

Big Vote for Hillquit Shown to Come From Centres of Foreign Population

Russians and Austro-Hungarians Polled Heaviest for Pacifist-Socialist Candidate

WHERE THE HILLQUIT VOTE CENTRED



The black spots on the map show the districts carried for Hillquit.

By Harry Best, Ph.D.

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MORRIS HILLQUIT, running for Mayor of New York last November on a platform adopted by the Socialist party directly at variance with the present war policies of the American people, received 142,178 votes, a little more than one-fifth (22.1 per cent) of all the votes cast. Candidates of the Socialist party for other offices had corresponding votes, and seven Socialists were elected to the Board of Aldermen for the first time in the city's history.

Even in ordinary times this would have been a highly significant and important thing. But the fact that in this case the party had taken a position which had led to the withdrawal of a large number of Socialists of American birth and sympathies, that the platform was frankly opposed to the part in the war which the nation as a whole had assumed, and that in these circumstances the support given the Socialist candidates was several times that of normal years, makes the situation one of compelling importance. It should be remembered that very similar conditions obtained throughout the centres of population, though nowhere in so striking a manner as in New York.

Where did the Socialist vote come from? Who are the Socialists in the present composition of that party? What hold has this organization on the American population? What chance has it of spreading?

These are the questions propounded to thinking Americans by the November balloting. A careful study of the Hillquit vote in New York and the circumstances surrounding it gives for the first time a clear basis of demonstrable fact for the answers to these questions.

The chief facts brought out by this investigation are:

The Hillquit vote was packed into certain comparatively restricted sections of the city.

The population of these sections is predominantly alien in origin, and unassimilated.

The chief nationalities represented in these districts are, in order, Russian, Austrian and German, Italian and Irish, though, while the proportion of natives of the two first named countries in the districts where the Hillquit vote centres is far above their proportion for the entire city, and that of the third, the German, is but slightly below, the proportion for the Irish and Italian is less than half what it is in the city at large. In other words, the Socialist vote thus cast very largely follows the Russian and Austrian immigration.

These facts seem to warrant the following conclusions:

That the Socialist Party to-day is an alien organization on American soil.

That this organization has practically no hold on native Americans or on immigrants who have assimilated American ideals.

That material growth of this organization can be expected only among alien populations in America; how large a proportion of the aliens in the country may be regarded as likely subjects for its propaganda can only be conjectured.

And, incidentally, that the menace it carries would be impossible to-day but for our short-sighted policy of putting no restriction on unassimilable immigrants in recent years.

The matters just stated are proved by careful analysis of the Hillquit vote and of the populations which cast it.

Tabulating the Vote by Districts

The city of New York is divided into five boroughs, each constituting a separate county of the state—Manhattan (New York County), Brooklyn (Kings County), Bronx, Queens and Richmond (Staten Island). These boroughs are each divided into Assembly districts, the chief electoral units. Manhattan and Brooklyn, each having twenty-three, Bronx eight, Queens six and Richmond two. The Assembly districts are in turn made up of election districts, the smallest

political division of all, which are severally intended to meet the needs of about 300 voters, though often answering for 400 or more, and sometimes for 200 or even less. There are to an Assembly district, as a rule, about 30 election districts, or a few less, though occasionally the number may go to 40 or more.

In the election of 1917 Mr. Hillquit obtained a plurality in 335 election districts, of which 129 were in Manhattan, 107 in Brooklyn, 96 in the Bronx and 3 in Queens—or, in all, about one-seventh of the total number of election districts in the city. The black spots on the accompanying map, prepared according to the boundary lines of these districts, show the parts captured by him. With a few scattered units, this vote is seen to be massed in five great centres, the election districts of which were practically solid for him. The first is the lower East Side of Manhattan, the area south of Fourteenth Street and east of the Bowery. The second is a group hugging close the northeastern corner of Central Park. The third is the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, just across the East River from the lower East Side of Manhattan. The fourth is comprised in what is known as the Brownsville section, in the eastern part of Brooklyn. The fifth covers the eastern portion of the Bronx.

