall in the birth-rate, together with the restrictions upon immigration, are in large measure responsible for the great prosperity of the past few years. These two changes in national custom have made it possible for the individual to attain more nearly to an ideally efficient development of potentialities than was feasible under a high birth-rate and unrestricted immigration. Now the question arises: Can the population be kept practically stationary, in face of clerical demand for unrestricted families and alien demand for unrestricted entry, when industrial and social efficiency arrives at the peak? If this cannot be done, then diminishing economic returns are certain to set in, and there will be a waning of these happy times. Second, there is the problem of population quality. And this is the most important theme of all. To it I wish to devote the remainder of this article.

As a foundation for the conclusion which I wish to draw, let me ask the question: What is the basis of the economic progress exhibited by the United States during recent years? Answers will include as factors, governmental stability, a sound monetary system, tariff protection, industrial consolidation, extraordinary harvest yields, and other matters of greater or less importance. But these are only secondary considerations. The primary cause of our prosperity is our upper one per cent of trained men of high intelligence, the men who deal with chemical, physical and biological problems masterfully, the men who make discoveries, the crea-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

tors. Estimable people though the greater part of the ninety and nine per cent may be, and not for a moment would I underrate them, the pattern of a country's career is set by the lone one per cent at the top. If hewers of wood and drawers of water were all that is required to produce greatness in a nation, the only differences between the peoples of the earth would be those predestined by the variation in natural resources.

And how about the ninety and nine? They also can be divided into groups. Perhaps ten per cent could accumulate a college education, if given the opportunity. At least five per cent could not learn to read and write. The remainder would reach the limit of their ability to imbibe learning in the primary schools, the intermediate grades, or the high school. But, one may ask, is it necessary that all citizens have book learning? Is it not possible to teach a useful trade to people who cannot absorb history, grammar, or mathematics? Yes, there is some possibility of using this door as the way out. But the truth is that the passage is rather narrow. There is the same difference among individuals in their ability to learn skilled trades that there is in their capacity to solve the subtleties of differential equations or even the intricacies of decimal fractions.

A quarter of a century ago most people attributed the mental differences observable in the persons with whom they came in contact to differences in opportunity. A limited few make the same claim today; but they are people whose intellectual horizon is still that of the nineteenth century. It has been proved conclusively, by many quite dissimilar modes of re-

## E. M. EAST

search, that individuals vary in inborn mental capacities just as they do in physical traits. And genetics has shown how these differences are inherited. In fact, we can look back and see that we were rather stupid not to suspect the truth earlier. We knew that inherited differences in physical make-up involved every character that had been studied with any degree of intensity. We knew that mentality must have a physical basis. How could one assume, then, that all people were constitutionally the same in brain power? Apparently it was because we had adopted the fiction that all men were created equal with a religious fervor which anaesthetized all tendency to question it.

The precise methods by which the inheritance of mental differences has been proved cannot be described here. It will be sufficient to say that the problem has been attacked by histological methods, in which the behavior of the germ cells was studied; by genealogical methods, in which the heredity of separate traits was followed; by statistical methods, in which massed facts were evaluated; and by psychological methods, in which all sorts of intelligence tests were made at different ages and under different conditions. And all of these researches lead to the one conclusion: mental traits are inherited. Naturally, opportunity plays an important role. A may be a better man than B because he has had training that B was unable to undergo, but neither can progress beyond a limit set by the mental constitution he has inherited.

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

Such being the facts, let us visualize the Constitution of our nation, and of other nations, in those inborn mental attributes which are essential to the progress of civilization. Suppose we draw an outline of a mountain on a piece of paper. There is a rounded peak in the center and a gradual slope downward and outward until the plain is reached, the point of intersection of mountain with plain being such a gentle slope that it is hardly perceptible. A vertical line through the center of the peak divides the curve thus formed into two similar and nearly equal portions. Now let us assume that the spread of the curve from left to right represents variability in mental capacity in a population; and that the height of the curve at any given point represents the frequency with which that particular capacity is found.

Such a drawing represents the facts with a satisfactory degree of accuracy. People of average capacity are the most numerous; those having a somewhat higher or lower capacity than the average are found with less frequency; while the very superior class at the right is quite rare and is balanced by an equally rare class of incapables on the left.

Now what should we find if the mental capacities of the individuals of other nations were grouped into similar curves and compared with the curve for the United States? Intelligence tests sufficient in number to make such a comparison statistically valid do not exist; but from those that have been made one can make a pretty fair guess on the matter. The spread of the curve in the case of any given nation would be about the same as for all others. But the

## E. M. EAST

peaks would not coincide. There would be slight differences in average capacity. Such average differences, however, would be small when compared with the great spread of difference within each group. In other words, nations and peoples exhibit some considerable differences in their average ability, but this average difference is slight in comparison with the variability existent within each group.

Now to come to the point at issue. The United States is made up of people, let us say, who vary from Grade A to Grade E in inherent capacity. The geniuses of Grade A are rare; the mentally feeble of Grade E are rare; Grades B and D are fairly common; Grade C is the most frequent of all. It takes no high degree of intelligence to see that, if in the future the proportion of people of Grades A and B increases, the nation will prosper; while if the proportion of people of Grades D and E increases, the nation will decay. Whichever happens, the country will neither advance nor retrograde in exact proportion to the change in population, since the inheritance of each of us is made up of hundreds of different genetic factors, and some of the good factors necessary in the make-up of a superior man are pretty well distributed in the general population; but there is such a high degree of correlation that the picture, as we have drawn it, is not far wrong.

Most of us will agree that what is needed, then, is so to manage that the average intelligence of the population will increase rather than decrease. I am well aware that my good friend Dr. Pitkin has recently written a book maintaining the opposite thesis.

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

He wants a few intelligent men and large quantities of unintelligent yokels to be exploited by them. But I think that few will agree with him that such a scheme would be desirable, even if it were biologically possible—which it is not. Even the employers who formerly sought unskilled immigrant labor have ceased their quest; they found such labor expensive. And, at any rate, it is impossible, in a democracy, to have a low average of intelligence and at the same time to have the few highly intelligent people that Dr. Pitkin desires. I am afraid that he has been so taken up with editing encyclopedias and teaching short story writing that he has been unable to keep up with biological discovery.

If we unite in desiring to increase the average intelligence of the population, how shall we go about it? There are only two sensible and practical ways. The present differential birth-rate of the unintelligent over the intelligent can be eliminated, and immigration of the unintelligent can be forbidden.

Satisfactory evidence exists that the unintelligent have a markedly higher birth-rate than the intelligent, which is only partially compensated for by the higher survival rate of the latter. Statistical inquiries show a much higher birth-rate for the lower social classes than for the upper social classes. Some emotionally-minded persons have refused to accept these findings on the ground that all such groupings had nothing to do with intelligence. As a matter of fact, it has never been difficult to show that all empirical classifications which show social grades do have a high degree of association with intelligence groupings. But

## E. M. EAST

one need not press the point. Intelligence tests have been made on large groups of school children, and these intelligence ratings have been listed by number of children in family. On the average, the children of low intelligence come from much larger families than do those of high intelligence. It is true, as F. A. Woods has shown, that if one selects successful people, people in the upper two per cent as success is measured, then the more successful have a slightly higher number of children than the somewhat less successful. This particular result, however, does not negate our conclusion that, in general, the unintelligent are increasing faster than the intelligent. It is a fact, and will continue to be a fact as long as we retain the present laws concerning birth-control. The fit will never take up a cradle competition with the unfit, though a hundred greater prophets than Roosevelt arise.

Changes in ancient customs take time. For this reason we cannot expect the immediate adoption of a eugenic attitude toward population increase within our borders. In the matter of immigration, on the other hand, there is no good reason to delay immediate action. Until about 1860, the causes which led to emigration from Europe were numerous. People came to the United States for love of adventure, through ambition, because of the self-born desire to do better for themselves and for their children. They came because of dissatisfaction with the political or religious conditions existing in their native lands. Thus there was a good random sample obtained from the countries which gave them birth. True, a limited

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

number of low-grade immigrants were forced into the United States through judicial decree. First England, and later Italy, discovered that it was more economical to send their ne'er-do-wells abroad than it was to feed them in their own penological institutions. Fortunately, such additions to the United States were not numerous, though the regrettable records they and their descendants have made are quite out of proportion to the number admitted, as the researches of the Eugenics Record Office have shown. For the rest, if there was any selection, it was toward men of Grades A and B, for they were adventurous, ambitious, able people.

After 1860, the situation changed. The steamship agents spread fanciful tales of prospective riches in the United States to entrap the gullible. Any one dissatisfied with his present conditions or his future prospects, was easily enticed to emigrate. The natural ambition of the adventurous soul was no longer a prerequisite to breaking home ties. An artificial ambition was stimulated in men of Grades D and E. Mark the point, if you please. I do not say that no Grade A or B men came here after 1860. They did; but not in the proportions found in the earlier immigrations. The incentive to leave home became more and more an economic one. And who is likely to leave home, under such conditions? Is it the school teacher, the engineer, the physician, the chemist, the successful industrialist? It is not. The successful men, who are largely of Grades A and B, are content to test their value in competition in their own countries. The selection, therefore,

## E. M. EAST

was in favor of men of Grades D and E.

It is to be hoped that no mistake will be made as to just what the contention is here. No comparison is made of the average intelligence of the populations of the various European countries. It is only assumed that there is approximately the same variation in intelligence as is found in the United States, and that the average is not greatly different, whether above or below. Nor is it contended that highly intelligent men ceased to emigrate. It is only maintained that the trend was toward a greater and greater proportion of unintelligent immigrants. The conclusion is so obvious *a priori* that it needs no defense. But it can be defended statistically by intelligence tests of alien against native, by the crime ratio, by pauper rates, by studies of eminent men, and in many other ways.

The general deductions one should make from the facts as set forth here are quite plain. Evasion or disregard of all eugenic principles cannot be accepted cheerfully and optimistically. Eugenic education within our borders is much to be desired; for, in spite of all the journalistic nonsense that has been written holding up eugenic ideals to ridicule, they remain and always will remain, the sole and final means of keeping a nation from deterioration and decay. One may admit that eugenic perfection is impossible: nothing in this world is perfect. But there are practical reforms which can, and should, be made. And the most concrete, sound, and easily accomplished improvement on our present custom would be to tighten our immigration basis. Quota

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

restriction should be extended to all countries, and the quotas now in force should be reduced, as the country cannot develop the unity it should have with an annual increment of aliens of the amount now legal. We should also retain the national origins provision of the present immigration law. The law is fair. The former law was unfair, for it admitted aliens in proportion to the resident foreign-born from the various countries, entirely disregarding the rights of the native-born to admit aliens of their own kind. Last, but most important of all, provision should be made to admit A and B men and to exclude D and E men. Satisfactory intelligence tests should be devised by properly qualified psychologists; and laws should be enacted whereby the country can select the quota immigrants on the basis of such tests.

—E. M. EAST.

## IMMIGRATION

BY ELLSWORTH ELIOT, JR. M.D.

Physical strength, high moral standards, intelligence, and a capacity for government have been characteristic of those races that have reached in the past an advanced state of national development. While not every individual in any given nation can be so liberally and advantageously endowed, the strongest and most powerful nations have been those in which these desirable attributes have been most widely distributed. Uniformity is unquestionably greatly to be desired in promoting national welfare.

What is true of the past is equally true of the present and future. In an old established nation alone can measures be taken to promote the national solidarity of those who, for successive generations, have constituted the body politic—a body in which change does not often occur, for strangers desiring to become citizens in these countries usually find it difficult or impossible to comply with the prescribed conditions. On the other hand in recently discovered countries, in which the aborigines have gradually yielded to the encroachment of the Caucasian, opportunity has been afforded for the selection of the immigrant, by the application of standards which would insure the gradual development of the higher grades of national efficiency. Such desirable outcome, however, has always been modified by the fact that

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

the more capable, except in case of persecution, have usually refused to leave their native land, and the newly discovered territory, after attracting the explorer, the adventurer, the discontented, and the poverty stricken, has too frequently served as a general dumping ground for the less desirable members of human society. Quantity rather than quality has been the general result.

In this country the original English colonies varied widely and, after the original Colonies became States, the increase in population from continued and at times excessive immigration, accentuated the lack of uniformity, which, as long as further expansion was possible, did not appear to be a source of national weakness. Now, on the other hand, that a frontier no longer exists, and the future growth of the Nation depends chiefly upon the natural increase of the population of its component States, the need of the regulation of immigration has become imperative in order that the more or less difficult process of digestion and assimilation of the extensive and varied foreign elements in the population may be successfully carried out and, in a measure at least, uniformity of these different elements be attained. Of the grave misfortune, if not of actual disaster, arising from this lack of uniformity, both in this country and abroad, many examples could be cited.

No objection need be urged to the admission of the highly educated and refined. Those of that class, who rarely leave the country of their birth, possess qualifications that fit them for citizenship in any country. To this group belong the college professor,

## ELLSWORTH ELIOT, JR., M.D.

the school teacher, the banker, the artist and sculptor, the architect, and the members of the learned professions. Any member of this group can be admitted to a country without untoward result.

On the other hand individuals in unsatisfactory physical or mental condition should be rigidly excluded. This group includes those suffering with some form of tuberculosis, from venereal diseases including syphilis, from the various parasitic infections, and especially the mentally deficient and those with functional or organic disturbances of the central nervous system. The presence or absence of any one of these several untoward conditions could be most satisfactorily determined by medical experts in the employ of the United States at the different ports of embarkation. As this opportunity is not afforded by foreign governments, a complete examination must be deferred until the arrival in this country when it should be made at hospital centers, equipped with X-ray and other laboratories and with all apparatus essential to accurate diagnosis. In most instances such an examination could ordinarily be completed in from 24 to 48 hours. In cases of suspected infections or neuropathic disease, a much longer period might prove necessary. The necessity of the exclusion of the crippled, the blind, those who are likely to become public charges, and, of course, those with a criminal record is self evident.

Immigrants who satisfactorily pass the physical and other tests should be duly registered and appropriate means taken to insure future identification. A system similar to that employed in the army is

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

advocated. In a "service record book" given to each immigrant, the age, nativity, and physical characteristics would appear and a photograph signed by its owner be inserted. In it should also be given the address of each successive employer, with the nature of the employment and the reason for the change of service. These personal records to be subject to inspection by proper authority. In case of employment, such a record, if favorable, would be acceptable in lieu of the customary reference.

The distribution of any immigrants should be facilitated by the organization of an adequate employment bureau in which demands for different kinds of labor could be brought expeditiously to the attention and knowledge of the immigrant. Moreover the duties of such a bureau should include information of the necessary transportation and the means by which the cost of such transportation could be defrayed.

The total number of immigrants in the several quotas annually admitted is at present rigidly prescribed by the immigration laws. Each quota is filled in the order of application, and, when completed, no further applications can be considered until the following year. In place of this rather hap-hazard policy of "first-come-first-served", the adoption of some method of discrimination could advantageously be substituted. The age, nationality, occupation, and the object of the migration of intending immigrants should be taken into account, and preference should be given to those who have some knowledge of the English language, to those who intend to make this country their permanent abode, and to those who

## ELLSWORTH ELIOT, JR., M.D.

look forward to the possibility of naturalization and who, in general, seem capable of assimilation. Immigrants attracted by the prevalence of high wages (which, especially since the Civil War, has been the chief magnet) ought not to receive the same consideration as those attracted by the type of government, the freedom and initiative which it permits, and the possibility it affords of living under conditions that promote the welfare of the individual, and, with industry and perseverance, not that infrequently place him and the members of his family in a far higher social plane.

Probably of greater importance than the proper conduct of the laws of immigration is the adoption of measures that will effectively exclude unlawful entry into this country. This is both stimulated and favored by the extent of the coast line and by the extensive and, in places, wild character of the frontier between us and Canada and Mexico. In fact the unlawful occupation of smuggling foreigners into this country has become a well recognized industry, and while the number of such entries cannot be accurately estimated, it is probable that at least 150,000 succeed each year in crossing the frontier illegally. Of these by far the greater part consists of undesirables, and frequently of actual criminals who could not possibly enter the country in a lawful manner. It is only by the identification and deportation of these undesirable trespassers and by the punishment of those engaged in this nefarious business that the evil can be corrected. Identification can be made certain by the application of the Bertillon system of finger prints

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

and measurements. No reason exists why this should not be applied to all alike, both citizen and alien, irrespective of birth or position. In fact this information should be placed in the "service book" of each accepted immigrant. Hitherto a certain stigma because of its use in the identification of criminals has been attached to proposals for its general application. This objection failed to materialize, however, in the late World War, in which the finger prints of all officers and men who participated in the American Expeditionary Force, were taken and registered. Service books can be lost or counterfeited, and also in the case of married housewives (or of those who pose as such) may prove entirely unsatisfactory. The Bertillon system has no such disadvantage. Those without this means of identification are easily deported. The adoption of this system and the protection it affords, would prove of inestimable value to the country at large.

—ELLSWORTH ELIOT, JR., M.D.

## IMMIGRATION AND NATIONAL UNITY

BY HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

*President, American Eugenics Society*

National unity is as essential to the health of a nation as balance of structure and function is essential to the health of an individual. Healthy national unity on the part of each nation of the globe is also an indispensable factor in sound world conditions. Though the international era may be dawning, internationalism must for a long time be of the nature of a federation of constituent nations. A sick or atrophied nation can no more contribute effectively to international activities than a similarly afflicted organ or member can play its part in the life processes of an organism. The preservation of the unity of each existing nation is therefore of the highest importance.

When the population of a nation is recruited exclusively from the progeny of its own members, unity is achieved automatically. Even though there be internal dissensions, they are usually signs of healthy growth. They are by nature indigenous, and their outcome is usually a higher level of social organization or metabolism.

Recruiting population from foreign sources, however, involves the possibility of breaches of national unity which may result in disastrous consequences. Nations differ in two fundamental aspects; in the racial composition of their people, that is, their biolog-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

ical kinship and ancestry, and in their cultural traits, including among them all that goes to make up nationality in the strict sense. A racial distinction is not always present between two given nations; their peoples may belong to essentially the same physical subdivision of the human species. Greater or less cultural differentiations, on the other hand, are always present—it is these that constitute them separate nations.

While international migration, therefore, may or may not involve the intermingling of races, it always involves a contact of cultures. In the United States both factors have been present in wide diversity. Immigration, accordingly, has threatened the unity of the nation both through modification of its racial stock, and by clash of cultures.

Much has been said and written about the racial character of the American people. This is not the occasion to enter into that question. The important point to bear in mind is that if a country allows persons of diverse race to settle, racial change takes place. The two or more races may blend, completely or in part, by the process of amalgamation, or they may remain distinct, at least for a period of time. But in either case, the biological elements of the two races are there, and ultimately alter the racial composition of the nation. If such a prospect is not attractive to a nation its recourse is to exclude from its territory representatives of such races as it does not wish to have incorporated in its body politic.

With culture, the case is different. Culture is not biological. Whether or not it has biological

## HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

foundations is a moot question. At any rate, its biological roots are not vital enough to prevent sweeping changes of culture from taking place without racial modification intervening. To a considerable extent race and culture operate independently of each other. There are abundant historical examples of radical changes of culture without any change of race, and profound changes of race without notable effects on culture. Some races include many nationalities, and some nationalities include many races. In brief, an individual cannot change his race, nor can a nation change its racial composition, except as already indicated, by infusions from without. But both an individual and a people can change his or its culture.

It is this possibility of the change of culture, even within an individual lifetime, that has created an optimistic attitude by many Americans towards immigration. It underlies the figure of speech "the melting-pot." Obviously, it is important to understand the actual conditions of such an alleged transformation.

From the individual point of view, culture is acquired. An infant arrives in the world devoid of cultural traits. Every human being, therefore, has to be "nationalized." This process ordinarily goes on unconsciously. A growing child automatically and inevitably acquires the social imprint of the group within which he grows up. The older he grows, the more firmly do these social features become fixed in his being. By the time maturity is reached they have become exceedingly resistant to change.

