



The
MENACE
of Modern
IMMIGRATION



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The Menace Of Modern Immigration

By

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the occasion of Klan Day
at the State Fair of Texas
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of the Knights of the Ku
Klux Klan regarding the
restriction of immigra-
tion and its program in
this respect.

The Menace of Modern Immigration

God never imposes insuperable burdens and obstacles upon his children. It is a divine law, over which no mundane court has jurisdiction, that for every crucial complexity affecting humanity there is a master key to its solution. But the spiritual purpose stops there. Given the means, men and women must attend to their own temporal salvation and safety. Otherwise civilization itself pays the tragic price of failure. Without comprehension and constructiveness on the part of the people, in time a single great problem may become a consuming catastrophe.

Today this country is acutely confronted by one outstanding problem beside which all other national difficulties are transient and trivial. Properly to measure the menacing proportions of this problem, to determine and apply the just and lasting remedy, is the supreme task of all true Americans.

Our cause *is* true Americanism. This means in all vital things a superior Christian civilization for America. Our destiny is the common welfare, materially and mentally, physically and spiritually, upon a plane high above any mankind has ever known. We have the heritage, the resources, the opportunity, for the achievement of the noblest and best in human happiness and human power. Our crusade has that glorious goal. We would attain and forever hold a national pre-eminence, not in selfishness or vanity, but because therein lies the greatest usefulness both for ourselves and to the world.

I am not unmindful of many influences that retard the ideals of our Republic; but this is fundamental to them all: that in every phase of public affairs, throughout the intermingled and interdependent relations of mankind in commerce and school and state, it is the composite people that ultimately prevail. Their common character, their capacity, the mean denominator of their motives, fix the standard. This or that smaller superior element may for brief moments predominate and give upward direction to national tendencies, but finally comes the inexorable level of the mass. That is inevitable. It is God's law. Every minute and every million years of human history

prove it. There is no escape from that conclusion, nor any possible evasion of its consequences.

All else, other than the inherent or acquired common character of the national life—the composition of our people—is relatively unimportant.

Our public institutions may become perverted, or inadequately keep pace with evolution in other fields: they can always and quickly be altered to conform to ancient principles and modern needs.

Political issues may exist, or arise, to try and test our statesmanship. There may come dark, depressing periods of prostituted public powers; but such problems are comparatively transient and trivial. In a single decade it would be possible completely to change both elections and legislation, to provide an entirely different order of public service, from commissioners to cabinet.

Even with economic conditions, it is the same. No industrial injustice, however entrenched or complicated, could long withstand the mighty onslaught of public opinion based upon, and having for its object, the right remedial action.

I recognize fully the political, governmental, economic and social problems of this generation. I do not deprecate their pressing importance. But the time has come to look far beyond any or all of them to this greater American problem of our composite people. That is the bed-rock of every national danger, and hope. It is fundamental to and of everything that makes up the national life. It is not transient nor elastic. The streams of population that have been and are pouring in upon us are ages old in racial character and capacity. Where a decade might suffice for the solution of any single passing evil, centuries and cycles of time would be required to affect materially a vital alteration of the mould in which God has fashioned whole races of people.

We are the melting pot of the world, a problem and a responsibility faced by no other people. Into it has been poured, almost promiscuously, perhaps in recent years designedly, every dross ingredient of citizenship that the earth produces. The good and the bad have haphazardly been thrown together, to be turned out as the nation's human metal under the same conditions. No account has been taken of the different degrees of refinement required, nor of the unmergeability of basically conflicting elements.

Out of it, and from no other source, must come national strength or weakness—in the end our success or failure as a Republic.

This problem is far more complicated and menacing today than in any previous period. The immigrant stream is monthly more and more inferior, as I shall show by indisputable facts and figures. But it is not yet too late to take constructive steps to prevent this melting pot from becoming a cauldron of chaos and disaster for the nation.

Within the year Congress will enact a new immigration law. The present statute expires by limitation on the first of next July. I propose, therefore, that we now take stock of the national situation with respect to this all-important matter of the composition of our people and determine, as God intends we shall in all fundamental difficulties, what permanent policy will best promote our own civilization and that of the world.

In the consideration of a subject so interwoven with our destiny, we should know exactly every vital fact and influence bearing upon it. I have undertaken, humbly and without bias of any kind, to make such a comprehensive study of our immigration problem. It involved statistics from a thousand original sources, figures always complex and often contradictory. It meant much new information concerning our history and that of the world. There had to be an up-to-date appraisal of all our assets and liabilities in human form. It was quite impossible to comprehend our past, present and future situation without applying to our population all the established truth with respect to anthropology. A failure to take into account family strains, racial characteristics and cultures would have been fatal to correct conclusions. Eugenics entered into it, not here and there, but everywhere, because the final Americanization of this country will be accomplished only through intermarriage, and we must understand fully the extent to which mixed parentage is possible and how it contributes to good or bad results. From beginning to end, this survey involved government and politics and economics and religion. Social values, not those associated with the four hundred, but the social values that concern the hundred millions, had to be analyzed and catalogued as wholesome or detrimental to democracy. Figuratively I had to enter thousands and thousands of homes and then interpret each and every discovery in terms of national advancement or retrogression. In short, this subject takes in everything. It means *everything* to America.

Racial, National and Social Values

IN 1920, when the last census was taken, this country had a combined population of 105,710,620. We must have standards by which to judge every element of our humanity, but first let me give you a bird's eye picture of the American people, reduced to racial, national and social values.

Those in the United States who were born abroad	
number	13,712,754
Those born here of foreign parentage include	15,694,539
Those born here of mixed alien and native stock	
number	6,991,665

A total of first and second generation white	
foreigners reaching	36,398,958

The negro race has grown to	10,463,131
Indians, Orientals and Asiatics number	426,574

We had, then, in 1920, alien and colored peoples	
aggregating	47,288,663
At the same time the native white Americans	
or original stock, including many descended	
directly and not very distantly from immi-	
grants, numbered	58,421,957

Viewed strictly in terms of racial and national origin, the present population of the United States is much less than half, perhaps little more than a third, of native Anglo-Saxon stock.

