

American Agitators Are Blamed for Vital Immigration Loss

Many Cause Such Unrest Among Foreign Born That Panic Stricken Workers Depart or Join Anarchist Ranks and Are Deported—Analysis of Century's Figures of Human Tide

By JOHN WALKER HARRINGTON.

THIS country is in the depths which usually have preceded another rise in the upward curve of immigration. The question now before us is, "Will the wave come again?" There are those who maintain that there will be recession of the crest of the foreign born. Before going into this question let us consider the conditions which have come and gone. It is no new Macedonian cry which the United States of America raises every few years when the multitudes from other shores are not brought hither on the economic surge.

The chart recently prepared by the United States Bureau of Immigration covering the last hundred years is full of dips and ascents. From the time that our country declared its independence in 1776 up to 1820, when this curve begins, only 250,000 aliens had been admitted. When the broad reaches of the Northwest Territory needed development and the star of empire was seen to the westward, the demand for immigrants grew apace. A tidal wave set in, about 1850, toward this land of promise. At first came the stalwart Irish and in the middle of the last century thousands of industrious Germans driven by a revolt against Prussianism, came here seeking a new hazard of fortunes.

Although the love of liberty is not to be gainsaid, the primal impulse which brought so many to these shores was the desire for better wages and larger industrial opportunities. As long as they had the prospect of high pay and improved living conditions and plenty of work the spring tide of immigration flooded Castle Garden.

Causes for Declines.

Then came various declines in the curve. One was caused by the civil war; another by the panic of 1877; a third by the passage of the Chinese exclusion act, albeit a very slight one; then a drop due to the passage of the contract labor law. The financial crisis of 1897 not only kept many immigrants from coming here, but sent many in haste back to their old homes. A season of depression and unemployment set in about 1910 and the result was another slump.

The social holocaust of the European war caused a breaking up of the established order throughout the world. The immigration to the United States was cut down to practically nothing. In the last year of the war it was about 200,000 and the year 1919 shows that there were admitted to these United States 140,000 immigrant aliens, exclusive of first cabin passengers and tourists.

Foreigners had been coming into the United States to do our work at the rate of 1,000,000 a year. They did not all take up a permanent residence here, for the returns show that from 30 to 40 per cent. of as many as arrived went back whence they came. Some of these immigrants, especially the Italians, were birds of passage. They worked here for a few months of the year and returned to their native land to play the man of means for a season.

Thus in the ordinary course of affairs had the stream of emigration of the foreign born from this country not been stemmed, a million or so would have made their accustomed trips to the lands of their birth. Against the 141,000 who came here last year, 123,000 returned. That there were not more of them who did so was due to the scarcity of shipping and to the many hard conditions of the war.