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

The process of migration takes an individual from the social environment in which he has grown up, and which has nationalized him according to its own pattern, and transports him to the midst of a different social environment, where the cultural patterns are different. A process of re-nationalization sets in. This process of acquiring cultural traits from one's environment is a life-long one and cannot be escaped. But its rate is heavily retarded by advancing age. The process of substituting a new set of cultural traits for the older one is, properly, known as assimilation.

The first law of assimilation, as applied to the individual, may be stated thus: Possibility of assimilation, and its rate, diminish directly with the age at migration. One may add as a corollary, that complete assimilation is impossible for an immigrant who has reached maturity at the time of transition.

Since assimilation is the consequence of contact with a new cultural environment, the closer and more complete the contact, the better the chances for assimilation. The second law then is: Possibility and rate of assimilation vary in direct ratio with the intimacy and variety of the contacts between the immigrant and his new environment. A corollary is that an immigrant cannot be assimilated if his new social setting is a replica of his old one, even though it happen to be geographically located in a new land.

A third law may be stated in general terms: Possibility and rate of assimilation vary in direct ratio with the similarity that exists between the two cultures involved. One minor qualification of this law

## HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

seems to be called for by the facts. If the two cultures are very closely akin, differing only in certain non-essentials, these minor features may show a remarkable resistance to change.

Transferred to the national plane, these laws establish the following conclusions. Assimilation is a reaction of the individual to the social environment. While it is produced by the influences of the group, it takes place within the individual. There is no such thing as mass assimilation. The menace of an immigrant stream, to the unity of the receiving country, depends upon three main factors. First, the extent of the difference in culture between the sending and the receiving countries. Second, the extent to which the newcomers are disseminated among the genuine nationals of the receiving country. Third, the size of the immigrant stream.

The menace to national unity involved in immigration depends upon the volume of the currents from different countries, and the diversity of cultures existent between America and those countries. Restriction of immigration from all countries is imperative. No nation on earth could long survive such a flood of alien affiliations as would pour upon this favored land if the gates were left open. The incidence of restriction upon foreign nations should be governed by the specific incompatibility of their cultures respectively with ours.

Let it be stated with all emphasis possible, that in the foregoing there is not implied the slightest assumption of superiority of one culture over another. That is something for which no external objective

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

criteria exist, and upon which, therefore, no judgments can be passed. No question of superiority or inferiority is involved, but only questions of difference and unity. Every principle laid down in the preceding pages applies equally if it were a question of Americans migrating to Germany, or China, or Timbuctoo.

—HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD,  
*New York University.*

## BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

(1751)

“THE importation of foreigners into a country that has as many inhabitants as the present employments and provisions for subsistence will bear, will be in the end no increase of people, unless the new comers have more industry and frugality than the natives, and then they will provide more subsistence, and increase in the country; *but they will gradually eat the natives out.* Nor is it necessary to bring in foreigners to fill up any occasional vacancy in a country, for such vacancy (if the laws are good, see secs. 14, 16) will soon be filled by natural generation. \* \* \* Thus, there are supposed to be now upwards of one million English souls in North America (though it is thought scarce eighty thousand has been brought over sea), and yet perhaps there is not one the fewer in Britain, but rather many more, on account of the employment the colonies afford to manufacturers at home. This million doubling, suppose but once in twenty-five years, will in another century be more than the people of England, and the greatest number of Englishmen will be on this side of the water. \* \* \*

“23. In fine, a nation well regulated is like a polypus. Take away a limb, its place is soon supplied; cut it in two, and each deficient part shall speedily grow, out of the part remaining. Thus, if you have room and subsistence enough, as you may, by dividing, make ten polypuses out of one, you may of one make ten nations, equally populous and powerful, or rather increase a nation tenfold in numbers and strength.

“And since detachments of English from Britain, sent to America, will have their places at home so soon supplied and increase so largely here, why should the Palatine boors be suffered to swarm into our settlements, and, by herding together, establish their language and manners, to the exclusion

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

of ours? Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a colony of aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us, instead of our Anglifying them, and will never adopt our language or customs any more than they can acquire our complexion?"

"*The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin*", compiled and edited by John Bigelow, Letter-Press Edition, 1887, Vol. II, page 231.

9th May, 1753

"Those who come hither are generally the most stupid of their own nation, and, as ignorance is often attended with credulity when knavery would mislead it, and with suspicion when honesty would set it right; \* \* \* Not being used to liberty, they know not how to make a modest use of it. And as Holben says of the young Hottentots, that they are not esteemed men until they have shown their manhood by *beating their mothers*, so these seem not to think themselves free, till they can feel their liberty in abusing and insulting their teachers. \* \* \*

"In short, unless the stream of their importation could be turned from this to other colonies, as you very judiciously propose, they will soon so outnumber us that all the advantages we have will, in my opinion, be not able to preserve our language, and even our government will become precarious. (page 291 et. seq.)

## CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN

11th March, 1801

“MANY of our new-comers cajoled and imposed upon by emissaries from without, and egged on by a numerous or rather innumerable tribe of young law-followers amongst ourselves, especially in the circuits, have brought on a strange reversement in our State. Our old-standers and independent men of long well-tryed patriotism, sound understanding, and good property, have now in general very little influence in our public matters. Our too easy admittance of strangers has entangled us in this evil, and when or where it will end, God only knows!

“But here, my dear Sir? I must confess my own credulity and shortsightedness, who was amongst the most zealous in that over-hasty and not sufficiently guarded step, which we now have good reason to lament as big with innumerable mischiefs. Our worthy deceased friend John Rutledge, looking farther, was for giving them every reasonable protection and encouragement, but for admitting only their sons born amongst us into such complete citizenship as to vote either at State or Congress elections; and when unsuccessful in this point, was then for extending the time to ten years at least. Had even this been carried, it would have given new-comers full time to look so deliberately about them, as greatly to have deterred and hindered all designing tamperers and deceivers in most of their infernal views and mischievous suggestions; and much better, in all probability, would this have been for the peace, safety, and lasting political security of both.”

“*The Works of John Adams, by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, 1856, Vol. IX, page 578.*”

## ALEXANDER HAMILTON

17th July, 1793

“FOREIGN influence is truly the Grecian horse to a republic. We cannot be too careful to exclude its entrance.”

“*The Works of Alexander Hamilton*”, edited by Henry Cabot Lodge, *Collector's Federal Edition*, 1904, Vol. IV, page 481.

7th December, 1796

“To render the people of this country as homogeneous as possible, must tend as much as any other circumstance to the permanency of their union and prosperity.” (Vol. VIII, page 217)

7th, January, 1802

“It is certain, that had the late election been decided entirely by native citizens, had foreign auxiliaries been rejected on both sides, the man who ostentatiously vaunts that the doors of public honor and confidence have been burst open to him, would not now have been at the head of the American nation. Such a proof, then, of virtuous discernment in the oppressed fugitives had an imperious claim on him to a grateful return, and, without supposing any very uncommon share of self-love would naturally be a strong reason for a revolution in his opinions.

“The impolicy of admitting foreigners to an immediate and unreserved participation in the right of suffrage, or in the sovereignty of a republic, is as much a received axiom as anything in the science of politics, and is verified by the experience of all ages. Among other instances, it is known that hardly anything contributed more to the downfall of Rome than her precipitate communication of the privileges of citizenship to the inhabitants of Italy at large. And how terribly was Syracuse scourged by perpetual conditions, when,

## ALEXANDER HAMILTON

after the overthrow of the tyrants, a great number of foreigners were suddenly admitted to the rights of citizenship? Not only does ancient, but modern, and even domestic, story furnish evidence of what may be expected from the dispositions of foreigners when they get too early a footing in a country."

12th January, 1802

"The safety of a republic depends essentially on the energy of a common national sentiment; on a uniformity of principles and habits; on the exemption of the citizens from foreign bias, and prejudice; and on that love of country which will almost invariably be found to be closely connected with birth, education and family.

"The opinion advanced in the 'Notes on Virginia' is undoubtedly correct, that foreigners will generally be apt to bring with them attachments to the persons they have left behind; to the country of their nativity, and to its particular customs and manners. They will also entertain opinions on government congenial with those under which they have lived; or, if they should be led hither from a preference to ours, how extremely unlikely is it that they will bring with them that *temperate love of liberty*, so essential to real republicanism? There may, as to particular individuals, and at particular times, be occasional exceptions to these remarks, yet such is the general rule. The influx of foreigners must, therefore, tend to produce a heterogeneous compound; to change and corrupt the national spirit; to complicate and confound public opinion; to introduce foreign propensities. In the composition of society, the harmony of the ingredients is all-important, and whatever tends to a discordant intermixture must have an injurious tendency.

"The United States have already felt the evils of incorporating a large number of foreigners into their national mass; by promoting in different classes different predilections in favor of particular foreign nations, and antipathies against others, it has served very much to divide the community and to distract our councils. It has been often likely to compromise

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

the interests of our own country in favor of another. The permanent effect of such a policy will be, that in time of great public danger there will be always a numerous body of men, of whom there may be just grounds of distrust; the suspicion alone will weaken the strength of the nation, but their force may be actually employed in assisting an invader.

\* \* \* It appears from the last census that we have increased about one third in ten years; after allowing for what we have gained from abroad, it will be quite apparent that the natural progress of our own population is sufficiently rapid for strength, security, and settlement." (*Vol. VIII, page 288 et. seq.*)

## PATRICK HENRY

8th January, 1799

“THIS virtue; morality, and religion; is the armor, my friend, and this alone, that renders us invincible.

These are the tactics we should study. If we lose them, we are conquered, fallen indeed \* \* \* so long as our manners and principles remain sound, there is not danger. But believing as I do that these are in danger, that infidelity in its broadest sense, under the name of philosophy, is fast spreading, and that \* \* \* everything that ought to be dear to man is covertly but successfully assailed, I feel the value of those men amongst us who hold out to the world the idea, that our continent is to exhibit an originality of character; and that instead of that imitation and inferiority, that the countries of the old world have been in the habit of exacting from the new, we shall maintain that high ground which nature has placed us, and that Europe will alike cease to rule us and give us modes of thinking.”

“*Patrick Henry; Life, Correspondence and Speeches*”, by William Wirt Henry, 1891, Vol. II, page 591.

## JOHN JAY

25th, July, 1787

“**P**ERMIT me to hint whether it would not be wise and reasonable to provide a strong check to the admission of foreigners into the administration of our national government \* \* \*”.

“*The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay,*” edited by Henry P. Johnston, Letter-Press Edition, 1891, Vol. III, page 250.

19th January, 1796

“It certainly is chiefly owing to institutions, laws, and principles of policy and government, originally derived to us as British colonists, that, with the favour of Heaven, the people of this country are what they are.” (Vol. IV, page 200)

13th May, 1798

“It is said that the Naturalization Act is to be revised and amended. Permit me to suggest an idea which I have for many years deemed important. We doubtless may grant to a foreigner just such a portion of our rights and privileges as we may think proper. In my opinion it would be wise to declare explicitly, that the right and privilege of being elected or appointed to, or of holding and exercising any office or place of trust or power under the United States, or under any of them, shall not hereafter be granted to any foreigner; but that the President of the United States, with the consent of the Senate, be nevertheless at liberty to appoint a foreigner to a military office.” (Vol. IV, page 241)

## THOMAS JEFFERSON

1782

“DURING the infancy of the colony, (*Virginia*) while numbers were small, wars, importations, and other accidental circumstances rendered the progression (of population) fluctuating and irregular. By the year 1654, however, it becomes tolerably uniform, importations having in a great measure ceased from the dissolution of the Company, (The Virginia Company) and the inhabitants became too numerous to be sensibly affected by Indian wars. Beginning at that period, therefore, we find that from thence to the year 1772, our tythes had increased from 7209 to 153,000. The whole term being 118 years, yields a duplication once in every  $27\frac{1}{4}$  years. The intermediate enumerations taken in 1700, 1748, and 1759, furnish proofs of the uniformity of this progression. Should this rate of increase continue, we shall have between six and seven millions of inhabitants within 95 years. If we suppose our country to be bounded, at some future day, by the meridian of the mouth of the great Kanhaway, (within which it has been before conjectured, are 64,491 square miles) there will then be 100 inhabitants for every square mile, which is nearly the state population of the British islands.

“Here I will beg leave to propose a doubt. The present desire of America is to produce rapid population by as great importations of foreigners as possible. But is this founded in good policy? The advantage proposed is the multiplication of numbers. Now let us suppose (for example only) that, in this state, we could double our numbers in one year by the importation of foreigners; and this is a greater accession than the most sanguine advocate for immigration has a right to expect. Then I say, beginning with a double stock, we shall

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

attain any given degree of population only 27 years, and 3 months sooner than if we proceed on our single stock. If we propose four millions and a half as a competent population for this state, we should be  $54\frac{1}{2}$  years attaining it, could we at once double our numbers; and  $81\frac{1}{4}$  years, if we rely on natural propagation.

“But are there no inconveniences to be thrown into the scale against the advantage expected from a multiplication of numbers by the importation of foreigners? It is for the happiness of those united in society to harmonize as much as possible in matters which they must of necessity transact together. Civil government being the sole object of forming societies, its administration must be conducted by common consent. Every species of government has its specific principles. Ours perhaps are more peculiar than those of any other in the universe. It is a composition of the freest principles of the English constitution, with others derived from natural right and natural reason. To these nothing can be more opposed than the maxims of absolute monarchies. Yet from such we are to expect the greatest number of emigrants. They will bring with them the principles of the governments they leave, imbibed in their early youth; or, if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing, as is usual, from one extreme to another. It would be a miracle were they to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty. These principles, with their language, they will transmit to their children. In proportion to their numbers, they will share with us the legislation. They will infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its directions, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass. I may appeal to experience, during the present contest, for a verification of these conjectures. But, if they be not certain in event, are they not possible, are they not probable? Is it not safer to wait with patience 27 years and three months longer, for the attainment of any degree of population desired or expected? May not our government be more homogeneous, more peaceable, more durable?”

*Ford Edition, Vol III, page 188.*

# THOMAS JEFFERSON

1782

"The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body. It is the manners and spirit of a people which preserve a republic in vigour. A degeneracy in these is a canker which soon eats to the heart of its laws and constitution".

*Washington Edition, page 406.*

*Ford Edition, Vol. III, page 269.*

20th June, 1791

"Nor should I think it desirable, were it justifiable, to draw a body of sixty thousand free blacks and mulattoes into our country."

*Ford Edition, Vol. V, page 342.*

May, 1797

"I can scarcely withhold myself from joining in the wish of Silas Deane, that there were an ocean of fire between us and the old world".

*Washington, Edition, Vol. IV, page 172.*

*Ford Edition, Vol. VII, page 121.*

24th November, 1801

" \* \* \* It is impossible not to look forward to distant times, when our rapid multiplication will expand itself \* \* \* and cover the whole northern, if not the southern continent, with a people speaking the same language, government in similar forms, and by similar laws; nor can we contemplate with satisfaction either blot or mixture on that surface." *(Ford Edition, Vol. VIII, page 104)*

12th September, 1817

"I sincerely wish that your proposition to 'purchase a tract of land in Illinois on favorable terms, for introducing a colony of English farmers', may encounter no difficulties \* \* \*. For although as to other foreigners it is thought better to discour-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

age their settling together in large masses, wherein \* \* \* they preserve for a long time their own languages, habits, and principles of government. \* \* \* Yet English emigrants are without this inconvenience. They differ from us but little in their principles of government, and most of those (merchants excepted) who come here, are sufficiently disposed to adopt ours. \* \* \*

*Washington Edition, Vol. VII, page 83.*

## RUFUS KING

“**W**ITHOUT presuming to form an opinion on the subject of the late disturbances in Ireland, I entertain a distinct one in relation to the political situation of my own country. In common with others we have felt the influence of the changes that have successively taken place in France, and unfortunately a portion of our Inhabitants has erroneously supposed that our civil and political institutions, as well as our national policy might be improved by a close imitation of the models of France. This opinion, the propagation of which was made the duty and became the chief employment of the French agents resident among us, created a more considerable division among our people, and required a greater watchfulness and activity from the Government, than could beforehand have been apprehended. I am sorry to make the remark, and shall stand in need of your candour in doing so, that a large proportion of the emigrants from Ireland, and especially in our middle States, has upon this occasion arranged itself upon the side of the malcontents; I ought to except from this remark most of the enlightened and well educated Irishmen who reside among us, and with a few exceptions I may confine it to the indigent and illiterate, who, entertaining an attachment to freedom, are unable easily to appreciate those salutary restraints, without which it degenerates into anarchy. It would be injustice to say that the Irish emigrants are more national than those of other countries, yet being a numerous, tho' very minor portion of our population, they are capable, from causes it is needless now to explain, of being generally brought to act in concert, and under careful leaders may be, as they have been, enlisted in mischievous combinations against our Government. This view leads me to state to you without reserve the hesitation that I have felt in your case; on the one hand we cannot object to the acquisition of Inhabitants from abroad possessing

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

capital and skill in a branch of business, that with due caution, may without risque or difficulty, and with public as well as private advantage, be established among us; but on the other hand if the opinions of such Inhabitants are likely to throw them into the class of malcontents, their fortune, skill and consequent influence would make them tenfold more dangerous, and they might become a disadvantage instead of a benefit to our country.”—Letter to Henry Jackson, Esq. (Written from Brighton, Aug. 28, 1799.)

“*The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*”, edited by his grandson, Charles R. King, M.D., 1894–1900, Vol. II, page 646.

20th, January, 1797

“PRINCIPLES more and more national appear in every quarter of the Union, strong marks of displeasure on the subject of foreign influence and foreign interferences in our affairs are likewise seen in the different News Papers; so that I think it will be soon perceived that we are neither Greeks nor Trojans, but truly Americans.”

“*The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*”, edited by his grandson Charles R. King, M.D., 1894–1900, Vol. II, page 134.

14th June, 1798

“In case the Rebellion is suppressed \* \* \* thousands of the fugitives will seek an asylum in our Country. Their principles and habits would be pernicious to the order and industry of our people, and I cannot persuade myself that the Malcontents of any character or country will ever become useful citizens of ours.” (page 348)

19th July, 1798

“It was the practice of the Emigrants from Scotland to bring with them Certificates from the religious Societies to which they belonged, of their honesty, sobriety, and generally of their good Character. Why should we not require some such Document from all Emigrants, and it would be well to add to the Testimonial that the person to whom it was granted

## RUFUS KING

was not expelled from his Country and had not been convicted of any crime. I am, I confess, very anxious upon this subject. The contrast between New England and some other Parts of the United States is in my view a powerful admonition to us to observe greater caution in the admission of Foreigners among us. If from the emigrations of past time we have suffered inconvenience and our true national character has been disfigured, what are we to expect from the Emigrants of the present Day?" (*page 371*)

## A BRIEF REVIEW OF IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

BY ROY L. GARIS

*Vanderbilt University, Tennessee*

A great constitutional debate can be traced through many cases before the Supreme Court on the power of the Federal Government to regulate immigration under the commerce clause in the Constitution. In practice, from the formation of the present Government until 1875 the States regulated immigration under their police powers, their laws being directed for the most part against the policy of various foreign governments of sending convicts, paupers, and other undersirable classes to this country. Most of this state legislation was enacted between 1820 and 1840. The use of the head tax, bonding, manifests and almost every form of modern qualitative restriction, save the literary test, was provided for by Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland and the other States most vitally concerned. Consular reports and Congressional investigations revealed that certain foreign countries were making it a practice to send undesirable elements to the United States. It is interesting to note that one such government, Wurtemberg, in 1855 passed public resolutions of protest denying our right to return foreign paupers and criminals, as to which they said that they "in that case will have defrayed the expense of their

## ROY L. GARIS

journey in vain." In the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 was set forth the claim to the right to deport and we have maintained that right from that day to this. By 1890 most of the European States recognized our right to deport; an outstanding case being the action of Switzerland in 1888. Abundant official evidence exists, however, to prove that even after 1900 several European governments were indirectly, if not directly, still sending certain undesirable classes to this country.