Could we stop with that comparison, serious as it is by reason of recent changes in the character of our immigration, the situation would not be so alarming, but there are several other substantial subtractions to be made before arriving at the net worth of the American people. Not pausing at this point to present details, we have in this country today—

Illiterates to the almost unbelievable number of ..	4,931,905
Mentally and physically diseased persons total-	
ling more than	5,000,000
Paupers and dependants, at least	100,000
Criminals, in institutions, with hundreds of	
thousands more at large	163,889

A total of social inadequates reaching	10,195,794
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It is incontrovertible that the extent of illiteracy, insanity, disease, dependency and crime would be gravely portentous, if we had no immigration crisis to consider. One in ten of our people are socially inadequate. That number at least, instead of being able to carry their part of the public load and contribute to the common welfare, are a heavy, dangerous incumbrance upon the body politic. And we should not forget that, while

a much larger proportion of social inadequates are to be found in immigrant stock, probably four millions of native Americans are outstandingly deficient mentally, physically or morally.

Leaving out of account the present dilluting and often polluting streams of population from abroad, and eliminating our own "inadequate," it is undeniable that we have not more than thirty-five million one-hundred percent Americans—men, women and children—perhaps thirty million would be the limit. Of course I am here using that phrase to describe potential personal and not public qualities. Upon these three or four in ten must we largely depend for the predominance and perpetuity of real Americanism in this country.

The Old Immigration and The New

WITH that picture in mind, let us proceed to examine the quantity and quality of the immigrant streams.

I have done this without prejudice, or any preconceived attitude. There is no hatred in my heart for any individual, nationality or race upon the face of the earth today. I love all humanity: for that reason my supreme love is for America. The fullest, most effective, expression of that love lies in the fulfillment of her destiny. I believe that the safe-guarding of sacred traditions, the realization of fundamental ideals of human welfare, can be accomplished only by keeping our citizenship at the highest level of intelligence and health and viture. If we are not successful, socially and governmentally, mankind everywhere will suffer and have heavier burdens to bear. Therefore, I stand for the survival of the fittest in this nation because that means material and moral blessings for all the world.

In the beginning of the national life, and for long years after, our policy was rightly that of the open door. The gates were always ajar. Those who would might come. Millions did come—the best the earth had to offer—Huguenot and Cavalier and Puritan. No mercenary motive brought *them* to our shores. They possessed limitless courage. They sought no favors that their own labors could not bestow. They wanted an enduring freedom founded upon their traditional reverence for law. They built chapels and congresses and chanceries. Later, through immigration, that kind of opportunity beckoned to kindred humanity in north-western Europe. Likewise they came and established homes. Into those homes we gladly gave

our sons and daughters, and as freely did they enter ours, to remain forever as husbands and wives. There was complete, harmonious merging, hindered by no obstacle that God or man could reasonably impose. Out of all that grew the America of the last generation—prosperous and proud, pure and patriotic.

Then, suddenly, the character of our immigration changed. The sources of our citizenship became radically different. There was a fundamental inferiority of racial and national strains. The Anglo-Saxon, the Scandinavian and the Teuton began to recede, with an overwhelming preponderance of peoples like the Slav, the Latin, and the Greek.

From 1820 to 1923, a grand total of 35,192,224 immigrants came to this country. By 1914, when the European turmoil engulfed the world in tragedy, the annual influx was 1,218,480.

What part of this mighty flood of alien peoples was desirable? Upon that point, I quote from "The Immigration Problem," a book by Prof. Jeremiah W. Jenks and Mr. W. Jett Lauck, as follows:

"A study of the immigration in the United States, from the time that our immigration records begin in 1819 to date, shows a change in the character of the immigration as well as in its extent. During the last twenty-five to thirty years so marked has been the change in the type of immigrants that it is convenient to classify our immigration as the old, that is, the immigrants prior to 1883, and the new, namely, those coming since that date. The former class includes primarily immigrants from England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland. These countries furnished some 95 per cent of the immigrants coming into this country before 1883. In 1907, 81 per cent of the European immigrants, including Syrians, came from Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Montenegro, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Servia, Spain, Syria, and Turkey."

During the fourteen years ending with the world war period—1901 to 1914—our population was increased fully thirteen percent by immigration, the exact number being 12,928,517. Since 1820, Europe and the rest of the world had been sending us, increasingly, of their peoples. Yet in those fourteen years, which are a part of our generation—not remote, but immediate, not even yesterday, but today in every vital effect and influence—the immigrant blood was 40.5 per cent of the grand total for the entire ninety-five years up to 1914; and at this peak but 19 per cent was coming from

the sources that helped to make our nation what it is, while 81 per cent represented racial strains and standards completely incompatible with our American conception of social and public life.

Let me quote again from Jenks and Lauck, both of whom had a large share in the work of the United States Immigration Commission in 1910. They say:

"The change in the character of the immigration is especially marked by the fact that during the last few years more immigrants have come from any one of the three countries of Austria-Hungary, Italy or Russia than from all of the North European countries taken together that formerly furnished the bulk of European immigrants."

Foreign Elements Sectionalized

THE resulting problem of assimilation cannot be measured by the 58 millions of native whites as against the 47 millions of alien and colored stock. The flood of inferior peoples sweeping across the Atlantic as in former ages they overran the plains and valleys of the Old World has not been at all evenly distributed. The South is almost untouched by immigration. It is the East, the North and West that have received the inundation.

In these three great sections of the country—

The foreign born whites number	12,865,562
The whites of direct foreign ancestry number	21,233,165
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A total of	34,098,727
In the same sections native born whites number—	
only	36,589,974

For practically every white American in the East, North and West, there is a corresponding person born abroad, or whose parents, one or both, were born abroad.

Even that vital fact does not include all the menacing truth, because an overwhelming proportion of recent immigration is massed in cities and industrial centers.

We see, therefore, that the South is reasonably free of alien influence, but that section has the bulk of the black race. In the East and Northeast particularly do we find a concentration of equally unassimilable foreign elements, not at all the desirable kinds that abound on the prairies of the middle West. Together, the South with its negro problem, and the New York-New England section with its hordes of inferior immigrants, are largely responsible for much of the political prostitution that is now a curse to our country.

