AMERICA FOR THE AMERICANS

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"AMERICA must be kept American."—President Coolidge in his Message to Congress in April 1924, in connection with the Immigration Bill. According to the distinguished author of the present article, the sentiment expressed by the President is at once the raison d'être and the guiding principle of the new Immigration Act. In his opinion the present relatively liberal law is backed by the majority, and opposition to it will result in demands on Congress for the suppression of all immigration.

THE subject of immigration in the last few years has assumed great importance, not merely in the United States, but throughout the world. Increase in the facilities for transportation, the spread of information regarding new lands, and above all the economic stress produced by the World War and its aftermath have combined so to stimulate the movement, until it threatens to become a veritable migration of peoples on a scale never before known in history.

Until about a generation ago the impelling motive of immigration into this country was land hunger. Religious persecution played its part during the first hundred years of English settlement here, but the craving for the ownership of land and for the high standards of material comfort possible in a new country, even on a dangerous frontier, was the great lure that drew highly selected groups of adventurous and hardy pioneers. To brave the stormy Atlantic in a small sailing vessel on a voyage lasting several weeks was no trifling adventure and was in itself a powerful sifting agent, culling out the weak and timorous.

In the middle of the nineteenth century we received a large immigration, partly actuated by land hunger, but more often seeking the high level of wages prevailing in this country. About 1890 our public land virtually became exhausted. Consequently, since that date the chief cause of migration to this country has been the desire of the submerged and poverty-ridden elements in Europe to secure a share in our wealth and prosperity. They moved in vast numbers, especially from countries in the east and south of Europe where low standards of living prevail, into North America where wages are large, food and work abundant, and where the standard of living is very high,—for the masses probably the highest in the history of the world.

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If unchecked, this threatened influx of foreigners will submerge the native population and ultimately reduce the standard of living of the average man to low levels, such as prevail in China. This movement of population from areas of low living standards to those of higher living standards is a phenomenon which is making its appearance all over the world, and the nations are waking up to the necessity of protecting their territories against an invasion far more dangerous than an armed conquest. England and France are becoming impatient at this rush of aliens and are considering means to check it. South Africa has long refused to admit Hindus and has recently denied entrance to Russian Jews, who are threatening to flock there. Australia, New Zealand, and British Columbia are struggling to remain white men's countries and refuse to admit Japanese. Brazil has recently taken the same stand. Long ago California, for the same reason, demanded the exclusion of Chinese, and our whole Pacific coast is at the present time aroused over the danger of Japanese immigration. Mexico is threatened by an invasion both of the Japanese and of Europeans barred by our exclusion laws and will probably soon put up barriers to protect her own nationals. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Japanese refuse to allow Chinese laborers to enter their country.

During the summer of 1924 the Japanese raised the question of race equality at Geneva, in order to make the general subject of immigration a matter which could be passed upon by the League of Nations. This is a position which the United States and the British Dominions cannot accept, because the regulation of immigration is a purely domestic question and one not subject to adjudication or even discussion by nations other than those involved.

America, like all other nations, must consider immigration and its limitation solely from her own standpoint. Her first duty is to herself and to the people already here. No obligation or duty whatever in this connection is owing to anyone else. Whether or not we should admit any individual or racial group is a matter to be determined solely by the interest and welfare of Americans. Such is the national viewpoint.

The international viewpoint is that America should share its prosperity and the wealth of its citizens with the world at large and should admit anyone who desires to come here. Israel Zang-

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will stated recently that national barriers were the great obstacle to the spread of civilization, that they should be thrown down, and that our "empty continent" should be open to all comers. This view prevails elsewhere in Europe where our right to "a continent" is challenged.

One of our leading biologists stated that "an imbecile was a burden to the world at large and should be allowed to go where he was best off." The former president of one of our great universities made the same assertion not long ago, saying that the imbecile child of an able-bodied working man should be admitted (to become the potential father of future American citizens?). In other words, America should tax itself to maintain hospitals and asylums, — and jails, — for the feeble-minded and the criminals of the world at large.

If we accept the views of the internationalist and throw down all restrictive barriers, it is the laboring class, whether native or foreign born, which will suffer first and most intensely. The wealthier classes may momentarily profit by the abundance of cheap labor for manufacturing, for construction of all kinds, and for domestic service. This, however, would be but a temporary flare-up, and in the long run all classes would feel the burden of the lower scale of living.

In our haste to develop this continent since the Civil War we have been extravagantly wasteful in using our resources. We have killed all the wild game animals, we have cut down most of the forests, we have exhausted vast areas of virgin soil, we have polluted our streams and are destroying our coast fisheries, we have torn open the sides of the mountains for minerals, and are digging up our coal and draining off our oil at a prodigious rate. In order to do all this in the shortest possible time, instead of in the wisest possible manner, we have imported cheap alien labor and inaugurated an industrial era here. The result has been tremendous prosperity at the cost of the replacement in many localities, and especially in the industrial centres, of the native American by a polyglot mass of aliens of every kind and description, and the establishment of colonies of foreigners in our midst.