The argument against cheap foreign labor developed about 1830, all the outstanding reasons urged today being then advanced. A study of the almanacs, Nils Register, Census reports, etc., will convince one of the serious opposition that existed prior to 1850. Statistics without limit were collected on the number of undesirable immigrants in the public institutions of the various states. The amount of money that immigrants brought in, the amount they sent or took to Europe, their economic value in industry and our ability to assimilate them were all analyzed in the years between 1840 and 1855.

The same basic plan used by Dr. H. H. Laughlin in his report to the House Committee, Nov. 21, 1922, was expounded at length by Senator Clemens of Alabama in 1855. Over-seas examinations and inspection were suggested by various persons prior to 1850—the best known plan being that of Frederick List made to the President in his consular report of March 8, 1837.

Beginning with the Act of 1875, which excluded foreign convicts and prostitutes, the Federal govern-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

ment began the modern system of restriction of immigration. Various acts were passed from time to time putting the bars higher until almost every strictly undesirable class, with the exception of illiterates, was excluded by law at the time when the World War began.\*

To find the immediate basis for the present law we must examine the report of the Immigration Commission of 1910. That commission suggested the exclusion of illiterates, some kind of a quota plan to give numerical restriction, the increase in the head tax, and other devices designed to check immigration, not only by qualitative tests, but also by quantitative ones. The inability to assimilate certain immigrants with any degree of success is fundamentally the basis for the present numerical limitations.

The problem concerning assimilation has existed from the early Colonial period. It has, however, become recognized as a most serious problem only since 1890. This recognition of its importance has been due largely to a consideration of the character of the later immigration—the tide of immigration which has come from southern and eastern Europe. I am not greatly concerned here with the question of racial equality since it would by no means follow from a granting of the psychic equality of various races that restriction of immigration is not both entirely justifiable and most necessary. To disprove the superiority of any given race over some other race does not eliminate the necessity for the restriction

\*An act providing for a literacy test was also passed, but it was vetoed by President Wilson.

## ROY L. GARIS

by any given country of immigrants from countries of a different cultural background. Their assimilation, is, if possible, at best much more difficult, if for no other reason than the number of generations required. The fact that immigration averaged about a million annually after 1900 changed an already serious problem into a critical one. The result was that we have adopted expedients or devices that will, roughly, admit immigrants in at least some proportion to our ability to assimilate those with a different cultural development.

The world war virtually temporarily stopped all immigration to the United States, yet its consequences necessitated some plan for numerical restriction to an even greater extent than was the case prior to 1914. Consular and other reports indicated that we might expect about 2,000,000 immigrants annually for at least several years. To meet the post-war emergency and to give opportunity to study the problem, Congress enacted the emergency quota legislation of 1921-1924, which was avowedly a temporary or emergency measure. The entire country took the problem seriously and sought earnestly for a practical solution.

The opinions of various authorities on the subject, the investigations of state and national commissions, the statistics on naturalization, the army tests and the report of Dr. H. H. Laughlin convinced the thoughtful that the more immediate solution of the problem was a more drastic restriction of immigration. Many felt, if this could be obtained, the problem would be largely solved or could be solved in

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

time. Not to discuss in detail the merits of these reports and tests, it is sufficient to point out that they had great weight with Congress and with the American people and made inevitable the legislation we now have.

The quota basis for a numerical restriction is a sound one, whether it be used on the 1890 census basis or on the more logical and practical plan of National Origins. The purpose is the same with respect to the national origins and 1890 census plans viz., to insure that our future immigration should correspond in its makeup with our population as it is today, to the end that we may more easily assimilate the immigrants now here and who may come in the future. The adoption of national origins quotas simply resulted in a more equitable adjustment of the 1890 quotas.

The religious and political causes of emigration from other countries have become of minor importance. We have definitely and doubtless for all time closed the door to political and religious refugees. The better organization of industry and the rapid development of labor-saving machinery are rapidly freeing our industrial, commercial and agricultural enterprises from the necessity of employing cheap foreign labor. Most American business-men now understand that cheap labor is not cheap. Hence they favor a restriction of the immigration of such labor, from whatever source derived.

In this connection it is imperative to note that no numerical restriction exists at present against Mexican immigration. The problem of Mexican immigration

## ROY L. GARIS

has become such a serious one, that it demands subjection to numerical restriction. This is evident from the fact set forth by the Secretary of Labor. That immigration from Mexico during the past seven years has averaged 49,630 (19,551 in the lowest and 89,336 in the highest year), compared with an annual average of 17,435 during the six years just preceding the World War. In his testimony before the House Committee on Immigration, Congressman Box stated recently "the present foreign-born Mexican population of the United States is about 2,000,000, though it is often placed at 3,000,000." Thus, not only is the influx already very large: it is certain to increase. From the states along the Mexican border, Mexican laborers are rapidly spreading northward and eastward. They are in Colorado, in Minnesota and other Northwestern states, in Illinois, in the Pennsylvania steel mills, and on the railroads all through the middle West. While it is true that many of the Mexican laborers who work in this country during harvest time go home again during the winter, that tendency is decreasing, as it naturally would. Mexican peons are going into the industries and into the large cities. Most of the opposition to the restriction of Mexican immigration comes from those who still want cheap labor that is not cheap in the long run.

Abundant testimony was submitted recently to the House Committee to prove that such employers are using Mexican peons to beat down the wages of Americans and thus are not only lowering, but destroying the American standard of living. Hungry

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

Mexican peons will and can work for much less than the American laborer.

Their standard of living is extremely low. They know and care little or nothing about sanitation. They live huddled together in shacks or freight cars and, in increasing numbers, in congested Mexican quarters on the outskirts of various American cities, especially those in the western and southwestern parts of this country. They are prone to disease, especially tuberculosis, hookworm, and amoebic dysentery. In the districts where they congregate in considerable numbers, poorhouses, dispensaries and hospitals are largely carried on for them. The expense is already very large and it is increasing annually and at an advancing rate. Thus the expense to Los Angeles County for hospital care of Mexicans for the two years 1922-24 was \$2,358,088.21. The burden from unemployment in such cities is likewise very heavy—35,000 Mexicans were unemployed in the early part of 1928 in Los Angeles alone, according to Congressman Albert Johnson.

The Mexican is not only an economic and moral problem; he is likewise a political one. Much evidence was unearthed by the House Committee to prove that numerous Mexicans have voted illegally in Texas and elsewhere in various elections since 1918. In all cases they voted as they were told to vote, being unable to name the candidates for whom they marked their ballots.

The Immigration Restriction League of Boston has pointed out that "we must either approach the Mexican standard by using Mexican labor in unlimited

## ROY L. GARIS

quantity, or maintain American standards by relying on American labor. Sooner or later we must all have about the same standard of pay and employment, or go out of business."

Obviously we did not restrict immigration from Europe in order to let in people who have proved even more alien and even less easily assimilated than European immigration; people whose threat to the American standard of living, and to the future organization of American civic life, is as great as anything we have had from Europe. We can neither raise nor maintain our standards of living and citizenship by that process. We have here a definite decision to make between cheap labor for the benefit of certain individuals and corporations on the one hand, and better citizenship and a more homogeneous population on the other. The success of our present restrictive program depends on a drastic numerical limitation of Mexican immigration. Our traditional policy towards immigration demands such restriction. It is as inevitable as it is necessary, for it is impossible to reconcile an unlimited flow of immigrants from the Western Hemisphere with the sharp curtailment of immigrants from Europe. To shut down on Europeans and to continue to admit peons from Mexico would fall but little short of being ridiculous.

—ROY L. GARIS.

## IMMIGRATION FROM MEXICO

BY C. M. GOETHE

*President, Immigration Study Commission*

When a Mexican peon places his Madonna-of-the-Rains on a scorched rock in the sun, thereby making her so uncomfortable that she brings on the delayed rainy season, he has but substituted the name "Madonna" for that of an ancient god of his forbears Aztec pantheon. His ancestors so scorched their gods when the rains delayed.

### II

Watching him one glimpses the cultural gulf between Amerind (American Indian) and Caucasian. One appreciates how Americans blunder in thinking the Mexican peon white. The peon girl matures early. From fourteen to eighteen she is attractive. The hybridization that results makes toward a leveling of Saxon America to an unstable political and social plane. Remembering the growth of the mulatto caste, dare we permit mass immigration over our Southern border compared with which the number brought by the slave ships is insignificant?

Peon immigration is a two-edged sword. It hybridizes our present stock, and blocks, by economic competition, the influx of highpowered Nordic-European immigrants. Mexico is sending us more than two immigrants for every one from Great

## C. M. GOETHE

Britain, from whom we have inherited our institutions. Mexico's ratio is more than eight to one from Sweden, eleven to one from Norway, countries which gave us the Viking type like Lindbergh.

### III

We must close our eyes to all history if we persist in ignoring this Mexican menace to our homogeneity. The writer once in Greece checked all obtainable evidence of ancient eye color, a well-known test of race. Most Greek statues show at present unseeing uncolored eyes. Those that still showed coloration were colored blue—NORDIC blue. Greece, with her Golden Age, listened to demagogues. She abandoned her traditional policy of racial homogeneity. She admitted slaves and aliens to citizenship. From that date Greek decay commenced.

Rome rotted from a similar cause. Studying a Roman frieze in Constantinople a sociologist exclaimed, "Why! those men are English." Long-skulled, the heads closely resembled those of the builders of the Central Pacific Railroad across the "Great American Desert". They corresponded remarkably to types studied recently in the New Zealand Parliament. They were racially the type of men, who, centuries later through sheer physical and mental superiority, won from nature those parts of Nordica we now map as the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand. The ancient Romans, however, crossed their blood with slave concubines from a dozen conquered provinces and threw open the citizenship to all Latium and

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

many provinces. Thence came the fall of the Roman Republic.

Shall we, in our Pacific-Southwest sector of our Nordica, repeat the experience of Greece and Rome when they abandoned race purity admitted the salve (peon) castes to their citizenship, . . . and crashed their civilization structures? Mexico should be brought under the Quota system as a measure which will tend to preserve our race purity. Indeed there exists no reason why Congress should postpone placing all Latin-America under an Immigration Quota as are England, Ireland, Germany.

### IV

Latin Americans will preferably not do business directly with each other, but will, when possible, through an Englishman or an American. Just as the Arab trustfully exclaims "Kilmeh frenjihe", (the promise of a Nordic), while he does not trust his own desert folk, so the Latin American regards "palabra ingles", (the word of a Saxon) as containing more profit than the bond of his neighbor. This sense of honor, that makes the Anglo-Saxon respected worldwide, is a racial trait. Have we not a responsibility to conserve the purity of the blood upon which world faith can be built?

Over an hotel entrance in Imperial Valley, California is the legend: "The Desert waited silent, hot, and fierce in its desolation, holding its treasures under the Seal of Death against the coming of the Strong Ones". These strong ones, masterful Nordics, came. They conquered The Desert. But for whom? Today

## C. M. GOETHE

thoughtful Westerners ask whether the Boulder Dam Bill ought not to be refused passage until it contain a rider placing Mexico under the Quota. Otherwise the empire it reclaims will come to be peopled with Amerind peons under absentee landlords. One of these—himself an immigrant without care for America except that she satisfies his greed—stated recently that all his vast California acres were worked by peons under Japanese foremen.

American inventive genius is so accelerating labor saving by machinery that unemployment must increase. The last available statistics show the number of unemployed American whites just about equals the number of Mexican aliens in this country. Would not a solution of current unemployment be found in the deportation of Mexicans across The Border until all white Americans had employment?

Over one Southern California highway during one week recently three hundred and twenty-two automobiles filled with Mexican laborers and families passed northward. This is exclusive of Mexican passengers in auto stages and in trains. The railroads sometimes carry them in carload lots. An Immigration Study Commission fieldworker asked one Sanchez, the driver of a 7-passenger car, how many children he had brought into the world. The reply was eleven. His neighbor Gonzales had nine. Alvarado's brood numbered eight. Garcia's were ten. Here is an average of plus nine.

An Anglo-Saxon complained that, on his little farm, with Mexican competition, he dared bring only three children into the world. At the three rate,

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

he might have twenty-seven great-grandchildren. At a nine child rate, these Mexicans would average seven hundred and twenty-nine great-grandchildren apiece. If one week's automobiles carried three hundred and twenty-two families, and if the trains and stage influx were the same, on such a "nine average", we have admitted the forbears of four hundred and sixty-nine thousand four hundred and seventy-six peons to compete for food with seventeen thousand three hundred and eighty-eight great-grandchildren from a similar present-day American group.

### V

Against population increase through the high birth rate, several checks exist in Mexico. These include civil war and low health conditions. The peon immigrants' living habits are also a menace to us. The case of one, Vincente Espinosa, is typical. Two of his children contracted smallpox. Their home was quarantined. Vicente had, however, the Mexican passion for gambling. Despite the quarantine he slipped out to the poolroom. Two men contracted the disease from him. Both died. Before dying, they passed the disease on to ten others. Of these ten, three more died. Vicente was sentenced to thirty days in jail.

Los Angeles' pneumonic plague outbreak illustrates the sanitation menace. The writer passed through Manchuria's pneumonic plague area some years ago. The climate resembled Iowa's, or Wisconsin's. An American surgeon there declared, "God made this plague to kill the people. Nothing could

## C. M. GOETHE

do the job better". We had a bad outbreak of this very pneumonic plague in Los Angeles' Mexican quarter. Had it once passed the Rocky Mountains into the Middle West, the death toll would have been most severe. Dr. S. J. Holmes, of the University of California, discussing the Los Angeles epidemic said: "Thirty-two cases of pneumonic plague with thirty deaths, and seven cases of bubonic plague with five deaths were confined exclusively to the Mexican quarter: one hundred forty-five thousand rats were exterminated, two thousand four hundred and seventy-three buildings were demolished: seven thousand five hundred buildings were rat proofed, total cost \$2,777,000."

Those who know amoebic dysentery in the Orient shudder at unrestricted Mexican immigration, now that this disease has gained a foothold on Mexico's West Coast. Of it Dr. Holmes said: "At Berkeley we examined Mexicans from the quicksilver mines. About eight per cent were afflicted with hook-worm, thirty-three per cent with amoebic dysentery, a tremendously serious thing. When we have people coming into this Country who know nothing about sanitation, the tendency for all diseases which are endemic among them to spread among our population is very great".

Venereal disease is widespread among peons. In our border counties, the commercialized brothel has, under redlight abatement acts, practically disappeared. South of the line it persists as an institution. It is common to find a Mexican sitting outside one until a daughter, who he has forced therein, has earned

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

enough for a spree of mescal or pulque or for pool-room gambling. There could hardly be a greater gulf between the peon's attitude toward his womenfolk and that of the typical American. The former's being Amerind, it is still that of an Indian buck toward his squaw.

The peon problem, biologically, is akin to the English sparrow problem. America's native birds are largely songsters, insect destroyers, weed-seed eaters. There was brought in a songless immigrant, the English sparrow, to destroy the so-called "measuring-worms" in New York City. It did so—aided by the cutting down of the particular kind of tree which they infested. It thereupon ceased to eat pest insects. Its food inclined to grain, not weed-seeds. In a new favorable environment, it multiplied, like the peon, with startling rapidity. Descendants of the few originally liberated in New York City swarmed cross the continent, and are now penetrating into Southern California. As they advance, they displace native songsters, weed-seed eaters. In our border cities the old Type American similarly is being displaced with Mexican slums inhabitants. "Tis not the slums that make the slum people—'tis the slum people who make the slums". The difference between a clean American bungalow, and a decrepit Mexican shack is best observed in those cities which straddle The Border. Fuel supply is a type example. In a few blocks one passes from a culture where the fuel is gas, to one where chaparell splints arrive via the pack burro. As Amerinds displace Anglo-Saxons our relief costs mount. The peon requires aid all out of proportion

## C. M. GOETHE

to his numbers. Judge Box has recently stated that Los Angeles, with an approximate Mexican population of five per cent, shows peon charity case percentages as follows: Outdoor relief Division 27 per cent, Catholic Charities Bureau 53.3 per cent, General Hospital 43 per cent, City Maternity Service 62½ per cent.

### VII

The eugenic aspect of peon immigration is its most important one. Consider the Mexican as the parent of future Americans. The highpowered Mexican white remains at home. Those crossing The Border are mongrel Amerinds. Even the old highpower Amerind stocks no longer exist. These were eliminated at the Conquest. The intellectual castes, the priest and the warrior, resisted to the death the Spanish Conquistadores. Their weapons of an obsidian (volcanic glass) culture were no match against the mechanical superiority of the Spanish armament. Aztec civilization never recovered, for its civilizing elements were annihilated. The peon, a slave attached to the soil persisted. Docile then, he remains docile today. Being docile and cheap, certain employers want him, regardless of his aspect as a father of future Americans. He is lowpowered eugenically. Intelligence tests made of California school children showed Mexican children markedly low grade. They tested uniformly far below the American stock, ranking with Negro, Portuguese, Sicilian.

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

### VIII

In a sanitation sense, as competitor of American labor, as low-income consumer of American products, as parent of future Americans, and culturally, the peon is an undesirable. He constitutes another color problem.

We have already too much diluted the types of idealists who came to Plymouth Rock, to Jamestown, who became the ancestors of generations that pioneered in Ohio, Kentucky, Kansas, Oregon. They gave America a citizenry conspicuous for idealism in a world blackened with pessimism. Their descendants to come, without any immigration, will eventually multiply up to our food-production limit. Our national tragedy is that we destroyed their homogeneity. We already have the blight of ten million Negroes. We have herded into our cities millions of hyphenates. In one year Chicago had more murders than all England plus Wales. Chicago's gangsters are descendants of neither New England Puritans nor Southern Cavaliers. Our crime records show our bootleggers to be almost entirely South and South-eastern European.

With an additional burden of already perhaps three million Mexican peons, dare we delay any longer the closing of the Back Door?

—C. M. GOETHE.

## THE QUESTION AT ISSUE

BY CHARLES W. GOULD

The actual question at issue is:

Shall we continue to import citizens who have never been able in the past in their own country to govern themselves, for the purpose of placing in their hands power to govern us.

Common sense indicates the answer to this question. Nor can we by any subterfuge evade the consequence if we continue the policy of so doing. Those who are trained in the matter of measuring comparative intelligence among individuals and between classes confirm what common experience has taught us all. While it is true that every nation produces able individuals, it is, unfortunately, equally true that we are not at liberty to pick and choose so far as individuals are concerned. The majority of capable foreigners stay at home and it is largely those who are lacking in the ability to make their way in their own lands who come to us. We can pick and choose to the extent only, that we can select the countries from which our immigration so far as we may have any, shall come. This in itself is an important matter. There is a wide divergence between the laboring classes of a country whose people are intelligent and whose past traditions parallel or are akin to our own, and on the other hand, the laboring classes from a country where for centuries they have

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

had no part in the government for the simple reason that they had not the ability to govern themselves or others. When immigrants come from a country of the latter description the situation becomes infinitely worse for the reason that they cannot speak our language and know not liberty, but only license when once restriction is removed.

During the last war, we were made thoroughly aware of the existence within us of hostile foreign elements who made constant efforts to paralyze our industry and negative our endeavor—foreign elements who had sought asylum with us, but were not nor ever will be of us. Supineness on our part would but encourage possibility of their growth in numbers and strength to the ultimate destruction of our republican institutions. The maintenance of the original standards upon which are founded those national qualities which have enabled us to survive and to prosper is the only hope for the future of the Republic. It is no exaggeration to say that in the last thirty years we have busied ourselves in importing at least some thousands of men avowedly striving to substitute anarchy for the Republic. These men do not come from the English-speaking nations. They have no part, nor lot with us, and with all their associates and adherents, should be rigidly excluded and those here deported.

—CHARLES W. GOULD.