The Tests of Americanism

MY FRIENDS, as I said, we must have standards by which present and future Americanism may justly be judged. Otherwise these immigration facts will be futile and conclusions of little consequence. There are certain vital requirements to be met, if our citizenship is to measure up and be maintained in harmony with the ideals of the Republic. And I venture the hope, nay, more, I make the prophecy, that this great organization will never for an instant lay down its armor or sheath its sword until all of them have been lastingly achieved. These are:

(1) *Education.* The first and most important duty of a nation is the training of its boys and girls for economic, civic and social life. An illiterate is always a national liability. Individually he or she is seriously handicaped; as a class all those deficient in mental development do not and cannot contribute to the common welfare; instead they are in all ways an added burden upon the public.

Six per cent of our present population of youth and adult are unable even to read and write.

That is not the American standard. It is the average of illiteracy, with immigrants included. The whole number of uneducated native whites in this country is 1,242,572, or two per cent. Eight hundred and ninety thousand of them are in the Southern states, and they are mostly "mountain whites." For the rest of the nation the average would be considerably below one per cent.

Among foreign born whites the illiterates are 13.1 per cent.

Negro illiterates are 22.9 per cent.

Of the old immigration, the northwestern European kind, only 2.7 per cent could not read and write when admitted to our gates, while the proportion among the modern type of immigrants averaged 35.8 per cent.

During the years from 1899 to 1909, when the flood came largely from Southern and Eastern Europe, of the 7,199,061 immigrants, 14 years of age and over, 1,918,825 were illiterate, a total of 26.7 per cent.

To give an exact, specific and appalling illustration, the state of New Jersey in 1920 had 127,661 illiterates, of whom 111,595 were foreign born.

Returning to our recent immigration, the lowest percentage of illiteracy was among Scandinavians, that being only four-tenths of one per cent. Next

came the Scotch with seven-tenths. The English ranked third, their per cent being one and one-tenth. Other nationalities with less than five per cent of illiterates were Finnish, Bohemians, Welsh, Irish and Dutch. The French and Germans were slightly over five per cent.

The highest percentage of illiteracy was among Portuguese at 68.2. Other nationalities were as follows:

Turkish, 58.9; South Italians, 54.2; Syrians, 54.1; Ruthenians, 51; Lithuanians, 48.8; Bulgarians, 41.8; Dalmations, 41.3; Russian 38.5; Croatians, 36.4; Polish, 35.4; Rumanians, 34.7; Greeks, 27; Hebrews, 25.7; Slovaks, 24.3; and Armenians, 24.1. The average for this new immigration was the figure I have given—35.8 per cent.

That is a staggering proportion—about three in ten among immigrants as compared with less than one in each hundred of native Americans throughout most of the country.

All these alarming facts relate to the very rudiments of education—the common grade school kind.

In 1917, the literacy test was put into our immigration laws. Improvement has resulted, but what had already happened could not be thus undone. The densely ignorant who were admitted before that date will remain a life-long drag upon Americanism.

I submit that this nation should at once take steps adequately, universally, to provide for the education of her children, both native and adopted. As I shall show in discussing the public health, mental deficiency has become so prevalent as to be positively menacing. With hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, it is now undeniably a matter of heredity. We must have a compulsory educational system to reach and uplift every future citizen. It must be publicly sponsored and paid for, without a single parochial exception. There should be a Cabinet Department of Education, second to none in its public importance.

(2) *Health.* This is quite as fundamental as education. Mental fitness for citizenship is not possible without physical wholesomeness and stamina. The two go together. Failure in either field brings the inevitable blight of social inadequates, with an ever increasing measure of both private and public burdens.

Mankind is afflicted with many diseases, but I speak now only of those which are constitutional, inherent in the blood, often incurable, and recog-

nized by scientists as causing the almost complete incapacity of their victims.

The most insidious of these groups in their effect upon our citizenship are the nervous and mental maladies, such as insanity, epilepsy, and, most wide-spread and the least recognized of all, mental deficiency.

Veneral diseases are repugnant and terrible. They are often communicable to the innocent. They are transmissible through heredity. They impose indirect moral, mental and physical penalties that no stretch of the imagination can measure, because finite wisdom cannot penetrate the ages yet to come.

Consumption and cancer, alcoholism, drug addiction and blindness—these also are great hereditary diseases we should consider. They lower, and in most cases destroy, the citizenship potentialities of those afflicted; they menace the healthy; they imperil our future Americanism.

No other part of this study has so depressed me. I am trying to encompass generations in my picture, because generations in a nation should be as days to an individual. Viewing our situation thus, I stand appalled at the gigantic evil powers of the organic diseases that are slowly sapping the national strength. And the part the recent immigrant has played and is playing in this terrible tragedy gives it primary pertinency in that connection.

Do you know that among 2,754,000 conscripted men, between the ages of 18 and 30, the very cream of our population, there were found 348,000 inheritable diseases? Here among the husbands of our daughters, the fathers of our future citizens, at the period of manhood's greatest soundness and vigor, were one in every eight with tainted blood and already impoverished physical power. The percentage was exactly 12.8—that proportion was socially, and what is even more important, eugenically inadequate.

In seeking light on this health aspect, I have examined many authorities. The result has been voluminous and terrifyingly illuminating. Some time I hope for an opportunity to present the subject in detail. On this occasion of course I cannot do more than summarize.

The government has published a statistical study of the "Defects Found Among Drafted Men." That book is official and authoritative. If we take the averages of just blood, and therefore inheritable, diseases which the federal au-

thorities found to exist among our young men, and apply them to the whole population the results are almost beyond belief. Such a summary would show for the whole country—

Mental and nervous defects.....	1,450,000
Veneral diseases.....	1,250,000
Tubercular persons.....	1,325,000
Blindness, in one or both eyes.....	175,000
Alcoholics and drug addicts.....	175,000
A grand total of.....	4,375,000

To these figures can be added the safe estimate of Dr. Harry H. Laughlin, the noted eugenics expert, that fully a million defectives, dependents and criminals are now requiring custodial care in local, state and national institutions.

Dr. Laughlin maintains, and has proved, I think, that the custodial groups of defective constitute only five per cent of all those who are deficient mentally. *Translated into national significance, his figures reveal an appalling number of people in that class.* The heart sickens, and we almost lose courage in the face of this fact, for these deficiencies are unchangeable and heredity will pass them on to future generations.