The rate of increase of population in this country one hundred years ago was very high but began to show signs of abating in the middle of the nineteenth century, simultaneously with our

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expanding immigration. With the arrival of foreigners, the native American birth rate fell, and fell most rapidly where the newcomers settled. Many close observers believe that for every immigrant arriving, one American was *not* born, and that the present population of America would be as large as it is now if there had been no immigration whatever. Without this immigration the population would have remained homogeneous in blood, language, religion, and in political ideals, all of which is certainly not true of America to-day.

It is a fact, however, that there is a decline in birth rate all over the white man's world wherever there is a great increase of prosperity, whether shared by the nation at large or confined to certain classes. The native American birth rate probably would have declined somewhat with the passing of free land, but nevertheless, if it had remained the same as it still is in the Southern States and in portions of the West where foreigners have not penetrated, our population would be as large, or nearly as large, as it is now.

Evidence has been given by Dr. Raymond Pearl that we have already passed the peak of our rate of increase, and that between 1960 and 1980 the increase will slow down very severely, because there will be a pressure of population such as we of this age can scarcely imagine. 150,000,000 is about the limit to the population that can be supported in the United States on a decent scale of living, and that number will be reached by 1960. This is on the supposition that the rate of increase will continue to slow down. If it remains as at present we shall have in the United States a population of 214,000,000 in 1964.

The ideal condition in the United States from the point of view of living standards would have been a population of about 60,000,000 inhabitants. We would have had plenty of back yard space and would have been the most prosperous and vigorous people on earth. This was pointed out years ago by some of the wiser men of the last generation.

In popular estimates of the growth of future population we are apt to forget that vast areas of our country beyond the Mississippi are almost worthless so far as food production is concerned, even though every drop of rain that fell were saved and utilized for irrigation.

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Thus restriction of immigration becomes a vital necessity, unless we are willing to accept an Asiatic living standard, and to see our own stock wholly replaced by aliens because of the greater fecundity of the new comers.

A mixed population not only interferes with unity of national action, but also leads to a struggle of conflicting cultures, if not of languages. Free immigration would make this nation a mosaic, like the former Austrian Empire, instead of a homogeneous unit, such as America was a century ago. It would decrease the efficiency of our national government, just as it has already made our municipal administrations among the worst in the world, largely because of the mixed character of our city populations.

Where we have a mixture of races, some of the most important elements of freedom for which our ancestors fought have to be abandoned. In cities and industrial centres with a large alien population, freedom of speech and freedom of the press are greatly impaired. Everyone knows that it is impossible publicly and freely to discuss the relative value of races or religions, the amount of crime, feeble-mindedness, or military worth attributable to the various alien groups, although these topics are all the subjects of daily conversation in private. The press will not and cannot publish in our "free democracy" matters which find their way without check into the press of the monarchies of Europe.

The aliens in our midst are not assimilated as it was fatuously believed would be the case a few decades ago, when the "Myth of the Melting Pot" was enthusiastically accepted and welcomed. Recent discussions in the press have brought out clearly the fact that those who are alien in race and religion have not amalgamated with the native population. They largely marry among themselves, maintain their religions and customs, and retain their foreign connections and sympathies almost without abatement. The "Pennsylvania Dutch" have been in this country for one hundred and fifty years and, while they have lost touch with the old world, they still speak their foreign language and maintain their foreign customs. Other immigrants, such as the Scandinavians in the northwest, live in colonies, maintain their separate languages and schools, although there is no racial or religious barrier. The French Habitant colonies in New England and the Ghettos of

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New York and Chicago are excellent examples of this tendency to develop alien colonies in our midst.

We might as well recognize the fact once for all that, with the exception of individuals, the great mass of our foreigners remain foreign and will so remain as long as we allow them to recruit their numbers from abroad. The example of the Pennsylvania Germans shows that it will take centuries before the foreigners now here become Americans.

How utterly foreign some of these colonies remain was shown in 1923 at Hamtramck, a city of sixty thousand within the limits of Detroit, Michigan. In a mass meeting its Polish residents demanded Polish rule, the evacuation of the state police, and the removal of all but Poles from the community. A judge of the Federal Court was harshly criticized for an attack on the liquor situation, and a local justice was booed into silence when he attempted to speak in English in defense of the Federal Court. He was told that only Polish should be spoken. There certainly was no "Melting Pot" in Hamtramck.

Whether the foreigners remain in separate colonies, or whether they ultimately amalgamate with the stock of the native Americans, the result will be a disharmonious community in the first case, or disharmonious individuals in the second case, all of which will prevent the natural development and free expansion of our national culture, which, after all, whether it be good or bad, is ours and belongs to us alone.