## STOPPING THE GAPS

BY FRANCES H. KINNICUTT

*President Immigration Restriction League*

### I.

#### The Admission of Relatives

When, shortly after the termination of the World War, the people of the United States decided that the time had come for the numerical restriction of immigration, one of the principle problems with which Congress had to deal was how to make the drastic reductions contemplated with a minimum of hardship and friction.

One great problem from the start was that of how far under the new laws to be enacted, the relatives of immigrants already here were to be admitted. The immigration figures showed that for many years a large part, in fact between 75% and 80%, of all immigration has consisted of relatives of immigrants already in the United States and this is still the fact today. (In the year ending June 30, 1929, the proportion of relatives was 77% of the total immigration).

The first thought of Congress on the subject in 1919 and 1920 was to suspend all immigration other than that of the relatives, and bills were introduced to this end by Congressman Burnett and Congressman Albert Johnson in the House. On further reflection, however, Congress decided that the indiscriminate

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

admission of relatives was incompatible with the definite numerical restriction which was desired, and the Dillingham quota bill was substituted. The first form of this bill failed in 1920 due to President Wilson refusing to sign it, but it was passed in the next year in President Harding's administration and became known as the first Quota Act.

This Act allowed a total quota immigration of about 350,000 from the quota countries (which then were and still are limited practically to Europe) and the consuls were given power to give preference within the quotas to relatives. Inasmuch as the quotas provided for all countries were still quite large, no great difficulty was encountered by the near relatives in getting in and it was only when the immigration Act of 1924 reduced the total quota immigration to about 164,000, with small quotas for many countries, that any serious pressure on this score was encountered. To a great extent this pressure was gradually relieved by an important provision of the 1924 Act itself, which permitted the entry of the wives and children of naturalized immigrants without quota restriction.

The opportunity offered by this exemption has been increasingly utilized each year. In the year ending June 30, 1926, the number of citizens' wives and children admitted outside the quotas was 11,154, in the next fiscal year it was 18,505, in the year ending June 30, 1928 it jumped to 25,761 and in the year ending June 30, 1929, it was no less than 30,313. This last figure include 1046 husbands of women citizens, an amendment to the law in 1928 having given quota

## FRANCES H. KINNICUTT

exemption to alien husbands previously married. One reason, doubtless, why this big opening in the quotas is now so largely used is that all immigrants arriving before 1924—when, as already pointed out the first real pressure of near relatives occurred—have now had time to become naturalized. Great numbers having done so, their near relatives now come in without quota restriction. The figures just cited show that these relatives constitute a large and increasing addition to the total immigration. Some cases of fraudulent marriages to citizens for the sole purpose of entry have already occurred and it is to be hoped that means will be found to check this evasion of law.

The next great step facilitating the entry of the near relatives of immigrants was the bill introduced by Representative Thomas A. Jenkins of Ohio, which became law on May 29, 1928. By this Act 50% of all the quotas was set aside for the preferential entry of the wives and minor children of all immigrants, naturalized or not, who had been (or hereafter should be) legally admitted.

Under these various provisions the law is now working well in accomplishing the re-union of immigrant families and there are few cases where the fire-side relatives have to wait any considerable length of time before being allowed to enter. Many of the other relatives, of course, are able to get in under the quotas. To go further than this and let in all kinds of relatives outside the quotas, would be fatal to all restriction and would result finally in the entire breaking down of the immigration wall which Congress has erected. Nevertheless, the cry which was

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

raised at the outset about "separation of families" is still being heard and Congress must continue to show firmness in resisting this appeal, which is not caused by hardships in the law but is being used as a means of propaganda to break down the law by those whose real object is to increase the total immigration of their respective races or fellow nationals. It has also been raised by other interests opposed to restriction, even before the enactment of the first quota law.

Kenneth Roberts' invaluable work "Why Europe Leaves Home", published in 1920, quotes the director of a large immigrant-carrying steamship line in Holland as saying, "With the numbers that are going now, our steamship line will be kept busy for years to come so that any new legislation will not affect us. Most of them you know have relatives in America and you can't stop the relatives."

Organizations in the United States opposed to restriction seized upon the same idea—that a sentimental appeal for the admission of relatives was the best means of defeating the new legislation. A circular letter issued by one of these organizations urged that every effort be made to work up individual cases of "separation of families" with a "human interest appeal" with a view to securing wide exemptions from the quotas. It was noticeable that many articles, evidently inspired by the same motive, appeared from time to time in the press and came to be known as "sob-stuff propaganda." It was always made to appear that the United States had separated the families, whereas in general, the fact was that the immigrants themselves had voluntarily taken the risk of

## FRANCES H. KINNICUTT

separation when they emigrated from their home countries without bringing their families with them, well knowing that it might be some time before all could come in under the quotas.

For the period of about 7 years after the enactment of the Quota Act of 1921, Congress was literally bombarded with all kinds of bills for exemption from the quotas of all kinds of relatives of immigrants now here, and it looked at one time as though the immigration wall would be completely demolished by the adoption of some of the more serious of these proposals. The two bills introduced by Congressman Perlman and Senator Wadsworth of New York were defeated only after a long struggle on the part of the restrictionist forces.

The first of these bills introduced would have admitted the alien relatives of immigrants outside the quotas to the extent of about 270,000, according to State Department estimates based on the reports of Consuls. This bill was defeated as was likewise the modified Perlman-Wadsworth bill although it put a limit of 35,00 upon the number to be admitted outside of the quotas.

In the session of 1925-1926 some 14 bills similar in many respects to the Perlman-Wadsworth bills were introduced in the House. Each of these bills would have admitted one or another class of aliens outside the quotas—that is to say, without numerical limit. The relatives included varying degrees of relationship, from wives and children to grandchildren, collaterals, fiances, step-children, adopted children and adopted parents. Among the members of Congress

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

who introduced these bills were Messrs. La Guardia, O'Connell, Dickinson, Bloom, Jacobstein, Somers, Oliver of New York, Berger of Wisconsin, Mrs. Norton of New Jersey and Messrs. Sabath, Doyle and Kunz of Chicago. Again, however, these bills were defeated.

During the next session of Congress, namely, the first session of the 70th Congress, 1927-1928, many bills seeking further quota exemptions for relatives were defeated. The most ambitious of these was that introduced by Mr. McGregor of New York which proposed to turn over one-half of all the quotas for two years, that is to say a total of 164,000 places, to relatives of aliens already in the United States. Hearings were had on this bill and it was strongly supported by various racial and religious organizations. The bill, however, was rejected by the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. One principal reason appears to have been that there was no evidence that there still remained any considerable number of near relatives of aliens admitted prior to the Act of 1924 who had not succeeded since that time in gaining admission either under the quotas or under the quota exemptions granted to wives and children of United States citizens.

The McGregor bill would have changed the entire character of our immigration since it pooled all the national quotas together for the admission of relatives from all countries collectively, thus making possible and probable a great preponderance of the racial strains of the immigration from southern and eastern

## FRANCES H. KINNICUTT

Europe which prior to the war constituted 80% of our total immigration.

Congress, after giving careful consideration to the various proposals, tabled the McGregor bill and passed on May 29, 1928, the Jenkins Act already referred to, giving preferences with the quotas to the near relatives of alien immigrants. A report issued in November, 1928, showed that during the first four months in which the Jenkins Act was in operation, 8,119 wives and children of aliens had gained admission under preferences granted by the Act and in only three or four countries was the unsatisfied demand under these preferences in excess of 1,000. Even as to these countries, the indications are that the near relatives of aliens legally admitted prior to 1924 are reduced at the present time to a very small number; also that the remaining persons of this class, as well as the relatives of aliens legally admitted since 1924, are being taken care of with all the expedition which can be reasonably demanded in one of three ways:

- (1) Under the continuing Jenkins Act preferences.
- (2) Under the remainder of the regular quotas.
- (3) Under the quota exemptions for wives and children of United States citizens.

In view of the legislation reviewed above, it would seem that the problem of the relatives has been satisfactorily solved by Congress after years of controversy and consideration. The provisions for the quota exemption or preferential treatment of the rear-guards of immigrant families have been far-reaching and lib-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

eral: To go appreciably further in this direction would certainly endanger all real restriction of immigration.

### II

#### The Side Doors Still Open

Great as has been the progress during the last decade in the national restriction of immigration, the work is far from complete and much remains to be done to safeguard the country from excessive and unassimilable immigration which we are still getting from many countries of the western hemisphere.

During the last fiscal year ending June 30, 1929, the total new and permanent immigration from all countries, legally admitted, was 279,678 of which only 159,598 came from Europe. The balance of 121,080 came almost exclusively from the countries of North and South America upon which no quotas have as yet been placed. These figures do not include the enormous illegal immigration, estimated at 200,000 per annum.

The quota Acts of 1921 and 1924, while greatly reducing European immigration, served to stimulate Mexican immigration owing to the fact that large agricultural and industrial interests sought to replace the cheap labor from southern Europe by even cheaper labor from Mexico.

For the twenty years preceding the passage of the quota acts, the legal immigration from Mexico averaged only about 15,000 per annum, while in the nine years subsequent to June 30, 1921, this immigration averaged 47,000 per annum. Recent investigations put the figures of foreign-born Mexicans in the United States at no less a figure than 2,000,000.

## FRANCES H. KINNICUTT

In the last fiscal year we received from Mexico 43,078 aliens as permanent immigrants, a figure exceeded only by one European country, Germany. Again it is to be remembered that these figures do not include the illegal immigration from Mexico which it still very large in spite of the increased efficiency of the Border Patrol.

Both the Secretary of Labor and the Commissioner of Immigration in their annual reports for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929, recommend the extension of quota restriction to countries of the western hemisphere.

In the statistical tables included in the annual report, further light is thrown on the immigration we are getting from Mexico and the countries of Central and South America and the West Indies. Table 47 on page 132 shows first that during the last year the total number of new and permanent immigrants admitted to the United States was 279,678. Of this total, which does not include immigrants formerly residing in the United States returning from temporary visits abroad, 50,614 were born in Canada, 3,269 were born in Newfoundland, 40,440 were born in Mexico, 4,057 were born in Cuba, 365 were born in the Dominican Republic, 118 were born in Haiti, 2,661 were born in the British West Indies, 1,550 were born in Central America other than the Canal Zone, 665 in Brazil, 94 in British Guiana, 7 in Dutch Guiana and 2,630 in other South America.

It is to be noted that after the large immigration of Canadian and Mexican born immigrants, the next largest group was born in the West Indies of which

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

the total number was 7,276. The largest contributors were Cuba with 4,057 and the British West Indies with 2,661.

With respect to the immigration from the West Indies, the eligibility to citizenship clause is no bar at the present time and unless our naturalization laws are amended to exclude alien and foreign born members of the African race, the only apparent way to restrict this immigration is by the establishment of strict quota limitation. It has been conservatively estimated that three-fourths of the immigration which we have received from the West Indies is of African race or Negroid. It is interesting and important to note that since the year 1881, the total immigration from the West Indies to the United States has been no less than 362,754. During the same period, the immigration from Mexico has totaled 714,114, which, of course, does not include the very large illicit immigration in recent years which has crossed the border by evading inspection.

These figures will shock those students of American race problems who feel the vital necessity of preserving the white race in this country and preventing further accession of other races tending to mongrelization of our population. The immigration legislation of 1924 and previous years clearly shows the desire of Congress to guard against this danger. It is to be hoped that the same thought will influence the present and succeeding Congresses.

In a very interesting and valuable survey compiled by Robert F. Foerster, Professor of Economics at Princeton in 1925, which was made part of the rec-

## FRANCES H. KINNICUTT

ords of the Committee on Immigration of the House of Representatives, it appears that the population of all but two or three of the countries of Central and South America, as well as that of the West Indies, is predominantly non-white. The principal exceptions to this general rule are to be found in Argentine and Uruguay where the population is principally of white European stock. While in the West Indies and Brazil there is a large Negroid element, the majority of the population in almost all the other countries to the south is predominantly of the indigenous Indian race, and in most of these countries the proportion of persons of the pure white race is only about 10%. In Mexico, the proportion of whites is estimated by Professor Foerster at considerably less than 10%, although no complete figures are available.

It is to be hoped that Congress in restricting immigration from the western hemisphere will do so in a comprehensive measure which will cover the whole ground and will be a fitting complement of the Act of 1924 which is now in full effect and which regulates restriction of immigration from the rest of the world.

The Secretary of Labor has pointed out in his last annual report that limitation by the United States of immigration from other American countries, particularly Canada and Mexico, is not necessarily against the interests of these countries and he recommends that some kind of quota restriction should be imposed on all. In this connection, it is undoubtedly true that our northern neighbor, which still feels the need of immigration to develop sparsely settled areas in its

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

domain, is not altogether pleased with the extent to which its native born have been emigrating in recent years to the United States. On the other hand, from the American point of view, there is good reason for allowing a relatively liberal quota to Canada in any system of restriction for the countries of the Western Hemisphere.

In the first place, the population of Canada in contradistinction to almost all of the population to the south, is almost exclusively of the white race and is not barred by that fundamental provision of the present law which excludes immigration of races not eligible to citizenship. Moreover, the immigrants from Canada for the most part speak the English language and are therefore much more readily assimilable in the cultural sense than the immigrants from the south who generally use other languages.

Another important fact which distinguishes the case of Canada (with respect to immigration) from all other countries in the western hemisphere is that it is the only country to which in the past we have sent a large emigration from the United States for permanent residence.

The annual report of the Commissioner General referred to above, Table 79, contains statistics for the years ending June 30, 1918 to 1929 as to the number of United States citizens permanently departed by principal countries of intended future permanent residence. While the table shows that to no country south of the United States were there more than 725 of such immigrants during the last fiscal year, the number of United States citizens so emigrat-

## FRANCES H. KINNICUTT

ing to Canada was 16,889, the average number from Canada during the period of twelve years being 17,355. These figures are confined to United States citizens.

In this large reciprocal emigration to Canada from the United States there is solid ground for allowing a more liberal quota to that country than to countries to which there is no such emigration.

—FRANCES H. KINNICUTT.

## THE CONTROL OF TRENDS IN THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

BY HARRY H. LAUGHLIN

Among the interesting phenomena in history, and a basic influence on the fortunes of nations, is the kind and rate of change in the racial and family-stock make-up of the people who inhabit a given country. The great degree to which a capacity for each particular type of culture is hereditary makes the phenomena of changing racial constitution highly significant. During certain episodes in their histories, some nations acquire racial homogeneity, thereupon maintain and improve their hereditary endowments and contribute substantially to human culture for a number of generations; while other countries are, for long periods of time, inhabited by racial mixtures, and are so constantly influenced by migration and the persistence of alien blocs within their population that they fail ever to attain a racial solidarity. A good mixture, if it occur, may be better than solidarity on a lower level, but the more successful nations are those which achieve racial solidarity with high hereditary level. Where the character of change from generation to generation is good it advances national strength, and improves individual stamina, intellectual capacity and moral fiber, all of which, in the long run, make for increased happiness of the people and for the advancement of their culture; but if the character of change be bad, then that particu-

## HARRY H. LAUGHLIN

lar country's racial soundness and its ability as a whole, will deteriorate and its basic culture and institutions will crumble. In such territories better races and institutions do not generally supervene for a long time, and then only as the result of conquest by arms, or the infusion of immigrants of a more capable race. Practically every existing nation has before it this problem:—Are these phenomena of the appearance, varying fortunes and passing of races and family stocks beyond our control as a nation, or can we as a nation bring into play economic, social and moral forces to direct our racial evolution and hereditary endowments?

### Old Stock—New Stock

Let us consider the racial trends in the American population turnover. We find that of the total 94,820,915 white persons enumerated by the Census of 1920, the commission, which comprised the then Secretaries of State, Commerce and Labor, computed, in accordance with the National Origins provision of the Immigration Law of 1924, that 43.54 per cent. were derived from the people who lived in the United States in 1790, and that 56.46 per cent. were either actual immigrants or the descendants of immigrants who had arrived in the United States after the Revolution. For the last four censuses the division of origins of the white population runs as follows:

CENSUS YEAR	ORIGINAL NATIVE STOCK	IMMIGRANT STOCK
1890.....	55.23.....	44.77
1900.....	51.30.....	48.70
1910.....	47.19.....	52.80
1920.....	43.54.....	56.46

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

Between 1900 and 1910 the origins of the American people as between old and new stock passed below the fifty per cent. line. Thereafter in increasing ratio more than one-half of the white inhabitants of the country consisted of those who were descended from immigrants who arrived subsequent to the Revolution. No nation can suffer such a turnover in its population—origin and retain its essential character.

To the extent to which these later immigrants were of races compatible with the original settlers, and to the extent to which they were better endowed physically, mentally and morally, they will have added to the strength of the nation—have recruited the upper levels of the population. But to the extent to which these immigrants were sufficiently different in race as to make their assimilation difficult, and to the extent to which they brought with them hereditary qualities below those of the earlier arrivals, they are a debit item in the national family-stock bookkeeping.

Every country should strive to conserve its own best racial elements and family stocks, and to recruit them by immigration only of such a character as will maintain the nation's essential character and improve its hereditary standards. Until recently certain so-called economic and social forces in the country determined our immigration and, unguided by statute, selected for us, for good or evil. When it became apparent that disaster stared us in the face, statute law properly, though tardily, stepped in. Of the several major forces which determine population make-up, immigration is the single one which can be controlled by statute law. The other two main forces—mate

## HARRY H. LAUGHLIN

selection and differential fecundity—are of a nature which cannot be controlled directly by law, but can be influenced only by long and careful education, and, indirectly, by influencing economic and social conditions which, in turn, will affect these factors.

### EUROPEAN RACIAL DESCENT

As a nation we are concerned with the racial composition of our people measured in terms of descent from the several European races, and with the conservation and development of the best endowed family stocks of the population. In the matter of race, in 1790 the first census found 3,172,444 white persons in the United States. The distribution according to racial descent, as indicated by surnames ran as follows: English, 82.1; Scotch, 7.0; Irish, 1.9; Dutch, 2.5; French, 0.6; German, 5.6; all other, 0.3. By 1920 the white population of the country had grown in total numbers to 94,820,915. On the make-up of 1790 considerable change had been wrought by 1920. This change has depended upon two major factors: First, the racial make-up of the immigrants who have arrived since the Revolution, and second, the factor of fecundity differential among the several racial stocks found here in each generation following the Revolution.

Two careful studies of racial composition of the American people of the present generation have been made. The first by Captain John B. Trevor, upon whose work on the principle of "National Origins" that feature of the Act of 1924 was largely based.

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

The second study was by the commission already mentioned, which, as a basis for allotting immigrant quotas to the several nations under the "National Origins" provision were to determine as nearly as might be our racial composition in the year 1790 and the changes down to 1920 as evidenced by the succeeding Censuses.

The outstanding change in our population make-up during the century and a half of our independent existence is found in the reduction of our British—English, Scotch and Irish—blood from about nine-tenths of the whole to between five-tenths and six-tenths.

In political leadership, however, this reduction has not been so great. Frank L. Babbott reported, in his address before the Eugenics Research Association in 1927, that the "blood distribution" among the fifty-five members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was as follows:—

	RACE	PER CENT
1.	English.....	63.63
2.	Irish.....	17.27
3.	Scotch.....	9.09
4.	French.....	4.55
5.	Dutch.....	2.73
6.	Swedish.....	1.89
7.	Welsh.....	.91

Thus in the Convention the British blood-proportion of 90.90 per cent. in 1787 represented 91.0 per cent. of the country's blood.

## HARRY H. LAUGHLIN

While the analysis of the members of the United States Senate of the 69th Congress showed the following race-descent:

RACE	PER CENT
1. English.....	47.65
2. Scotch.....	19.53
3. Irish (North & So.)	14.45
4. German.....	5.60
5. French.....	5.21
6. Welsh.....	2.86
7. Swedish.....	2.08
8. Norwegian.....	1.56
9. Dutch.....	.52
10. Swiss.....	.26
11. Danish.....	.13
12. American Indian.....	.13

This British blood-proportion of 81.63%, in the Senate, in 1920 represented 53.74% of the Country's blood. That is, the Country's then British blood was not represented, to the extent equal to 1.1% of the Country's whole population, in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, meanwhile the Country's non-British blood was not represented, to the extent equal to 27.89%, of the Country's whole population in the Senate of 1920. Political leadership, in terms of racial descent, has passed more and more in percentage to the British blood as the population has increased.