In his book, "The Revolt Against Civilization," which fittingly has for its subtitle, "The Menace of the Under Man," Lothrop Stoddard reveals the amazing results to posterity of mentally deficient parentage. On page 96, he says:

"A striking illustration of how superiority and degeneracy are alike rigidly determined by heredity is afforded by the "Kallikak Family," of New Jersey. During the Revolutionary War, one Martin "Kallikak," a young soldier of good stock, had an illicit affair with a feeble-minded servant-girl, by whom he had a son. Some years later, Martin married a woman of good family by whom he had several legitimate children. Now this is what happened: Martin's legitimate children by the woman of good stock all turned out well and founded one of the most distinguished families in New Jersey. In this family and its collateral branches we find nothing but good representative citizenship. There are doctors, lawyers, judges, educators, traders, landholders, in short, respectable citizens, men and women prominent in every phase of social life. They have scattered over the United States and are prominent in their communities wherever they have gone. . . . There have been no feeble-minded among them; no illegitimate children; no immoral women, only one man was sexually loose. In sharp contrast to this branch of the family stand the descendants of the feeble-minded girl. Of these 480 have been traced. Their record is: 143 clearly feeble-minded, 36 illegitimate, 33 grossly immoral (mostly prostitutes), 24 confirmed alcoholics, 3 epileptics, 82 died in infancy, 3 criminals, 8 kept houses of ill fame. Here are two family lines, with the same paternal ancestor, living on the same soil, in the same atmosphere, and under the same general environment; yet the bar sinister has marked every generation of one and has been unknown in the other."

What does the official report, "Defects Found in Drafted Men," say about this? Listen:

"If one insists on an answer to the inquiry, why there should be so many cases of mental deficiency and mental diseases in the population of military age, it can only be replied that this is a fair index of the constitution of the population of the United States, as it is composed of those who have migrated to its shores from Europe, or their descendants."

"The outstanding conclusion," he says, "is that, making all logical allowances for environmental conditions, which may be unfavorable to the immigrant, the recent immigrants as a whole present a higher percentage of inborn social inadequate qualities than do the older stocks."

In the special Army intelligence tests seven grades of mentality were recognized. Of the foreign born whites tested, 30.8 per cent were of the grade D, "inferior," and 14.8 per cent grade E, "very inferior." If these percentages were applied to the total foreign born population of the country, it would mean that 6,347,835 immigrants among us are of the two lowest grades of mental intelligence.

In the average incidence of venereal diseases, which is 5.6 per cent, the colored race is an overbalancing factor. From the rate of admission to sick report in the Army, colored men appear to be several times as apt to be infected as white men. "Just those states with the largest proportion of colored population," the report concluded, "show the largest rates of venereal disease. Adjacent regions with an intermediate proportion of colored population show an intermediate amount. Relatively little was found in the New England states including New York and over the Northern states west of the Mississippi River. Wisconsin and the Dakotas, inhabited largely by immigrants from northern Europe, Germans, and Scandinavians, show the lowest rate for these diseases."

Dr. Laughlin, the eugenic expert I referred to a moment ago, has made for the Committee on Immigration a remarkable study of the relative degeneracy of all classes of social inadequates except the venereal.

Taking all the nine major types of social inadequacy together, and weighing the races according to their proportion in our total population, the foreign born white are 146 per cent of the average. These excesses of the immigrant stock above the average of inadequacy are the measure of the drag of an improperly controlled immigration upon our racial American effectiveness.

These total results Dr. Laughlin classified by the older and the newer immigration, and he finds clear evidence of the lowered quality of the newer flood of immigrants from South and East Europe.

Insanity and crime, are the worst manifestations of social inadequacy. Insanity among immigrants, Dr. Laughlin shows, is nearly two and two-thirds times more frequent than in our older native stock. Among Russians, Finns and Poles, Bulgarians, Irish, and Serbians the proportion is highest of all. The Irish proclivity to insanity is over four times that of our older native stock as a whole. It is so great that it causes the rate for northwestern Europe stock as a whole to exceed slightly that for southern and eastern European stock.

Of all criminals in our prisons the negro race furnishes over twice its prorata share. The Italian race furnishes nearly two and one-fifth times its share. The Greeks nearly three times theirs. The Balkan peoples two and three-fourths times theirs.

What can now be done to lessen this menace of physical, mental and moral blight that has come upon us?

There must be a nation-wide health crusade, more exacting, more persistent and more consecrated than any the world has ever known. First, even though it were to cost a billion dollars, or ten billions, the federal government should institute a survey to determine the extent and causes of every disease that exists, with particular reference to alien sources. Then, upon that foundation of complete information, the fight for bodily and spiritual wholesomeness should be waged scientifically, unceasingly, until the scourge of infections and deficiencies is no more. Just as education should be free, so should each and every agency of health be available without cost to every human being within our borders. Health ought to be regarded as a public function from beginning to end, with hospitals, nurses and doctors available to all, rich and poor. Instead of having our Public Health Service only a minor bureau, it obviously should be a Cabinet Department. For the eternal good of the country the first three ranking places in the Cabinet should be those of the Budget, Education and Health.

At present the legal tests for rejection of immigrants are not sufficiently exacting to detect inheritable diseases in a person apparently free of such tendencies at the time of admission, but

which inevitably will later develop in his own life or show in the physical and mental inferiority of his children born in this country. If this continues, we invite slow but sure disaster. Certainly, therefore, whatever immigration policy may be adopted, it should include the rigid, unrelenting exclusion of every applicant whose acceptance would now or in the future lower the health level of the nation.

(3) *Home Building.* In order to insure a nation's perfect and permanent development, besides an ever increasing sanity and complete sanitation, there must be happy, wholesome family life.

What the sun is to the solar system, the home is to America. The supreme test of national success lies in the number and quality of our homes. That is alike the highest, safest, soundest expression of both personal and public welfare. Without one we cannot long have the other.

When our forefathers associated the privilege of voting with the holding of property, as they often did, that was in their mind. To them material possession meant homes.

For generations they hewed homes out of the wilderness. Those later coming to our shores faced no such struggles to subdue natural and native enemies, but they had the same aspiration and generally achieved it.

Mostly the immigration now coming is made up of males. Either they will do no mating and home making, or the wives and mothers must be gathered to their breasts from among superior classes.

For every hundred Greek women in this country there are 444 Greek men. The Italians now have a ratio of 147 males to each hundred females. From Southern Europe there have been coming 163 males to each hundred females. In the old immigration there were 110 males to each hundred females. Our own native white average is 103.7 males to a hundred females.