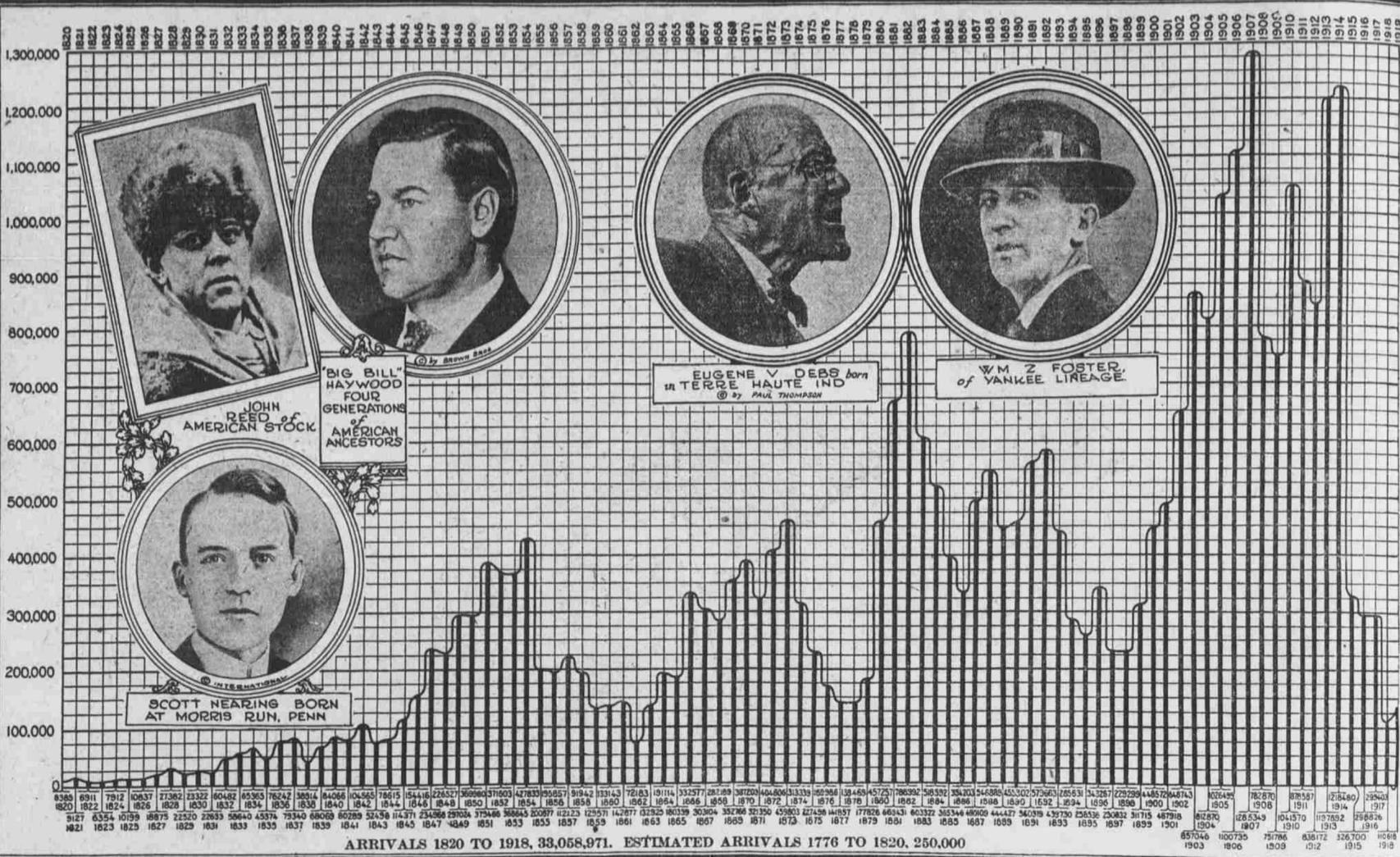
Fear a General Exodus.

Economists now fear a general exodus of the foreign born. The Interracial Council declares in a recent statement that for the four years before the war the average immigration was 594,800. It has made an investigation among the various nationalities in this country and reports that a grand total of 1,400,000 laborers, mostly unskilled from mines and factories, are about to depart. The racial groups are given as follows:

- Poles, 300,000; Italians, 300,000; Russians, 150,000; Hungarians, 150,000; Jugo-Slavs, 100,000; Czecho-Slovaks, 60,000; Lithuanians, 50,000; Ukrainians, 50,000; Greeks, 40,000, and about 200,000 of other races.

According to these figures American industry is short about 4,000,000 immigrants of the class on which this country depended for unskilled labor. It is believed that the immigration for 1920 will only be 300,000 or 400,000, or less than one-third of normal.

This country has always needed for its development a large number of immigrants, for the second generation as a class does not cope with its fathers in hard manual labor. The production along many lines has decreased 40 per cent., a fact which has been traced by some



engineers to lack of labor. In this industrial crisis there is grave concern in many quarters, for other countries beside the United States are offering inducements for this grade of toilers to come to their shores.

Although the means of transportation are poor, the situation is considered acute. Before the war Germany had drawn largely for more labor upon Russia, Austro-Hungary and Italy. She had a foreign-born population of about a million and it was estimated that 100,000 came and went from Russia and Polish Galicia. The various provinces of Austria are encouraging immigration and are looking for farmers. Argentina, in South America, already has several millions of Italians, Spanish and French. Brazil gives free passage to all who come to her as immigrants, transports them to their destinations and provides them with tools, seeds and supplies. Our nearest competitor is Canada, which appropriates large sums annually to encourage immigration and even draws many prosperous and well established Americans across her borders.