The following table shows, according to the best existing evidence, the shift in the racial makeup of the white portion of the American people between 1790 and 1920:—

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WHITE POPULATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES BY EUROPEAN RACIAL DESCENT.

Country of Origin	1790	1920		
	Authority	Authorities		
	First Census Race Indicated by Name	Sec. State Commerce and Labor	Trevor	Mean
1. Great Britain & North Ireland....	89.1 (82.1 English) (7.0 Scotch)	43.93	54.57	49.25
2. Germany.....	5.6	16.60	12.84	14.72
3. Irish Free State..	1.9	11.62	5.34	8.48
4. Poland.....	Irish	4.06	2.91	3.49
5. Italy.....		3.99	3.66	3.83
6. Russia.....		2.36	2.57	2.46
7. Sweden.....		2.27	1.97	2.12
8. France.....	0.6	2.21	1.14	1.67
9. Netherlands.....	2.5	2.05	1.77	1.91
10. Czechoslovakia..		1.82	.87	1.34
11. Norway.....		1.60	1.32	1.46
12. Austria.....		1.09	1.39	1.24
13. Switzerland.....		1.08	.50	.79
14. All Others.....	0.3	5.32	9.15	7.24
Total.....	100.	100.	100.	100.

### POPULATION TURNOVER

In population turnover, the outcome of differential fecundity can be readily illustrated: Let population "Group A," being ten per cent. of the total population, have four children to a family, and population "Group B," being thirty per cent. of the population, have two children to a family, and population "Group C," constituting the remaining sixty per cent. of the population, have one child to a family. If there be no immigration, and no intermarriage be-

## HARRY H. LAUGHLIN

tween groups, and the same size families continue, after five generations the ten per cent. four-child group will constitute 90.94 per cent. of the then entire population; the 30 per cent. two-child group 8.52 per cent; and the sixty per cent. one-child group will constitute only 0.53 per cent. of the total population. Thus we see the important relation between size of family and ultimate family-stock quality. Further studies should be made as to the effect of race, occupation, social and economic conditions, density of population, religion and other factors on human fecundity. A better understanding of the causes of differential fecundity is necessary before a nation can bring into effective play those economic, biological, social and religious forces making for the conservation of the best elements of a population, and assuring successive generations made up of the descendants of those of each preceding generation who have the soundest physical stamina, the most educable mental abilities and the most vital moral qualities. Applied eugenics is a long-time proposition, but careful and thorough study and wise statesmanship can place it within the reach of practical attainment. As the importance of such considerations becomes realized by the various nations such studies will be more largely undertaken—as may be hoped for the benefit of the human race at large.

### DIFFERENTIAL FECUNDITY IN THE UNITED STATES

The differential fecundity of the people should always be one of our nation's main considerations, because, with migration permanently regulated, it is

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

upon differential fecundity that the character of the race and consequently the nature of the institutions of America of the future depends primarily. A review of the census has found many interesting data on American fecundity differential by race. It is not possible to compute these figures for each race and every generation for the country as a whole, but we have data as to a few sample counties. These are of the most valuable nature and have been published by the census for Hartford County, Connecticut among other communities. In these records fecundity was measured by finding the ratio showing the number of children under sixteen years of age divided by the number of females of the same racial group sixteen years of age or over. Thus, for every woman of English descent, sixteen years of age or over, in Hartford County, Connecticut, in 1790, there were 1.6 children of English descent under sixteen years of age. For other races, the ratio runs as follows: Scotch, 1.4; Irish, 2.0; Dutch, 1.7; French, 2.0; German not given; all other, 0.7; and for the county as a whole the ratio was 1.6. By 1900 not only had fecundity decreased exactly 50 per cent. for the whole county—this ratio now being 0.8—but relative fecundity by races had shifted a little. The ratio for 1900 ran as follows: English, 0.6; Scotch, 0.7; Irish, 0.9; Dutch, 0.8; French, 1.2; German, 1.2; all other, 1.6. In these determinations race was indicated by names of heads of families.

Differential fecundity is the factor which may cause any very minor section of the present population to dominate in future generations. Fecundity

## HARRY H. LAUGHLIN

of a group may be measured by dividing the number of children of both sexes under six years of age, found within a given population group at a given time, by the number of women 15 to 44 years (inclusive) of age, belonging to the same group at the same time. By applying this Fecundity Index to the several population groups in the United States, we find the following:

POPULATION GROUP	FECUNDITY INDEX
Whole population.....	.4675
White population.....	.4712
(a) Native born.....	.4263
(b) Foreign born.....	.7120
Negro.....	.4294

If these same reproductive rates continue unchanged, and if there were no more immigration, and if there were no marriage between the classes, at the end of four future generations the descendants of the present foreign-born in the United States would comprise 51.76 per cent. of the whole population.

The following table shows, for each of these groups, the change from their representative per cent. in 1920 to their corresponding per cent. at the end of four future generations:

POPULATION GROUP	PRESENT POPULATION: PER CENT. 1920	DESCENDANTS % AT END OF FOUR FUTURE GENERATIONS
White.....	89.70.....	91.13
(a) Native born	76.73.....	39.37
(b) Foreign born	12.97.....	51.76
Negro.....	9.90.....	6.89
All other.....	.40.....	1.98

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

If there be more immigration, and since there will be considerable future marriage between the children of the present native and foreign-born groups, the present fecundity of the several groups will change as members of them rise or fall in the social and economic scale, but the present trend is highly significant and will not be entirely wiped out until it has left a very strong impress on the hereditary make-up of the people. A clear realization of the basic outcome of the working of the major forces of migration, mate selection and fecundity should determine the American people to study these forces, and to learn, so far as possible, how to control them in the interests of conserving the basic racial qualities of the American people, and in the development and specialization of the hereditary capacities of their several families.

### SUBSTITUTION OF POPULATION

Walker's law may be stated: After a country is a going concern, future immigration into it does not, in the long run, increase its population, but the descendants of later immigrants only share numbers with the reduced number of descendants of the older residents in making up the total population, which would have developed the same number regardless of immigration. It is generally agreed by economists and biologists that this law is essentially true. With this principle in mind, immigration for cheap labor, or for immediate development, is short-sighted. Immigration is primarily human seed-stock. The proper standard, then, is that: "Immigration into a country should be limited by the receiving country to those individuals of com-

## HARRY H. LAUGHLIN

patible race, who are endowed by heredity with physical, mental and moral traits superior to the average of those already constituting the population of the receiving country." Only if this standard be maintained, is immigration desirable. If it be abandoned, then immigration will lead to racial degeneracy in the receiving country. If the standard of race be broken down, then immigration will take on the real nature of slow but certain conquest by the immigrants. If a nation is worth saving, it should restrict its immigration so as to make it recruit to its own basic racial nature and to the improvement of its natural abilities. If, however, the receiving country is worthless and the newcomers are superior, then the conquest by immigration—regardless of race—is, in the long run, desirable.

### FECUNDITY AND ECONOMIC STATUS

There is another element in differential fecundity which deserves attention. It has been observed that social and economic levels are related to fecundity phenomena. The lower middle economic class—that is, "the proletariat"\*—reproduce more rapidly than those higher up in the social and economic scales. This is a matter which deserves further study in order that a nation seeking to direct its own racial evolution may bring into play the most effective controlling forces. Immigration into new countries are shown generally to have high fecundity indices. Whether this is related to their vigor as a selected

\*Indeed the name itself—first given to the Roman populace—is merely the Latin for "the breeders."

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

class of ambitious persons endowed with the pioneer spirit, or whether it is the result of a new economic environment, deserves study. The fact, however, seems well established.

Furthermore, in a given country the newer and less-densely populated sections seems to be inhabited by persons with higher fecundity indices than are found among the people who inhabit the more densely populated and longer-settled regions. Whether this is due to the selective migration, the more vigorous and fertile sections of the population leaving as pioneers, and the less fertile staying behind, or whether there is something in the social and economic situation found in the newer and more sparsely settled country which finds its response in high fecundity, also deserves careful investigation.

The differential fecundity, by sections of the United States, in 1850 and 1900 is interesting. Fecundity in this instance means the ratio of white children under sixteen years of age to white females sixteen years or more of age. For the whole United States in 1850 this ratio was 1.6. In 1900 it was 1.1. In New England in 1850 the ratio was 1.1; in 1900, 0.8. In the middle states in 1850, 1.4; in 1900, 1.0. In the Southern states (area enumerated in 1790), it was 1.7; in 1900, 1.3. In the Northern States, in 1850, 1.9; in 1900, 1.2. Western states, in 1850, 1.7; in 1900, 1.1. Thus the agricultural sections have a higher fecundity ratio than the industrial sections, and the newer sections are higher than the older, but all sections as a unit have reduced their fecundity ratio 31 per cent. between 1850 and 1900.

## HARRY H. LAUGHLIN

Thus occupation, newness of country, density of population, race, and probably religion are correlated with differential birth-rates. The facts are undisputed, but the causes behind the facts require more thorough study.

### URBAN—RURAL RATIO

In connection with population turnover—that is, the comparison of the racial and family-stock make-up of one generation with its predecessor—the comparative influence of city dwelling and country dwelling is a considerable factor. In this field the United States census has found the following facts:

CENSUS YEAR	PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION	
	URBAN	RURAL
1880.....	28.6.....	71.4
1890.....	35.4.....	64.6
1900.....	40.0.....	60.0
1910.....	45.8.....	52.2
1920.....	51.4.....	48.6

From 1880 to 1920, the urban population of the country increased from a little more than one-fourth to a little more than one-half of the total population. The rural dwellers, for the first time in American history, now constitute less than one-half of our whole population.

Since fecundity is differential between rural dwellers and city dwellers, it is important to consider the tendency of different sections of the population, by race and inborn quality, to move from country to city and from city to country.

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

URBAN-RURAL PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL POPULATION  
1910-1920, BY POPULATION GROUP.

	1910		1920	
	Per cent Distribu- tion Urban	Per cent Distribu- tion Rural	Per cent Distribu- tion Urban	Per cent Distribu- tion Rural
Native White.....	70.8	77.4	74.1	79.5
Native Parents..	41.8	64.0	45.2	65.9
Foreign-born				
Parents.....	20.7	8.4	20.8	8.5
Mixed Parentage	8.3	5.0	8.1	5.0
Foreign-born White	22.6	7.7	19.1	6.5
Negro .....	6.4	14.5	6.6	13.4

This table shows that the native whites who constituted 77.4 per cent. of American rural population in 1910, constituted 79.5 per cent. of it in 1920, while the foreign-born whites who constituted 7.7 per cent. of the nation's rural population in 1910, constituted 6.5 per cent. of it in 1920; and the Negroes who constituted 14.5 per cent. of our rural population in 1910, constituted 13.4 per cent. of it in 1920.

In total numbers, the urban population of the country increased 28.8 per cent. from 1910 to 1920, while, during the same decade, the rural population increased only 3.2 per cent. We find also that while the city is gaining much more rapidly than the country, those family stocks which remain in the country, where fecundity tends to run high, are made up of a rising percentage of native white blood. The recent immigrants have a high fecundity because of race, religion and present economic status. This is partially—but only partially—offset by the high per-

## HARRY H. LAUGHLIN

centage of persons of old native stock who still remain in rural districts where conditions also favor a higher fecundity. Therefore, from the point of view of hereditary endowments, so long as a considerable portion of the most highly endowed, or at least the foundation family stocks of the country live in rural communities, this particular situation tends to favor the racial solidarity and the family-stock soundness of the nation.

### NON-WHITE STOCKS

Thus far we have discussed only the racial trends within the white population. There are, however, in the country considerable numbers of each of three non-white racial stocks whose differential fecundity concerns the nation. These stocks are: First, the African Negro, about one-third of a million of whom were imported into the United States as slaves, beginning shortly after the founding of Jamestown. Thus, while the whites increased 16 per cent. from 1910 to 1920, the blacks increased only 6.5 per cent. They are increasing absolutely in numbers, but relatively not so fast as the white stocks. There is a tendency in state legislation to define a colored person as any one with any trace of Negro blood. This definition is one of the principal features of the new "Racial Integrity Law", enacted by several states. Formerly most of the states defined, for legal purposes, a colored person as one with more than one-sixteenth, one thirty-second or some other small portion of colored blood. If and so long as this new "racial integrity" definition is adhered to, and because the white-black

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

cross is almost always between a white male and a black female, there will be but slight danger of any children of any white woman carrying any black blood. The tendency then will be for the whites to remain white, and any mixture of the two races will tend to reduce the total amount of Negro blood in the country.

The second non-white element in our racial make-up is the Oriental. This is represented by the Chinese, the Japanese, the Filipino and the Hindoo stocks. The Chinese, as immigrants and permanent residents, were excluded by the Act of 1882; the Japanese by the Act of 1924; the Hindoos by the Act of 1917; but the Filipinos, who have recently begun to arrive in large numbers, are, under the law of 1917, entitled to free admission into the United States. Citizens of the Philippines are not citizens of the United States, but they have the right of free immigration. The Census of 1930 will be especially interesting in measuring our new Oriental citizenry. Chinese, Japanese or persons of any other race who are born in Hawaii are citizens of the United States and can, of course, come freely to the mainland. But as a whole—except for the Filipinos—Oriental immigration, like the slave trade, has ceased.

Between 1910 and 1920 the American Indian decreased 8.0 per cent; the Chinese in the country decreased 13.8 per cent., while persons of Japanese descent increased 53.8 per cent. Unlike our black problem, our Oriental problem never assumed gigantic proportions. The Negro came early—concurrently with our foundation white stock. The Orien-

## HARRY H. LAUGHLIN

tal started to come late, but was soon checked.

The third of these problems is more recent and pressing. This is the Mexican migration into the Southwestern part of the United States, which has grown so greatly during the last few years. Almost a mass-migration has occurred in the Southwest quarter of the country. The average Mexican is descended mostly from the Indian and only slightly from Spanish blood. Even if Mexican labor be cheap, as a long-time investment, the more far-sighted leaders are looking upon Mexican immigration in the light of long-time breeding stock for future American citizens.

Though the racial trends in the United States are showing an increasing dominance of white blood, yet within this white blood there is a decreasing percentage of the foundation races and an increasing percentage of the races which constitute our newer immigration.

### APPLIED EUGENICS

The corner stone of modern applied eugenics was laid by Charles Darwin when he demonstrated to mankind that perhaps the greatest step which they would ever take in their progress would be made when they realized that they could, by their own efforts, determine, to some degree their own racial evolution.

Attention should again be called to the fact that of the three major forces of population change—migration, mate selection and differential fecundity—only the first, migration, can, by modern nations, in times of peace, be absolutely controlled by statute

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

law. Mate selection depends largely upon extent of acquaintance and current ideals and standards deeply rooted in the customs of the people. Also, marriage laws influence mate selection to an appreciable degree. Differential fecundity depends upon physiologic and hygienic factors, and upon economic and social conditions, as well as upon religion and current custom. But each of these three major forces—migration, mate selection and differential fecundity—can, with varying degrees of directness and effort, be brought under varying degrees of social control.

Applied eugenics on a national scale probably cannot, for a long time, be made to operate directly, but it can operate effectively if the people become eugenically minded—that is, if, in their more direct control of education, immigration, marriage, land settlement, labor, housing and other factors intermediate between legislation and racial fortunes, the eugenical consideration be given its true weight. Research has learned a good deal about the mechanism of population turnover; it has demonstrated that it is not necessary that an intelligent and patriotic country should stand passively by and helplessly view her population change as a passing phenomenon. A vigorous nation can, if it will undertake the task as a serious policy, bring into play economic, social, religious, educational and political forces which will indirectly, but nevertheless effectively, influence, to a considerable degree, the numbers and quality of its own future generations in the direction of definite ideals or standards.

## HARRY H. LAUGHLIN

Careful consideration of the past history and present trends of the American people points to the following policy as feasible for the American people in their effort to conserve their basic racial characteristics, and to improve and specialize the hereditary endowments of their constituent family stocks:

1. In all future international relations, particularly in international cooperative enterprises, maintain as an essential principle, two present attributes of sovereignty:

(a) The absolute right of each nation to exercise sovereign authority over immigration into and emigration from its own territories.

(b) The right and duty of each nation to maintain its own population at an optimum number, and to develop its own race and culture in accordance with its own ideals.

2. Confine any future immigration to:

(a) Assimilable races—that is, those most like the early American settlers.

(b) Within these races, limit immigration to such number as can be assimilated without injuring the economic foundation and the institutional character of the country.

(c) Within the races and numbers thus limited, further limit any immigrants to persons who, both individually and in family stock, are above the present average of the American people in physical stamina, mental capacities and moral vigor.

3. Deport all aliens who are still potential parents who do not attain to the immigration standard above stated, and maintain the principle that every nation, state, community and family which produces an inadequate must care for him.

4. In connection with each future census, maintain a permanent registry of the American people.

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

5. In all future census enumerations and analyses, provide for a more thorough stock-taking of racial elements and cultural capacities of the people.

6. Undertake research to restore as completely as possible the history of racial trend and cultural capacities of the American people.

7. Undertake research to determine the optimum population of the country under existing and possible economic, social and political conditions.

8. Further investigate the biological, economic, social, political and religious forces which govern population numbers and whose control can be invoked to maintain optimum population numbers and to direct racial and family-stock development.

9. Among such studies emphasize research to determine the facts, causes and consequences:

(a) Of the relation between size of family and race, family stock, occupation, education, religion, economic status, density of population, national mores, and statute laws.

(b) Of mate selection among all sections of the population.

(c) Of international, interstate and country-to-city migration.

10. As the factors which determine population numbers and quality are more perfectly understood, we should bring into play, and should direct toward the maintenance and development of the racial and family stock ideals of the American people, appropriate educational, economic, social, religious and legal forces.

It requires patriotism, high intellectual capacity and fine moral fiber for a nation to undertake the

## HARRY H. LAUGHLIN

long-time and laborious research, self-education, restraint and constructive policy necessary to the ultimate control of its population turnover from generation to generation. In the past, most countries have stood by and watched but not controlled this turnover; they have been too busy in reacting to immediate needs to understand or to undertake long-time policies. But it is within the range of possibility that the next epoch of history be characterized by great cultural progress and national permanence achieved by enlightened nations who work out and apply the technique of controlling their own population numbers and quality.

—HARRY H. LAUGHLIN.

## EUROPEAN PREJUDICES AND AMERICAN POLITICS

BY EDWARD R. LEWIS

Reading the expressions of the views of the Founders of the Republic on immigration and naturalization, one is struck with their sense of the then homogeneity of America and their determination to keep it so. We have become confused by the clamor and pressure of the discordant forces which are now among us so that some of us still believe that we keep the essential America, which they passed on to us. But millions upon millions of aliens have poured in on us from thirty different races, so that today thirty-eight millions of us are aliens or the children of aliens. Only 21 per cent of New York City is of even one generation of native parentage, only 25 per cent of Boston, only 24 per cent of Chicago, only 16 per cent of Fall River, only 17.3 per cent of New Bedford, only 21.9 per cent of Lowell, only 30 per cent of Hartford, only 30 per cent of Jersey City, and only 27.9 per cent of Cleveland. It is impossible for the ideals and political heritage of one-fourth either to dominate or even guide those of the remaining three-fourths in those cities. Such numbers, living largely in racial colonies, long retain ancestral prejudices. They vote, to a large extent, as racial units. For seventy-five years we have had a German and an Irish vote, and now in addition, we have a Greek vote, an

## EDWARD R. LEWIS

Italian vote, and a Polish vote. The county offices and the judgeships in these large cities have been deliberately parceled out among the various racial groups. Latterly this "alien vote" has become a matter of deep concern.