It can be summed up, fairly I think, in this: Until about 1880 perhaps ninety per cent of the immigrants at least sought the ownership of homes. Since that date probably ninety per cent of the alien influx have neither our home standards, nor in most cases the desire to attain them. They are the tenement herd. The farms and suburbs know them not. We have our Hester streets and our East Sides in every large city, and box-car huts and shacks in every industrial center—un-

sanitary, unwholesome, uninspirational—the natural habitation and breeding place of the moron, the nomad and the criminal.

In no other respect is our modern immigration more menacing. Its mental and bodily qualities are lowering our level of literacy and health, but the utter lack of home instinct throughout the flood of inferior foreigners that now predominate threatens our very institutions. America means homes, or it means nothing, and will finally end in failure, just as that retribution has always come to every country whose citizenship worshipped not at the shrine of their own firesides.

This nation is our home. We built it. We protected it. We should and do cherish it beyond all other possessions.

It is made up of many homes. They are its brain and brawn, its heart and soul. True Americanism implies the public acceptance and practice of every cardinal private virtue that has its highest functioning in the home. The love of an individual for his or her home, multiplied by many millions, should exactly measure the wondrous depths of our common patriotism. Patriotism, real patriotism, is not sentiment; it is the overflowing of the spirit of family life into national life.

“Free Trade” In Cheap Foreign Labor

AMERICANISM, as the vision of it lies deep in our hearts, must be founded upon the three basic standards I have so hurriedly discussed—education, health and the home. Even more briefly, let us now consider two economic tests of national stability and happiness in their bearing upon the immigration problem.

The first of these is *labor*. I believe, in fact I know it to be God's truth, that this nation is paying the penalty, at usurious rates of interest, for generations of false attitude toward the creative forces of mankind.

Since the Lord said, “Six days shalt thou labor, and rest upon the seventh day,” all the emphasis has been placed upon the latter part of that divine injunction. We have deified the Sabbath, when God intended, and so arranged His universe, that the six days of labor should be all-important. The command from on high was to work, work, work, work, work, work—and not by proxy, but with our own hands and hearts and feet. Otherwise it would not have been provided in nature's laws that health and happiness have no other source that is so invariably safe and sure.

This nation has committed, or at least permitted, fundamental errors for which the curse of evil consequences may never entirely be obliterated. Slavery was instituted and the racial results of it will probably remain so long as the Republic has existence. Then, in response to the same un-Christian dread of creative work, more vaguely and yet more generally, we established servantry. There followed logically, inevitably, the more modern and monstrous cheap labor idea. The steps have been: owner and slave, master and serving man, magnate and menial.

This is a national tendency which we cannot charge to immigration, old or new. In fact the old immigration is perhaps more guiltless than the native stock. But it is fundamentally related to our modern immigration problem.

Humanity has become a commodity. For mercenary motives, our importers of it want the most inferior grade. Industry desires cheap labor. Therefore, we have had this recent flood of 5 and 10-cent citizenship.

Take any map which shows the concentration of the South and Eastern European type of immigrant and you will see what has happened. Wherever manufacturing and mining and lumbering predominate, there the hordes of unskilled labor have overwhelmingly been assembled. In the last two decades it has reached the proportions of a deluge.

Do our overlords of industry realize what they are doing to America? Have they stopped to measure the national consequences of this cheap foreign labor idea? Is it the part of patriotism to import inferior mental and moral elements in such numbers as to lower our standards even below the danger point? Is profit more important than the sum total of American Citizenship?

I leave it to them, and to you, to make a satisfactory answer.

Immigration and Agriculture

Now, let us go a step further—a related step. Consider the condition of agriculture in this country. Farming, more vital than any or all other industries, more wholesome and essential to good citizenship, is practically prostrate. You know the causes of this calamity. I shall not describe them, nor detain you with a recital of the evil consequences.

The point is that both immigration from abroad and migration from within are intensifying this problem.

Instead of agricultural development, there is an alarming movement, increasing by leaps and bounds, towards city congestion. Our population is already more than half urban. Forty per cent it was in 1900; 45.9 per cent in 1910; 51.4 per cent in 1920;—that is the record which cries out a warning and demands constructive attention.

In this farm field exists the only legitimate and justifiable excuses for cheap labor, yet that class is moving irresistably cityward to swell the slums and multiply immorality. For example, throughout the South the colored race, in numbers far beyond the statistical showing, is migrating to the North—not to its rural districts, but to its industrial centers. The colored problem is fast becoming a Northern problem, and vastly more difficult than it ever was in the South because in this new form it is distinctly intensified in municipal areas.

Am I unduly fearful with respect to all this? You cannot read history without the discovery that every national calamity outside nature's cataclysms has been born and bred in city environment. The influences that foster degeneracy and crime do not develop in the open spaces. "Where wealth accumulates and men decay" was not written of the plains and prairies, nor of woodland and mountain; but there is not in this generation, there never has been, nor ever will be, a great city without its tenderloin, its tenements, its sweatshops, its houses of assignation, its overstrained charities, its night courts, its East Side and, now, its negro quarters.

The city and its environs—that is the destination of an overwhelming majority of our modern immigrants. New York is not comparable to other alien congestions—we would none of us want to live in America if it were—but the condition of the metropolis is only slightly less degree is country-wide. In that city there are—

Native whites numbering	1,172,952
Whites of the old immigration stock	1,566,558
New immigrants (mostly from Southern Europe).	2,477,778

Without being unkind or unjust, we can say that there are in New York City about two and one-tenth times as many unassimilable foreigners as native Americans, while the better and inferior aliens added together reach a total almost three and one-half times that of the native American stock.

In 1920, of the 13,710,000 foreign born whites in the United States, 10,355,000 were in cities and towns, and making a closer inspection, we find that six and a half millions of these were in cities of 100,000 and over.

Of our native stock, three-fifths is on the farms and in rural villages, with the balance of the farming population almost entirely composed of the older immigration. It is predominantly the new and more inferior influx that is congesting and corrupting our municipalities. Practically none of it has sought its own and the national welfare by turning to agricultural life.

The Inherent Capacity for Americanism

THUS far I have suggested to your mind the three cardinal tests of Americanism as applies to individuals—intelligence, health and wholesome homes—and also immigration aspects of the basic labor and agricultural problems. There come now the crucial national life standards, for which a few phases will suffice.