Of the 335 election districts, furthermore, giving Mr. Hillquit a plurality, 213, or very nearly two-thirds, gave him a majority as well—more votes than were cast for all the other candidates together—95 being in Manhattan, 73 in Brooklyn and 45 in the Bronx. These districts are found almost entirely in the five sections just enumerated.

The packing of the Hillquit vote in particular sections of the city, instead of its being spread over, is then, the first noteworthy thing about it, and helps to indicate the seriousness of the situation. But a much more important matter awaits us. This is the determination, so far as is possible, of the elements that make up the population of these sections. We are not able to ascertain from any official source the racial or national constitution of the smaller election districts, but we may learn something with respect to the larger Assembly districts. In the Federal census of 1910 a statistical arrangement is made of these districts according to the country of the nativity of the inhabitants or of that of their parents. Though since that time the city has been redistricted, it is still possible to find what present election districts are embraced in the former Assembly districts, and thus to discover the main national affiliations of the population contained therein.

Of the 335 election districts carried by Mr. Hillquit, 275, or more than four-fifths of all, are located in thirteen former Assembly districts, each having ten or more—sufficient as a rule to be a determining factor. Six of such districts are in Manhattan, four in Brooklyn, and three in the Bronx. (The last named borough is to be regarded as of lesser relative importance, having only one-tenth of the city's population, though it has nearly doubled since). Moreover, of the remaining thirty-two election districts won by Mr. Hillquit, twenty-one, or two-thirds, are contiguous to those in the assembly districts mentioned, indicating a similar demographic constitution, and making 316, or 94.3 per cent, of his election districts accounted for. Of the 213 election districts giving him a majority of all the

votes cast, 184, also more than four-fifths, are in these Assembly districts. Of the remaining twenty-nine election districts with a majority of votes for him, twenty-three, or well over two-thirds, are adjacent to those in the aforesaid Assembly districts, there thus being pointed out the possible basis of the vote of 97.2 per cent of such election districts.

The Assembly districts which we have specified, let it be understood, do not contain all the election districts having a plurality or a majority for Mr. Hillquit, but the others are dispersed and contain too few of his election districts to permit any generalizations as to the constitution of their voters. Nor, let it also be borne in mind, is it to be thought that all the voters in the localities indicated were for Mr. Hillquit, for there were many who cast their ballots against him. Here we are merely concerned with the matter of the election districts giving him a plurality or a majority, and of the national character of such.

The Proportion of Native to Foreigner

In the accompanying table are presented the population in these Assembly districts, with the proportion of white persons of foreign birth or of native birth, but with one or both parents of foreign birth, arranged according to nationality, having 3 per cent or more, together with the proportion of the several nationalities therein to their total population, and with the proportion of foreign born males of voting age who have been naturalized.

In an examination of this table, the feature likely to strike our attention at the outset is the large foreign population in the Assembly districts the election districts of which were in considerable part at least for Hillquit. Despite the high percentage for the entire city, namely 78.6, these districts represent, as a rule, the greatest proportions, all having 86.9 per cent, and those in Manhattan 95.3 per cent. A further manifestation of this characteristic is found in the fact that in certain of the districts only a fourth, or even a fifth, of the males of voting age have been naturalized so as to become citizens, though the proportion for the city as a whole is nearly two-fifths (38.2 per cent).

From the returns of a special census of the State of New York in 1915 we may learn the number of aliens in each block of each election district. In the Assembly districts of the lower East Side of Manhattan, the percentage of aliens is from 55 to 60 per cent, and in the other Assembly districts displaying Hillquit strength, from 10 to 40, while the percentage for this borough as a whole is 31.

In Brooklyn Hillquit Assembly districts show percentages of from 15 to 50, as against 19 for the entire borough, and in the Bronx of from 15 to 40, as against 19 for the entire borough.

Distinctly German Element Indicated to Have Had Little Effect on the Result

The second important issue in connection with the election is that the Hillquit vote came from sections of New York predominantly alien. It may be worth while to add that if all the aliens in the city had been able to vote, and provided that there had been no counteracting influences, then it becomes within the possibilities, if not among the probabilities, that Mr. Hillquit would have carried the election.

Much the most significant feature in the statistics in our table, however, lies in the proportions of the various nationalities in the Assembly districts under review. The number having a percentage of not less than 10 in the total population in them is seven. They represent persons who were themselves born, or whose parents were born, in Austria, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Rumania and Russia.