There is no need to repeat the ugly story of the alien group action in our politics in 1915 and 1916, and after the war; and the pressure of various racial groups on the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to obtain action favorable to one foreign nation or another. The Irish wanted the Irish Republic recognized, the Italians wanted Fiume; the Jugoslavs also wanted Fiume; the Greeks wanted the west coast of Asia Minor and the Dodecanessus, the twelve islands of the Aegean. The Senate passed resolutions of sympathy for the aspirations of the Greeks and Irish. On the war debts, on the world court, on immigration itself, we have seen alien blocs pressing their demands. In Chicago, we have seen a city election largely determined on the issue of whether the school histories gave adequate mention to certain foreign soldiers in the Revolution.

The most recent example of alien-minded thinking in our politics lay in the attack on the National Origins clause of the Immigration law of 1924. We are fortunate that attack failed. That provision is that each country can send such proportion of the annual total permitted immigration as it has contributed to our population. Were it not for the alien groups, the whole uproar which took place about National Origins would never have occurred. The sequence of events was most significant. Before it

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

was known what the figures would show, alien blocs began grumbling. They did not want the native stock to count in determining quotas. The "origins" figures prepared by the statistical experts were sent to the Senate in January, 1927, with a letter signed by the three secretaries of State, of Commerce and of Labor. The three secretaries transmitted in all three separate letters. All three bear the same date. All purport to be the same letter. The President sent the first and third versions to the Senate, as to the latter with a letter stating that it was "to replace an inaccurate copy which was inadvertently sent forward to the Senate with such report". The first letter stated that "it is believed that further investigation will not substantially alter the conclusions arrived at". The second letter, stated that in the judgment of the Committee of statistical experts "further investigation will not substantially alter this presentation". That second version was so framed as to throw the onus of the judgment on the experts. The third version of the letter, stated to be in correction of an inaccurate copy, had an entirely different third paragraph. It stated that "in our opinion the statistical and historical information available raises grave doubts as to the whole value of these computations" and added at its end: "We cannot, therefore, assume responsibility for such conclusions under these circumstances".

Now what caused the three secretaries to write that third letter so entirely different in terms and tone from the first letter sent to the Senate only a week earlier? That third letter is changed entirely in the third paragraph. No mere change in phrase-

## EDWARD R. LEWIS

ology is made. The entire meaning is changed. Yet it was neither stated nor the fact that the three secretaries had any new information.

Senator Neely of West Virginia had his doubts of this peculiar situation. He said on March 4th, 1927 in the Senate:

"It would be interesting to know by what pressure of persuasion the Secretaries were impelled to change their minds as to the value of the work done by the quota board which they had appointed. It would be equally interesting to know from what source such persuasion emanated, or by whom such pressure was applied."

He went on to point out that someone had "concluded that the most effective means of obtaining the so-called foreign vote for the candidates of his party in 1928 will be, first, to refrain, from literally, or vigorously enforcing the immigration act of 1924; and second, to give satisfactory assurances that the restrictive provisions of that act will, in the near future, be either greatly relaxed or unconditionally repealed".

A great storm of propaganda from alien blocs then descended on Congress to repeal the National Origins clause. In the last days of the session, its operation was postponed for one year.

Meanwhile, "National Origins" obtained large support. One by one, practically all of the patriotic societies and many public organizations of the country have declared in its favor from a conviction that the only fair way to apportion quotas was on the basis of the entire population, and that a system like the 1890

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

foreign born basis could not be permanent because it was arbitrary and discriminatory and because it denied representation, to the native stock, to the descendants of the Revolutionary forefathers, to the Civil War veterans and their descendants, to the Spanish War veterans and their descendants, and to those who served in the World War, save that small portion born abroad who came here before 1890. But so ingrained is the habit of politicians to respond to alien bloc influence, though it represents but a fraction of the strength of native sentiment, that the friends of "National Origins" had continual opposition from the politicians.

As in the war, so now the organizations representing our alien groups have the ear of Congress. One of the leading organizations opposed to national origins was the Steuben Society. This Society was formed in 1919, with the advice of a United States Senator who, in the words of one of its founders, "in the World War, consistently maintained his neutrality". Among its objects are the revision of the Versailles Treaty, to which this country is not a party; a reversal of the verdict that Germany is responsible for the World War; and a "revision of the Immigration Act of 1924, which" they say, "discriminates against the admission of German immigrants in favor of British immigrants'.

In March, 1928, largely to keep the question out of the campaign, the effective date of "National Origins" was again postponed for a year. The question however, was not kept out of the campaign.

On July 13, 1928, the New York Times contained

## EDWARD R. LEWIS

a dispatch stating that Frederick F. Schrader, Editor of the Progressive and former editor of the Fatherland, and the president of the Progressive and the attorney for the Steuben Club of Chicago, called on Dr. Work, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, and stated that "Voters of German ancestry in the United States are especially interested in the National Origins act, members of the delegation told Dr. Work, because they feel it is a reflection upon the quality of their citizenship."

In June, 1928, the Progressive made bitter attacks on Mr. Hoover. It said, "There are about six million 'German stock' voters in the United States. Practically all of them voted for Harding in 1920. It is safe to say that practically all of them will vote against Hoover should he be nominated. They are against the barbarous Versailles Treaty and against any man or set of men who brought it about in violation of a sacred agreement—the terms of the Armistice . . . . With practically all of the 'German stock' voters and all of the farmers west of Pittsburgh against Mr. Hoover, it would be suicide for the Republican Party to nominate him for president."

Another excerpt from that magazine said:

"It was more than a national blunder. It was a crime to appoint as Secretary of Commerce, at an epoch when tact, good will, and a thorough knowledge of international commerce were so urgently necessary, to appoint a propagandist so unfit temperamentally and intellectually, so thoroughly biased, as this man Hoover.

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

“The narrow minded mischief makers, who endorse his morbid sentiments and rely on his servility, are now endeavoring to make him even President of the United States.”

That issue of the magazine also charged that Mr. Hoover had never accounted for the European food relief fund and said that he had told two representatives of Germany asking for food to “go to hell”.

Then took place the meeting with Chairman Work in July, at which they told him the German element would vote 95 per cent for Mr. Hoover, but were against “National Origins”.

Let us now look at the August number of the Progressive. The August issue declared that they had found that, “to Secretary Hoover, more than any other man, belongs the credit for having prevented this iniquitous National Origins Clause from going into effect during the past two years, and we have reason to believe that he will shortly make a public statement showing his opposition to this nefarious measure”. The magazine praised him fulsomely. It headed one article, “Herbert Hoover should be supported by all Real Americans”. It said that “one of the most atrocious lies which has been circulated about Secretary Hoover is that he was bitterly antagonistic to the people of Germany and that he told the starving woman and children of Germany to ‘go to hell’ ”.

What would Washington or Hamilton have said of that phase of the 1928 campaign? Let them answer for themselves.

## EDWARD R. LEWIS

(Washington):

“Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government”.

(Hamilton):

“The safety of a Republic depends essentially on the energy of a common national sentiment: on a uniformity of principles and habits; on the exemption of the citizens from foreign bias, and prejudice; and on that love of country which will almost invariably be found to be closely connected with birth, education and family.”

We appear today to be more concerned with the alien prejudices of our voters than with America's needs. One man, claiming to represent an alien group, gets more attention than a hundred native born and native thinking Americans.

—EDWARD R. LEWIS.

## ORIENTAL IMMIGRATION IN CALIFORNIA

BY V. S. McCLATCHY

Two thirds of the Japanese population of Continental United States, half of its Chinese, practically all its Hindus, and most of its Filipinos, live in California. California has played as to them the part of a border state and suffers therefrom for the benefit of the nation. While California as a matter of self-protection against an immediate danger determinedly fought, she incidentally protected the nation against a greater danger looming in the future. States on the eastern seaboard and in the interior, without experience of the situation, misled by plausible propaganda, deprecated or opposed California's stand. They have now learned to endorse it as a necessary safeguard in defense of American standards.

Local opposition to this class of immigration had its inception in economic considerations, but basically the opposition is racial. When the economic menace disappeared there still remained a strong racial barrier which prevented close association between the two races—white and yellow. There is a strong and deeply implanted racial prejudice which militates as well against biological absorption of either race by the other, as it does against economic cooperation. The whites, even when no question of wages is involved, will not work in field or factory with the colored races; they will not occupy dwellings side by side

## V. S. McCLATCHY

with them. In a number of California cities will be found sections wherein residence property, has gradually been abandoned to that foreign element. Racial prejudice may be criticized, but it must be dealt with as a condition. It would seem that it is an instinctive antagonism wisely provided by nature as a safeguard against miscegenation. It is noteworthy that in France where the color line has never been sharply drawn, thoughtful men are now questioning the wisdom of that liberal policy.

Not only does California forbid intermarriage between the white race and the colored races of Asia, but there exists on both sides, and particularly in the case of the Japanese, a strong disinclination, amounting in cases to repugnance, to such unions; and disastrous results have followed usually when the law and social sentiment were defied. As the nation became aware of that situation it realized the force of California's contention that to admit as permanent residents unassimilable aliens and make compulsory citizens of their children must inevitably lower the standards of citizenship in sections where such elements settled.

President Roosevelt outlined the situation in 1909 when explaining to the California Legislature the intent of the Gentlemen's Agreement, made with Japan avowedly to prevent increase of Japanese population in continental United States. He said that there should be reciprocal relations between the two countries and that Japan should keep out "those Americans who wish to settle there and become part of the working population" and America should keep out "those

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

Japanese who wish to adopt a similar attitude." He declared that the only proper policy, and said further "It is not only undesirable but impossible that there should be intermingling on a large scale, and the effort is sure to bring disaster."

Proof of his foresight and justification of California's stand is found in the unfortunate position of second generation Japanese in the state, born on American soil and entitled in consequence to the rights and privileges of American citizenship. They furnish a conclusive answer to the claim of the idealist that the white and the yellow races can be properly assimilated.

Thru school and college the Japanese mingle with the white youths on cordial terms. Afterwards, educated to American standards they find few avenues of desirable employment open. Each race gives preference to its own; and positions of a professional character are not sufficiently numerous among the Japanese to satisfy this steadily increasing contingent of young Japanese-Americans.

Then the racial barrier, thru no apparent fault on either side, looms up. There is no social or cultural assimilation, and little mingling of the two races, save in public functions. The young Japanese, apparently confined to association with their own people, including the first generation with non-American standards, inevitably become more or less race conscious. There is thus developing another unassimilated and unassimilable group armed with American citizenship, but unable to make themselves an integral part of homogeneous citizenry; and without such a

## V. S. McCLATCHY

citizenry what chance is there for this nation to endure against an envious world and even more dangerous enemies at home? It is sad to contemplate the results to the nation, for in Hawaii, where the situation, with more time, has developed further, the young Japanese are urged by their vernacular newspapers to cast their votes not for the interests of State or Nation, but so as to secure most advantage for the Japanese as such.

In this opposition, on the part of California originally, and later of the entire nation, to immigration of non-white races, there is involved no assumption of superiority for the white race. As a matter of fact, the Chinese and Japanese are superior in certain traits which make for racial existence and domination; and that very superiority furnishes an additional reason why they should not be granted a foothold in a Caucasian country. The fundamental reason is the racial difference between the two peoples which makes impossible the absorption of either into the land and the people of the other. Japan wisely preserves the homogeneity of her citizenry by excluding immigration even of the Chinese, by forbidding profitable use of agricultural land by foreigners, and by declining to grant citizenship because of birth on Japanese soil to the children of aliens. In this matter we have made many blunders in the past, but for the future at least we should, not only for our own sake, but for the sake of friendly relations with other peoples, create and maintain the necessary safeguards.

It is noteworthy that the local feeling against these immigrants from Asia—very bitter at first—grad-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

ually diminished and finally disappeared as to each race as it ceased in time to be an economic menace. California still believes it was unwise to permit growth within her borders of settlements of unassimilable aliens, however worthy or however friendly. But they are here under official permission, have acquired rights, have begotten children who are American citizens, and the State is not only determined to respect those rights, but insists that every courtesy shall be shown each individual legally here.

In the 80's there was shameful treatment of Chinese. After the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed their number in California and in continental United States steadily decreased to perhaps one half of the original number. Today not only is there no ill-will towards the Chinese, but they are generally liked, for they are a most likeable people.

The number of Japanese in this state reached 100,000 before the act of 1924 put a stop to immigration. Since then manifestations of ill-will on both sides have disappeared and courteous relations now prevail. The Japanese offer a greater menace economically than the Chinese because their number is about three times as large, and because they are more ambitious and are backed in policy and finance by a powerful nation, and directly compete in various lines of labor and business with the Caucasians.

That pleasant relation threatens to be disturbed however by the announced determination of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to conduct a campaign to secure an immigration quota for Japan and the quasi-diplomatic endorsement of

## V. S. McCLATCHY

that effort indicated by expressions of Japanese leaders. California will fight to the last any such measure, and there was passed in the California Legislature in 1929 a strong resolution protesting against any change by Congress in the exclusion provision of the immigration act. To grant a quota to Japan, making an exception in her favor to the law excluding aliens ineligible to citizenship, would destroy the basic principle on which has been erected a general non-discriminatory barrier to keep out the unassimilable races of Asia. To grant a quota to Japan only is to insult the other races of Asia; to grant it to all those races would be from the California point of view—which became the Congressional point of view in 1924—wholly unbearable. The Senate Immigration Committee in 1926, killed a bill designed to restore citizenship to sixty-nine high-caste Hindus who had been granted such citizenship by courts misinterpreting the intent of our naturalization law, and who had been deprived thereof afterwards by the Supreme Court decision in 1923 in the case of Bhagat Singh Thind. The cases of many of these Hindus called for sympathy and their cause was espoused by prominent members of the Administration, but when it was shown that exception in their favor to the naturalization law would break down our defensive barrier against the races of Asia, the Committee regretfully tabled the bill.

Another problem has loomed up in connection with immigration from Asia, and it threatens to be a serious one—the steadily increasing flood of Filipinos coming into California. Already labor and other in-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

terests are demanding the exclusion of this immigration.

The Filipinos, as members of the brown race, are ineligible to American citizenship, and under the intent of the exclusion policy, should be barred as immigrants. The 1924 act, however, declares that "aliens ineligible to citizenship" should not be admitted as immigrants; but Filipinos, as citizens of a dependency of the United States, are declared not to be "aliens." There is thereby created a serious complication. The ineligible brown men who are not "aliens" are flocking in in great numbers, practically without restriction of any kind.

The Commissioner of Naturalization has ruled in one case that since a Filipino is eligible for naturalization upon complying with certain terms as to service in the Navy, etc., "it is believed inappropriate to classify any Filipino as ineligible." The Superior Court of Monterey County, California, however, in a case wherein the question was at issue, ruled in effect that a Filipino who had not complied with the terms of the act as to service in the Navy was in fact ineligible to be admitted as a citizen. Under insistent demand, bills have been introduced in Congress providing for the exclusion of all Filipinos, but there undoubtedly will be opposition to the passage of such a measure while we retain the Philippines, with the assumed necessity for cultivating the goodwill of the inhabitants thereof. A bitter contest will also be made by certain interests in Hawaii, which depend on the Filipinos for cheap labor for the sugar plantations.

## V. S. McCLATCHY

These interests have asked that Hawaii be exempted from the provisions of any Filipino exclusion measure, but the newspapers of Hawaii—English and Japanese—have protested that no distinction be made between Hawaii and other parts of the United States, which may militate against her acceptance as a state.

There can be no question, however, as to the unassimilability of the Filipinos, and their undesirability as immigrants. They constitute now the only undesirable element of Asiatic immigration which is permitted to enter. Their continued admission in numbers is certain to establish in this state another unassimilable race group and create thereby another problem, second only to that which is faced in the wholesale introduction of Mexican peons, also ineligible to citizenship, but coming in under that stupendous blunder of the immigration act, which admits without restriction all native citizens of States of the Western Hemisphere, assisted by the declaration of the Secretary of Labor that all citizens of Mexico, regardless of race, are eligible to American citizenship. Most of the Mexican immigrants are Indian peons, of the red race, ineligible to citizenship under the clear meaning of U. S. Supreme Court decisions in the Ozawa and Thind cases, and as such excluded as immigrants under the immigration act of 1924.

The Filipinos do not bring wives with them; intermarriage with whites is forbidden, and surveys made under various organizations agree that a serious social problem results. Social workers in the various cities join in adverse reports as to the wisdom of

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

permitting Filipinos to enter and remain here. The State Federation of Labor of California, and the similar organization in Washington, after investigation have demanded their exclusion. The American Federation of Labor, at its national conventions in Los Angeles in 1927 and in New Orleans in 1928, unanimously adopted resolutions calling on Congress to enact an exclusion law against them. In California they are adding materially to unemployment, taking places to some extent on the land, but preferably in the cities, in "white collar jobs", and particularly in positions that do not call for strength and which allow time for pleasure. They are displacing in this way middle-aged and elderly men and thereby depriving them of means of livelihood; displacing young women in hotels and elsewhere and forcing them into other lines of employment. This is particularly true in winter when the farm workers flock into the cities.

Hawaii commenced importing Filipinos for labor on her sugar plantations, but has been forced to replenish the supply every year, as they abandon plantation labor for lighter work permitting the wearing of better clothes and the leading of a gayer life. Hawaii has now 60,000 Filipinos and is still importing them at the rate of 12,000 annually. They are spreading to the mainland now, both via Hawaii and direct from Manila looking for easier work and better wages, at the rate of 10,000 to 12,000 annually. There are already in California, according to the Secretary of the Filipino Protective Association

## V. S. McCLATCHY

of America, 65,000 Filipinos. In 1929 over 4,900 came into Seattle, over 5,500 into San Francisco and a small number (figures not now available) into Los Angeles.

This and the Mexican immigration question present California's most serious problems today.

—V. S. McCLATCHY.

## JAMES MADISON

27th August, 1783

“YOUR favor of the sixteenth came duly to hand yesterday. The hints which it gives with regard to \* \* \* the intrusion of obnoxious aliens through other States, merit attention. The latter subject has, on several occasions, been mentioned in Congress, but, I believe no committee has ever reported a remedy for the abuse.”

*“The Writings of James Madison”, edited by Gaillard Hunt, Letter-Press Edition, 1900, Vol. I, page 226.*

## GOUVENEUR MORRIS

“THE lesson we are taught is that we should be governed as much by our reason, and as little by our feelings, as possible. What is the language of reason on this subject? That we should not be polite at the expense of prudence. \* \* \* He (Morris) ran over the privileges which emigrants would enjoy among us, though they should be deprived of that of being eligible to the great offices of Government; observing that they exceeded the privileges allowed to foreigners in any part of the world; and said that, as every Society from a great Nation down to a Club had the right of declaring the conditions on which new members should be admitted, there could be no room for complaint.”  
“*The Writings of James Madison*”, edited by Gaillard Hunt, Letter-Press Edition, 1904.

## POLITICAL ASPECTS OF IMMIGRATION

BY WILLIAM STARR MYERS

Beginning about the year 1830 came the great influx of immigration. In the intervening one hundred years since that time, about 37,000,000 aliens have come to this country for the purpose of making it their home. Their contribution has been only valuable in direct proportion to their assimilability, through nearness of racial stock, to the already settled Americans, and also in inverse proportion to the larger or smaller numbers that came each year. The great dangers arising from non-assimilability and from great influxes of even the assimilable were overlooked at first. Only in recent years, and it is to be hoped not too late, have the American people, the descendants of the original colonists, awakened to the dire menace of overthrow of the peculiarly American institutions and manners, not to mention American methods of thought and belief, that have made this nation successful, prosperous and happy.

Of the 37,000,000 immigrants mentioned, possibly 95 per cent came to America from countries where class privileges were not only permitted, but were looked upon as a normal part of social and economic life. As the numbers of immigrants grew to overwhelming proportions, so did the class ideas they brought fail to give way before opposing American belief, and today we see the baleful political effect

## WILLIAM STARR MYERS

in many directions including much of the State and National legislation.