I submit that any immigrant, to be desirable and an asset to America, must come with an inherent capacity for our kind of citizenship. He may be untrained, but he must not be untrainable. There must be nothing in his racial or national character that will close the door and keep it everlastingly shut against American ideas and ideals.

Next, to be welcome, he and she must enter our gates with a deep and abiding respect for constituted authority in their hearts. For centuries, on every occasion, upon battlements and platforms and pulpits, in field and factory, and at his own fireside, the Anglo-Saxon has asked the one paramountly important question—“*What is the Law?*” Were the law inadequate or unjust, he changed it; but always and forever, until time shall be no more, that is where he stands, as it is where we stand—for law and order. From the British Isles and Scandinavia and Germany and Holland and Switzerland have come peoples born to that divinely essential attitude. Let more of them come. They are our kinsmen in tradition and ideals. But generations, nor centuries, cannot school the Latin, the Greek, the Balkan and the Slav to that fundamental conception. That very element in more than one country at this minute is playing with a fire that may ignite another world conflagration. Let them predominate, or even greatly dilute our inherent reverence for established institutions, and, instead of evolutionary advancement, in the

end we, too, will be cursed by the uncertainties, the chaos, the castratrophes, that characterize revolution.

The immigrant must be of the right racial and national stock and, then, finally, his highest allegiance, his most unselfish, unbiased love, must be to and for America.

Elements We Cannot Assimilate

IF THIS nation is to continue its charted course, and attain its destiny, there will have to be harmonious assimilation of each and every alien element in complete accord with these essential standards I have laid down. Such assimilation implies a common merging, which, to be successful, must bring about true social and political equality.

It means intermarriage upon a basis of physical, mental and moral equality, with no menacing threat of uneugenic consequences to succeeding generations.

It must mean, in a culminating sense, a spiritual wedding with the state—a kind and character of citizenship in which no higher temporal loyalty shall exist, or be permitted to exist.

With respect to present and future immigration, this problem of the melting pot is made many times more difficult by reason of the fact that we already have at least three powerful and numerous elements that do now, and forever will, defy every fundamental requirement of assimilation. They cannot be merged because of insurmountable social, racial and religious barriers. They will always stand apart from our own people.

First there is the negro—ten and a half millions in number, about a tenth of the whole population. They have not, they cannot, attain the Anglo-Saxon level. Both biology and anthropology prove it, and the experience of centuries confirms that conclusion. The low mentality of savage ancestors, of jungle environment, is inherent in the blood stream of the colored race in America. No new environment can more than superficially overcome this age-old hereditary handicap. In fact, with the present ever increasing exodus from country to city, it is an undoubted fact that another generation will be marked by retrogression. The records, authoritative and unemotionally scientific, show the negro to be especially susceptible to tuberculosis and alarmingly vitiated by venereal infections. Even though these eugenic considerations did not forbid such bodily merging, there could never be intermarriage between whites and

blacks without God's curse upon our civilization.

There is not a semblance of racial hate in my heart. I say all this because it is the truth, and must be said. At the same time, I recognize my responsibility and demand that you see, and meet yours. The negro is here. He was brought here. In love and justice must we ever promote his welfare, his health and happiness. But not in this generation, nor any America will ever know, will real assimilation be possible.

Another absolutely unblendable element is the Jew. For ages, ever since his ejection from Judea, he has been a wanderer upon the face of the earth. In speaking of him there is never a reference to the country whence he came, because, throughout the centuries, there has been no country he would or could call his home. Into his life has come no national attachment. To him, patriotism, as the Anglo-Saxon feels it, is impossible.

Persecution has been his lot—with America, I am happy to say, the most tolerant of all the lands in which he has lived, an attitude reflected in the fact that already a fifth of the Jewish race is in this country. I would prefer to believe that all this unceasing persecution has been unmerited, but whether or not the Jew himself is largely to blame, its indelible impress is there, marked by generation after generation of unchanging and unchangeable racial characteristics.

They are a people apart from all other peoples. They always will be. On the one side are their religious ceremonies, their social customs, their aversion to the Gentile—all as inflexible as fate; on the other, a racial and religious antipathy, unrelenting and unabating since the cross of Calvary. This should not be: it *is*.

Would you have your daughter marry a Jew? Were we willing, that could not solve the problem of assimilation, because the Jew would stand out against it. A merging through intermarriage can never be brought about. Were the melting pot to burn hundreds and hundreds of years, Jew and Gentile would each emerge as he is today, only the Gentile would have been affected by many other elements and the Jew would not.

As a race the Jewish are law abiding. They are of physically wholesome stock, for the most part untainted by immoralities among themselves. They are mentally alert. They are a family people, reverently and eugenically responsive to God's laws in the home. But their homes are not American but Jewish homes, into which we cannot go and

from which they will never emerge for a real intermingling with America.

Not only because of the forbidden intermarriage, but also in anational sense, is the Jew unmergeable. By every patriotic test, he is an alien and unas-similable. Not in a thousand years of continuous residence would he form basic attachments comparable to those the older type of immigrant would form within a year. The evil influence of persecution is upon him. It is as though he was here to-day and might be forced to flee tomorrow. He does not tie himself to the land. Jew-owning farmers are almost negligible; and it is largely only the Hebrew bankers and long established merchants that have their own homes. Rarely do you find him engaged even in the binding ties of constructive labor. Although charitable with each other, as a class the Jews are mercenary minded—money mad. To get, "to have and to hold," is their materialistic motto, and always—always—do you find them seeking some tangible, quickly convertible, easily movable, kind of wealth which is in no vital way related to and dependent upon social and national values.

I must speak now of a third element among our people whose assimilation is impossible without the gravest danger to our institutions.

No nation can long endure that permits a higher temporal allegiance than to its own government. Throughout all history, medieval and modern, every churchly encroachment upon school and state, every attempt at temporal power by a religious organization, has been attended by sinister results both to church and state. A divided allegiance is the deadliest, most menacing, of national dangers.

The hierarchies of Roman and Greek Catholicism violate that principle. They demand, and increasingly seek to exercise, dominion outside the spiritual. To them the presidency at Washington is subordinate to the priesthood in Rome. The parochial school alone is sufficient proof of a divided allegiance, a separatist instinct. They demand that our future citizens be trained, not in public schools, but under the control and influence of a priesthood that teaches supreme loyalty to a religious oligarchy that is not even of American domicile.