Russians Comprise Over a Fourth

Considerably the largest portion is of persons from Russia, who comprise over one-fourth (26.3 per cent) of all, though they form but a little over one-eighth (14.9 per cent) of the population of the entire city. In the six districts of Manhattan they comprise 42 per cent, though but 15.6 per cent of the entire borough. In several districts they approach half, and in one pass well beyond this.

The nationality showing the next highest proportion is represented by persons from Austria, with 12.6 per cent, though they are but 6 per cent for the whole city.

In the districts in Manhattan they constitute 22 per cent, in one or two having nearly two-fifths, as against 8.7 per cent for the borough. Following are persons from Germany, claiming 10.6 per cent. Their proportion here is, however, in reality less than that for the city as a whole, which is 12.7 per cent; so that, so far as these particular districts indicate, Hillquit would seem to have received but slight aid from German sources. This appears to be decidedly the case with respect to the Irish and the Italians, the former showing but 5.2 per cent of the population in the specified districts, as against 11.8 per cent in the city as a whole, and the latter 5.9 per cent, as against 11.2 per cent. Persons from Hungary offer a percentage of 3.4 in these districts, but of 2.3 for the entire city, indicating a certain Hillquit tendency among them. The last group are persons from Rumania. These have but a small representation in the population of the city, or 0.7 per cent, though they have a proportion in these districts of 1.7 per cent, which argues likewise a Hillquit leaning.

Perhaps the most noteworthy part of our statistics is to be discovered in the last four columns of the table, showing what ratios are borne by these different nationalities between their total number in the districts referred to and their total number in the city as a whole—that is, the proportion of their entire number found in these districts. Here persons from Rumania stand in the lead, seven-tenths of all of them being so localized. Then come persons whose origin is Russian, with three-fifths (60.8 per cent) of their entire number gathered in these districts—57.9 per cent in Manhattan, 55.6 per cent in Brooklyn, and 80.2 per cent in the Bronx. Close at their heels are persons from Austria, with 57.6 per cent (60.5 per cent in Manhattan). Next in

line are persons from Hungary, with 41.3 per cent. After them are persons from Germany, with 23.1 per cent—which does not bear out the former indication of scant Hillquit assistance. Last are the Italians and the Irish, with 14.6 per cent and 12.0 per cent, respectively—in keeping with their previous record of little Hillquit associations.

The third, and the most impressive, matter made apparent from the analysis of the vote for Hillquit is that it was in the main confined to certain racial or national groups in our population, and reached but little beyond them. The greater part, if indeed, not the bulk of his support, came from persons who were born, or whose parents were born, in the countries of Eastern Europe. These persons are, specifically, persons from Russia, which easily stands foremost; persons from Austria, Hungary and Rumania, and perhaps to a slight extent persons from Germany.

What are we to understand from all this? Many lessons might be pointed out; but only one or two need to be mentioned here.

A Foreign Body Transplanted

In the first place, what a revelation is set before us as to the type of the present Socialist vote in this country, so far as it has manifested itself in the greatest city of the nation. This party is now constituted of an almost completely foreign organization, confined all but exclusively to persons of particular foreign origin; unassimilated and unresponsive to American life and institutions; unable to understand them, and unable to have a constructive part in their movements, and in turn disclaimed by citizens unqualified and avowedly American. Whatever apparent gains it has made are derived from the one and at the expense of the other.

The Socialist party as it now stands is thus a definitely foreign importation, and without power to secure a foothold on really American soil. Not only this, but at the present hour, when our nation in the course of a few months is becoming more "socialized" and is making more rapid strides in the direction of the cooperative commonwealth than it has in all its career before, the Socialist party finds itself refused a hearing, and rejected by the people of our country as a whole. What is now left of the Socialist party organization is in the hands of a body of men who know not America and by it are not known.

In the second place, what a commentary there is presented upon our immigration policy all around us. There is not a race or nationality concerned which, in restricted numbers, and spread over the land, could not have contributed much to it, and could not have helped us, and could not have in turn been greatly helped by us.

One of the best evidences of this is found in the efforts of not a few individuals of the groups referred to, who struggled against the tide of nobility, and with but one country in mind.