The Adamson law, the LaFollette-Feruseh Law, the more recent "bonus" legislation, are good illustrations of an imported class spirit grafted on American democracy. Instead of following a sound American idea and ideal, that of helping people to help themselves, and thus preserving equality of opportunity, we have presented the plan of helping people in spite of themselves, a paternalistic idea brought here from the decadent feudalism of Continental Europe. The disintegrating effect of this movement on national and party unity is an outstanding condition at the beginning of this new year of 1930.

Also the overwhelming amount of immigration came at a time most unfortunate for the welfare of our municipal governments. Simultaneously with this immigration, which settled so largely in the young and growing cities, came the sweep of Jacksonian Democracy. This latter was on the one hand a breath of real democratic feeling, but it brought with it many misfortunes such as the disintegration of administrative control, the long ballot, the spoils system, and the undermining, through ignorant popular election, of the integrity of the executive and judicial departments of government. The result was an overwhelming of the people, and the giving of almost unrestrained power into the hands of "bosses" now springing up like noxious weeds. The newly arrived immigrant, no matter how sincere in his ideas of joining heartily into American life, was so ignorant and untutored that he fell a willing and easy victim

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

into the hands of the political leaders and their rapidly forming organizations, so well and malodourously illustrated by the lurid and disgraceful history of Tammany Hall.

It is true that the political leader and his organization did work a sort of assimilation of the new voter to American politics, but at what a cost to the integrity of American institutions, political and economic! Many an immigrant, speaking only the most "broken" variety of the language of his new country and utterly strange to its ways, received his first thrill, as a seemingly self-sufficient American voter, at some ward meeting where he was talked to and patronized by the local boss and his ward-healers. He was and is to-day appealed to on racial and religious grounds, that are still potent after these many years.

In fact, the foreign-born voters and their children often form political enclaves in our cities and states and demand various offices and favors of various kinds as their right, in return for their bloc support. Also the various kinds of half-baked "radicalism", masquerading under the name of "Progressive" and "Farm Bloc", are especially strong in those states of the old "North-West" that contain the largest proportion of foreign-born citizens, or those of immediate immigrant ancestry. This is an acute illustration of lack of assimilation to American life and institutions.

There seems little reason to doubt that the recent restrictive laws have at least tended to cut off the supply of "raw material" out of which such organizations as Tammany Hall, the Thompson Machine in Chicago, and other sources of political and social

## WILLIAM STARR MYERS

decadence in most of our large cities, both Republican and Democratic in partnership, have fashioned the rank and file of their voters. It is to be hoped that not too late can the American people now take up the task of reforming the political and social life of the localities in particular and the country at large. This will have its reflex in better administration both in executive and judicial departments of government, not to mention in the quality of membership in the United States Congress and the legislatures of the various states, and the quality of statutes that may result.

It will be accomplished however, only if the American people realize that the problem before us is the serious one, not alone of Americanizing the former alien, but of preventing him or her from de-Americanizing us. This must be solved perhaps at the cost of a serious political and social struggle, and then again it may work out in the real American way of co-operation and good sportsmanship:—of mutual trust and confidence of the one citizen in the other, but, however it be accomplished, it is a greivous need of the hour.

—WILLIAM STARR MYERS.

## SHALL WE MAINTAIN WASHINGTON'S IDEAL OF AMERICANISM ?

BY HENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORN

*President American Museum of Natural History*

The true spirit of American democracy that *all men are born with equal rights and duties* has been confused with the political sophistry that *all men are born with equal character and ability to govern themselves and others*, and with the educational sophistry that education and environment will offset the handicap of heredity. In the United States we are slowly waking to the consciousness that education and environment do not fundamentally alter racial values. We are engaged in a serious struggle to maintain our historic republican institutions through barring the entrance of these who are unfit to share the duties and responsibilities of our well-founded government.<sup>1</sup>

It seems fitting to remind Americans that George Washington was the first to warn his countrymen of the threat to American institutions by the influx of alien elements of population with alien ideas and ideals in the principles of self-government.

Over and over again in his public addresses and in his private writings, Washington maintains that if we are to keep alive the purity and integrity of our

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<sup>1</sup>From the Address of Welcome to the Second International Congress of Eugenics (New York, September 22-28, 1921) by Henry Fairfield Osborn, President of the Congress.

"Eugenics, Genetics and the Family," Volume 1, page 2, Baltimore, 1923.

## HENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORN

institutions we must maintain the purity and integrity of the original characteristics of our race. Since there is unanimity as to the unerring judgment of Washington upon all questions relating to the well-being of his country, we may dispassionately today conserve and defend the principles which he considered absolutely essential for the republic which he founded.

I deliberately use the word 'dispassionately' because there are two springs of human conduct—namely Religion and Race—which are so ancient and so deeply-seated that they can not even be discussed without emotion. Even eminent scientists are subject to these deep underlying emotions which unconsciously warp judgments, limit fields of observation, disturb reasoning faculties and consequently vitiate deductions.

Racial preferences, racial loyalty and racial pride are not bounded by the relatively brief six thousand year period of the history of man but extend infinitely further back into the aeons of human pre-history. While among the finest of human characteristics, while essential to racial preservation, they are often linked with almost equally profound religious prejudices and prepossessions so that in America we find ourselves confronted by two horns of a dilemma; if we are able to steer clear of racial pre-judgments, we are almost certain to run counter to religious prejudices. This Scylla and Charybdis dilemma is the actual situation which confronts us today in all parts of the United States—namely, to maintain our own civilization despite these profound and unalterable instinctive sentiments which are often enhanced

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

by contemporary social environment and religious education.

In New York, Boston and Chicago at the present moment there are accordingly three standards of right and wrong on almost every social and political question. It is not an exaggeration to say that there are three standards of integrity, of candour, of loyalty, of unselfishness, of individual liberty. Even among the highest and finest representatives of the Semitic race, there is a sense of cohesion and racial solidarity, which may or may not be strengthened by religious aloofness; which affects the judgment in the choice of educators as well as acceptance or rejection of distinctively Christian doctrines; which sets up almost insurmountable religious barriers; which influences the selection of representatives in Congress, of judges, of superintendents of schools; which gives a bias to the control of immigration, which is reflected in the attitude of the press, in the conduct of the stage, in many of the most essential features of our civilization. Similarly there is the religious bias of the fundamentalist, Catholic or Protestant, which also enters into the choice of superintendents of schools, into the selection of social and political leaders, into the municipal and national conduct of education, on the one hand in the exclusion from our public schools of certain forms or religions which were inculcated by the founders of the republic, on the other hand in the taking out of our public schools of a large element of our youthful population for purposes of religious control and education.

## HENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORN

A house divided against itself shall fall. There are real dangers to a representative government like our own in these new definitions and conceptions of the ancient watchwords, liberty and equality, which were formulated in the minds of the founders of our republic to express the ideals of a relatively pure single race. Whenever a voice is raised against this *alienation* of the original American standards the speaker is at once charged with religious or racial prejudice and the attempt is made to blind our reason, to stifle our conscience, to alter the original concept of true Americanism by an appeal to emotion rather than by calm and rational vision of things as they really are. I love the ideals of our founders. I cling to the preservation of their interpretation of the magic watchwords of democracy. At the same time I recognize that splendid qualities may be found in other racial stocks and splendid contributions made by them to human progress, but I do not confuse this dispassionate admiration of the fine qualities of people of other races, other origins, other religions than my own, with the notions that true Americanism was derived from these other stocks or races, or that true Americanism can survive wherever its original principles are *alienated* by the influx of foreign elements which have different definitions for each of the great watchwords of human freedom.

In face of the increasing tide of Oriental and decadent European influence in current literature, in some sections of the daily and weekly press, in the "movies" and on the stage, we witness with alarm in all the smaller as well as the larger social centers in

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

America the decline of original American standards of life, of conduct, of Sabbath observance, of the marriage relation. The entire control of the "movie" industry and the larger part of the control of the stage industry in the United States are now in the hands of people of near or remote Oriental origin. It is no exaggeration to say that there has been a complete revolution in the standards of the popular stage in fifty years. Ridiculing religion, modesty and chastity, substituting European for American ideals of love and marriage, grossly decadent and dissolute librettos saved only from obscenity by the occasional hand of the censor, ridiculed as Puritanism the original American standards are all insidiously tending toward moral decadence. A people must be judged by its press, by its literature and by its stage. Such judgment at the present time cannot be expressed in terms of optimism.

If we observe what is going on in our large cities in which the original American element has entirely lost control and the alien or foreign-born element is in absolute power, we note that every social and educational question which arises is judged from three different aspects rather than from a united American aspect. Apart from the spiritual, moral and political invasion of *alienism* the practical question of day by day competition between the original American and the alien element turns upon the struggle for existence between the Americans and the aliens whose actions are controlled by entirely different standards of living and of morals. In hundreds of small and large communities in all parts of this country the American is

## HENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORN

driven out of the smaller branches of business and trade and of property transactions because he will not adopt the mode of life or stoop to the illegal methods resorted to by the alien. It is only in the larger and more constructive affairs of business that the American element is maintaining its original supremacy and leadership.

Our right and duty to maintain the predominance of our own race through the regulation of immigration and the very careful selection of the new peoples entering our borders are not for a moment to be confused with racial prejudice, with narrow sectarianism or with religious and social bigotry. The American people, partly through sad experience, have become conscious of their own great heritage and determined to maintain the high standards of that heritage. We are avoiding the same insidious sources of national decadence and decline which undermined the great ancient republics of Greece and Rome. From their downfall we have learned what we now feel compelled to avoid despite the appeals of false humanitarianism and of false sentimentality.

Thus after more than a century of experience we see clearly the profound wisdom of George Washington in warning his countrymen against the influx of alien ideas and ideals. The benefits of this awakening of the national consciousness will not be instantly visible, but years hence we shall see the rebirth of America.

—HENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORN.

## THE IMMIGRANT TIDE

BY PAUL POPENOE  
*Pasadena, California.*

The immigrant tide has run so high during the past half century that one-third of the population of the United States is now either foreign-born or the offspring of foreign-born parents. A large part of this one-third represents stocks that differ markedly from the earlier population.

The earlier population was, as everyone knows, primarily from northern and western Europe; the more recent immigration has been predominantly from southern and eastern countries which, in 1913, (the last year of heavy and unrestricted immigration) provided 85% of the total, leaving only 15% from all other sources, including those of northern and western races that had furnished the foundation stock of the American colonies.

More, these southern and eastern countries have high birth-rates.

Under these circumstances an argument is brought forward in apparent seriousness by some who are opposed to the present trend of the attempts to select the future parents of the American people by selective immigration.

In substance that argument is the argument of despair. They say: It is too late to prevent a radical change in the American population: the damage is

## PAUL POPENOE

already done: any effort at immigration restriction is merely locking the stable door when the horse is already gone. The United States, with this group of rapidly-breeding recent immigrants, can never be anything now except a congeries of alien peoples. The United States of the future will be a federation of smallish communities like a miniature League of Nations: here a group of Yankees, there of Portugese, there of Germans, there of Mexicans, there of Russian Jews, there of Italians, there of Scandinavians, and there of southern whites. But these arguments are out of line with the facts.

In the first place, the reproductive contribution of the recent immigrant group, as a whole, has been diminished by the smaller number of women than of men. For the whole group there are perhaps three women to five men and in some groups, as the Greeks, there may be only one woman to five men. This means that many of the immigrant males remain unmarried; others marry native-born women who are less fecund than the immigrant women. Hence the high fecundity of the latter does not produce as marked an effect in American life as it would if they had come in numbers equal to those of the immigrant males.

In the second place, this high fecundity declines rapidly under American conditions. The daughter of an immigrant woman bears on an average at least one child less than did her mother. This tendency can not be traced in detail through the third and subsequent generations except in a general way, for the necessary data have not been accumulated; but it

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

appears that the fecundity of these groups becomes identical with that of older American groups of similar economic and social status in a few generations.

Thus while the people who came to the United States during the quarter of a century preceding the World War are now a permanent part of the population, all the statistical evidence indicates that they will not swamp us merely by outbreeding us. They will contribute about their fair proportion to future generations, if their numbers are not continually reinforced by fresh immigration of the same sort.

The type of quota restriction that has been in effect latterly, if it be strictly enforced, affords some assurance that this situation will not at least become any worse. It reduces the total volume of annual immigration to a manageable amount. It tends to make this amount consist more largely of people from countries of northern and western Europe, which are low-birth-rate countries. It encourages immigration from countries whose racial stocks more closely resemble those of the older American population, and thus are more likely to adapt themselves to American conditions and blend with the older population.

It is generally realized that the population of the original colonies was largely Nordic in composition. This pre-Revolutionary population is still, but only barely, the most important element in the nation, its "numerical equivalent" at the present day, as calculated by various statisticians, being from forty to fifty million people of the existing population.

It follows that so far as any immigration be permitted it should be that of those who will harmonize

## PAUL POPENOE

with this group and not of any discordant element that would tend to disorganize the normal progress of our evolution.

From the facts outlined, it appears that the principal danger would be the admission of non-homogeneous persons, particularly women, from countries with high birth-rates. Maintenance of immigration restriction on the present basis will tend to accomplish in a measure the objects which it is intended to accomplish, namely, the prevention of change in the racial makeup, traditions, and cultural values of the United States.

—PAUL POPENOE.

## MEXICAN IMMIGRATION IN THE SOUTHWEST

BY KENNETH L. ROBERTS

A distinguished English journalist a year or two ago evolved a "Mugwump's Manual" containing doctrines supposedly held by those addle-headed folk whom the English (copying ourselves) called Mugwumps. The first doctrine reads as follows: "There is no such thing as race. If you took a family of Andamanese and settled them in Glasgow, then, even in the absence of interbreeding, the descendants of that family would become Scots."

Recently a distinguished Los Angeles doctor, an expert on agricultural and Mexican affairs, one whose attitude toward Mexican immigration is sympathetic, divided the Mexican population into three types. "There is a ruling class, in numbers hardly reaching 500,000. There is a large cholo, or greater class, of about a million and a half. These latter are the riffraf of the Mexican race, found along the railroads and in the Mexican cities. They are absolutely impossible and should not be permitted to cross the border. They are the criminal Mexicans, worthless in labor and always a social problem. They are also chronic beggars and sizzling with disease. This class should never pass the immigration officers on the border, even though they happen to be physically healthy specimens. The third class consists of about thirteen

## KENNETH L. ROBERTS

millions, known to us as Mexican peons. This class is made up of hundreds of distinct Indian tribes as primitive as were our own Indians when our first colonists arrived in America."

In 1925 Prof. Robert Foerster, of Princeton University, made a report to the Secretary of Labor in which he stated that estimates showed that the white population of Mexico was about a million and a half, the pure Indian population five or six million, and the mestizo (half breeds) around seven or eight million. Now whichever estimate be true, the half breeds of any country are regarded by biologists, social workers and employers of labor as undesirable additions to the population of any country. Edward B. Taylor, an Englishman with well-developed powers of observation, travelled in Mexico in 1856, and commented on the mixtures he encountered as being "partly Indian, but with a considerable admixture of Negro blood." He pointed out that many black slaves were brought in by the Spanish planters and that runaway slaves from Louisiana and Texas had added to the negroid blood of the country. He said that "in Mexico we have three races, Spanish, Mexican and Negro making, with their combinations, a list of twenty-five varieties, distinguishable from one another and with regular names such as mulatto, mestizo, sambo, chino, etc." These mixed breeds unfit to enter the United States are Mexicans and no grounds exist at present for keeping them out so long as Mexicans are permitted free entry. This, even though immigration authorities are of opinion that they are inferior to immigrants from Central and Southeastern

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

Europe and incompetent to advance, or even to sustain the civilization already established in the United States. Attempts to apply a quota to Mexico, either selective or numerical, have been thwarted by the cry that it might prove irritating to a sister republic on this Continent. To establish some control the eight dollar head-tax and ten dollar passport visa fee were applied in 1924 and a literacy test provided. It was thought that this would cut down Mexican immigration. Such thoughts, like all similar thoughts on the restrictive effects of indirect restriction, proved to be worth considerably less than the conventional penny.

Available figures show a steadily increasing flow of chocolate-colored Mexican peons into the United States. Down to the end of our last War it ranged from 10 to 20 thousand annually. By 1924 it had increased to 87,000. After the head-tax was put on it dropped to 32,000 but by 1927 it had reached 66,000. These are the official entries. There is no way in which to count the illegal entries. The border is 1883 miles, the bulk of it is unwatched. Armies of Mexicans can cross the Rio Grande without interference in the Big Ben country and elsewhere. The border patrol numbers under 400. If a Mexican can reach the Mexican rabbit-warrens in Brownsville, Larado, Del Rio, or El Paso he is practically safe. The lowest estimate of the Mexican population in the United States late in 1927 is 1,400,000. Taking into consideration what has happened since and their large birth-rate, it is reasonably thought to be over three million to-day.

## KENNETH L. ROBERTS

In the San Antonio district, in the year 1926-27, 5,285 illegal entrants were caught and ejected. During the same year in the El Paso district 6,652. The Mexicans in the border cities have more than doubled since 1920—it is believed they have tripled and even quadrupled. In 1900 in San Antonio there were 3,298. In 1910 9,924. In 1920 28,477. The estimate for 1927 is over 75,000. Houston, Texas, rose from 118 in 1900 to 3,953 in 1920. Fort Worth from 59 to 3,831, Dallas from 41 to 2,295, Kansas City from 24 to 1930, Denver from 19 to 1418.

Already the Mexicans have formed in New Mexico a "foreign bloc" to obtain for Mexicans fifty per cent of the public offices of the State. They purpose in short to perpetuate their identity as a separate class.

In the San Antonio City Hospital, the percentage of Mexican patients is from 70 to 85 of the whole. In the free clinic of the Robert B. Green Memorial Hospital 50 out of 60 treated will frequently be Mexicans and the other 10 divided between the colored and white.

As the Dallas News said, in an editorial: "The idea that it is a cheap labor that we import from Mexico is a fallacy. Cheap it is to those who hire it, but it comes dear to the people of Texas."

Prof. Holmes, of the University of California, commenting on the Mexican question said, "In spite of the preponderance of whites in San Antonio 50% of the community chest budget admittedly goes to Mexican work and the amount actually spent on Mexicans is higher than this."

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

The writer accompanied the outdoor relief of Los Angeles late in 1927 through two Mexican sections and in no part of Poland or Southeastern Europe has ever seen a more ignorant and more destitute class of people than the Mexican peons packed into the shacks and hovels that have spread out over those former truck-garden districts. There are numberless new and beautiful schools built to accommodate this rising Mexican flood. The Indiana Development, the Belvedere Junior, The Brooklyn Avenue, The Rig-gins, The Hammel, The Eugene and others. They are American schools set down in a slum in Mexico. The signs are in Spanish, the names are Mexican. They are also an acute plague sore on the body politic. To quote again Prof. Holmes: "The Mexican is prone to various diseases . . . he brings in various maladies . . . small-pox and typhus and amoebic dysentery . . . They are a constant menace to our physical welfare."

Mrs. Lawrence, supervisor of Belvedere district, states: "On being questioned as to why they have come, the Mexicans tell us it is because Los Angeles County is so good to the poor . . . they stress the free clinics, hospital and nursing care, and free services of doctors."

One great trouble is that Mexican children born in the United States are American citizens and it is notorious that the birth-rate is high.

The fundamental thing to be considered is not the situation today, but the result in the future. The admixture of millions of Mexican half-breed Indians

## KENNETH L. ROBERTS

with the present native American stock. A leading physician in the Southwest, resident in Mexico for many years, said with great truth: "It is a waste of time to consider any side of the question except the biological side. The Mexicans are already a white elephant on our hands. There is a biological reason for this which cannot be changed. All great thinkers, Hackel, Spencer, Huxley, Darwin, Mill—all of them—advised against the admixture of races. Do not listen to those who say that the Mexicans and our people will not inter-marry. Nothing on earth can stop them, then we'll have another mixed race problem; and as soon as a race is mixed it is inferior. Those who think otherwise are merely uninstructed in biology."