I make no attempt to show cause and effect in this connection—you may make your own deductions—but do you realize, my friends, that the

illiteracy of Europe is practically confined to Catholic countries?

In Italy, 37 per cent of the population over ten years of age are without education, and 38.7 per cent of all marriages are by illiterates. Spain has 58.7 per cent of illiterates; Portugal, 68.9 per cent.

Consider the Greek Catholic countries and the comparison with our own standards is ever more alarming. Greek illiteracy is 57.2 per cent; that of Serbia, 78.9; while in Bulgaria and Roumania more than 60 in every hundred are illiterate. Is it unfair to suggest that Catholicism, if not actually desiring that condition, thrives upon ignorance?

Since 1900, millions of Catholics from such sources have poured into America. They are coming now, under the quota law, in predominating numbers.

Our Present Immigration Laws

IN THE face of all these tragic facts, what are we to do about this paramountly important problem for the composition of our people? What have we done about it?

First, as I have shown, there was unrestricted immigration.

Then came a slight sign of regulation, manifested in control by the several states. That was during the first three-fourths of the last century. The National Government did nothing until 1882, when a law was passed providing for the exclusion of convicts (except for political offenses), lunatics, idiots, and persons likely to become a public charge, to which classes were later added anarchists, polygamists, prostitutes, and persons suffering from loathesome or dangerous contagious diseases. The importation of contract labor was afterward prohibited. None of these laws, nor their administration, was more than partially successful.

Exclusion of Chinese laborers by treaty and legislation came in 1882. In 1907, a similar attitude was taken with respect to Japanese laborers.

Following that the literacy test was made a part of our immigration policy by the Congressional act of 1917.

Now we are operating under the "quota" law enacted in 1921. That statute fixes the influx as it existed in 1910 as a basis and permits the annual admission from each nation of three per cent of the number it then had in the United States. The quota, however, does not apply to any of the countries of the New World. Mexico and Canada, for

example, are not affected. Oriental immigration, being regulated by treaty and special legislation, is also outside the quota.

Both the educational and quota laws have mitigated the evils of immigration, but without resulting in any very fundamental improvement. The flood of ignorance has been lessened, and likewise the appalling proportions of foreigners that were coming. However, it must be apparent to any thoughtful, patriotic American, that the mere fact of our having had, say, a million undesirable, unassimilable aliens here in 1910 from a certain country is not a valid reason for now permitting 3,000 more of them to enter our gates each year.

This quota idea relates entirely to quantity, while quality should determine the whole matter. Restriction, unless it is absolute, cannot reach and remedy the evil. Selection is the principle that should prevail, with potential American quality the great objective.

The last year, ending June thirtieth, we admitted 522,919, most of them under the quota law. Statistics are not yet available by which to determine the actual or potential net worth to America of these half million future citizens. From a careful study of their sources, however, I am convinced that more than three-fourths of them, by reason, not of national, but of basic racial and religious characteristics, are completely beyond assimilation.

Nearly two per cent of last year's importations were colored races; about five per cent were of the Balkan types; from ten to fifteen per cent were Jewish; and more than sixty per cent were of undoubted papist allegiance.

But aside from its false basis, quite apart from its unsatisfactory results, the quota law brings unnecessary and inhuman hardships upon the poor immigrant who must comply with its requirements. I have no words that are adequate to pass on to you the distressing picture of Ellis Island conditions as they have come to me. The voyage of Columbus in quest of his divine discovery was hardly more precarious and speculative than is now the immigrant journey to America.

To illustrate, on the night of August 31st four steamships were racing into New York harbor. They carried immigrants to the number of 1,896. In order to get this human steerage accepted, it was necessary to time their arrival almost to a split second. At exactly midnight, plus the smallest fraction of a minute, it would be September 1st.

Those first reaching Ellis Island after midnight would be certain of acceptance in the September quota. A delay of one hour, possibly even a minute, might be fatal to their chances in the mad rush for admission, but these ships were slightly too anxious. They came to quarantine a minute or two before midnight. It was still August and not September. The authorities so ruled and turned them back, because the August quotas were exhausted. For those two thousand immigrants, undoubtedly poor, perhaps with almost their last dollar at stake, here was personal tragedy to make the heart sick.

Keeping in mind that each country's quota is apportioned monthly, does not this single incident tell the whole story of how the system works from the poor immigrant's point of view?

Does it not suggest also the inevitable results to and for America? Is it conceivable that many intelligent men and women will face the risks of such a system? Can we expect any human importations better than the worst under these conditions?

And in this connection do you not at once come to the conclusion that there is something radically wrong, and cruelly inhuman, about the operation of the quota law? Surely you will perceive, as all thinking Americans must, that the machinery for the administration of our immigration statute should be set up at the beginning, and not at the end, of the journey to America. All decisions concerning admissibility, all tests of fitness, should be made there and not here. That simple change could not greatly affect our interests, while for the poor immigrant it would mean all the difference between positive assurance and the most tragic uncertainty.

What Congress Should Do Concerning Immigration.

MY FRIENDS, I have hardly scratched the surface of this all-important subject of our immigration problem. I believe, however, there has been enough of the depressing picture to convince you, as I stand convinced, of the terrible peril that lies in our present course.

No point I have made can or will be disputed, because the proof is immediate and overwhelming. The completely changed character of our immigration, from the best to the worst Europe has to offer—who now would or could contend against that tragic truth? The present and recent flood of inferior foreigners has vastly increased our illiteracy, vitally lowered the health level and

visibly menaced America by inheritable mental and moral deficiencies. Where among true Americans is the voice that would dare either to contradict or defend these evil conditions. Out of all proportion to its members, the immigrant stream is moving cityward to make modern Sodoms and Gomorrahs in a land that for generations knew comparatively little of such body- and soul-destroying social infections. No longer can it be said that those who come are nationally our sisters and brothers, seeking with us, and in our spirit, the establishment of homes and institutions that will safeguard and sanctify the Republic. They are not our kindred in ideals and traditions, nor do they, or can they, comprehend our kind of patriotism, without which no nation will attain its highest mission of an ever advancing human welfare.