Let us have allowed, if not compelled, these peoples coming to us to mass themselves in the slums of our cities—for almost all of whom mention has been made here—for a greater or less period of time been dwellers there—where they are the worst we have to show and give, where they speak alien tongues and think alien thoughts, where the light of American standards, principles, aims and ideals does not break through a section indeed apart from the life of the nation, and not unready to do it ill should the occasion fall.

Not during these years have we given concern whether it were possible for us to assimilate in our body politic all the races and nationalities pouring in upon our shores, or whether any real and effective means were on foot for the accomplishment of such a task. We have forgotten that ever since America became a nation, democracy has been on trial, and that in attempting to graft upon a people elements which are often, especially in such heavy quantities, to be fused only with very great difficulty, we are placing tremendous obstacles in its path. The blame rests wholly upon our shoulders. We, the people of the country at large, have, for one reason or another, not given full thought, or even heed, to the matter.

Possibly in the present situation we are but reaping the inevitable fruit of our statesmanship. It may be doubted whether there have been any occurrences in American political life of more ominous import than the vote which we have been considering. It represents an element essentially and distinctly alien—one that is farthest removed from, if not in fact largely untouched by, American hopes and political ideals, and one that has without question already abroad no less than at home, worked us harm, in the present world war.

Only the future historian can determine how near we came to seeing the rendering of positive aid to the enemy, and only he can set down with any degree of precision how great was the peril, both to America and its institutions, and to civilization.

Morals of U. S. Boys in France Declared Better Than at Home

French Towns Behind Lines Under Military Law That Suppresses Vice and Drunkenness—Hard Work and Clean Entertainment Leave Little Time for Looseness

By The Rev. W. M. Woodfin

Associate Secretary of Presbyterian Board of Temperance and Representative of the Federal Council of Churches

SEATED in front of one of the leading editors of America a few days before sailing, I asked him what he wanted me to find out for his journal in France. We had been discussing the various and sundry reports which have been circulating throughout America concerning the moral conditions of the American expeditionary forces. He leaned across the desk which was between us, and with his eyes fixed and with a tone of deep earnestness in his voice said something like this: "I want to know whether our military authorities are really trying to keep the men sober and clean."

I saw in his reply a unique mission which, so far as I knew, no civilian had heretofore attempted.

He knew, as I did, that there were tens of thousands of homes in America which would receive the official news that their loved ones had fallen in line of duty upon the field of honor with resigned wills and patriotic hearts; but if these same homes had knowledge that their loved ones were being debauched by drink and dissipation in such a way as to produce an upheaval against the administration responsible for the military affairs.

It was with the thought of rendering a practical service to the soldier, as well as to the people at home, that the Presbyterian Board of Temperance made it possible for me to come to France and gather data at first hand for the board and the country at large.

Our War Leaders And the Moral Code

The problem that confronts us is not whether the moral code has been broken, nor whether our troops have done things for which we would like to apologize to our noble hosts, but whether our officials are earnestly trying to keep our soldiers from vice and whether they will be able to return to America an army as clean and as free from disease as the one sent over. Are the military officials heart and soul trying to keep the men from vice and shame, or are they winking at vice and attempting simply to safeguard the men through preventives for the sake of military efficiency? Have our leaders a soul and a conscience and are they attempting to project that soul and conscience into the army, or do they regard themselves as the agents responsible for a human machine which will beat the Germans?

It is my hope to throw light upon the problem, as I have been permitted to study it at close range, having had access to all the general orders on the subject and records which are reserved for the army. It has been my privilege to have personal interviews with officials, from major general down to corporal. I have shared the confidences of army chaplains, some of whom are Catholic priests, who gave me valuable information from their experience. I have spoken to thousands of men in Y. M. C. A. huts and have got the point of view of the private. The Y. M. C. A. secretary has given me information from his point of view. After getting the data from these varied sources and striking an equation I feel that my conclusions are based upon information which may be trusted.