—KENNETH L. ROBERTS.

## GINO SPERANZA

Gino Speranza, the author of "Race or Nation" (1925) was born in Connecticut April 23rd, 1872 and died on the 12th of July, 1927. He was the child of Professor Carlo L. Speranza and his wife Adele Capelli. He was of unmixed Italian blood and was a lawyer by profession. He received the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Science. For fifteen years he acted as the legal adviser to the Italian Consulate-Generalship in this Country. He assisted in drafting the Probation Law of New York State; served by appointment of Governor Hughes as a member of the State Immigration Commission; was a Director of the Prison Association of New York; Society for Italian Immigrants; was the Chairman of the Commission on Crime and Immigration of the American Institute of Criminal Law, was an attache of the American Embassy at Rome (in the Political Intelligence Division) and was a member of various legal and other societies. He may be regarded then as qualified to speak on the questions here concerned, as well without adverse prejudice, or rancor as also with a sympathetic understanding of the aliens among us.

In an Address which the late Mr. Speranza delivered at an "Immigration Dinner" in New York in 1923, the attendance at which was composed entirely of delegates from upwards of thirty patriotic societies, Mr. Speranza referred to the fact that the Constitution of the United States had been prepared by the descendants of English and Scotch colonists. That it had been administered for one hundred and forty

## GINO SPERANZA

years by the descendants of English and Scotch colonists. That the United States of America in their political and social aspects had been administered continually by the descendants of English and Scotch colonists. That those who had shown their capacity both for evolving and for successfully administering a new system of government during a period of one hundred and forty years were the only people to whom the continued administration of the Country could be safely committed, in contradistinction to the descendants of races to whom the system was and had been wholly strange. He referred to other lines than those of government in which it might justly be claimed that other races, his own included, were superior. He claimed for his own race superiority in matters relating to Art, both in general and in many of its various special aspects. But so far as the question of the administration of this government was concerned, he reiterated that it could only be safely entrusted to the descendants of those who had in their turn derived from their ancestors an hereditary instinct for, and an appreciation of its fundamental principles and who had instituted and perpetuated it successfully in this land. The testimony which he bore, coming as it did from a pure-blooded Italian, whose sympathies were with his own race, but who did not allow his intelligence to be over-ruled by his sympathies, was noteworthy and remarkable. He said "Those who have successfully evolved, conducted and administered this government are those to whom alone its continued conduct can be safely entrusted."

As Mr. Speranza is no longer with us, some ex-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

tracts from his book, "Race or Nation", are given here to take the place of an essay from his pen.

From RACE OR NATION, by Gino Speranza.

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"Political life—American self-government—in New Mexico is mostly a compromise, where it is not pure fiction. This deeply tragic example of a fine and loyal people in our midst who are still an unassimilated and culturally alien element should teach a lesson to our "Americanizers" and our theorists. If they will study the situation in that state, in its deeper and intimate aspects, they will get a clear idea of what happens when one attempts to fit one kind of government to a race which had nothing to do with the growth and development of that special kind of government. (page 64)

"...the popular notion that American institutions are so inherently excellent that they fit all peoples has been industriously encouraged by some new-stock intellectuals. These specious 'friends of freedom' lightly preach that government of and by the people is something that everyone can have and enjoy irrespective of character, intelligence or special political training and antecedents. These theorists utterly forget that 'the Constitution was framed by men of Anglo-Saxon origin for their own government and it presupposes the long political evolution to which that race has been subjected in the motherland during eight or nine centuries. It presupposes also the Anglo-Saxon virtues of moderation, self-restraint,

## GINO SPERANZA

and sense of fair play . . . . To impose free institutions upon a people which does not possess them is to endanger the social order and bring free institutions into unmerited reproach'. (page 65)

"The Constitution did not make Americans, but Americans made the Constitution a living organism and not a mere written scroll. (page 65)

"Through the thoughtless optimism, or a sincere but unreasoning faith in the wonder-working powers of American institutions, we have gone ahead on the theory that any race could fit into the body-politic and be capable of participating in the management of the American political enterprise by the merest veneer of 'Americanization' or through the mere accident of being born within the physical limits of the republic.

"I say 'race' advisedly for what used to be called, and was, an immigrant problem, has become in the last fifty years distinctly and accutely a race problem. (pages 70-71)

"An intellectual leader of his (alien) people, and a former official of the State of California has frankly said before the American Academy of Political Science:

'The loyalty of the Poles, the Russians, the Greeks, etc. in some measure will be determined by the international policies of the United States'

and he said it since the Great War was fought. (page 76)

"More and more, consciously or unconsciously, do these cohering racial masses of 'newly-made' but actually culturally-alien 'American citizens' reflect and

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

manifest distinct racial, nationalistic and even non-American views and aspirations. (page 77)

“Let us go back to the wisdom of the fathers of the republic. Let us read and reflect upon what they thought and what they feared might result . . . . should large alien groups invade American life and participate in its government. (page 84)

“It is surprising how the American people, who have given so much interest and study to the biologic and ethnological sciences, should not have more readily, and more generally, realized the incidence of those sciences on the problems of immigration . . . . Vernon Kellogg, in “The New Heredity” says:

‘The biologist stands aghast at what he sees happening. He knows what the consequences of flouting nature are. The fate of plants, animals and men is determined by heredity and environment. It takes the best of *both* to assure the best fate.’ (pages 193-194)”

Note: The book, “Race or Nation” by the late Gino Speranza, is a remarkable one. It has run through several editions, and should be read by all interested in the future of this country.

## THE PERMANENT MENACE FROM EUROPE

BY LOTHROP STODDARD

One of our national weaknesses is our proneness to pass laws and then believe everything is settled. The public's attitude toward European immigration is a striking example. At the close of the Great War, America was threatened with a human deluge from Europe. The worst elements of a half-wrecked continent began a frenzied scramble to get to America. Unchecked, that threatened deluge would have swelled to several million immigrants per year, and have swamped our national life. Aroused barely in time, the American people demanded protection. Congress obeyed the national will by passing the Johnson Act of 1924. It purported to restrict European immigration to one hundred and fifty thousand a year. Its results are shown in the lessened quantity and in the better quality of the present legal immigration from Europe. But this has not definitely settled our immigration problem. Unfortunately there are millions of Europeans who have not, and will not voluntarily acquiesce in our immigration policy, who are determined, by hook or by crook, to get into America.

Everyone who has studied the situation knows the problems thereby created—the menace of the smuggled aliens, the tireless propaganda within our borders to weaken the Johnson Act, and many similar complications. I wish to emphasize here the tremen-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

dous migratory urge of Europe's discontented elements, which rests a perpetual storm-cloud on our eastern horizon, and will menace us for an indefinite period of time.

The American people must visualize the fact that even the most perfect immigration law which could be devised is but as good as its enforcement. We must realize, and keep ever before us, that though the European deluge has been legally prohibited, it has not been abolished. The Johnson Act did not and could not lessen the desire of would-be immigrants to come to America. If anything, the law has increased that desire; because the more American wages and living-standards are thereby improved, the more America becomes the land of promise. We have set up a legal barrier against one of the greatest mass-migrations of recorded history. But, unless that barrier is backed by force strong enough to enforce it, the human pressure from abroad will over-ride it—crumple it up as though it were the piece of paper on which it is printed. The alien pressure to get into America is a tremendous power. Competent observers have estimated that at least twenty million people in Southern and Eastern Europe alone are today longing to come here! With such a reservoir of unsatisfied desire, the guarding of our gates becomes a great task, requires constant vigilance and the steady support of an aroused and informed public opinion.

Reflection shows why the menace of mass-immigration from Europe to America must remain a permanent factor for our consideration. Postwar Europe

## LOTHROP STODDARD

is grievously overcrowded. Even those countries which have recovered most rapidly from the war do not enjoy a tithe of our prosperity. Everywhere in Europe competition is so keen that the unadaptive and inferior elements are being pushed to the verge of subsistence. Even in advanced countries of Northern Europe, like England and Germany, the dregs of society are astir with discontent and crave escape to a land of brighter promise.

This being the fact as to the most favored European lands, consider conditions in the more backward lands of Eastern Europe, from Poland to the Balkans, where misery is endemic, and war or revolution are forever lowering on the horizon. It is Eastern Europe which is the great reservoir of a potential mass-migration from the Old World to the New.

Conditions in Eastern Europe can be described in two words: complexity and instability. That region is afflicted by a profound mongrelism revealing its disturbing effect in every phase of political and social life. It is next door to Asia, and periodically for two thousand years Asiatic hordes swept over it, upsetting its political and social equilibrium and diluting and mongrelizing its blood. The "Slavic" peoples who occupy most of Eastern Europe are all impregnated with Asiatic Mongol and Turki blood." Scratch a Russian and you'll find a Tartar" applies not only to the Russians but also in varying measure to the other Slavs, from Eastern Poland through the Balkans.

Many of these admixtures of widely unlike racial stocks are relatively recent, and hence the more unstable. Class divisions among these peoples are large-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

ly along racial lines. To a great extent the aristocracy, the middle classes, and the peasantry of these East European countries differ strikingly from each other in ethnic make-up. Large blocks of their peoples have remained for centuries distinct from the surrounding population from which they have been sundered by religious and cultural gulfs as well as by their differences in blood. This is notably the case with the East European Jews; who, by the way, are not Semitic "Hebrews", but are descended from West-Asiatic stocks akin to the Armenians, and from a Central Asiatic (Mongoloid) folk, the Khazars. Eastern Europe thus presents a bewildering complexity of races, creeds and cultures, which reaches its climax in the Balkans—that unhappy abode of jarring, and to an extent, half-barbarian peoples.

There is little hope that Eastern Europe can attain stability or indeed prosperity as we understand it within any measurable future. Yet, as long as it remains disturbed and backward, Eastern Europe must continue to be a breeding ground for swarms of would-be emigrants of a most undesirable character.

It is to be noted that since we closed our gates, this dammed-up flood has sought to migrate into Northern and Western European lands, where relatively better living-conditions prevail, and even to the more distant parts of the world which offer opportunities superior to those at home. It is equally instructive to note that this influx has led European nations like France and England, and distant lands such as Australia, New Zealand and South Africa,

## LOTHROP STODDARD

to formulate in self defense protective measures against such migration.

Everywhere the gates are closing against undesirable immigration. But those undesirables remain, in their millions and tens of millions and the more they are debarred from one haven after another the keener grows their longing for America—the most prosperous land on earth.

—LOTHROP STODDARD.

FALLACIES OF THE MELTING-POT IDEA  
AND  
AMERICA'S TRADITIONAL IMMIGRATION  
POLICY.

BY ROBERT DEC. WARD  
*Harvard University*

“Never shall ye make the crab walk straight. Never shall ye make the sea-urchin smooth.” Thus, many centuries ago, Aristophanes disposed of the fallacy of the Melting-Pot. Up to recent times, we have ignored the principle of selection in our immigration legislation. Our policy of opening the gates to all who would come in meant that we recognized no distinctions among our immigrants. We refused to recognize that one group or nationality provided better material for citizenship than another. We proceeded on the theory that the United States could, in the great American Melting-Pot, crystallize millions of aliens, of all nations, habits and languages, flocking to us from every quarter of the globe, into a new, homogeneous race, better and finer than the world had ever known! We deceived ourselves into thinking that we could change inferior beings into superior ones. We thought that sending alien children to school, teaching them English, giving them flag drills, and making them read the Declaration of Independence and recite the Gettysburg Address, would make them Americans almost over night. Yet

## ROBERT DeC. WARD

the laws of heredity are at work. We cannot make a heavy draft horse into a trotter by keeping him in a racing stable. We cannot make a well-bred dog out of a mongrel by teaching him tricks. Nor can we make a race true to the American type by any process of Americanization, essential as that undertaking is for creating better citizenship. It is distinctly the trend of modern biological discovery that heredity is far more important than environment in determining not only the physical but also the mental characteristics of men. As Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn has well said: "We are slowly awakening to the consciousness that education and environment do not fundamentally alter racial values. . . . The true spirit of American Democracy, that all men are born with equal rights and duties, has been confused with the political sophistry that all men are born with equal character and ability to govern themselves and others, and with the educational sophistry that education and environment will offset the handicap of ancestry."

What goes into the Melting-Pot determines what must come out of it. If we put into it sound, sturdy stock, akin to the pioneer breed which first peopled this country and founded its institutions; if these new stocks are not only sound physically but alert mentally, then we shall develop a race here worthy to carry on the ideals and traditions of the founders of our country. But if the material fed into the Melting-Pot is a polyglot assortment of nationalities, physically, mentally and morally below par, then there

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

can be no hope of producing anything but an inferior race.

It is often said that each of the different alien peoples coming here has something to contribute to American civilization; that we shall be the gainers, not the losers, in the long run. That many of our immigrants have something to contribute may well be true. But we need desirable additions to, and not inferior substitutes for, the good we already have. There is nothing in biological discovery or principles which would lead us to hope that only the virtues of the races which are to make up the future American will survive, and that their vices will be eliminated. On the contrary, the vices and the undesirable qualities inevitably will survive just as much as the virtues. As Galton said: "A democracy cannot endure unless it is composed of able citizens; therefore it must in self-defense withstand the free introduction of degenerate stock." And President Lowell, of Harvard University, voiced much the same view when he said "It is, indeed, largely a perception of the need of homogeneity as a basis of popular government, and the principle upon which it rests, that justifies democracies in resisting the influx in great numbers of a widely different race."

The immigration question has been discussed far too often on its economic, its political, or its industrial side. Its racial aspects are infinitely more important. The character of the future American race is determined by the aliens who are landing on our shores day by day. As Dr. Lothrop Stoddard has truly said: "The admission of aliens should, indeed, be

## ROBERT DeC. WARD

regarded just as solemnly as the begetting of our own children, for the racial effect is essentially the same."

The statement of Aristophanes, which I have quoted, finds a parallel in the words of one of the best-known of modern writers on heredity, Karl Pearson: "You cannot change the leopard's spots, and you cannot change bad stock to good. You may dilute it; spread it over a wide area, spoiling good stock; but until it ceases to multiply it will not cease to be."

The conservation of our national resources; how much we hear about that. Conservation of American forests is important. So is conservation of American coal, and oil, and natural gas, and water supply, as also American fisheries. But the conservation and improvement of the American Race is infinitely more important than all other conservation. The real wealth of a nation is the quality of its people. Of what value are endless acres of forests, millions of tons of coal, and billions of gallons of water, if the Race is not virile, and sane, and sound?

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In discussions of immigration problems, reference is often made to our so-called "traditional policy" of providing an asylum and a haven of refuge for the poor and oppressed of every land. But there is a fundamental error in the popular conception as to this so-called "tradition." The desire that there should be restriction existed from the very foundation of our republic, as the extracts printed in this volume abundantly testify. Yet despite these many, early, distinctly restrictionist views, it was for gener-

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

ations erroneously deemed a national ideal that America should be an asylum and a refuge. It should always be remembered that immigration was then less obnoxious even if not encouraged, because it was thought to be a source of national strength. The noble ideal of a refuge, open to all, had its roots in economic conditions far more than in any generous spirit of world philanthropy. The country was but sparsely settled. There was an abundance of free land. Labor was scarce. The number of immigrants was small. Nearly all of them were not only sturdy pioneers, but also of essentially homogeneous and readily assimilated stocks.

In time this ideal came into conflict with changing economic conditions. It also came into conflict with changing social conditions. In the face of cold, hard facts, it had to be abandoned. These facts were that the supply of public lands was exhausted; that acute labor problems arose; that immigration increased enormously in volume and was of a fundamentally changed character; that our cities were congested with aliens; that we failed to assimilate them; that large numbers of mentally and physically unfit came to our shores. Fifty years ago, Congress began to put up the bars against certain classes of economically and morally undesirable aliens. It became obvious to all thinking Americans that our "asylum" had become crowded with alien insane and feeble-minded; that our "refuge" was a penitentiary and was becoming filled with alien paupers.

It became evident that it was un-American to permit the influx of alien immigrants making the pro-

## ROBERT DeC. WARD

cess of assimilation and amalgamation still more difficult than it had already become. It was for the best interests of the alien already here as well as of America that any further immigrants should be both numerically restricted and wisely and carefully selected.

It is now recognized fully that it is ungenerous not only to our own people, but also to the immigrants (who have come to us in such large numbers during recent years) to expose them to the competition which inevitably results from an inflow of unchecked and unselected foreign immigration. It was also recognized that our former careless practice of admitting practically all who wished to come not only complicated many of our own problems, and greatly added to our financial burdens, but also prevented the introduction of political, social, economic and educational reforms abroad. By keeping the door open as long as we did, we ourselves shouldered responsibilities which properly belonged to foreign countries. Our duty as Americans, interested in the world-wide progress of education, of religious liberty, of democratic institutions, is not only to preserve our own institutions intact, but also to induce the discontented millions of Europe and of Asia to shoulder their own responsibilities at home, there to work out for themselves what our forefathers worked out here for us and for our children. The transfer of European and Asiatic conditions to this country will in the long run help neither ourselves nor foreign countries and their people.

I am satisfied that the time has now finally and fortunately passed for the United States to continue

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

the hopeless endeavor to provide a temporary palliative for the world problem of overpopulation. Our few remaining lands should be reserved as an inheritance for our own people, and much more than any needed increase of our population will come from the loins of our own people alone. Any temporary spasmodic demands of our industries must never again drive us into policies which prevent real progress and absolutely imperil our well-being.

—ROBERT DE C. WARD.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON

30th April, 1777

“I WANT to form a company for my guard. In doing this I wish to be extremely cautious, because it is more than probable, that, in the course of the campaign, my baggage, papers, and other matters of great public import, may be committed to the sole care of these men. This being premised, in order to impress you with proper attention in the choice, I have to request, that you will immediately furnish me with four men of your regiments; \* \* \* I think it (*fidelity*) most likely to be found in those, who have family connexions in the country. You will therefore send me none but natives, and men of some property, if you have them.”  
“*The Writings of George Washington*”, collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Letter-Press Edition, 1889, Vol. V, page 349.

“Memorandum: It is possible that in the above may be found, as has been suggested elsewhere, the origin of a remark widely attributed to the Father of his Country—“put none but Americans on guard to-night”.

19th June, 1777

“You should be extremely cautious in your enquiries into the character of those who are not natives who offer to enlist. Desertions among men of that class have been so frequent that unless you find 'em on examination to be of good and unsuspecting conduct, they should not be taken by any means. Otherwise, most probably, they will deceive you—add no strength to our arms, but much expence to the Public account and upon first opportunity will join the Enemy.” (page 441)

15th November, 1794

“My opinion, with respect to emigration, is that except of useful mechanics and some particular descriptions of men

## THE ALIEN IN OUR MIDST

or professions, there is no need of encouragement, while the policy or advantage of its taking place in a body (I mean the settling of them in a body) may be much questioned; for, by so doing, they retain the Language, habits, and principles (good or bad) which they bring with them". (Vol. XII, page 489)

17th September, 1796

(Farewell Address)

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, that jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government". (page 315)

15th January, 1799

"Vain will it be to look for peace and happiness, or for the security of liberty or property, if civil discord should ensue. And what else can result from the policy of those among us, who, by all the measures in their power, are driving matters to extremity, if they cannot be counteracted effectually? The views of men can only be known, or guessed at, by their words or actions. Can those of the *leaders* of opposition be mistaken, then, if judged by this rule? That they are followed by numbers, who are unacquainted with their designs, and suspect as little the tendency of their principles, I am fully persuaded. But, if their conduct is viewed with indifference, if there is activity and misrepresentation on one side, and supineness on the other, their numbers accumulated by intriguing and discontented foreigners under proscription, who were at war with their own governments, and the greater part of them, *all* governments, they will increase, and nothing short of Omniscience can foretell the consequences." (Vol. XIV, page 139)