The prospects in Europe are not encouraging, and yet there are many people of European stocks in this country who believe that eventually they can do well in their old homes. They may not get as high wages as they do in this country, but the cost of living is

less and they have an opportunity to live according to the traditions of their race. If the world has been set free there is no longer the great incentive to come to this land of the free.

There is a feeling which cannot be ignored, that many of the foreign-born believe that there is a prejudice against them and that they are in danger of deportation. The great prominence which has been given within the last few weeks to the arrests of foreign agitators has left out of the account that deportations were quite numerous before the war, even if they were not as much as they should have been. Practically every vessel returning to Europe had a group of these undesirables aboard who were being sent back to where they came from. They were not as conspicuous as Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and other creatures of the Soviet ark, but there were no doves among them.

Undoubtedly some of the Russians in this country feel keenly that they have been unjustly tarred with the stick of Bolshevism. If they can get somebody to certify that they are Poles, rather than Muscovites, they feel happier for it and think that they stand a better chance of employment.

Two demoralizing forces have been working upon the foreign born in this country. They are subjected to the incendiary speech of agitators of their own

nationalities on one side, and to the twaddle of parlor socialists and sentimental uplifters on the other. Although they are supposed to be so much under the domination of the Goldmans and the Berkman, the fact is often ignored that some of the worst spoilers of the body politic are native born. It is true that such have an alien slant in their minds and that they are really foreigners in the country in which they were reared.

We have here foreigners of the type of Martens, the Soviet apostle, but we also have William D. Haywood, an American for three generations back. William Z. Foster, the firebrand of the steel strike, is a native of Pennsylvania. Eugene V. Debs was born in Terre Haute, Ind.; Max Eastman in Canadaigua, N. Y.; and Louis Fraina, an organizer of the Communist party, first saw the light in the United States although he is of Italian descent. Scott Nearing came into this world of strife at Morris Run, Pa. John Reed is an American born journalist although he was once a minister from the Bolsheviki.

John Graham Brooks, in his book on "American Syndicalism and the I.W.W.," says that the first great fights of the Industrial Workers took place at Cripple Creek, Colo., and that foreigners neither led that organization nor were prominent in it. It is declared by another authority that seventy-four men who were charged

with first degree murder at Everett, Wash., in 1906, and were defended by the I. W. W. had in their number fifty-seven native born Americans and that most of the others were of British birth.

There are some foreign dwellers in this country who feel that the native born agitator has not been punished enough and that too much stress has been put upon bringing to justice the trouble maker whose first place was Russia or Germany. Such as they are likely to be exploited by the fomenters of unrest.

The Interracial Council, although it declares that it is doing its utmost to suppress Bolshevism, believes also that some regard should be shown the sensibilities of the foreign born. It maintains that the great majority of them are loyal and are doing everything they can to understand America.

"Of the foreign language newspapers," to quote from a recent statement of the council, "only five per cent. have at any time advocated the overthrow of the government and the substitution of communism for the present economic order. Fifteen per cent. are socialistic, while eighty per cent. are as conservative as the great majority of American publications."

"The Interracial Council will direct its efforts to making the foreign born better understood and to translate America to them in terms which they will understand.

Not omitting to advocate such changes as will lift the foreign born from the status of mere cogs in the machine to the status of human beings."

The chairman of the board of the Interracial Council is Gen. Coleman du Pont, the treasurer is A. J. Hemphill, the secretary Miss Frances A. Kellor, who is also associate managing director. Some of the members of the board are Earl D. Babst, A. C. Bedford, Gutzon Borg-lund, Thomas W. Lamont, P. A. S. Franklin, Lindley M. Garrison, Charles E. Hughes, William Loeb, Jr., Prof. Michael I. Pupin and Felix M. Warburg.

It is indeed a delicate question which involves drawing the line between harshness to the foreign born and coddling him. Many of the immigrants maintain a love for their old customs and are driven thereby into clannish communities. They wish to have everything as much like "home" as possible. Some of them who are going back when they have saved enough and can find a place in Europe which is undisturbed enough to suit them, say that it will be a great pleasure to have wine with their meals. Others, however, like other Americans, are trying, though with no very good grace, to adapt themselves to the desert rather than the oasis.

Comfortable as it is for so many of these to believe that they are bringing a fine culture to this country to take the

place of the coarser Yankee hustle, they are not realizing to the full the benefits of being Americans as long as they talk that attitude.