"America is not an experiment in government." Ours is not a tentative plan of governmental organization, subject to variation and modification or even criticism by new comers.

Our form of government is based on the Constitution of the United States and *not* on the Declaration of Independence. It was fixed and settled more than a hundred years ago, and the principles formulated at the time of its foundation are far older, extending back throughout English history. Our institutions are Anglo-Saxon and can only be maintained by Anglo-Saxons and by other Nordic peoples in sympathy with our culture. In spite of the common belief to the contrary the population of the colonies was not a mixture of races. The census of 1790 shows that the purely English inhabitants comprised 83.5 per cent of the white population and that more than 93.8 per cent were Nordic.

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The founders of this country were familiar with the dangers from free immigration. "It would be a miracle," wrote Thomas Jefferson, "were they (immigrants) to stop at the point of temperate liberty. In proportion to their numbers they will share with us in legislation. They will infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its direction, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass. Is it not safer to wait with patience for the attainment of any degree of population? May not our government become more homogeneous, more peaceable, more durable?"*

How wise these forebodings of Jefferson proved is shown in the increasing lawlessness of our mixed population. Foreigners are obtaining places on the judicial bench, are serving on our juries, and above all are practising in our courts in ever increasing numbers. The result is that our criminal law has virtually broken down, and the United States is known all over the world as the most lawless of civilized countries and a paradise for malefactors of every race. As an example, New York is probably the only city in the world where registered mail is delivered in armored cars.

Few people appreciate the fact that in a mixed population the groups of greater fertility rapidly replace those of less fertility. In these days and in this country unrestricted breeding is characteristic of the irresponsible and foreign elements in the community, and the proportions of the classes are being impaired by this differential birth rate. Earlier marriages and slightly more numerous offspring would enable one class entirely to replace another in the course of three centuries, even though the two classes were started with equal numbers.

The effects of immigration are already showing in our average national stature. From the earliest times down to the Great War the stature required for our soldiers was five feet six inches or over, because we were at that time a tall Nordic race. During the Great War the stature requirements of our army were reduced to five feet in order not to exempt from the dangers of military service the newly arrived races of small stature. Something of the same sort happened in France after the Napoleonic wars, because these wars had killed off an undue proportion of the tall Nordic element in the French nation.

* (Writings of Jefferson, Monticello edition, Notes on Virginia, Volume II, p. 120; the letter quoted was written 1781–2).

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The restriction of immigration is primarily necessary to prevent our present population, native and foreign alike, from being overwhelmed by numbers. This means that we must have a numerically restricted immigration, — such as the present quota law, — with the fewest possible exceptions and special privileges. One of the largest loopholes in the existing law is the clamor of certain alien groups to admit relatives and thus evade the limitations of the quotas. The alleged separation of families and other sentimental and humanitarian appeals on behalf of "relatives" are used as a means of discrediting the law, in the hope of ultimately breaking it down. Admission of relatives must be held down to the fewest possible classes, and these should be included in the quota.

Having secured a numerical limitation of immigration, our next duty is to see that such immigrants as do arrive are drawn from those countries and races which took part in the formulation and development of our system of government.

Having limited the numbers and limited the nations from which the bulk of our immigrants are to come, the next consideration is to secure the best possible individuals from these countries. This can be done by the imposition of intelligence tests, such as were employed in the draft examination in our Army in 1918. Suppose, for example, that the quota permits the entrance of 10,000 Swedes, and 20,000 apply for admission, we should apply such tests as to secure the 10,000 best. The Contract Labor Law should be modified in this connection. By applying these principles we can secure the best available immigrants and those most capable of reinforcing the Nordic element now in the country and of maintaining or improving our present level of intelligence. Statistics are on record to show that the immigration of the last few decades has tended definitely to lower our former level of intelligence.

In a republic, — and this is a republic and not a democracy, — all aliens applying for admission should be registered. This will prove to be necessary in the near future along the Mexican border to prevent the influx of Mexicans, Japanese, and south and east Europeans. For their own safety and protection, aliens already in the country who have come in legally should have proof to that effect. Exact identification by finger-printing and other means

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will protect those lawfully here. Only criminals and aliens illegally here can object to identification. Registration should be extended ultimately to the entire population because no one can legitimately take exception to accurate identification, and such universal registration would prove of great eugenical value.

The present restriction and the tremendous economic pressure in Europe have greatly increased the illegal entry of aliens by systematized smuggling along our coasts and borders. Advantage also is taken of the law by persons obtaining entry for an alleged temporary stay. These facts make registration of incoming aliens a necessity for the enforcement of our present laws.