French People Expected Much

The survey of an army must deal with general conditions, and the whole army is not to be judged by the conduct of an individual camp or local condition. Our army in many respects is like an American city; it has its good, its bad and its indifferent. There are men religious and men vicious. It is just as unfair to judge a whole army by a certain element in it as it is to judge a city by certain vicious districts. I believe I am safe in saying that the American expeditionary forces in France conduct themselves with as much decorum as the average American city that has saloons. I have no desire to whitewash the morals of the army, for they are far from ideal; but, on the other hand, I am equally anxious not to blackmail the men who are now and soon will be fighting a vicious foe and dying to make the world safe for democracy.

I have found, to the sincere regret of every true American, that some of the first troops sent to France did not reflect the American ideal. Many of them were troops from the border who had made a name for themselves with which most Americans are acquainted and of which none of us is proud. Frankly, the French people expected better of America and were shocked at some of their conduct. I am told that there were American officers who shocked the decency of the French by their open conduct in Paris cafes and elsewhere.

There are three reasons which account for these conditions: The first is the strict military regulations and the great fear of the disease which has been instilled into their souls; the second, when so reported for treatment, they are worked very hard; they get up at 5:30 in the morning and must be in their bunks at 8:30 in the evening; when their day's work is over they are ready for rest; the third factor is the splendid work which is being done by the Y. M. C. A. in furnishing them a place to spend their money and a place to spend their spare time where there is some wholesome amusement every night. The women workers behind the counter in the canteen keep before the men the vision of America's pure womanhood, which is a tremendous influence in keeping the men true to the ideals of the American home.

Non Half-Hearted Effort Tolerated

The American army has an ideal which it is holding before the men. It is the same ideal that I found in making a survey of the cantonments in America. This ideal comes out in general orders like this: "... frequent lectures be given; by medical officers on sexual hygiene and disease, in which continence shall be advised and illicit actions discouraged." A pamphlet issued by the Y. M. C. A., which is signed by General Pershing and Chief Surgeon Bradley, says: "Civil, military and medical authorities agree that sexual indulgence is not a necessity."

Are the officers attempting to enforce the ideal? That depends upon the officer. In the general order that lies before me I read this language on the subject: "No laxity or half-hearted effort in this regard will be tolerated. It is expected that positive results will be attained and that all supplementary means to aid in that attainment will be encouraged. The number of effectives in a command is an index of its efficiency, and this depends upon the efficiency of the commanding officer."

One of the precautionary measures has been to remove the troops as far as possible from temptation. There are to be no more "leaves" spent in Paris. The men will get ten days every four months, but the army will see that these ten days are spent in a place free from temptation. Paris still is a centre to which and through which many men must go. There are hundreds of officers who come here on special business of one kind or the other. When an officer comes to Paris he must register and go to an approved hotel. At the time he registers there are given to him two official memorandums, copies of which I have but which I promised not to publish. The brigadier general in command here is an elder in the Presbyterian Church and impressed me as being a man who is sincerely trying to keep the men in the right path. The military police visit the cafes, casinos and other places of questionable character and are authorized to report or arrest any one in company with a woman known to be bad.

French Towns Under U. S. Martial Law

I found American martial law in operation in some of the towns visited. This enables the officers to regulate matters of drink and vice without referring to French authority. When a cafe violates the regulation of selling liquor it is closed up. When it is impossible to suppress the licensed houses of vice military police are stationed about them. My information from many of the men who are billeted in homes and bars is that there is not the promiscuous relationship that might be expected under such conditions. A chaplain paid a glowing tribute to the home life of the people in the north of France where his troops are stationed.

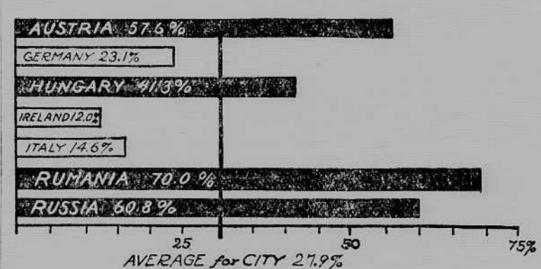
The ideal set before the men by the general orders is bearing fruit in many places. A Catholic priest chaplain reported to his commanding officer that only three men out of a regiment of 1,000 had confessed to a violation of the ideal for the month of December. In a division which I visited there are nearly twenty-five thousand troops and only 192 men reported for treatment by the surgeon, and only one man to contract disease in December.