The National Security League in analyzing the reasons for some immigrants not having found this a true land of opportunity have determined upon the following as removable causes:

1. They did not learn the English language and so could be deceived oftentimes by the victims of their own race.
2. They congregated in foreign quarters and did not learn American ideals, so they did not know of the opportunities of advancement.
3. They spent their time talking over the grievances of the old land and were thus led astray by revolutionary propaganda not needed in America.
4. They sent their money to other countries instead of building up their homes here.
5. They did not realize that if any injustice is being done to any in the community there is a law to appeal to for the righting of injustice.

As to what the ultimate outcome of the immigration problem will be when the mists of war have been cleared away is still on the knees of the economic gods. When normal transportation facilities are resumed and it appears that there are great industrial opportunities in the United States the tide may turn in our direction. The *Labor World* in a recent number calls attention to the fact that food and clothing are so abnormally high that Europe is having trouble in sustaining its normal population. It declares that from one to five years will be required for the countries of Europe to go through their reconstruction period and get back on their feet.

Belated Destinies.

Undoubtedly despite all advice of this kind many thousands of the foreign born inhabitants of the United States will go back across the seas to ascertain how their families and friends have sustained the shock of war. They may bring back their relatives to this country and some of them may try to work out a belated destiny where it began.

Miss Etta V. Leighton, a well known investigator of social conditions, said yesterday that the time may never dawn when as far as immigration is concerned we may replace a man with a man. "We shall have to replace a man with a machine," she added. "There must be some way found by which we may obtain a substitute for the unskilled labor upon which this country has depended so long."

The solution seems to lie along the lines of selective immigration and of a tactful and patient Americanization of the alien immigrant. Although from time to time the United States passes restrictive laws and has resolutely set its face against a policy of admitting Asiatics, it has no sustained domestic policy with regard to the distribution of would be Americans.

The high cost of living sorely vexes us and yet somewhere on the face of the earth there must be hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of men and women who would be glad to come over here and till the soil. This, after all, is a sparsely settled country, although it does have more than 100,000,000 of inhabitants. If it were as thoroughly occupied as Belgium was before the war, we would easily have a population of 2,000,000,000 of souls.

"In our own solar system we have two known to meet these basic requirements. They are Mars and Venus."

"About Venus, which seems to be much

Marconi Credits Mystery Flash to Far Planet

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exist is "sheer conceit—conceit of this small world which astronomers have proved to us is by no means the most important even in the solar system. And there are systems far greater and more potent than the solar system."

"Great discoveries are to be made. We know that, for we have made some great ones. He who scoffs at any theory put forth by a sober minded scientific man striving to find truth is merely silly. "The human mind is capable of things that seem extraordinarily great to us. Perhaps they would seem puny to the inhabitants of Mars, but to us they seem tremendous. There is nothing in the problem Marconi has laid before the world which is beyond the power of human intelligence to solve."

"Consider Champollion's deciphering of the Rosetta Stone. It took him forty years to work out its hieroglyphics, but he worked them out and learned their meaning beyond the shadow of a doubt. It enabled him to read the hieroglyphics of the whole region and added greatly to the sum of human knowledge."

May Signal Other Worlds.

"Perhaps some time we may signal other worlds, if any are inhabited and if their inhabitants are as intelligent as we are. If they are not, why then, of course, the case is hopeless. We have no reason to assume that this should be. And, as Marconi says, we need not feel sure that lack of such conditions on the planets as make life possible upon this earth makes certain that these planets cannot be inhabited. It is not inconceivable that bodies may be built which will endure environments very different from ours."

"Our atmosphere helps us only by permitting the combustion of bodily fuel."

"We human beings use air and carbon for fuel. A tree uses them only for construction purposes. Some day I shall tell you of my theory that each human being on this earth is a collection of a multitude of tiny entities. Well, suppose these entities elsewhere should have within themselves the necessary apparatus for existence!"

Nikola Tesla was not in the least surprised when I went to him and told him of the statement which had come across the sea to me from Mr. Marconi and of what Mr. Edison had said.