Deportation of aliens who have illegally obtained entrance, or aliens who have become burdens to the community or who have developed anti-social activities, is becoming of great importance. This is a question of the administration and enforcement of the existing laws, and these must be strengthened in order to secure universal and effective application. The two questions of registration and deportation go hand in hand, — the former is a necessary prelude to deportation on a large scale.

Naturalization is and must be conferred as a privilege and must be limited to those who have proved themselves worthy of it. It should not be urged on unwilling aliens by mistaken enthusiasm for technical Americanization. We are vitally concerned with the maintenance of our form of government. From this point of view it is not those who are here who count but only those who vote that count. A careful examination into the character of the applicant and his literacy and knowledge of the English language and at least a ten years' residence should be prerequisites. Special Federal Courts should be provided for this purpose. All attempts at stimulating naturalization should be checked. Only those foreigners should be given the vote who show a desire for it and earnestly seek to earn it. The idea of duty to the government in this connection should be stressed rather than the idea of rights conferred.

The Johnson Act of 1924 is one of the greatest steps forward in the history of this country and will in the future be regarded as the most important legislation since the Civil War. This bill is the logical development of earlier measures and is thoroughly sound in principle, but it is incomplete. It provides for the numer-

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ical limitation of immigration, which will, in July, 1927, be reduced to 150,000 whites to be divided among the nations of Europe in the proportions of the contributions of such nations to the population of the United States as it is to-day.

This so-called National Origins feature of the bill is little understood, but preparations must be made for its application and support in the immediate future. The Johnson bill already reduces to a minimum the volume of totally unassimilable immigrants. However, it must be strengthened in this particular. The quota barrier must be extended to include the nations and islands to the south of us. Immigration from the West Indies is mostly Negro, from Mexico and South America mostly Indian, pure or mixed, and additions of this character to our population are most undesirable. From the racial point of view it is not logical to limit the number of Europeans while we throw the country open without limitation to Negroes, Indians, and half-breeds. Nor is it the part of wise patriotism in any way to enhance the already large proportion of peoples of so-called colored blood among us.

Restrictions are the order of the day. The country at large has spoken with no uncertain voice. That such laws are sure of overwhelming support in Congress is evidenced by the following votes: In 1917 the Literacy Test, a restrictive measure of great power, was passed over President Wilson's veto by a vote of 287 to 106 in the House, and 62 to 19 in the Senate. The next restrictive bill favoring immigration from northwestern Europe was passed in February, 1921, by a vote of 296 to 40 in the House, and 61 to 2 in the Senate. This bill failed by reason of a pocket veto by President Wilson. In the next Congress, this same bill was passed by a vote of 276 to 33 in the House, and in the Senate by 78 to 1. The decisive vote on the present Johnson Bill, agreeing with the report of the Conference Committee, was in the House 308 to 62, and in the Senate 69 to 9.

In closing, a word of warning may well be given to the opponents of the present relatively liberal law, by pointing out that there is in Congress and in the country a very large and growing element which demands the suspension of *all* immigration. If the present law is made unworkable by its enemies, such an alternative may easily happen.

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CAN EAST MEET WEST?

YOSHIO MARKINO

WHEN Mr. Hughes was sending his famous notes to Japan, THE FORUM *published a debate which provoked heated discussion. Now that the tumult has subsided, it is of interest to know how one philosophic Japanese visitor sums up the question of exclusion. The white and yellow races are like the two parts of the egg, he says. The yolk is more ready to mix than the "white". But the spread of education may serve to hatch out interacial good will and peace, in spite of restrictive immigration laws.*

WHEN I came to America last year my friends all said to me, "What a pity that you should have come just at the wrong moment!" At one tea-party this sentiment was expressed so often that I protested and said, "On the contrary, my dear friends, I think I am exceptionally lucky to be here now. I am being thoroughly spoiled. Even the people in the streets are hospitable. If you only knew what I experienced in San Francisco twenty-five years ago! With that memory in mind, I told my wife, just before leaving London, that she might repent of our marriage when we arrived in America, and that I myself might have to look for a steel helmet to protect my poor head against hostile stones when I went into the American fields to sketch. What a contrast between our anticipation and the reality!"

"The times have changed," explained one of the guests. "But what must you think of our exclusion law? You know, many of us are simply ashamed of it, and I for one am furious."

"You are too sensitive," I replied. "I am not at all perturbed. Your country is so large and so wealthy that you can do anything you please. What does it matter to you if you are isolated from the whole world? In the early part of the seventeenth century our Shogun excluded all foreigners from Japan for the sake of 'internal tranquility'. This policy was most successfully carried on for three hundred years. Then along came your Commander Perry and the others and demanded that we open our doors. The majority were for exclusion. Only a few wise men observed the impossibility of such a policy, our country being so small and poor, and we reluctantly opened it for you. But America has no such fear. You can exclude us not only for three hundred, but for three thousand years, and the spirits of those anti-foreign Japanese

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