I thought perhaps the officials might have steered me toward the saints of the army, and so remarked to a Y. M. C. A. secretary, and he said one of the divisions I had visited had the worst reputation in France. I have not met so far a man who has come from the States but that has said that conditions are better than he expected to find them.

In my judgment very few of the soldiers will take wives home with them, for the new class of the class they have not met and will not meet, and besides, the American girl still holds the chief place in the soldier's thought.

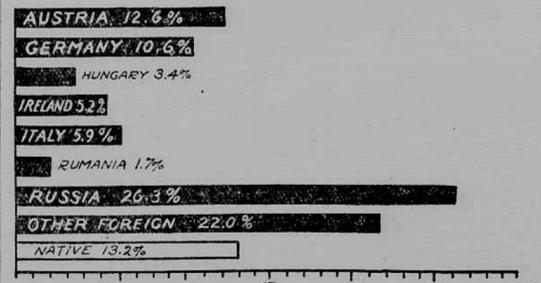
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FOREIGN COLONIES AND THE HILLQUIT VOTE



This diagram shows how people of certain foreign origins chiefly congregated in the Hillquit districts. Of the total city population 27.9 per cent lives in these districts, so that with normal distribution there should be that percentage of each nationality represented. The diagram shows that this was not the case—the black bars representing the peoples which are over the average in the districts.

POPULATION, BY COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN, IN HILLQUIT DISTRICTS



This diagram shows graphically what elements of population voted for Hillquit. The short white bar at the bottom shows the native Americans in the districts where his vote centred.

ANALYSIS OF POPULATION IN HILLQUIT DISTRICTS

| Political divisions | Percentages of foreign population in New York City. | | | | Percentage of foreign population in Assembly districts of which Hillquit carried ten or more election districts. | | | | Proportion of population of Hillquit districts to total population of same nationality in city. | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|--|-----------|----------|-----------|---|-----------|----------|-----------|
| | N. Y. City | Manhattan | Brooklyn | The Bronx | N. Y. City | Manhattan | Brooklyn | The Bronx | N. Y. City | Manhattan | Brooklyn | The Bronx |
| Election dists. for Hillquit.. | | | | | 275 | 105 | 81 | 89 | | | | |
| Total populat'n | 4,766,883 | 2,331,542 | 1,634,351 | 430,980 | 1,322,950 | 555,854 | 441,534 | 325,562 | | | | |
| Foreign born or of foreign parts | 78.6 | 82.5 | 75.6 | 77.4 | 86.8 | 95.3 | 83.7 | 76.6 | | | | |
| Austria | 6.0 | 8.7 | 3.6 | 3.8 | 12.6 | 22.0 | 6.9 | 4.2 | 57.6 | 60.5 | 52.6 | 78.6 |
| Germany | 12.7 | 10.0 | 12.7 | 18.8 | 10.6 | 5.4 | 11.9 | 18.0 | 23.1 | 12.8 | 25.4 | 71.0 |
| Hungary | 2.3 | 3.5 | 0.9 | 2.1 | 3.4 | 5.8 | 1.3 | 2.2 | 41.3 | 39.9 | 37.6 | 76.8 |
| Ireland | 11.8 | 13.0 | 11.0 | 10.9 | 5.2 | 2.6 | 4.4 | 10.9 | 12.0 | 4.0 | 10.8 | 75.9 |
| Italy | 11.2 | 12.9 | 10.0 | 9.2 | 5.9 | 5.7 | 7.1 | 4.6 | 14.6 | 10.3 | 19.0 | 38.5 |
| Rumania | 0.7 | 1.0 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 1.7 | 3.0 | 1.2 | 0.5 | 70.0 | 70.1 | 67.4 | 80.3 |
| Russia | 14.9 | 17.2 | 15.6 | 10.6 | 28.3 | 42.0 | 37.5 | 11.5 | 60.8 | 57.9 | 65.8 | 80.2 |
| All others | 19.0 | 16.2 | 21.3 | 22.0 | 21.2 | 8.8 | 13.4 | 24.7 | | | | |
| Proportion of naturalization | 26.2 | 30.9 | 43.8 | 48.6 | 33.4 | 25.6 | 36.9 | 50.9 | | | | |