Terrestrial Vibrations Recognized

"For years I have contended that exactly these things some day would occur," said he. "Indeed, I myself have observed effects which might have been signals from somewhere in interstellar space. I will not express an opinion as to whence they came. They were not from the sun nor the moon, nor from Venus, because I eliminated the effects of these bodies on my instruments."

"I could not have been deceived by earth vibrations, mistaking them for signals from afar, because terrestrial vibrations are easily recognized. They could be distinguished absolutely."

"No; the effects which I received accurately corresponded with disturbances which might have emanated from Mars. I admit that they excited me. I decided that, indeed, they actually came from Mars."

"This is all a matter of perfectly well known record."

"People have been backward in these things. There has been too great a tendency to call any one 'impractical' who

dared to look too far in advance of the well beaten path. What is being 'practical'? One must have imagination in order to be truly practical."

"I know scientific men who have spent years in attempts to do some obviously impossible thing and who yet have been called 'practical' because if they succeeded in accomplishing that for which they were striving they would make much money."

"The same men would have jeered not long ago at the suggestion that we on the earth might receive signals from Mars. Big things are not 'practical.' They are wonderful. Many scientific minds, like many minds which are not scientific, shy at anything which is wonderful. Yet the simplest things in nature are wonderful almost beyond the limits of the human imagination."

"Men ignorant of the way in which plants grow would jeer at a farmer if suddenly they should be so placed that they saw him planting seeds. They would declare him an 'impractical' creature because the fruition of his efforts is at all possible of realization is so remote. They want immediate results."

Nature and Seed Growing.

"The sending to and reception from Mars of signals would be an achievement by no means as wonderful as nature's simple process of making seeds grow in the ground."

"In the *Harvard Illustrated Magazine* for March, 1907, I declared that experiments to this end should be undertaken. I had made this statement first in the early part of 1900, while still vividly impressed by certain observations I had made not long before. I dwelt upon them in an article in the *Century Magazine* during the same year. In order to correct an erroneous report a statement was

also published also in *Collier's Weekly* in February, 1901, defining my position in general terms."

"During all the period since and as the result of ceaseless thought and work I have found no reason to alter my original views."

"The observations of Professor Lowell have been accepted by many in the light in which he interprets them, although there are those who disagree with him. The light in which he sees them indicates the possibility of intelligent, very intelligent indeed, life on Mars."

"Personally, I can but hope that the great astronomer has been true that Mars is not a cold, dead sphere, but, instead, the abode of happy and very highly developed creatures, from whom we may learn and to whom, conceivably, when signalling becomes perfected, we may impart perhaps a little knowledge."

"In 1907 I wrote: 'In the light of glorious possibility, signalling to that planet presents itself as a definitely practical proposition, which to carry out no sacrifice could be too great. Can it be done? What chance is there that it will be done?'"

"As to the experiences of Signor Marconi I have heard nothing save that which you have read to me in the article from your correspondent in London. But the dates which I have given you show you how long it has been since I myself achieved results and how long the matter has been among the foremost topics in my mind."

"I long have believed and still believe that if sentient beings are alive on Mars, or even elsewhere, communication with them is not beyond the bounds of science as it is developing upon this earth."

I asked a question of the scientist. "And is it conceivable to you that we

shall be able to read such signals as may come to us out of the void, or that we shall be able to send signals which by any possibility could be intelligible to the beings who may receive them?"

May Find Basic Symbol.

"It is not unreasonable to suppose," said Mr. Tesla, "that if there be Martians of developed intellect some symbol may be found which may be used as the first basis upon which understanding may be built."

"A straight line, a geometrical figure, and these used in groups, must convey to any mind a definite idea."

"If there be Martians they probably think and reason as we do. It is not impossible that Martians have developed quite as far as we have and possibly much further. It is not unlikely that the Martians even now have maps of our earth as those which Prof. Pickering has made of Mars. They may know more of us than we have learned of them."

"If this be true, then it can be occasion for no wonder if they really are endeavoring to signal us. We are sufficiently advanced in electrical science to know that the sending of signals from Mars to the earth would be a simpler matter than the sending of signals from the earth to Mars."

"The presence of organic life is almost certain upon these innumerable other worlds, which are situated much as ours is and are supplied with light, heat and moisture. In such worlds organic life is certain to develop."

"In our own solar system we have two known to meet these basic requirements. They are Mars and Venus."

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