This problem of our immigration has become so acutely critical, so menacing to America in its every aspect and influence, as to demand instant and heroic attention by those in authority. I speak only as one American, but in that capacity it humbly seems to me that the Congress should, at the earliest possible moment, enact two emergency measures.

First, stop all immigration with exceptions applying only to separated families.

Second, while the gates are closed, institute a thorough governmental investigation into every phase of alienism, to the end that there may be exact and scientific information upon which to base a permanent immigration policy. Such an official inquiry should include—

(a) The causes and all the results of the foreign influx, past and present—nationally, politically, socially, eugenically and with respect to education, health and morals;

(b) A survey of all our needs for more people, with particular reference to geographical distribution and the requirements for production and creative labor; and

(c) A study of the kinds of people whose presence here would best meet those agricultural and industrial needs, always keeping in mind the all-important American matter of their ultimate assimilation into our civic and social structure.

Such a comprehensive, impartial official investigation of the whole epochal problem seems absolutely essential to its just solution. The Congress cannot act to provide a remedy without being in possession of each and every vital fact. Moreover, all our people must be fully informed, because in the final analysis it is public opinion that counts for weal or woe under our Republican form of government.

As an alternative to the first suggestion, however, if the Congress be now reluctant to close and lock the gates against all immigration, pending the most far-reaching inquiry, it might not greatly increase our immediate danger to continue the quota law, provided that 1880, and not 1910, were made the ratio basis for admission. Up to 1880 fully 95 per cent of our immigration was of the Nordic types, the kindred, desirable, easily assimilable kind. By 1910 it was an overwhelming flood of inferior foreign elements. Therefore, any continuance of the quota principle, whether tentative or permanent, must revert to that earlier period when the influx was of a character that did not perceptibly lower our standards of American private and public life.

Further, if that basis be retained, the quota should be extended also to all the countries of this continent, to fortify our borders to the South and North. I need only to remind you that last year more than ten per cent of all the aliens coming to us were from Mexico, where the quota law does not apply.

But regardless of whether or not the quota basis be retained, we, as Americans, seeking American supremacy for this nation because that is altruism's highest goal, should demand that any permanent immigration policy shall bring about a complete reversal of the existing situation, both as to principle and practice.

Now the immigration motive is all in alien circles. Likewise, and equally unstatesmanlike, the agencies for the examination and admission of immigrants are upon this side of the water.

The selection, and then the invitation to come, should originate here: the machinery should be there.

We should know, we must know, not by guesswork, but through exact analysis of our needs, both the number and quality of people whose migration to America would be of lasting advantage for all concerned. Their domicile here cannot aid any element if it enervates us. Our wholesomeness, our stamina, as a nation is the hope of humanity everywhere. A selfish, a militant, attention to the composite character of our citizenship becomes at once the most saintly, unselfish and altruistic endeavor to which we can turn our hearts and hands. I say, therefore, that eliminating entirely all considerations save constructive benefit to ourselves, thinking only of the fulfillments of God's purpose of a superior Christian civilization

for America, after learning where, why and to what extent immigrants can advance our common welfare, we should say to kindred countries having our ideals and aspirations:

"There is in America a place for so many thousands, or tens of thousands, of your best citizens. We invite them to settle in this or that particular place, where the need exists for agricultural production, or creative labor. For their convenience and our own safety, we will move our Ellis Islands to your land. That machinery, renovated and reinvigorated with the true American spirit, will make all decisions as to their physical, mental and moral fitness before your sons and daughters begin the pilgrimage to America. Their admissibility will be determined before they start. Then no uncertainty, no financial danger, no dread of unsettled consequences, can mar the journey.

"Officially and spiritually will we await their coming with words and deeds of welcome. Traditionally, if not directly by ties of blood, they will be our kindred. We invite them to come, to remain, to join with us in the sacred creation of a country of freedom and justice, governed by and for the millions of its people, a land of happy, wholesome homes, out of which the spirit and purpose of American patriotism shall overflow to every nook and corner of the Republic, and finally in God's good time, bring its blessings to all mankind."

The divine intention, it seems to me, has been manifest from the beginning. Ages and ages before this country was called America, He fashioned this land in surpassing beauty and placed in it and upon it a varied, exhaustless store of resources to which His favored children could apply their genius and attain new heights of human welfare. On all the planet there was no country approaching its perfection. Throughout the centuries, when man was savagely struggling upward, learning the lessons of life at the cost of death to himself and devastation to his possessions, America remained hidden. It was as though His choicest earthly heritage were being kept concealed until a superior people should emerge to justify its habitation. Certainly it so came to pass. The discovery, long delayed, was timed to the advent of settlers with character and accomplishments completely in harmony with that conception. To this great Eden journeyed the best and bravest of the Old World, among whom in turn only the bravest and best were able to survive. There was a double refinement of these

pioneer patriots, first through the strength and courage required for their emancipation abroad, and then in their triumph over the dangers and adversities of a virgin environment. The birth of this nation, out of that holy alliance of the highest human and heavenly purposes, marked a new era for organized society; it brought new light and new hope to the world. That was, and is, America's mission. During a hundred years of national existence, there was uninterrupted evolution toward such a destiny, because, as God intended for this Republic, its composite people were physically, mentally and morally virile, with an inherent, kindred reverence for rightly established institutions and a oneness of heart and mind concerning the principles which would insure their perpetuity.

We are wont to measure our treasures in the fertility of the soil, the lumber footage of forests, the horse-power of waterfalls, the thundering speed of transportation, the output of mines, the production of factories, the balances of banks, but I say to you that our greatest public assets cannot be expressed in terms of property. Individuals are vastly more valuable than dividends. Unless there be a high average of people to whom worldly wealth may safely be entrusted, material possessions will prove a curse to humanity, a stone about the neck of civilization. If we are to attain and hold and merit true national grandeur, no form of wealth is at all comparable to an ever ascending per capita of intelligence, health and virtue. Likewise, I say to you that never need we greatly fear any kind of debt except bankrupted ideals and impoverished patriotism.

Solemnly, as befits so epochal a task, and in all humility, but with the unquenchable fire of divine conviction in our hearts, let us face this responsibility, the greatest God has ever placed upon a people. We have the power, and the opportunity again to turn the Republic toward the fulfillment of her destiny. There is yet time if we act today; tomorrow may be too late for the redemption of America.